

UKRAINE

THE COUNTRY

GORBACHEV'S GLASNOST

CANNOT REACH!



UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS HOLD SECRET CHURCH SERVICE IN THE SNOW.
(Fr. Mykhailo Havryliv (right) was forced to clear radioactive waste from Chernobyl, without adequate protection, as punishment for performing his priestly duties).

CAMPAIGN TO LEGALISE THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

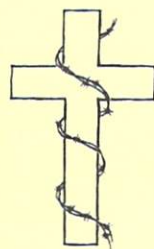
Like the early Church, Ukrainian Catholics have been forced to become an underground Church, worshipping secretly since March 1946. Five million Ukrainians belong to this Catacomb Church, which, despite the reforms underway in the USSR, continues to be harassed and persecuted. Jubilee Campaign, which acts on behalf of prisoners of faith, and the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, have launched a nationwide campaign to highlight the case of the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Churches.

WILL YOU GIVE THEM YOUR PRAYERS AND SUPPORT?

JUBILEE CAMPAIGN

CAMPAIGN TO LEGALISE THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

PO BOX 80, COBHAM, SURREY, KT11 2BQ



CAMPAIGN GUIDE TO ACTION

CAMPAIGN TO LEGALISE THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

INDEX

I	INTRODUCTION: David Alton M.P.	Page 3
II	UKRAINE PROFILE	Pages 4 - 6
III	OUTLAWED CHURCHES	Pages 7 - 14
IV	OPPRESSION OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH	Pages 15 - 26
	US State Department: Soviet Repression of The Ukrainian Catholic Church	Pages 15 - 17
	The Ukrainian Catholic Church: Emerging from The Shadows After Forty Years in the Catacombs.	Pages 18 - 24
	A Day's work in the life of an Underground Priest.	Page 26
V	JUBILEE CAMPAIGN DELEGATION TO UKRAINE	Page 27 - 31
	Interviews with Ivan Hel and Bishop Vasylyk.	Pages 29 - 31
VI	CAMPAIGN TO LEGALISE THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.	Page 32
VII	JUBILEE CAMPAIGN PROFILE / HOW YOU CAN HELP.	Pages 33 - 35

JUBILEE CAMPAIGN

David Alton MP established Jubilee Campaign in Parliament in 1987 and now 75 MPs have agreed to adopt cases of religious persecution from around the world.



JUBILEE CAMPAIGN
P.O. BOX 80 COBHAM SURREY KT11 2BQ
Tel: 01-892 3637 Fax: 01-891 5027

INTRODUCTION

By David Alton M.P.

Flowers in the Ukraine

ARRIVING at the Ukrainian border town of Mostiska on a train from Przemyśl, it had just turned the witching hour. With two friends from the British Jubilee Campaign, a Christian human rights group, we had our journey towards Lvov abruptly interrupted.

Up stepped half a dozen Soviet officials who ordered us to disembark with our luggage. This was the friendly face of Vladimir Shcherbitsky's reception committee. Shcherbitsky was the local party boss — Gorbachev sacked him two days after we left. For the next four hours, long after our train had departed with the rest of its passengers, the bureaucrats dissected our luggage and scoured our visas and passports.

Subversive and seditious materials, such as a biography of Basil Hume, the writings of medieval English mystic Julian of Norwich and, to the delight of the news editor of my local paper, a copy of the *Liverpool Echo*, were too hot to handle. All were carefully documented and receipts issued. Could we have a cup of tea? *Nyet*.

□ □ □

At 4am we were finally allowed to board an empty train — circa 1930, exquisite rolling stock, hard wooden seats — and continue our journey east. With two and a half hours travel ahead of us, I could have read the little book, entitled *Perestroika*, handed to me by the head of the reception committee, had it not been written in German. No doubt to compensate for my confiscated Basil Hume they also gave me a *Lenin on the Great Socialist Revolution* — in English. Surely he didn't have all this trouble on his train ride to Petrograd.

In Lvov we met Ivan Hel, who

was released in 1987 after 15 years' incarceration. He is the leader of the movement to legalise the Ukrainian Catholic Church suppressed by Stalin in 1946. His first brush with the KGB was in 1961 and he was held at Mordovia Prison and then at Perm. Temperatures plunged way below zero, he was kept half-naked and fed infrequently. For three years, letters from his wife, Maria, and his daughter were not permitted.

After supper at their two-room flat came a traditional late-night knock on the door. Checking out the guest list were two senior members of Shcherbitsky's militia. No wonder Hel

ded an open-air mass, held in the shadow of two Catholic churches closed by Stalin.

What was remarkable about these buildings was the flowers laid on their steps every day since 1946. At the former Armenian Church, the statue of Christ had been decapitated. Someone had tied a crown of thorns to the railing. Shcherbitsky's men regularly remove it and, just as regularly, another appears in its place.

□ □ □

Flowers are an abiding memory of my time in the Ukraine. At the makeshift banned memorial to the Ukraine's national poet, Taras Shevchenko, people queued to lay flowers alongside his photograph. This spot doubles as the local Hyde Park Corner and the focal point for national fervour. The once-banned yellow and blue twelfth century Ukrainian flag fluttered as a young bride and groom came to make their vows and swear allegiance to their country, the Ukraine, not the Soviet Union.

Perhaps Shcherbitsky's lasting monument will be Chernobyl. A Ukrainian priest, Mikhaylo Havryliv, was sent to Chernobyl as a punishment to clear contaminated radioactive debris. His crime was to openly celebrate the sacraments. His bishop, Pavlo Vasylyk, himself a survivor of 18 years' imprisonment, told me that this typified the cruelty and barbarism of this relic of the Brezhnev era. Perhaps it is even worse than that. As Ivan Hel said: "Stalin destroyed the people physically, Shcherbitsky spiritually."

David Alton

The author, Liberal Democrat MP for Liverpool Mossley Hill, is founder of the British Jubilee Campaign

MY WEEK

says that *perestroika* is a joke in the Ukraine.

Hel is in the mould of Lech Walesa, combining deeply held faith with shrewd political judgement. The nationalities question for him is first about legalisation of the banned church but also about sovereignty and self-determination for the Ukraine's 51 million people.

Hel is part of the Popular Front which is pressing for political reform and he is involved in establishing the new Christian Democratic movement. He quotes Khvyloviy, the 1930s Ukrainian poet, enthusiastically: "Away from Moscow, towards Europe." This potent cocktail of faith and politics brought out a quarter of a million people on to Lvov's streets. Many atten-

THE INDEPENDENT

40 CITY ROAD, LONDON EC1Y 2DB

22/9/89

Ukraine

Known as the Breadbasket of the Soviet Union, Ukraine—slightly larger than France—makes up less than 3 percent of the U.S.S.R. but is home to nearly a fifth of its population.

Except for the Carpathian Mountains on the western border and the Crimean Mountains, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic consists largely of flat, rich land called the steppe. Huge coal and iron deposits have led to heavy industrial development, especially in the Donbass (Donets Basin) and Krivoy Rog regions. The late 1970s saw intensive development of nuclear power. Five plants, including Chernobyl, now augment more traditional energy sources, and more are planned.

With such wealth, Ukrainian land has long been a target for conquest (maps below). Ukraine enjoyed a brief period of independence following World War I, before the Soviets took control of most of the land in 1920. Joseph Stalin persecuted Ukrainian patriots and is accused of engineering a famine to enforce collectivization and eliminate nationalism. In 1932-33 at least five million perished in Ukraine.

World War II increased the flow of emigration that began in the 19th century. Today some 2.5 million persons of Ukrainian heritage live outside the Soviet Union, 1.5 million of them in the United States and Canada.

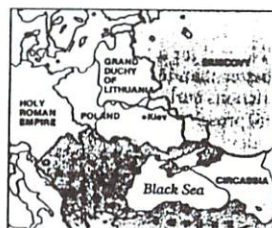


Land of Many Masters

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAY 1987



CA. A.D. 1000 To consolidate his rule over Kievan Rus, a loose confederation of Slavic peoples in eastern Europe, Vladimir the Great in 988 adopted Christianity from Byzantium. He forcibly converted his subjects as a means of binding a culturally diverse population.



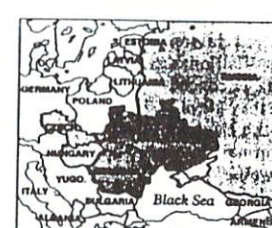
1569 After conquest by the Mongols in the 1200s, much of Ukraine in the 1300s was seized by Lithuania. With the formal union of Poland and Lithuania in 1569, Poland asserted increasing control before being pressed by the tsardom of Muscovy and the Ottoman Empire.



1649 Peasants fleeing Polish domination formed Cossack communities under military leaders called hetmans. After a revolt led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Cossacks in 1649 formed their own state, continued fighting the Poles, and entered a pact with Muscovy in 1654.



1880 At its farthest extent, the Russian Empire included 85 percent of Ukraine, obtained in the 18th century following the partition of Poland and acquisitions from the Ottoman Empire. Partition also put western Ukraine under Austrian rule.



1919 After the Russian Revolution toppled the tsar in 1917 and Austria-Hungary fell, Ukrainians declared independence, which ended in 1920 when the Bolsheviks prevailed. The western territories were divided among Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania.



1939-1942 In 1939, after the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact, the U.S.S.R. annexed most of western Ukraine from Poland. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, all of Ukraine came under Nazi occupation. Soviet rule was restored after World War II.

Contact: Sonya Hlutkowsky

UKRAINE: ITS HISTORY AND ITS PEOPLE

The second largest nation in Europe, Ukraine, if independent, would be one of the world's major powers. Home to 50 million people, Ukraine is known as "the breadbasket of Europe" for its natural fertility and wheat production. It has huge quantities of coal and iron as well as substantial reserves of natural gas and various strategic minerals.

Bordered by the Black Sea in the south; Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania on the west and southwest; and by Byelorussia and Russia on the north and northeast, Ukrainian lands have undergone a varied and complex historical development. The first period of Ukrainian statehood lasted from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. The state was known as Kievan Rus' and fostered an era of vigorous activity when Ukraine accepted Christianity (988) and developed close ties with the rest of Europe.

Kievan Rus' existed until the Mongol invasions of the mid-thirteenth century. Its legacy was passed on to the most important of the newer principalities, Galicia-Volhynia in Western Ukraine, and survived there a century later. On the distant northeastern fringes of the former Kievan realm -- in a substantially different natural and ethnic environment -- the development of the principality of Moscow began under a branch of the Kievan dynasty. This was the kernel of the future Russian state.

The disintegration of Kievan Rus' encouraged foreign intervention. In the fourteenth century, Galicia was occupied by Poland, but most of the Ukrainian lands came under the rule of Lithuania. When Lithuania and Poland formed first a dynastic and then a federal union, Ukrainian lands were transferred to Polish rule.

Ukrainian Cossacks played an important role in the history of Ukraine under Polish rule. Originally frontiersmen, the Cossacks grew into a formidable military force. Conflicts between Cossacks and the Polish government frequently erupted and led to a war of liberation in 1648-1654. Cossack Hetman (leader) Bohdan Khmelnytsky turned to Moscow for military support against the Poles and formed an alliance. But the war only divided Ukraine between the Poles, who took the territories west of the Dnieper, and the Tsar, who took the east. An autonomous Cossack state was permitted to survive for a short time in the east, however.

Under the Russian empire, Ukraine ceased to exist as a distinct political unit. Divided into ordinary provinces, it was administered with little or no regard for its national distinctiveness. National feeling found expression in a literary and cultural revival in the nineteenth century led by poet and painter Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861). But the Tsarist authorities quickly imposed a ban on Ukrainian language publications. They viewed Ukrainians simply as a branch of the Russian people and their early history and culture as the

- more -

patrimony of Russia.

More cultural expression was possible in Galicia under Austrian rule where the Ukrainian Catholic Church was able to play a role as a national institution.

After the Russian Revolution, an independent Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed in Kiev on January 22, 1918. In November, with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, a West Ukrainian Republic was proclaimed in the Galician capital of Lviv. A merger of the two states was declared in January 1919, but could not be effected.

War with the Bolsheviks, the "White" Russians and the Poles culminated in the loss of Ukraine's independence. A soviet Ukrainian Republic was formed. In 1922, it became part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics except for Galicia and parts of Volhynia which went to Poland. Smaller areas were incorporated into Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

During the 1920s, Soviet policy in Ukraine was relatively liberal and allowed for significant cultural development. Stalin's consolidation of power in the 1930s ushered in a period of renewed centralization, uniformity, Russification and terror.

Collectivization of agriculture and the concurrent assault on Ukrainian nationalism were accompanied by an artificially induced famine in 1932-33 in which millions perished. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church was destroyed and writers and cultural figures were killed or disappeared into labor camps.

In Poland, expected autonomy for Ukrainians never occurred as the Polish government promoted a policy of assimilation. Ukrainian cultural life and political participation deteriorated in comparison with the period of Austrian rule.

The German invasion of Poland in 1939, and the Hitler-Stalin pact, brought the Soviet occupation of Ukrainian territories of eastern Poland. When the Nazis invaded the USSR in 1941, all of Ukraine came under German control. The harshness of the German occupation was followed by the devastation of the war and reoccupation by the Red Army. By 1945, virtually all Ukraine was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR.

Ukraine's war losses were in the millions and were followed by arrests and deportations. Collectivization was imposed on the newly acquired territories and the Ukrainian Catholic Church was abolished in 1946 and incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church.

Since Stalin's death in 1953, some relaxation in Soviet policy has occurred. But policies of promoting Russification, especially in education, were intensified. However, the rise of Ukrainian cultural activity in the 1960s, and of the dissident movement, shows the national feeling among Ukrainians in Ukraine is still strong.

The declared policies of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, aimed at restructuring Soviet society, are being tested by Ukrainians anxious for reform and for the preservation of their national heritage.

OUTLAWED CHURCHES

SINODO
GERARCHIA CATTOLICA UCRAINA
SEGRETARIATO

Piazza Madonna del Monte -
00184 ROMA - Italia

Ufficio Stampa

Press Bureau

PRESENT STATUS AND RECENT HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE USSR

The Ukrainian Catholic Church is the largest of the Eastern Catholic Churches and the largest outlawed religious institution in the USSR.

Because of the illegal status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, it is impossible to determine the exact number of faithful. It is thought that they number five million in the USSR. The greatest numbers of faithful are to be found in the Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk and Transcarpathian regions.

Currently the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which is in full communion with the Holy See and recognizes the primacy of the Pope, is headed by Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky, Major Archbishop and Metropolitan of Lviv and Halych.

According to available data, the clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR comprises 12 bishops, about 1,000 priests and over 1200 monks and nuns.

Ukrainian Catholics are refused the right to register. The clergy are persecuted for conducting services and the faithful for participating in them.

There is strong opposition to the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Soviet Union on the part of the representatives of the government and particularly of the Moscow Patriarchate.

Important Dates in the Ukrainian Catholic Church's History

- November 1, 1944: Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky dies in Lviv. As reported in the Soviet press, he is succeeded by Archbishop Josyf Slipyj.

- December 1944: A delegation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church travels to Moscow to settle the status of the Church within the USSR.

- April 11, 1945: In the midst of repressions against the Ukrainian Catholic clergy, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj and Bishops Nykyta Budka, Hryhoriy Khomyshyn, Ivan Latyshevsky and Nykolai Charnetsky are arrested.

- May 28, 1945: The Soviet press publishes a declaration of the "Initiative Group for Reunification with the Russian Orthodox Church" which, in connection with the arrest of the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, takes it upon itself to represent the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

- March 1946: In the first days of the month, the Soviet press publishes unfounded political and criminal charges against the arrested bishops.

- March 8-10, 1946: In Lviv, a so-called "synod" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, organized by the Soviet government and the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church, takes place without the participation of any Ukrainian Catholic bishop. According to the declaration of the pseudo-synod, the Ukrainian Catholic Church dissolves itself, and its faithful join the Russian Orthodox Church. Out of approximately 3,000 clergy, only 216 take part in the meeting.

- 1945-1946: Bishops Yosafat Kotsylovsky and Hryhori Lakota are arrested in Poland and sent to the Soviet Union, where they are imprisoned and exiled.

- November 1, 1947: Bishop Teodor Romzha is murdered in Transcarpathia.

- 1940s-1950s: Of all the persecuted bishops, two die in prison, two in labor camps, and two die shortly after completing their sentences. Hundreds of priests who had refused to join the Russian Orthodox Church meet a similar fate.

- 1949: The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Transcarpathian Ukraine is liquidated.
- January 27, 1963: After persistent efforts by the Vatican and representatives of western countries, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, having spent 18 years in prison, labor camps and exile, is allowed to leave the USSR. The Metropolitan arrives in Rome on February 9, 1963 and attends the Second Vatican Council.
- September 9, 1982: The Initiative Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church is formed in the USSR to work towards the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.
- September 7, 1984: Cardinal Josyf Slipyj dies. He is succeeded as head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by Major Archbishop and Metropolitan Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, who is elevated to the rank of Cardinal the following year.
- August 4, 1987: A part of the hierarchy and faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR announce that they are leaving the underground.
- 1988: On the occasion of the Millennium of Christianity in Kievan Rus', thousands of believers in the USSR participate openly in Ukrainian Catholic religious services in various parts of Ukraine. Over 17,000 believers sign petitions requesting legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. By February 7, 1989, 35,357 believers have signed petitions to Pope John Paul II and/or the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR requesting legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Soviet Union.
- June 10, 1988: In Moscow, bishops and clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR meet with Cardinal Agostino Casaroli and Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, members of an official delegation of the Holy See.
- October 25, 1988: Five bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — Filymon Kurchaba, Sofron Dmyterko, Pavlo Vasylyk, Ivan Semedi and Ivan Margitych — and eight priests, discuss the question of public recognition and legalization of their Church at the Council for Religious Affairs in Moscow.
- January 15, 1989: Persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church continues. Rev. Mykhailo Havryliv and Yuri Rudenko are arrested and imprisoned for 15 days. Father Petro Zeleniukh is fined 50 rubles for celebrating a liturgy in public.
- January-February 1989: The government authorities' campaign to register Ukrainian Catholic churches as Russian Orthodox continues. As reported in *Izvestiia* of February 2, 1989, the head of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, Mykola Kolesnyk, has stated that 430 churches in Ukraine have been turned over to the Russian Church. The overwhelming majority of these are Ukrainian Catholic churches in Western Ukraine. The Soviet mass media are presenting the question of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as a political rather than a religious problem, which they claim could lead to mass disorders as in the Nagorno-Karabakh region.
- February 9, 1989: In Siena, Italy, Soviet human rights activist Dr. Andrei Sakharov appeals to Italian Catholics to defend the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and to prove their Christian solidarity with them. He also declares that the Russian Orthodox Church has entered into "unjustifiable compromises" with the Soviet government.

Ukrainian Press Service

No. 10 (34)

Published by the Archeparchy of Lviv - temporary See in Rome

Edited by: Dr. K. Horbatsch
96, rue du Faubourg St. Martin

Administration:
Piazza Madonna dei Monti, 3
00184 Roma - Italia

Contents

- The Church is gaining strength in the catacombs
The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine and the question of legalization

6 "THE CHURCH IS GAINING STRENGTH IN THE CATACOMBS"

The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine and the question of legalization

Ever since the USSR started restructuring, the four million Ukrainian Catholics in Western and Carpathian Ukraine have been hoping for basic changes in the authorities' attitude to their Church. Their expectations are not far-fetched: the rehabilitation of the victims of Stalinism, the removal of 'blank spots' in the country's history and the correction of Stalin's mistakes should, if they are to be consistent, also include an annulment of the government's decision in 1946 to dissolve the Ukrainian Catholic Church and to incorporate it into the Russian Orthodox Church.

During the past year a few signs certainly justified some optimism: whereas the official Soviet press as well as government officials and spokesmen of the Russian Patriarchate have categorically denied the presence of a catacomb Catholic Church in Ukraine for the past forty years, today - by way of contrast - not only regional newspapers of Western Ukraine, but even Russian Orthodox Metropolitans concede that there are a few thousand Uniates in Ukraine (Metropolitan Filaret), and the journal "Nauka i Religiya" from December 1987 goes so far as to mention that "approximately 300 former Ukrainian Catholic priests are agitating for the renewal of the Ukrainian Catholic Church."

These statements, made recently in deference to reality, have, as yet, not produced any legal results. And the formal arguments used to suppress the constitutional rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Church are still being regurgitated. They can be condensed to a few essential points: The Ukrainian Catholic Church is accused of having "betrayed the homeland" and "collaborated with German fascists and Ukrainian nationalists" during the war. As a result, it is alleged to have lost face in the eyes of its own faithful and then to have "disbanded on its own initiative" during the Synod of Lviv in March 1946.

Ukrainian Press Service

While it cannot be denied that at the time of the German occupation the Ukrainian Catholic Church spoke out against the Soviet Russian regime, which neither the Ukrainian Catholic Church nor the population of Halychyna considered legitimate, it must also be noted that the Lithuanian Catholic Church and Latvian and Estonian Protestants were just as hostile towards the Soviet regime! Moreover, the Exarch of the Moscow Patriarchate in the Baltic states, Metropolitan Sergey Vosnesenskiy, also collaborated with the German occupiers. With the exception of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, however, none of these churches are charged with "collaboration!"

The assertion that the Ukrainian Catholic Church "dissolved itself" in 1946 following a "unanimous vote" at the Synod of Lviv - finds its refutation in the official Soviet publication summarizing the organization and proceedings of the Synod in question: the "Chronicle of the Synod" which was published in Lviv in 1946 states that the Synod was convened and chaired by two bishops and one mitred archpriest, all three of whom had secretly turned Orthodox two weeks earlier and therefore participated in the Synod as "incognito Orthodox!" The delegates to the Synod, on the other hand, were hand-chosen by an Initiative Group that was backed by the government and did not conceal its aim to turn Orthodox from the outset.

This "Chronicle of the Synod" also - unwillingly - contradicts the argument that the Union was "abrogated at the desire of the faithful": according to the official "Chronicle", the public at large found out about the Synod only after it was over...

Representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church repeatedly argue that the Synod of Lviv was canonical. Thus, during Russian Orthodox celebrations marking the 35th anniversary of the Lviv Synod on 16th May 1981, Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev expressed the opinion that the Synod of Lviv was canonical because two bishops were present and also because its decisions were "accepted by the Church", whereas the Synod of Brest from 1596 was not valid.

Metropolitan Filaret believes that the decisions of the Council of Brest were "rejected by the people", because this Union was imposed "by brute violence and religious force". So as soon as Soviet rule gave them the chance to express themselves freely, "the people of God in the Western eparchies of the Russian Orthodox Church gladly returned to the womb of the Church".

Spokesmen of the Patriarchate of Moscow still cling to this argument today when the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church comes up in discussions with their Western counterparts. An ignorance of basic historical facts has enabled Russian Orthodox diplomats to falsify one fundamental detail: that the Union of Brest "tore away" a part of the Russian Orthodox Church from Moscow!

The truth is, however, that prior to 1946 Halychyna and Carpathian Ukraine never belonged to the canonical territory of the Russian Orthodox Church! Besides this, all these arguments and accusations are formal in nature and, as it turns out, did not play an essential role in the single situation where Soviet government representatives were prepared to negotiate seriously about the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The first efforts to have the Soviet government recognize the existence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Soviet Union date back to December 1944 when Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj sent a delegation to Moscow. There, Archimandrite Klementiy Szeptyckyj, and Frs Havryyil Kostelnik, Ivan Kotiv and Hryhoriy Budzinsky met with the deputy chairman of the Committee for religious affairs, Polyansky, and handed him a memorandum on the situation of the Greek-Catholic Church in the USSR.

After the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy was arrested on 11 April 1945, 300 Ukrainian Catholic priests sent an appeal to the deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Vyacheslav Molotov, in which they stressed their loyalty to the Soviet Union and asked that "our whole episcopate, including the Metropolitan, be released."

In June 1953, after the death of Stalin, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, who had spent the past eight years in Siberian penal camps, was brought to Moscow: Beria was apparently interested in renewing the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Halychyna. The Metropolitan talked with General Zhukov, who asked him to inform Pope Pius XII about his release and about the efforts that were being made to restore the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. At the General's request, Metropolitan Slipyj wrote a "short history" and a memorandum on the situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In conversations with the general he asked that his Church be returned its pre- War status quo.

From 1944 to the present day, these were the only constructive talks that took place between representatives of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and representatives of the Soviet government, and they were disrupted by the murder of Beria...

After his arrival in Rome in 1963, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj continued to demand freedom for the Ukrainian Catholic Church - in letters to the Soviet ambassador in Rome. He also met several times with Leningrad's Metropolitan Nikodim, when the latter was on a visit to Rome.

Since the late 1960s, hardly a month has gone by without some endeavour on the part of a community or individual faithful to have at least one Catholic church opened in Ukraine. For example, in 1967 bishop Vasyl Velychkovsky informed Metropolitan Josyf in a letter from Lviv that "in many places the faithful were submitting requests for the legalization of Ukrainian Catholic parish committees."

In the document "On the freedom of conscience" from 1969 one reads: "Various villages in Halychyna - for example, Mshany (Horodok region) and Khorosnytsi (Mostyska region) - repeatedly submitted declarations signed by many people asking that Greek-Catholic liturgies be permitted. But all these declarations were stuffed into drawers." In 1972, 180 Catholics from Stryi wrote to the Council of Ministers of the USSR: "Please give us a Catholic church like all other Catholics!"

Another ten years were to pass before these individual demands of individual communities began to take on a more organized and coordinated form: created on 9 September 1982 and led by Yosyp Terelya, the "Initiative Group for the Defence of believers and the Church in Ukraine" set its sights on attaining the recognition of the rights

of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR. The Initiative Group's first declaration states this clearly: "we have only one goal - legalization." And its "Memorandum" outlined the preconditions for legalization: "in order to have the possibility of elaborating acceptable norms for the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Initiative Group calls for the opening of churches, seminaries and religious educational institutions, the setting up of a commission to investigate the criminal activities of the KGB which is responsible for the persecution of Catholics. At the same time it stressed its desire "to respect all government regulations and to encourage the faithful to observe them."

The Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics has succeeded the Initiative Group as the mouthpiece for Ukrainian Catholics. Its declaration dated 8 February 1986 contains similar demands: "We, the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics in the catacombs of Ukraine, once again call on the government of the USSR to renew the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Soviet Union. The Ukrainian Catholic Church asks only for those rights proclaimed and guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution, especially in article 52." More specifically, the Central Committee demanded that all prisoners of conscience be released, that the Ukrainian Catholic Church be allowed to function legally and that the Metropolitan of Lviv be permitted to return to his historical See.

Eighteen months later on 4 August 1987, two bishops (another two joined them later) and about 20 priests let it be known that they were coming aboveground. For more than a year now, a part of the clergy and some bishops are no longer concealing their existence, but are openly celebrating Liturgies and talking with government officials.

In June this year in Moscow, clerical representatives of the Catholic Church in Ukraine met for the first time ever with Vatican representatives to discuss the state of their Church.

Today, even regional newspapers in Western Ukraine do not deny the existence of Catholic communities in the region. They write openly about "Uniates" but always add a warning: "the pro-Uniate Church has sharply increased its activity, raising demands which will never be met" (Lvovskaya Pravda).

Even though a significant number of its members have left the catacombs, the discussion among Ukrainian Catholics about the expediency of legalization has not abated.

"Is it not better to remain underground in circumstances where unrelenting terror is directed against Christians?", asked Yosyp Terelya back in 1985, because "repressions against the Church only serve to strengthen it, the Church revives and grows in its capacity to resist and to struggle."

The example of the Russian Orthodox Church - which has been compelled to make constant concessions towards the government and towards the reality of Soviet daily life where "official life" is full of hypocrisy and lies - bolsters the arguments of those who oppose legalization under the present circumstances. They not only fear that the Church could decay morally if it were allowed to exist legally in the Soviet Union. They also feel it is dangerous to openly profess the faith and publicly admit priestly rank in the event of an

about-turn in Soviet policy: if the regime were to revert to repressive tactics, legalization would give it the possibility of physically destroying the spiritual leadership of the Church.

But for the moment such discussions are purely theoretical. So far the authorities have not allowed even one Catholic community to be registered or one Catholic church to be opened, despite the dozens of petitions and declarations that have been piling up at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet over the past year. Thousands of Catholics from Halychyna and Carpathian Ukraine have signed and continue to sign petitions asking that the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Church be restored; as of this year, the collection of signatures is organized by the "Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church", headed by Ivan Hel. The Committee also publishes the Church's literary organ, the "Christian Voice", which has replaced the former "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine".

In unofficial discussions with Western diplomats, Soviet authorities emphasize that negotiations about the renewal of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine should be conducted by representatives of the Vatican and the Patriarchate of Moscow. An agreement to hold such talks, however, would mean recognizing the Patriarchate's claim that the question of the Ukrainian Catholic Church primarily concerns the Russian Orthodox Church; it would be equivalent to an affirmation of the Orthodox argument presented the Moscow Patriarchate that the "integration" of the Union into Orthodoxy in 1946 was an internal church act which occurred on the canonical territory of the Russian Orthodox Church.

In contrast, all Ukrainian Catholics are adamant that the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Soviet Union was a government act. Thus, in all their documents on this topic, they stress that only the State can be a negotiating partner on the question of legalization...

On the other hand, in the unofficial talks between representatives of the Soviet government and the Ukrainian Catholic Church that have been going on over the past two years on various levels, government spokesmen like to point out that the Patriarchate of Moscow would never agree to the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

It is a fact that Gorbachev and his faction in the politburo do not hesitate to search for allies of "perestroika" even among their former enemies whenever this might serve their purposes. During the year of the Millennium, the Russian Orthodox Church was granted many concessions, not just the renewal of the Danilov monastery in Moscow or the building of a hotel in a joint effort with the State or even the production of records with church music. Its support of the government's peace policy not only earned a Lenin-decoration for Patriarch Pimen, but brought it the State blessing as a "progressive" force in the USSR. Today, this gives it ample reason to hope for concessions on the administrative-legal level.

It cannot be denied that the Patriarchate of Moscow categorically rejects every form of legalization for the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The strongest opposition comes from the Kievan Exarch of the Patriarch of Moscow, Metropolitan Filaret as well as from the Metropolitan of Lviv, Nikodym. Their behaviour cannot come as a surprise - of the 6800 parishes which the Russian Orthodox Church has, 4000 are in Ukraine, and most of those

are in the former Catholic stronghold of Western Ukraine! In these regions official recognition of the Ukrainian Catholic Church would not only inflict a severe blow to the prestige of the Patriarchate of Moscow, but also result in significant material losses!

Nevertheless, in their contacts with members of Western churches, Russian Orthodox spokesmen avoid mentioning these purely practical considerations. Instead, they concentrate on favorite problems of church politicians in the West such as church unity and ecumenism. "The legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church would not be a step forward to Christian unity and ecumenism, but a step backward", claimed archbishop Kirilo of Smolensk in an interview with German journalists. "Renewal of the Union would delay ecumenical progress by 50, or even 100 years... Every time a Union took place, a lot of blood was shed... the question of the Union is not a question of human rights or religious freedom in the USSR!"

The argument, that the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with its former rights will only produce serious conflicts and bloodshed in Western Ukrainian parishes and that will create a situation as in Northern Ireland, has turned into a standard argument used by representatives of the Patriarchate of Moscow in lobbying foreigners: quite apart from the questionableness of this dramatic scenario - whose probability could be reduced through a plebiscite among the believers concerned - the argument itself nevertheless indirectly admits that strong Catholic communities do exist in Ukraine!

The specific measures used by the Moscow Patriarchate in concert with local authorities are far less conciliatory than their verbal arguments: in villages where there are active Catholic underground communities and where there had never been a Russian Orthodox community - they open an Orthodox church! This happened in Hoshiv, a former place of pilgrimage, in the wake of Millennium celebrations which held there by underground Catholics: as of August 1988, Orthodox monks occupy the former Basilian monastery in Hoshiv which had stood empty since being closed by force in 1945.

The Patriarchate's argumentation, however, has found a new, seemingly conciliatory note in the words of Archbishop Kirilo: "The Union is a historical fact. In Canada and America there are many people who belong to the Catholic Church but profess their faith in categories of Eastern theology and through the Byzantine liturgy... Under no circumstances should these people get the impression, that they have now become unnecessary... On the contrary, Uniates who were long regarded as an element of division should become an element of unity."

The catch is that Kirilo's conciliatory overtures are aimed exclusively at Ukrainian Catholics in the West! "In the Orthodox-Catholic commission we meet Uniates, we talk with them. But as far as communication with Uniates from the Soviet Union is concerned, such prospects are not yet forthcoming."

As far as Catholics in Ukraine are concerned, they became very apprehensive upon hearing the news about the Orthodox-Catholic commission, which met last July in Finland...

The tactic to isolate Ukrainian Catholics in the West from those in Ukraine is

characteristic not only of the Patriarchate of Moscow: it also surfaces in unofficial talks between Ukrainian Catholics and Soviet officials. The Soviet government would like to see the topic of the Ukrainian Catholic Church disappear from the agenda of its negotiations with Western governments - and at the same time to divide that Church into two separate entities: an emigr Church and a Soviet one.

According to latest reports, during recent discussions between individual Catholic bishops and priests with local Communist officials, the Catholic party was offered legalization on the specific condition that the underground Church separates itself from its primate, Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky and subjects itself directly to Rome.

Even if this model appears worthy of discussion to some, the overwhelming majority of Ukrainian Catholics reject this kind of compromise, especially since one of the conditions linked to this variant of "legalization" is the disavowal of Metropolitans Andrej Szeptycky and Josyf Slipyi.

The government's interest in such a limited Church is pragmatic: the prohibition of the Ukrainian Catholic Church has not brought the regime many benefits, but instead it has allied representatives of the Ukrainian national movement with the movement for legalization. Allowing the Church to exist, even with significant restrictions, would almost certainly divide it internally in Ukraine: registered priests might strive to "de-politicize" the Church at all costs and to submit to limitations such as those applying to the Russian Orthodox Church: its activities are confined to liturgical service of communities without any right to spiritually and morally educate the faithful.

One priest from the Lviv oblast explains the position adopted by Ukrainian Catholics: "We do not want to be a bureau of religious cults. We held out for so many years - even without legalization our Church lives on!"

APPEAL TO THE USSR CONGRESS OF PEOPLES DEPUTIES

From the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and from Believers of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Dear Deputies

In 1946 Stalin's regime carried out a pogrom against the Ukrainian Catholic (Greek Catholic) Church, and since then it has been outside the law and constantly subject to persecution and harassment.

Stalin's crime was carried out under the guise of the so called Lviv Church Council, organised by the NKVD. One year prior to this criminal spectacle, the NKVD arrested all Ukrainian Catholic Bishops, including the head of the Church, Metropolitan Josef Slipyi, who spent 18 years first in Stalin's camps then later in Krushchev's prisons.

For the so-called council, the NKVD brought 216 out of 3000 frightened priests and also several laymen and priests of the Roman Catholic Church, and forced them to sign a shameful document liquidating the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Priests who refused to transfer their allegiance to the Russian Orthodox Church were repressed.

The majority of priests and bishops perished in the camps, labour colonies and in exile. Hundreds of thousands of Catholic lay people were also repressed. Catholics from Transcarpathia were subjected to the same fate. Bishop Romsha was brutally killed by Stalin's henchmen.

In such a way in the 1930s the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was destroyed and its clergy was completely exterminated. However the Ukrainian Catholic Church was not destroyed. It disappeared into the underground (catacombs) and for 43 years has continued its struggle for existence.

The years of perestroika and the accompanying liberalisation in Soviet society has not affected the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its believers. With the emergence of a section of the clergy from the underground, the repressions have increased especially over the last year.

For practising religious festivals, priests and believers are suffering repressions on the part of the party state organs (KGB, Militia, Courts and party workers). Administrative arrest, fines, beatings slanderous attacks from officials and the clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church in the media do not even form a full enumeration of the types of persecution of believers and priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

When the tens of thousands of believers turned to the USSR Supreme Soviet with a demand to recognise the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Churches, the authorities began to transfer Ukrainian Catholic Churches to the Russian Orthodox Church.

Dear Deputies, freedom to worship one's chosen religion is one of the fundamental rights of man. It is so decreed in all basic international acts and by the article 52 of the USSR constitution. But the believers of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Orthodox Churches are deprived of this right.

Dear Deputies in the name of justice we ask you to raise the question of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church at the Supreme forum of State power - the Congress of Peoples Deputies and:

1. To rehabilitate the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church as the victims of Stalinist terrors.
2. To recognise the right to legal activity of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the right to an unhindered renewal of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.
3. To take a decision to reform churches and church property of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church to their rightful owners the believers of those Churches.
4. To recognise as a criminal act the persecution of citizens for belonging to any religion.
5. To appoint a commission from the Congress of peoples Deputies with the intention of attracting representatives of the democratic

Initiative Committee In Support Of the Revival Of The Ukrainian Orthodox Church In Ukraine Formed.

Ukrainian Orthodox Priest Suspended For Attacking Russian Orthodox Church.

Below we give a full translation of Ukrainian Helsinki Union press release number 68 of the newly formed Initiative Group for the revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC). The UAOC was forcibly destroyed by Stalin in the early 1930s. One of the signatories of the appeal, rev. B. Mykhailechko, a Russian Orthodox priest, lead a strong attack against the Russian Orthodox Church during the inaugural conference of the T. Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society on February 11-12.

Although a member of the Russian Orthodox Church himself, father Mykhailechko, referring to the absence of Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev at the Conference, said publicly: "This again underlines the attitude of the Russian Orthodox Church towards our language and our culture". "It is the policy of Peter I and other Russian Czars," he stated. Father Mykhailechko then proceeded to attack the policy of the Russian Orthodox Church: "I want to point out that instead of conducting ecumenical work in the world, the Russian Orthodox Church fights against the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which exists in the underground. We do not see in this an expression of love."

Later in his speech, father Mykhailechko expressed the hope that soon the Ukrainians will be able to offer prayers in their own language. He finished his speech by invoking the Ukrainian national anthem; "Ukraine has not yet perished". However, on February 14, father Mykhailechko was informed that he was being suspended from his duties pending an examination of his case on February 17.

Recently, there have been calls to introduce Ukrainian language services in parishes where the majority are Ukrainians. The cultural newspaper, *Kultura i Zhyttya* published one such letter on the eve of the Ukrainian Language Society conference.

For The Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

As early as February 1988 some Western radio stations released information about the formation of an initiative group for the revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine. In reality there was no such group

in existence, however attempts at forming an initiative committee to revive the UAOC had only just begun with the help of the executive committee of the UHU. Currently such a committee has finally been formed and it has started its work.

In the appeal, part of Rev. Romaniuks draft has been used. Rev. Romaniuk emigrated last year.

Appeal to:

The USSR Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

The Ukrainian Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

The international Christian community.

Appeal from the Initiative Committee for the revival of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine.

Important changes are taking place in the spiritual life of our country. Although this process is not consistent, already much light has been thrown on many problems, which demand immediate solutions. One of these problems is the religious issue in the Ukrainian republic, where over the past decades Ukrainian believers were accused of being "enemies of the people" and "nationalists". The main population of the republic was deprived of the possibility of preaching or studying in religious schools, particularly in the native language.

We are deprived of the essence what the Holy Spirit offered to Christ's Church on Pentecost day when he descended on the apostles (28-11). At this point we will also mention the words of the apostles Paul in the letter to Corinthians.

"But I prefer to say five words with my own mind in Church, in order to teach others, rather than ten thousand words in many languages" (1 Corinthians. 14-19). The hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church illegally usurped the authority of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as far back as 1685, not long after the so-called Reunification of Ukraine with Russia. Up until now it does not recognize the existence of the separate Ukrainian national religious tradition as such with its own culture, language and traditions. The Russian Orthodox Church still practices its chauvinistic ideas in relation to the national question. Orthodox Ukraine cannot come to terms with such evangelical, anti-canonical practices.

We, as every civilized nation, have the undeniable right to our independent Autocephalous church. Although missionary work was carried out from Constantinople and from the Roman centres of Christianity, the traditions of Ukrainian orthodoxy go as far back as the Baptism of Kiev - Rus..... by the great Kiev Rus Prince, Volodymir. The general Church division came about much later (1054) but Christianity, which we adopted from Byzantium, had a clearly defined orthodox character. The Kiev Metropolitan, Ilarion, in time confirmed this

tradition. He upheld the idea of an eastern orthodox Christianity as did all the Ukrainian Church hierarchies until the cossack period, which witnessed the greatest blossoming of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Let us mention the religious community activity of the Kiev metropolitans Iov Boretsky, Petro Mohyla, Silvester Kosiv, the great cultural and educational missionary work of the Kiev Mohyla Academy and of the Orthodox brotherhoods situated throughout Ukraine.

Having lost its independence in 1685, the Ukraine Orthodox Church was renewed in 1921 (The first All - Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council). Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky was the main motivating force behind the renaissance of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In the nine years of its existence over 5000 parishes were created. They were served by 4000 priests and 32 bishops, lead by a metropolitan. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church embodies its activities in the evangelical words written in the decree of the Church Council of 1921. "And so the son of man came not to serve him but to be of service and to sacrifice his soul for many.." (Matthew 20-28) Almost all the leading activists of the Church, as well as the All-Ukrainian laymens' council and all the bishops, including metropolitan Vasyl, died in camps, in prisons and in exile. In this brutal way the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church was destroyed in the 1930s during Stalin's repressions. Ukrainian Churches were destroyed en masse. What remained was again re-united with Russian Orthodoxy, which also suffered persecutions, but, according to Stalin's system of national priorities, was allowed to exist. However, the Russian Orthodox Church, which does not recognize the existence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, is not able to satisfy the needs of believers of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

This is why we, Ukrainian Orthodox believers, have decided to form the Initiative Committee to revive the Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Ukraine. We will put forward the issue regarding the renewal of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR. We will demand the registration of religious communities, and if required, we will collect signatures among Ukrainians in support of the renewal of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church.

However, we will hope that such mass measures will not be necessary and that our Church will be revived on the basis of Constitutional guarantees and freedom, which will be genuine proof of the democratic restructuring of our society. At the same time we turn to his Holiness, the Orthodox Patriarch Dmitry, to the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church in exile, to the Autocephalous Orthodox Churches of the world, to international Christian circles and to all people of good will with a request for assistance. Like all civilized people we are striving to communicate with God within the native confines of our native language.

OPPRESSION OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Special
Report
No. 159

Soviet Repression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

January 1987



The following report was prepared by the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs in January 1987.

During the nearly seven decades that have elapsed since the Bolsheviks seized power, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has sought to eliminate religion or, failing that, utilize it for the purposes of the state. In this deliberate attack on religion, no institution has suffered more than the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Claiming the devotion of millions in western Ukraine, the church—leaders and laity alike—has been systematically repressed by Soviet rule. Official Soviet historiography even goes as far as to claim that the church “liquidated itself” in 1946, that its followers “voluntarily joined” the Russian Orthodox Church.¹

But the Ukrainian Catholic Church lives on, in the catacombs, as witness numerous *samizdat* documents and repeated discussions in Soviet publications of the need to repress it. This paper sets forth an account of that repression.

Church and State in the Soviet Union: 1917–46

Situated primarily in western Ukraine, which the Soviets forcibly annexed from Poland in 1939, the Ukrainian Catholic Church traces its modern lineage to the 1596 Union of Brest, through which it affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church while preserving its Byzantine form of worship and spirituality. Thus, unlike the Russian Orthodox Church or

the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church that arose after the revolution in eastern Ukraine, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has looked to the West, recognizing the authority of the Pope from its inception.

Western Ukraine poses a particular problem for the Soviet regime, since, according to Soviet sources, nearly half of the officially permitted religious congregations in the Soviet Union are located there.² In addition, there are many unofficial groups which include Ukrainian Catholics. Furthermore, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has served as a focus for the development of a distinct Ukrainian national and cultural identity in western Ukraine. Not surprisingly, these characteristics have marked the church in Soviet eyes.

In its first years the Soviet regime attacked all religious institutions, accusing them of political opposition to the regime and collusion with its internal and external enemies. All religious groups suffered from discriminatory Soviet legislation, beginning with the Soviet Decree of February 5, 1918, on the Separation of Church From State and School From Church. The new laws transferred all church property, including all houses of worship, to the state. Clergy and their families were stripped of their civil rights. Organized religious instruction of minors was made a criminal offense, and all theological schools were closed, as eventually were all monasteries and convents. The regime sponsored abusive antireligious campaigns which were accompanied by the harassment of believers and their

exclusion from all positions of importance.

During the 1920s, however, the regime shifted its tactics in the direction of “sovietization” of individual churches and sects. “Disloyal” religious leaders were replaced by others who were willing to accept a platform of loyalty to the Soviet state and were prepared to submit to far-reaching controls over the external and internal activities of their groups. By 1927 these conditions were accepted by the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church in return for a limited and uncertain tolerance; but the price was the alienation of many Orthodox bishops, clergy, and believers who considered such a compromise with the atheist state to be incompatible with the integrity and spiritual mission of their church.

These early won concessions did not last long, however. By 1929 Stalin’s regime had embarked on a violent, widespread antireligious campaign. More and more churches and prayer houses of all faiths were closed down by the authorities, often on the basis of fabricated “demands of workers.” Growing numbers of bishops and clergy were banished, imprisoned, or executed. This situation worsened during the late 1930s, culminating by the end of the decade in the near total suppression of institutional religion throughout the Soviet Union. Soviet authorities destroyed what remained of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church during this period, killing most of its bishops and many thousands of its followers.³ They also drew up plans for the liquida-

tion of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; these became reality with the Soviet acquisition in 1939 of western Ukraine and western Belorussia, which had large congregations of Catholics. With Soviet occupation, there immediately followed the abolition or state takeover of longstanding church institutions—including schools, seminaries, monasteries, and publishing houses—and the confiscation of all church properties and lands. Finally, as the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, Soviet secret police rounded up a large number of Ukrainian Catholic priests who were either murdered or deported to the east.

Following the Nazi attack on the U.S.S.R., Stalin altered substantially his tactics toward religious communities. Fearing for the very survival of the Soviet regime, he reduced antireligious propaganda and offered significant concessions to the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as other denominations, in the hope of harnessing all the potential of the Soviet Union in its struggle against Nazi Germany. But with the Soviet reoccupation of Ukraine in 1944, repression of Ukrainian Catholics, already suffering under Nazi occupation, was resumed once again, culminating in the official "liquidation" of the church in 1946.

Liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, 1946

From the very beginning of the Soviet reoccupation of western Ukraine, measures aimed at liquidating the Ukrainian Catholic Church were undertaken. In the winter of 1944-45, Soviet authorities summoned Catholic clergy to "reeducation" sessions conducted by the secret police, the NKVD. On April 5, 1945, the Soviet media began an anti-Catholic campaign. Then on April 11, 1945, the NKVD began arresting the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy of western Ukraine, including the secular and monastic clergy—a program that would last for the next 5 years. Along with Metropolitan Yosyf Slipyj, the NKVD arrested Bishop Nykyta Budka, the Vicar General of the Metropolitan; Gregory Khomyshyn, the Bishop of Stanislav, and his Auxiliary Bishop, John Ljatshevsky; Paul Goydych, the Bishop of Priashiv, and his Auxiliary Bishop, Basil Hopko; Bishop Nicholas Charnetsky, Apostolic Visitor of Volyn; Monsignor Peter Verhun, Apostolic Visitor for Ukrainian emigrants in Germany; and Josaphat Kotsylovsky, the Bishop of Peremyshl, and his Auxiliary Bishop, Gregory Lakota. (All but one of these either died

in prison or died shortly thereafter, their health ruined by the abuse they had suffered; only Metropolitan Slipyj, through the efforts of Pope John XXIII, was finally released from prison in 1963 and allowed to leave for Rome.) According to eyewitnesses, in Lvov alone there were about 800 priests imprisoned at that time; and in Chortkov about 150 priests from the district of Ternopol were deported to Siberia.⁴

Meanwhile, in late May 1945, as these mass arrests of Catholic clergy were being carried out, Soviet authorities sponsored the so-called Initiating Committee for the Reunification of the Greek Catholic Church With the Russian Orthodox Church. This was a preparatory committee, which subsequently convened a pseudosynod—the authorities proclaimed it a "Sobor"—in Lvov on March 8-10, 1946. In that "Sobor" an end was proclaimed to the 1596 Union of Brest, and the Ukrainian Catholic Church was declared "reunified" with the Russian Orthodox Church.

This entire exercise was planned and guided by Soviet authorities. Knowledge of the "Sobor" was withheld from the public; no advance election of delegates was held, and only 216 clerics and 19 laymen—allegedly representing the

Ukrainian Catholic Church—brought about "reunification." Not surprisingly, the NKVD was entrusted with the task of coercing the remaining Catholic clergy to join the Russian Orthodox Church.

Both the Vatican and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the West have refused to recognize this forced reunification, considering it to be uncanonical and illegal: according to Catholic and traditional Russian Orthodox canon law, to be valid, a synod must be called by the Pope or by a patriarch and must be attended by bishops. Yet Soviet authorities consider this "Sobor" and its decisions binding on all Ukrainian Catholics in the U.S.S.R. to this day.⁵ The protests of almost 300 Ukrainian clerics and the 1946 and 1952 encyclicals of Pope Pius XII in defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church have gone unheeded. Moreover, the same fate met the Catholic Church in Transcarpathia, a part of Czechoslovakia incorporated into the Ukrainian S.S.R. at the end of World War II, where the Mukachiv eparchy was liquidated and subordinated to the Russian Orthodox Church in 1947. Its bishop, Theodor Romza, was killed.⁶

The following table, comparing the situation of the Ukrainian Catholic

Church prior to World War II with the situation in 1950, offers a graphic picture of the losses suffered by the church from its forced reunion.⁷

The Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Catacombs

Forty years after the official abolition of their church, Ukrainian Catholic communities continue to exist in the Soviet Union, as even Soviet sources attest. The most telling evidence of the survival of the Catholic Church is to be found in Soviet propaganda, which wages a vigorous campaign against the church through books, pamphlets, periodicals, television programs, movies, lectures, and exhibits, all designed to falsify the historical record, defame Catholic leaders and clergy, and intimidate church members. To this day, the great Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, who led his church for four and one-half decades (1900-44), saving the lives of thousands of Jews during World War II, is maligned by Soviet officials.

At the outset, the priests of the Catacomb Church were those who did not rejoin Russian orthodoxy during the 1945-49 period but remained Catholics, giving up any public exercise of their clerical duties. After 1946, a significant portion of Catholic laymen continued to depend on the services of these "illegal" priests and monks, whose numbers increased after the mid-1940s with the return of what the Soviets called "recalcitrant" clergymen—those who had completed their sentences or had benefited from the post-Stalin amnesties.

The hope that de-Stalinization would lead to the restoration of the Ukrainian Catholic Church produced a marked intensification of covert Catholic activities. By the late 1950s, however, as more and more "converts" to the church began to repudiate orthodoxy, communist authorities dispelled any hope for a change in official policy toward the church by arresting even more priests and unleashing a new wave of anti-Catholic propaganda. Notwithstanding this widespread antireligious campaign, the number of priests increased in western Ukraine in the 1950s and thereafter, due in part to secret ordinations in exile. In addition, the existence of secret theological "seminaries" in Ternopol and Kolomyia was reported in the Soviet press in the 1960s in connection with the arrests of their organizers.

Today, the underground Catholic Church is said to embrace hundreds of priests, headed by a number of secret bishops working under the authority of

their primate in Rome. Religious women in orders working throughout Ukraine number more than 1,000. Many former Catholic and non-Orthodox priests have retained a spiritual allegiance to the Pope as well, while others have taken up civilian professions and continue to celebrate the sacraments in private. A certain number of Ukrainian Catholic priests live in exile outside western Ukraine or as free settlers in Siberia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, and eastern Ukraine, often serving their faithful from afar. Members of religious communities and monastic orders have maintained close contact with each other, and most have remained faithful to their vows. In 1974, a clandestine Catholic convent was uncovered by police in Lvov.

Almost invariably, these clergymen and monastics hold full-time secular jobs or have retired from such employment. The identities of the older clergy seem to be known to the Soviet police, who frequently subject them to searches, interrogations, and fines but stop short of arrests unless they have extended their activities beyond a narrow circle of friends in private homes. It appears, however, that Soviet authorities are much more ruthless in dealing with new, secretly ordained priests.

In 1968, apparently in connection with the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, the harassment of "recalcitrant" clergy escalated into a large-scale campaign against "illegal" Ukrainian Catholic clergy. Many of these clergymen were subjected to searches, interrogations, fines, and beatings. In January 1969, the KGB arrested an underground Catholic bishop named Vasyl Velychkovskiy and two Catholic priests, sentencing them to 3-years imprisonment for alleged violations of the "law on cults."

Religious activities that are "illegal" when performed by Catholic priests or members include holding religious services; educating children in the Catholic faith; performing baptisms, wedding rites, and funerals; hearing confessions; anointing the ill; copying religious materials; and possessing prayer books, icons, church calendars, religious books, and other sacred objects. Soviet sources reveal numerous examples of arrests for such activities. One is the case of Reverend Ivan Kryvy, who was arrested in 1973 for organizing the printing of a Ukrainian Catholic prayer book (actually a reprint of a prayer book published in Canada in 1954) in three consecutive editions (1969, 1971, and 1972) totaling 3,500 copies. The work was done by two employees of the Lvov state printing shop who also were arrested in 1973

together with another person involved in the distribution of these materials. In the same manner, the clandestine printers also produced 150 copies of a "Carol and Church Songs" book and 150 copies of the "Missal."

The most active lay people and clergy of the "illegal" church have tried to use legal means to defend their church. By 1956-57, there were cases in which believers had tried to legalize their Ukrainian Catholic communities according to Soviet law by petitioning the proper authorities to permit their parish congregations to operate openly. A number of such petitions were sent in the late 1960s and early 1970s, including an appeal from the Ukrainian Catholics of the city of Stryi, which reached the West in 1972. All of these petitions were refused. In 1976 a Ukrainian Catholic priest named Reverend Volodymyr Prokopiv was arrested for accompanying a delegation of Ukrainians to Moscow with such a petition, signed by a large number of Catholics from the Lvov region. The Soviet response to these petitions has been to sharpen repressive measures against the activist clergy, monastics, and lay people and to intensify their propaganda.

In recent years, the cause of persecuted Ukrainian Catholics has been taken up by the dissident movement in Ukraine. Since 1970, the movement's organ, the *Ukrainian Herald*, has carried accounts of the harassment, searches, arrests, and trials of Catholics and has editorially condemned "wanton liquidation" of the church as "illegal and unconstitutional." A leading Ukrainian dissident, historian Valentyn Moroz, devoted part of his *Chronicle of Resistance* to the nation-building role of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in western Ukraine; he equated the regime's anti-Catholic struggle with an attack upon "the spiritual structure of the nation."

Lithuanian Catholic dissidents also have raised their voices in recent years. In their petitions to Soviet authorities and in their underground *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, they have joined Ukrainian dissidents in calling for the lifting of the illegal ban on the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Likewise, in September 1974, a leading Russian Orthodox dissident named Anatoliy Levitin-Krasnov appealed to Sakharov's human rights committee in Moscow to raise its voice in defense of Ukrainian Catholics and other persecuted religious groups. "The Union in Western Ukraine," wrote Levitin-Krasnov, "is a massive popular movement. Its persecution means not only

Situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

Number in 1939	Losses Suffered by 1950
Dioceses	4 All dioceses liquidated.
Territory of Apostolic Visitor	1 Liquidated.
Bishops	8 All imprisoned, condemned, died in prison, killed, or exiled.
Parishes	2,772 Taken over by the Russian Orthodox Church; some liquidated.
Churches and chapels	4,119 Taken over by the Russian Orthodox Church or closed.
Monasteries and convents	142 Confiscated and closed by the authorities; a few transferred to the Russian Orthodox Church.
Other church institutions	All liquidated.
Secular priests	2,638 Fewer than half forced into Russian Orthodox Church; others imprisoned or in hiding.
Monastic clergy	164 Dispersed, imprisoned together with three Provincial Superiors.
Brothers	193 Dispersed or imprisoned.
Seminarians	229 Dispersed or refugees.
Nuns	580 Dispersed.
Faithful	4,048,515 Many imprisoned or deported for their faith; majority resisting passively.

religious oppression, but also restriction of the national rights of Western Ukraine."⁸

Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine

At the beginning of 1984, a group of Ukrainian Catholics began to publish and disseminate a *samizdat* publication, the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church*. To date, *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* in Munich has received and broadcast nine numbered issues of the *Chronicle* plus one special issue. The 10th edition of the *Chronicle* was published in June 1986 and had a significant change in title: *Chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Catacombs*. The *Chronicle* is published by members of the "Initiative Group for the Defense of the Right of Believers and the Church in Ukraine," which was established in 1982 and spearheads the campaign of Ukrainian Catholics for the legalization of their church.⁹

It was the years of abortive demands by believers that authorities legalize the activities of the Catholic Church in western Ukraine that brought about the emergence of an organized human rights movement among believers. In early 1982 the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics was formed, and Yosyf Terelya was elected its chairman. In a statement about the formation of the Initiative Group, addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Terelya wrote:

This was the response of Ukrainian Catholics to increasing repression against the Ukrainian Catholic Church. From now on, all information about the Ukrainian Catholic Church will be passed on for scrutiny by the world public. The Catholics of the world should know and be reminded in what conditions we exist.¹⁰

The first three issues of the *Chronicle* are varied, although they deal largely with the lives of believers—Catholics, Orthodox, Baptists, Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh-Day Adventists—giving accounts of repressive measures taken against them and naming the camps and psychiatric hospitals in which they are confined. The journals also devote considerable attention to the sociopolitical situation in Ukraine and discuss such diverse subjects as the Raoul Wallenberg case, Russification, and the Polish workers' movement. Most of the information contained in the *Chronicle*, however, relates to the lives of members of the banned Ukrainian Catholic Church, especially to violations of their human rights. These journals underscore the needs of the peo-

ple to worship freely in their own rite, to have their own churches with free access to them, and to have their own priests and their own language.¹¹

The founder of the Initiative Group and moving force behind the *Chronicle*, Yosyf Terelya, was arrested on February 8, 1985, and sentenced on August 20, 1985, to 7 years imprisonment and 5 years exile for his religious activities. He had already spent years in various camps, prisons, and psychiatric institutions. He is currently serving his sentence in Camp #36 near Kuchino, the so-called death camp where, since May 1984, four prominent Ukrainian prisoners have died—Ukrainian Helsinki Monitors Vasyly Stus, Oleska Tykhy, Yuriy Lytvyn, and journalist Valeriy Marchenko.

Terelya's successor as chairman of the Initiative Group, Vasyly Kobryn, also was sentenced in March 1985 to 3 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet slander." The plight of Terelya and Kobryn is just one example of the persecution of countless numbers of Ukrainian Catholics who have suffered harassment, illegal searches, beatings, and arrests solely because of their attempts to practice their religious beliefs.

Grounds for Repression

Clearly, the Ukrainian Catholic faithful who were driven underground following the forced 1946 "reunion" have posed an especially complicated problem for Soviet authorities. Enjoying massive support from believers in the western Ukraine, as well as from the strong Ukrainian Catholic diaspora in the West, the faithful have survived despite repeated repressive measures. They have survived both within the formal Orthodox Church—so-called secret Catholics—and as an "illegal" church with a succession of its own bishops and a network of secular and monastic clergy, performing clandestine religious rites in private homes, at cemeteries, and even in officially "closed" churches. Among young people, in particular, there has been a growing acceptance of religious traditions and symbols as important links with the past and as integral elements of national culture.

The reaction of the regime has been to renew its emphasis on mass, antireligious propaganda, especially in western Ukraine. Conferences have been organized on the subject of perfecting the methodology to combat Ukrainian Catholicism in western Ukraine.¹² Numerous publications have appeared that attempt to discredit the union of the

congregations in Ukraine and what is now Belorussia with Rome in 1596; these go to great pains to prove the allegations that the Catholic Church conducted activities that were directed against the population of Ukraine during the first half of the 20th century.

The growth of interest in Ukrainian Catholicism has to be understood in relation to the general rise of interest in religion, spiritual values, and ethics among the younger generation in Ukraine. Complaints by Soviet officials and their publications attest to this revival. A letter by an avowed atheist published as part of an article on religious belief and atheist propaganda in a 1984 issue of *Nauka i Religiya* (*Science and Religion*) states:

If you could only imagine how difficult it is for us atheists in Ukraine. For many years now, I have been involved in the thankless propagandizing task of Soviet ritualism. I have ploughed through mountains of literature, observed, pondered, and spent many hours in the churches where religious rites are practiced. I have come to the conclusion that Soviet official statistics are very far from reality.¹³

The problem of religious practices in western Ukraine also was raised by the first secretary of the Lvov Komsomol, Oleksiy Babychuk:

... in this oblast, particularly in the rural areas, a large number of the population adheres to religious practices, among them a large proportion of youth. In the last few years, the activity of the Uniates [Ukrainian Catholics] has grown, that of representatives of the Uniates as well as former Uniate priests; there are even reverberations to renew the overt activity of this Church.¹⁴

Another important factor in the steady growth of interest in Catholicism in Ukraine has been the proximity of the Solidarity movement and the election of a Slavic Pope. It is worth noting that for some years now the Polish dissident movement—particularly members of Solidarity—has supported Ukraine's quest for self-determination in its official statements and publications and, conversely, members of the dissident movement in the Ukraine, like Vasyly Stus and Yosyf Terelya, have praised Solidarity in their activities. In an open letter, published in 1981 in the journal of Catholic opposition in Poland, *Spotkanie*, Ukrainian Catholics registered their joy on the occasion of the election of Cardinal Wojtyla as Pope.¹⁵

At the same time, Soviet authorities have launched a related propaganda campaign in Ukraine, disseminating publications that criticize the Vatican's support for believers in Soviet-bloc countries. The mass media also has stepped up its attacks on Pope John Paul II,

especially his support of Ukrainian Catholics.¹⁶ The antireligious journal *Liudyna i Svit* (*Man and the World*), published in Kiev, stated the following:

Proof that the Church is persistently striving to strengthen its political influence in socialist countries is witnessed by the fact that Pope John Paul II gives his support to the emigre hierarchy of the so-called Ukrainian Catholic Church. The current tactic of Pope John Paul II and the Roman Curia lies in the attempts to strengthen the position of the Church in all socialist countries as they have done in Poland, where the Vatican tried to raise the status of the Catholic Church to a state within a state. In the last few years, the Vatican has paid particular attention to the question of Catholicism in the Slavonic nations. This is poignantly underscored by the Pope when he states that he is not only a Pope of Polish origin, but the first Slavic Pope, and he will pay particular attention to the Christianization of all Slavic nations.¹⁷

These same themes were stressed at a 1981 symposium in Bratislava for specialists in antireligious propaganda in the Warsaw Pact countries. One of the papers dealing with Ukrainian Catholicism stated the following:

Pope John Paul II has approved certain additional measures, directed in support of the Uniates. . . . [The] Head of the Vatican underscored his "dedication" to the Uniates by approving the claims of Cardinal Slipij to represent and speak on behalf of all the faithful of the Western province of the Ukrainian S.S.R.¹⁸

However, Ukrainian Catholicism, seen as the strongest and most representative exponent of cultural and spiritual ties with the West, remains an obstacle to the Soviet goal of creating a single Soviet people. The Soviet regime has officially liquidated the church and also has attempted to erase it from historic memory. To enable Moscow to achieve its goals, all signs of the religion's ongoing revival are continuously repressed.

¹²See note 4.

¹³*Voprosy nauchnogo ateizma*, publication no. 24, Moscow, 1979, p. 46. *Stanooveniia i rozvytok masovoho ateizmu v zakhidnykh oblastakh Ukrainy SSR*, (Kiev, 1981), p. 51.

¹⁴Soviet repression and liquidation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in eastern Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s was a portent of its later repression and liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in western Ukraine. Shortly after the revolution, a number of Ukrainian Orthodox bishops separated themselves from the Russian Patriarchal Church, creating in 1920 an

independent Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church. By 1924, the church embraced 30 bishops, 1,500 priests and deacons, and 1,100 parishes in the Ukrainian S.S.R. From 1922, however, Soviet authorities began imposing restrictions on the Autocephalous Church, attempting to split it from within by supporting a splinter faction. In 1926 they arrested its Metropolitan, Basil Lypkivsky, along with a number of other leaders and ordered the dissolution of its central body, the All Ukrainian Church Council. Then in 1929, massive repressive measures were taken against the bishops, clergy, and faithful, culminating in the dissolution of the church in 1930. The remnant of the church was allowed to reconstitute itself at the end of 1930 but was progressively decimated until the last parish was suppressed in 1936. According to Ukrainian Orthodox sources, two metropolitans of the church, 26 archbishops and bishops, some 1,150 priests, 54 deacons, and approximately 20,000 lay members of the church councils as well as an undetermined number of the faithful were all killed. See *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, University of Toronto Press, pp. 170-71.

¹⁵*Analecta O.S.B.M., First Victims of Communism White Book on the Religious Persecution in Ukraine* (Rome, 1953) pp. 42-44. This book was composed by Ukrainian Catholic priests resident in Rome; it was translated from Italian with Ecclesiastical Approval.

¹⁶See, for example, K. Kharchev, Chairman of the Council of Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, in an interview for the *Warsaw weekly, Prawo i zycie*, February 8, 1986, p. 13. The current stand of the Russian Orthodox Church regarding the Lvov "Sobor" is presented in detail in "The Moscow Patriarchate and the Liquidation of the Eastern Rite Catholic Church in Ukraine," *Religion in Communist Lands*, Vol. 13, No. 2, Summer 1985, pp. 182-188. Compare the article of Metropolitan Nikodim of Lvov and Ternopol, published in *Visti z Ukrainy*, No. 5, January 1986, with the article in *Moskovskyye novosti*, No. 22, June 1986, and the article of K. Dmytruk in *Radianska Ukraina*, May 31, 1986.

¹⁷*Analecta, First Victims*, pp. 30-59.

¹⁸*Soviet Persecution of Religion in Ukraine*, Human Rights Commission World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Toronto, 1976, p. 28.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

²⁰Because of the potential for intentionally planted disinformation, it is impossible to be certain that all items in the *Chronicle* were written by or reflect the opinions of Ukrainian Catholics in Ukraine today. However, enough of the facts have been substantiated by other sources to make the *Chronicle* on the whole a credible source of information about the true status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

²¹Yosyf Terelya, "Declaration to the CC CPU on the formation of the Initiative Group

of the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine," *Arkhiv Samizdata* (AS) 4897, *Radio Liberty*, Munich, 1983.

²²On the *Chronicle*, see *Radio Liberty* 3085, "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine," January 7, 1985, Bohdan Nahaylo, "The Church Rumbling Beneath the Kremlin," *The Times*, January 12, 1985, Maxine Pollack, "KGB Crackdown in the Ukraine," *The Sunday Times*, January 25, 1985, Bohdan Nahaylo, "Persecuted Ukrainian Catholics Speak Out," *The Wall Street Journal* (European edition), February 18, 1985; Ivan Mhul, "La resistance tenace des catholiques clandestins d'Ukraine," *Le Monde*, March 1, 1985; George Zarycky, "Soviet Journal on Religious Dissent May Embarrass Kremlin," *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 6, 1985, *Radio Liberty* 71185, "Moscow Still Putting Pressure on Ukrainian Catholics to Break with Rome," March 8, 1985, and *Radio Liberty* 101185, "First Issue of New Samizdat Journal Put Out by Ukrainian Catholics (Uniates)," March 26, 1985.

²³In November 1982 a conference was held in Kiev on the topic "The Anti-Communist Essence of Uniate-Nationalistic Falsification of the History of the Ukrainian Nation," (*Liudyna i Svit*, No. 2, February 1983, p. 21). Toward the end of 1983, in the city of Kalush, Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, a conference was held dealing with "Uniatism and Ukrainian Bourgeois-Nationalism," (*Liudyna i Svit*, No. 1, January 1984, p. 33). In April 1985 a conference was held in Lvov on "Critique of the Catholic Uniate Ideology in Atheist Propaganda," (*Nauka i Religiya*, No. 11, November 1985, p. 34).

²⁴*Nauka i Religiya*, Moscow, No. 10, October 1984, p. 11.

²⁵*Ibid.*, No. 1, January 1985, p. 10.

²⁶Ivan Hvat, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Vatican and the Soviet Union. During the Pontificate of Pope John Paul II," *Religion in Communist Lands*, Vol. 11, No. 3, (Winter 1983), pp. 264-280.

²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 277-278; See also L. F. Shevtsov, *Sotsializm i katolitsizm*, (Moscow: Nauka, 1982), p. 39.

²⁸I. Tykhonov, "Catholic Church: New Trends, Old Goals," (in Ukrainian) *Liudyna i Svit*, No. 10, October 1982, pp. 53-54.

²⁹B. Lobovik, I. Myhovich, "Zlopoestne tene minulosti," *Ateizmus*, No. 4, Bratislava, 1981, pp. 361-469.

Published by the United States Department of State - Bureau of Public Affairs Office of Public Communication - Editorial Division - Washington, D.C. - January 1987 Editor: Colleen Sussman - This material is in the public domain and may be reproduced without permission; citation of this source is appreciated.

Introduction.

The controversy surrounding the millennium of Eastern Slavic Christianity has taken on more than a religious dimension, and has become submerged within nationalist claims by both Ukrainians and Russians, as well as the immorality of the Russian Orthodox Church promoting and supporting the Soviet foreign policy goals of a Communist and atheistic state. Metropolitan Filaret of Ukraine has sent an appeal to the "so-called Ukrainian Orthodox Church" and emigre Russian Orthodox Church to join him in the millennium celebrations. But no mention was made by Filaret of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The Ukrainian Communist Party boss, wrote in Pravda that, "the interest of the public, and particularly of young people, in questions of culture and history" had intensified, and that, "interest in Kiev and its unique monuments are growing, particularly in connection with the forthcoming millennium of the introduction of christianity in Rus". Radio Kiev discussed the millennium committees formed by emigres and it believed that, "there is nothing bad in this. Indeed, there wouldn't be anything bad if they genuinely immersed themselves in religious matters". The historian claimed that, "denying the Russian Orthodox Church the right to mark the jubilee, really ignores all historical facts...In all this one can see a poorly disguised attempt by the leadership of the Ukrainian Catholic Church abroad to sow the seeds of national disunity among the fraternal Slav peoples of the Soviet Union..."

The Ukrainian Catholic Church.

But it is the Ukrainian religious situation, and, in particular, the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which brought to public attention the hypocrisy of the millennium celebrations, which prevent four of the largest Churches in the USSR - the Ukrainian and Belorussian Orthodox and Catholic - from participating in them. The Ukrainian Catholic problem is not new, but received a large injection of enthusiasm after the "first Slavic Pope" was elected in 1979. One of his first acts was to call upon Ukrainian Catholics to prepare for the forthcoming millennium. Two years later, Voprosy Nauchnogo Ateizma complained that, "the growing efforts of the Vatican and clerical-nationalist centres abroad to influence the population of the

Ukrainian SSR and negative tendencies in the activity of the Catholic clergy and the remnants of Uniatism have called for an expansion of aggressive counter-propaganda activity from party committees, soviet organs and ideological institutions". To the Soviets, the new Pope was an "apostle of anti-communism".

Since the formation of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights and Believers of the Church in Ukraine in 1982 there has been greater activity in support of legalisation. Between 1984-1988 the Group published the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine which has over 30 issues to date. But, the Soviet response to this campaign has not altered under Gorbachev with Izvestiya levelling the usual claims about the Uniate Church having faithfully served the Polish gentry and Nazis, whilst claiming that today, "no Ukrainian Catholic Church exists in our country as a religious association". No mention is made of the Russian Orthodox Church having faithfully served the Tsarist regime and ruling class. Izvestiya calls Western support for the Uniate Church, "interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state" and claims that it is, "associated with the present anti-soviet, anticommunist activity of foreign Uniates and banderites".

Despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary the Russian Orthodox Church and Soviet authorities are at one in continuing to claim that the Uniate Church, "does not enjoy even the slightest support among the believers who live in the western oblasts of Ukraine. Nor has it suitable soil for existence", according to Archimandrite Marko of Pochayev Lavra, Ternopil region. He also claimed that, "The Uniate cause does not interest anybody here for another reason; the believers enjoy normal conditions for satisfying their spiritual needs... The Uniate case is absolutely alien and remote from us, the younger ones". Yet, Metropolitan Filaret of Ukraine admitted in Kiev in October last year that the Ukrainian Catholic Church does have a "few thousand faithful". As the Committee to Defend the Ukrainian Catholic Church pointed out, this is the first time in decades that the Russian Orthodox Church has admitted to the existence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as "de facto". A newspaper for Ukrainians abroad, nevertheless still argued that, "In truth these Church organisations (Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox) do not exist in the Odessa or Crimean catacombs, nor in the caves of the Ternopil region or in the underground in other regions of Ukraine, but only abroad".

Radyanska Ukraina reported that a survey had been conducted among pupils of the sixth grade on the subject of "Atheistic Upbringing", which claimed that 82 percent had a "negative" attitude towards religion. The remainder either refused to reveal their attitudes towards religion or answered with the words, "I believe a little, but don't know why?" In answer to the question, "What is your attitude towards your friends who wear crosses or Stars of David around their necks", only 50 percent replied "negatively". 25 percent meanwhile, replied that they saw nothing unusual with it. Further questions indicated that 20 percent thought that religion was not socially harmful .

The eighth issue of the samizdat journal Ukrainian Herald also discussed the findings of a similar survey. According to the Ukrainian Herald, last year at the suggestion of the Plenipotentiary for Religious Affairs within the Council of Ministers the Institute of Social Sciences at the Academy of Sciences carried out a survey in Ukraine entitled, "An Analysis of the general ideas people have on religion and atheism" which was to be only for "internal use". The questionnaires answered in Western Ukraine revealed that in one region alone, Ternopil, up to 20 percent of respondents stated that they were members of a Church that does not officially exist - the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The editors of the Ukrainian Herald stated that, "If one takes into account that many people are afraid to openly state their religious confession, one could easily triple this number". In a letter received from Ukraine the author also believes that, "All declarations of the Ukrainian Catholic Church would be signed by millions of people were it not for the fear of reprisal, dismissal from work or worse things that are rooted here".

In the Kiev monthly atheist journal Lyudyna i Svit the lead article calls for a complete restructuring of atheist propaganda, and to disassociate "scientific atheism" from "vulgar atheism" (although the latter has been the predominate form until now). The article states that the consequences of atheism's outdated approach has been few young people taking it seriously or participating in the ranks of atheist lecturers: "it is no secret that the number of young people among believers has grown recently. Indeed, the adherents of new, "nontraditional" religions are entirely the youth! As seen by young people, atheism has simply become old fashioned; it is the view of grandfathers and grandmothers".

In Sobesednik a young Ukrainian Catholic challenges the Komsomol to a debate about religion. A former Komsomol member himself, he found the meetings "boring". Although he would be prepared to die for his faith he does not believe that many Komsomol members would. He ends his letter by saying, "your silence on this subject will be treated as a defeat and as an attempt at evading the truth". Vasyl Barladianu, from Odessa, replied to this letter in the 27th issue of the Chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. He believed that the Russian Orthodox Church will always be tied to the state authorities and this is precisely why she is weak in the face of militant atheism. P.Madiara also replied to Sobesednik in the 28th Chronicle. In his village there is a beautiful church that has been closed for decades because it is in "poor condition", yet it is still able to house a museum. Until 1949 it was served by a priest who, although not involved in politics, was killed. Today his photo hangs in every house and everybody in the village regards him as a "saint".

The apparition in western Ukraine in April 1987 on the anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster, which attracted over half a million visitors from as far away as Georgia, bore witness to the high level of Uniate support in western Ukraine. After Terelya visited the shrine he went from village to village giving talks and within one month 34 villages fell out from under Russian Orthodox control. The apparition also presented an ideological problem for the authorities. How should they present it? The solution was to allow Moscow News to objectively report it for foreign consumption, whilst the standard anti-Uniate attacks would be levelled in the specialist literature intended for domestic consumption. Another journal admitted that the apparition had attracted many young people from all over Ukraine and that large sums of money were "being naively" donated. Zhovten, in an attempt to downplay the apparition, claimed that, "immediately after the "miracle" at Hrushevi similar "sightings" were reported" in other regions of western Ukraine, "with precise regularity "in former unregistered Uniate chapels and Churches". The same issue of Zhovten discussed the "miracle" within the context of previous historical sightings of Our Lady in western Ukraine, which were organised, so it claimed, by "Uniate fanatics and extremists" who argue that, "to lose one's religion is national treachery, the loss of national originality, an anti-patriotic act".

Moscow News believed that Western radio stations can be included on the list of instigators, but, at the same time, admitted: "But would the

broadcasts have been of much use if they didn't land on well-prepared ground?" Lyudyna i Svit was more abusive, talking of "Uniate radio-diversionists": "Who can guarantee that tomorrow there will not be another 'miracle'? Day and night diversionary western radio stations are instigating listeners, pushing the remnants of pro-Uniate feelings among believers towards extremist acts..." Moscow News believed that the, "Virgin Mary was seen because people very much wanted to see her". The "well-prepared ground" included the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and in the words of one mother: "my son's in Afghanistan. I can't sleep at night. My heart aches for him- how's he doing, what's happening to him?"

Whereas Moscow News talked sympathetically of those campaigning for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church "with full legal rights", they "inevitably meet with refusals". In the Ternopil region alone last year, 120 complaints for registration were sent to the authorities. Moscow News criticised "extremist atheists" who think they can defend atheism, "by violating the law and trampling on believers rights. The result was the explosion of religious fervour..." Moscow News asked what has happened to the "closed Churches?": "The doors are smashed, the walls are crumbling and fragments of stone, rubbish and dirt lie everywhere. Such deserted, uncared-for monuments of the past (there are quite a few of them in Galicia) do not spread atheism, but, on the contrary, spark off religious feelings". According to Iosyp Terelya, last year the authorities destroyed or converted Ukrainian Catholic Churches for other uses in more than 120 towns and villages in Ukraine.

In August last year 206 Ukrainian Catholics, including underground bishops, priests, monks, nuns and laity signed a declaration to the Pope, that in connection with the forthcoming millennium of Christianity in Ukraine: "We believe, that there is no reason to continue our existence underground and we therefore ask you to use all your means to legalise the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR". Reuters reported that 3 Ukrainian Catholic activists had arrived in Moscow to hand in a petition to the Supreme Soviet. The document pointed out that despite glasnost, repression against their Church had intensified. Some Ukrainian Catholic activists, such as Reverend Mykhailo Havryliv, whose memoirs were published in the West last year, was drafted into the Soviet army and sent to do clean-up work at Chernobyl, despite priests being exempt from conscription. They told of the deliberate destruction of religious relics and attempts at making the millennium a purely Russian affair. Their petition was signed by 1543

ordinary citizens. "The Ukrainian Catholic Church has become an integral part of the spiritual and national heritage of the Ukrainian people...In the past four centuries people have tried to polinise, germanise and russify us, but all such efforts have ended in utter failure. Stalin's tyranny drove us into the catacombs, but the Church is alive", the appeal read.

The full text of the appeal entitled "The Ukrainian Catholic Church: The Catacombs and Alternatives", dated December 1987 by the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church states that in Eastern Ukraine, where there was no Uniate Church, "...a spiritual wilderness grew to immense proportions: godlessness on a massive scale, national nihilism and totalitarian russification." The reason why the Uniate Church has been so persecuted by the Tsarist and Soviet regimes is because it was always "independent of the state" and a "bastion in preserving national consciousness". Like with all Ukrainian Catholic samizdat, the authors dispute the "legality" of the 1946 sobor which "unified" the Uniate and Russian Orthodox Churches: "...the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is seen by us as the continuation of the policy of genocide against the Ukrainian people, initiated by Stalin..." Persecution of the Uniate Church, they claim, has increased under Gorbachev.

In a telephone interview from Moscow with Radio Liberty, Ivan Hel told them that in february he had gone to Moscow with another 5451 signatures on a petition but, this time, the authorities had refused to accept it. He said that the campaign to collect more signatures would continue, with people spontaneously collecting names and taking them to Moscow. He now believed that there were already over 10,000 signatures, with one village alone collecting 1500 and drafting a 10 page appeal. In the December, 1987 appeal the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church stated that, "not less than 100,000 signatures will be collected of active Church goers. It will not be a problem as there are ten times more believers". Ivan Hel pointed out that the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is not their only problem, "but also the question of the national serfdom, enrichment of the spritual independence of our nation, because she is in a very dire situation". The Italian newspaper Il Messaggero reported on Ivan Hel's trip to Moscow, who told them that Ukrainian Catholics were planning "spectacular celebrations" for the millennium this summer and have begun publishing a new samizdat journal- Khrystiansky Holos. Hel also stated that

the authorities had replied, "that as far as they were concerned we did not exist and should, therefore disband ourselves".

An open letter addressed to the representatives of the states participating in the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe from the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. They state that, "Today Stalin's policies are officially rejected. But only on paper. Look at us, for almost half a century we have been forced to live underground..." They add that, "A well worked-out policy of ethnocide is being implemented" against them, which, "resorts to immoral and illegal methods: provocation in the press, radio and television, dismissal from work, fines; at the same time we are exposed to sordid defamation as well as questioning, imprisonment and exile".

The authors of the letter point to the "infamous role" played in this policy by the Russian Orthodox Church, "which is an instrument of orthodoxation and russification". A major demand of dissident Ukrainian Catholics is that of being free to pray in their own language. They call upon the review conference to:

- include a discussion on the situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.
- not to sign any joint documents before the Ukrainian Catholic Church is legalised.
- in the event of a refusal, decline to hold the next conference in Moscow.

The unofficial-Moscow based journal Referendum, in its sixth issue, has published an article entitled "Will the Ukrainian Catholic Church be legalised?" by Father Georgiy Edelshtein. "The unlawful persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church had two consequences; first a favourable climate was set up for nationalist propaganda, secondly it facilitated the development of sectarian groups, which were in a better position to gather illegally than either Catholic or Orthodox believers," the author claims. While article 52 of the 1977 constitution states: "It is forbidden to incite animosity and hatred in connection with religious beliefs," in reality Soviet official publications during the last 40 years have invariably created a belief that Ukrainian Catholics are "agents of world imperialism and fascism" and that during World War II they were "German agents and policemen..." Reminding readers of the approaching Millennium the article says that Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics and Orthodox Russians should all say with equal rights: "It is our Celebration."

Similar sentiments have been echoed in a letter to Gorbachev by Father Petro Zeleniuk who believed that glasnost cannot exclude the plight of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. As a member of the Khrystiansky Holos editorial board and member of the Committee in defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, he has been threatened with arrest if he did not halt his activities. Keston College reported that on the feast of Epiphany Communist activists and officials broke down the doors of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which he had illegally opened where he was celebrating mass and handed it over to the Russian Orthodox Church.

The 9th issue of the samizdat journal Glasnost published a letter to Izvestiya by the Ukrainian dissident, Vitaliy Shevchenko, himself an atheist, which was never published. He criticised the Russian Orthodox usurpation of the millennium, and argued for the inclusion of Ukrainians and Belorussians. In both Ukraine and Belorussia the only legal Church is the Russian Orthodox, which is used as an instrument of russification. The Russian Orthodox Church does not publish literature in their languages and the authorities do not allow the import of Ukrainian and Belorussian religious literature from abroad. He called for the legalisation of both Ukrainian Churches.

The attitude of the Russian Orthodox Church has been criticised by Ukrainian and Russian religious dissidents. Iosyp Terelya was quoted as saying that, "in conversations with Soviet authorities he had been assured that the Orthodox Church was the main obstacle to legalisation of the Ukrainian Church". Terelya believed that, "If the Vatican wished to defend the rights of Ukrainian Catholics there could be no ecumenical contacts with the Russian Orthodox Church". A major reason for the attitude of the Russian Orthodox Church is the fact that between 50-80 percent of the income and congregation are derived from Ukraine, which would be lost if both Ukrainian Churches were legalised.

The attitude of many Ukrainian Catholics can be gauged by the following letter: "We harbour no hatred against the Orthodox, but we are deeply hurt by the fact that as soon as they take over a former Catholic Church they throw out the altar and replace it with a Russian Orthodox one and knock down crosses from the Church towers and replace them with 3-beamed Russian ones - recently they even did this to the cathedral in Uzhorod". The December, 1987 appeal rejected the notion that Russians could be blamed for the crimes committed against Ukrainians by the Soviet state but,

although the Russian Orthodox Church itself is "discriminated against", it nonetheless, "approved and took part in the decimation of the Church and in the partition and plundering of its property". In addition, the Russian Orthodox Church continues to, "help the repressive authorities to arrest and condemn priests and Ukrainian Catholic activists". The Russian Orthodox samizdat Bulletin of the Christian Community (no.3-4, 1987) has publicised the plight of Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox.

In June 1987 Stepan Khmara, a Ukrainian national and religious activist, wrote to Patriarch Pimen where he called the 1946 Synod "a theatrical show, orchestrated and initiated by the state, at which a handful of frightened and selfish upstarts adopted a 'doctrine' dictated by the authorities..." The synod was not recognised by the episcopate or the majority of Ukrainian Catholic priests: "All the bishops who did not submit to the Lviv Synod were liquidated and the Churches were taken away from the faithful", Father Zeleniuk added. In Khmara's view, and that of many Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox, the Russian Orthodox Church "played a shameful role". Khmara called upon Pimen to declare the Synod invalid, "acknowledge the injustice of the present attitude of the Russian Orthodox Church toward the Ukrainian Catholic Church" and "petition the Soviet authorities to restore the right of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to legal activity". In Khmara's view, "this is the only way to remove the stain of shame from the Russian hierarchy for its unjust activities towards the Ukrainian Catholic Church".

Both Soviet and samizdat sources testify to the high level of Christian devotion in Ukraine, where the only legal Church is the Russian Orthodox, which cooperates with the authorities in the continued suppression of the two largest illegal Churches in the USSR - the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic. Even Russian dissidents are critical of the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church for its alliance with the state. Ukrainians also look upon the Russian Orthodox Church critically because it allows the Church to promote Soviet nationality policy, namely russification. The main theme of this years millennium celebrations is "peace" and the endorsement of Gorbachev's foreign and strategic policies.

THE MILLENNIUM OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

On 29 April 1988 an unprecedented meeting took place between Mikhail Gorbachev and 6 hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church. This meeting, a

reflection of Gorbachev's 'new thinking', had a number of objectives. Firstly, the Russian Orthodox Church is again strongly identified with Russian history and nationalism, as a 'unifying' factor for "the whole of our (Soviet) people". Secondly, in line with attempts to improve their image of persecution of religion Gorbachev stated that, "Errors which occurred with regard to the church and believers in the 1930's and subsequent years are being corrected". Finally, the meeting aimed to harness a union of Church and state suited to the strategic goals of the new Soviet leadership both at home and abroad.

Although the Russian Orthodox Church has won important concessions for itself since 1985, such as the return of some monasteries and Churches and the release of only half religious prisoners of conscience, the authorities are evidently looking for an opportunity to change their approach without departing from Lenin's legacy. An editorial in the Party journal Kommunist in April surveyed Soviet religious policy since 1918 and talked only of "distortions" and "local excesses" in party policy during Stalin's day. But this neglects to mention that repression of religion began immediately two months after the bolshevik revolution, and therefore any suggestion of a return to "Leninist principles" would omit the terrible period of persecution that all Churches in the USSR underwent before Stalin's historic reconciliation in 1943. By 1939 99 percent of the clergy of the Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches had been annihilated. Under Lenin himself, over 8000 Orthodox clergymen were murdered. From a low of 1000 open Russian Orthodox Churches in 1943 this increased to 25,000 by Stalin's death (which represented half the pre-1917 level). Although glasnost today permits criticism of Stalin with respect to his religious policies, it still neglects to mention the vicious anti-religious drive under Khrushchev, which reduced the number of open Russian Orthodox Churches to 8000, because today Khrushchev is praised as a 'reformer' in Gorbachev's mould.

Any "return to Leninist norms" in Church-State relations also does not solve the problem of the status of the Soviet Union's two largest religious illegal denominations - the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic. Both of these Churches were destroyed during Stalin's day, but the Soviet leadership and the Russian Orthodox Church are at one in denying that any "local excesses" were committed against them. Since 1943, when Stalin turned to the decapitated Russian Orthodox Church for support in the war effort and to promote national unity, it has remained a pliant

pawn of the Soviet state apparatus. Indeed, the samizdat journal Glasnost recently published documents showing the long-term involvement of the KGB with the Russian Orthodox Church. Gorbachev, although not in the same desperate position as was Stalin, his new symbiosis with the Russian Orthodox Church will mean that during the millennium celebrations in June 1988 it will again play the part written for her by Stalin.

The complete application of glasnost to Stalin's crimes cannot exclude the Ukrainian Churches, who were the only Churches slated for total destruction. The Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church (CDUCC) in a long document entitled "The Ukrainian Catholic Church: Catacombs and Alternatives" last December stated quite forcefully that, "we think that the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was but a part of the politics of genocide of the Ukrainian people, politics begun by Stalin in the 1920's. Officially, Stalin's criminal methods have already been denounced. Still, in reality, justice has not been reestablished; Stalinism's spirit and terrible tradition are still alive. Our Church is still forced to live in the catacombs".

Whether the Ukrainian Catholic Church will be legalised is a litmus test for Gorbachev and glasnost? In addition, Ukrainians of all religious denominations are troubled by the Russian Orthodox monopolisation of the millennium celebrations. In this Ukrainian Catholics were warned by the message addressed to them in this millennium year by Pope John Paul where he stated that although he could not visit his flock in Ukraine he nevertheless would undergo a "spiritual pilgrimage" in support of Ukrainian Catholics who, "cannot fail to be present, in the concert of the entire Catholic Church, at the celebration of this special anniversary...".

UNOFFICIAL MILLENNIUM OF CHRISTIANITY CELEBRATIONS IN UKRAINE.

The Soviet propagandists weekly newspaper Argumenty i Fakty published a discussion with Russian Orthodox Archbishop Palladiy of the Kiev eparchy which was meant to answer the unease felt by many Ukrainians as to why the official millennium celebrations were held not in Kiev, where Christianity was introduced to the Eastern Slavs a thousand years ago, but in Moscow? Archbishop Palladiy attempted to justify the decision by reference to Moscow being the headquarters of the Russian Orthodox patriarchate. The Soviet authorities ensured that the millennium celebrations were promoted

as both purely a "Russian" and "Orthodox" affair. Ukrainians, Belorussians, Catholics and Protestants were all denied any contribution.

Ukrainian believers countered by organising their own unofficial celebrations. A day after the official celebrations had begun, 200 Ukrainian Culturological Club members met in Kiev to hold a celebration next to the statue of Grand Prince Volodymyr. The meeting began with recordings of Church bells and choir chants, two young girls dressed in national costume read poetry by famous Ukrainian poets, whilst others laid flowers at the monument. Pope John Paul's homilies were read out, whilst other speakers called for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

On June 18, 1988 4000 believers attended a service at the Autonomous Baptist Church in Kiev to mark the millennium, which was followed by an open-air meeting at the statue of St. Volodymyr. A day later Baptists marked the millennium in Kiev before a congregation of 13,000 people, which was held on the banks of the river Dnipro. Believers came from Baptist communities throughout Ukraine and, although they were refused permission to hold their celebration by the authorities, the militia did not intervene. Samizdat religious literature was distributed.

In Kharkov the "Vasyl Stus Friends of the Ukrainian Language" organised an unofficial millennium celebration attended by 300 people. Poetry, religious and historical texts were read out by dissidents involved in unofficial literary and publicist samizdat journals. The militia tried to break up the gathering and demanded that the proceedings be conducted in Russian, not Ukrainian. Stepan Sapeliak, a leading activist of this Club, was threatened with deportation to Chernobyl for his involvement and began a hunger strike in protest.

The largest unofficial millennium celebrations have taken place by the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine. They had sent a message to Ukrainians in Rome, who were attending their millennium celebrations between July 8-12, which called all the faithful "to common prayer, so that in Lvov, Kiev and Rome the bells of the Resurrection may ring out for all". At the same time that Ukrainians were celebrating the millennium with Pope John Paul in Rome, the KGB, officials of the Council for Religious Affairs and the Russian Orthodox Church were breaking up celebrations in the village of Hrushiv. Hrushiv became famous last year

when thousands of pilgrims descended upon it after apparitions of the Blessed Virgin Mary were sighted there on the anniversary of Chernobyl.

8000 Ukrainian Catholics came to Hrushiv on July 10, 1988 and tried to gain access to the Church, which had been recently handed over to the Russian Orthodox Church. They were met with verbal abuse by drunken party activists which soon turned into physical assaults. The believers then gathered at some distance and erected an eight metre high wooden cross for their celebration. The service was led by Fathers Petro Zeleniuk, Mykhailo Havryliv and Mykola Kutz. The following day the authorities pulled down the cross. 1000 signatures were collected for the petition, which already has 30,000 names, to legalise the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

On 17 July, 1988 15,000 gathered at the shrine in Zarvanytsia, Ternopil region to celebrate the millennium in the largest gathering of Ukrainian Catholics since World War Two. Despite militia interference and heavy rain they set up camp and spent the night before praying by camp fires. The following day a procession led by young women bearing religious banners, especially embroidered for the celebration, made its way to the site of a tall wooden cross especially erected. Underground Bishop Vasylyk and other priests heard confession and 4000 pilgrims received communion. The spring waters were blessed and high mass was sung. Bishop Vasylyk delivered a sermon where he talked of the joy of celebrating this millennium after his Church had endured four decades in the catacombs.

Conclusion.

This year Ukrainian Catholics have stepped up their activity in defence of their Church, which culminated in an open-air mass in late February in Lviv attended by 30,000 believers and jointly celebrated by a Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox priest. In February 1989 the Initiative Committee For The Revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was launched in Kiev which works together in a true ecumenical spirit with Ukrainian Catholics. In June 150,000 believers throughout Ukraine attended religious services to pray for the legalisation of both Ukrainian Churches after Cardinal Lubachivsky had called for a world-wide day of action.

The opening of the Congress of People's Deputies in May, and the conference of the World Council of Churches in July in Moscow have been accompanied by numerous Ukrainian Catholic believers holding vigils and hunger strikes which have served to bring the Ukrainian Catholic question into the international spotlight. The movement for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in western Ukraine encompasses hundreds of thousands of believers from all walks of life. The pressure of public opinion and the influence this can have on elections require candidates to take the wishes of these believers into account. Consequently a number of newly elected liberal deputies from Ukraine promised to raise the question of the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Meanwhile, believers are taking matters into their own hands and taking over formerly abandoned Churches. Upwards of 30 Ukrainian Catholic parishes and Churches have been opened in this way, with money donated for Church building renovation by the believers themselves. Many believe that, despite the considerable hostility still voiced by the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church, the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is only a matter of time.

Taras Kuzio,
Ukrainian Press Agency.

PROFILE OF FATHER MYKHAILO HAVRYLIV



Now in his early forties, Father Mykhailo Havryliv first came noticeably to the attention of the West in early 1987, when the Chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church devoted most of its pages to his biography. Having studied at the Orthodox seminary in Leningrad he made the fateful decision in 1979 to join the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church.

In September 1987, having been fined and harassed on a number of previous occasions he was conscripted into a military punishment battalion where he was forced to perform clean up duty in the radioactive areas around the failed nuclear reactor of Chernobyl.

He returned home to his village of Rudniki near Lviv in early 1988 where he underwent a number of medical tests to see if his health had been damaged by continuous unprotected exposure to radiation. The K.G.B. had spread numerous rumours about him while he was away to undermine his standing.

Undeterred Father Havryliv continued to be active in defence of the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church, and though detained, and stopped from meeting President Reagan in May, a month later he was able to meet two Cardinals on a Vatican delegation.

In July he took part in two major illegal services, both of which led to problems with the local authorities. At the first meeting at Hrushiv thousands of Ukrainian Catholic Pilgrims were met with abuse and verbal assaults, and after the second, a requiem for the victims of Stalinism, Fathers Havryliv and Zeleniukh as well as Ivan Hel were fined 50 Roubles for their involvement in an illegal religious service.

Although he was detained for a two week period for meeting a foreign priest in early September, Father Havryliv was part of a delegation, led by Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk which met fourteen U.S. Congressman in Moscow during November to discuss the plight of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

On their visit to Ukraine in September of 1989 David Alton M.P. and the Jubilee Campaign delegation were able to meet Father Havryliv. Earlier that day he had joined fellow Priests and Bishop Vasylyk to hold an outlawed Mass outside St. George's Cathedral in Lviv attended by up to 250,000 Ukrainian Catholics.

Despite fines, harassment, arrests, and his ordeal at Chernobyl Father Mykhailo Havryliv continues to serve his fellow Ukrainian Catholics as a Priest in the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church.

A day's work in the life of an underground priest in Ukraine

It was 20 April 1988. I was celebrating the Liturgy in the village Ivashivtsi near my home town Chortkiv. We were in a private home. The curtains were drawn. I was giving Communion to the faithful.

This time eight of them came. They introduced themselves as a commission of the executive party committee in Chortkiv. Two of the men approached me and looked into the chalice. One of the others read hoarsely from a sheet of paper: "You are violating article 212 of the penal code concerning religious cults!"

I blessed the faithful and tried to keep everyone calm. The men continued: "The commission unanimously resolves to fine citizen Stepan Skrypnyk, the owner of the house, 50 roubles."

On that day we did not baptize the children. The Liturgy was cut short. Two of the intruders began writing down the names of the faithful. They questioned the young couple who were supposed to get married: "Isn't there an Orthodox church in Ternopil? Why have you travelled 80 kilometres to be here. Where do you work?" - "We are students at the Polytechnical Institute in Ternopil. We wanted Fr Senkiv to marry us." - "Are you aware that Fr Senkiv is a Greek-Catholic priest who is hostile to the Soviet government?" - "We are not at an interrogation!" The bride started crying...

The people asked the eight men to stop the noise. Then the owner of the house showed the commission the door because nobody had invited them here. "I fought at the front", he said, "I was wounded seven times and awarded a medal of the Great Patriotic War. I think I have earned the right to pray the same way my parents did."

The members of the commission told me to accompany them. I took off my vestments, packed my liturgical items and got into the car. An hour later I was in the regional capital, where I was warned and fined. Two men in plain clothes listened attentively. Finally one of them said: "We are confiscating your liturgical items, and also your Bible."

It was now around 4 p.m. on my day off. The faithful in Kopychentsi were waiting for me. I was late and had to celebrate the Liturgy in my ordinary working clothes. I began with a prayer for our enemies, because they know not what they do.

After the vespers young people came and asked questions which I hear often: "How can it be understood that God created everything in seven days?" - "Between the first and the second day alone", I explained, "there was such a abyss in time, a sort of eternity of evolution, before the Lord God saw the perfection of what he had created..."

It was getting late, I was too exhausted to eat, and so I returned home to Rosokhach, which is 35 kilometers away from Kopychentsi. I work there as a fireman. At 7 a.m. I have to replace my colleagues on the night shift. In summer they send us to repair combines.

After work I have to go to Buchach to perform a few marriages and a baptism. This all belongs to a normal day. It is now the sixth time within a few weeks that they have fined me and confiscated my bible and liturgical items... all this in our jubilee year. One day like all the others...

Train drama as Soviets detain MP

JUBILEE CAMPAIGN DELEGATION TO UKRAINE

LIVERPOOL MP David Alton was held by Soviet police for four hours after being bundled off a train at midnight.

The Catholic MP and his two companions, Methodist Bill Hampson from Leigh in Lancashire and Baptist David Campenelle from London, were on a fact-finding tour to the Ukraine as delegates of the Jubilee Campaign, a human rights group which works for the release of Christian prisoners.

Soviet officials boarded their train at Mostika, just across the Polish frontier. All three were allowed to continue their journey to Lvov at 4am — but books, including a biography of Cardinal Hume and the works of medieval mystic Julian of Norwich, were confiscated.

So was a copy of the *Liverpool Echo*.

Once in the Ukraine, the delegates met leading members of the banned Ukrainian Catholic Church and leaders of the Patriotic Movement, which is working for political reform

by David Alton in Lvov and our Foreign Staff

and Ukrainian sovereignty.

A visit from the militia interrupted a meeting with Ivan Hel, chairman of the committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, who has spent 15 years inside Soviet jails. He is the leading force in the Patriotic Movement and fledgling Christian Democrat Party, which organised a rally and illegal Mass in Lvov last Sunday, attended by 250,000 people — though official estimates said only 150,000 attended.

The demonstration coincided with the 50th anniversary of the Soviet invasion of western Ukraine, which it seized from Poland.

Carrying religious banners and the banned blue and yellow Ukrainian flag, the demonstrators marched from Lvov's Communist Party headquarters to the Cathedral of St George, once a Ukrainian Catholic church, now used by the Rus-

sian Orthodox.

Earlier, thousands of Catholics gathered in a public park for a two-hour Mass, celebrated by at least two dozen priests.

Police kept a low profile during the ceremonies.

The delegation also met Bishop Paulo Vasylyk, who has spent 18 years in prison. He described how one young priest was sent as a punishment to clear radioactive waste at Chernobyl.

Ukrainian Catholics have been an underground Church since 1946 and their clergy are forced to live a double existence as state workers by day and Christian ministers by night.

When the Pope meets President Michail Gorbachev in Rome in November, the position of Ukrainian Catholics will top their agenda. And this week the Soviet Central Committee is to discuss the nation-

ality question.

Mr Alton's trip to the Ukraine was part of a long-term campaign by Jubilee to publicise the plight of the Ukrainian Church.

● THE POPE has appointed Bishop Michael Kuchmiak as the new Apostolic Exarch for Ukrainian Catholics in Great Britain. At present he is Auxiliary Bishop of the Ukrainian Archdiocese of Philadelphia, USA.

Cardinal Hume will preside at Bishop Kuchmiak's installation at the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, Duke Street, London W1, on October 10.

There are about 25,000 Ukrainian Catholics in Britain, served by the British Exarchate. An "exarchate" is the Oriental near-equivalent of a Roman Catholic diocese.

Bishop's Kuchmiak's territory will cover much of Britain, including 12 established parishes with their 14 priests, providing pastoral assistance to Ukrainians in over 58 localities.

After his installment, Bishop Kuchmiak will be invited to become a member of the Bishop's Conference of England and Wales.



● A rare photograph of Mass celebrated in a forest by Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk. Both priests and people face arrest if the authorities discover these Masses

DAVID ALTON'S EYE — on the Ukraine

THE Roman Catholic Church of St Elizabeth stands close to the railway station in Lvov. Not since 1946 has Mass been celebrated in what was once a beautiful church but is today a broken shell. The Communists talk of turning it into a 'cultural centre'.

In the centre of this Ukrainian city there is also a once busy Armenian church which I visited.

Closed by Stalin in 1946 the building has been sealed up and a sad statue of Jesus carrying the cross has been smashed — the head removed.

And yet, movingly and eloquently a day does not pass without fresh flowers being pinned to the door. Someone has nailed a



PICTURED with David Alton outside the Armenian Catholic Church in Lvov is Bill Hampson, a Methodist from Leigh and a member of the Jubilee Campaign. Every day since 1946, flowers have been hung on its closed doors. Note the crown of thorns on the railings.

crown of thorns to the railings. Every so often the authorities remove it. But another always appears in its place.

The square at the rear of the Church has been turned into a builders yard, but this has not stopped someone from climbing over heaps of rubble to lay flowers at the feet of Our Lady's statue.

Six years after the Western Ukraine was removed from Poland and assimilated into the Soviet Union — exactly 50 years ago — every single building belonging to the Ukrainian Catholic Church was seized.

The Church was made illegal and bishops and priests locked up.

Yet just as the flowers keep appearing on the doors of closed buildings new generations of believers have secretly been baptised, priests ordained and bishops consecrated.

And gradually the Church has been re-emerging from its catacombs.

● Last weekend I attended a historic open air Mass, held in a park situated in the shadows of two former Catholic Churches — The Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Assumption and the Roman Catholic Carmelite Church.

An estimated 250,000 people thronged the park and neighbouring streets to demonstrate their solidarity with the demands that the Church be legalised.

Bright blue and yellow flags fluttered everywhere. These are the colours of the traditional Ukrainian state.

The crowds clapped as the flags of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were carried to the altar.

This mixture of national demands for sovereignty and self government combined with pleas for religious tolerance pose Mr Gorbachev with his greatest challenge yet.

For if Perestroika is not to be so much window dressing he is going to have to address the realities of life in places like the Ukraine (where 51 million people live).

Before people get too carried away by 'Gorbymania' let me just reflect on the kind of country he presides over.

On entering the Soviet Union, for example, two colleagues from the Jubilee Campaign (a Christian human rights group) and myself were detained for four hours, until 4.00am.

The authorities confiscated a biography of Cardinal Basil Hume, a book about the English mystic Julian of Norwich, and a copy of a local newspaper!

Pretty subversive stuff, endangering the very foundations of the State.

Then, once in Lvov, we were invited for supper at the two roomed flat of leading Catholic Ivan Hel.

This occasioned a visit by the assistant chief of the local militia — to check out the dinner guests.

Not that Hel or his wife Maria were surprised.

Ivan spent 15 years in degrading, inhuman conditions from 1972 to 1987 in jail for his beliefs.

Gorbachev was in power and Perestroika in place while Ivan Hel languished in 'The Camp of Death' at Perm in the Urals.

The not-so-nice side of Gorbachev's Russia includes sending a young priest to Chernobyl — the site of the biggest nuclear accident — to clear up contaminated debris.

His crime was to continue administering the sacraments.

His bishop Paulo Vasylyk, who told me this,



DAVID Alton hands a copy of the Catholic Pictorial to leading members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — at the Lvov home of Ivan Hel (second right), who is emerging as the Ukraine's Lech Walensa. Centre left is Bishop Paulo Vasylyk — who was first imprisoned by Stalin as a young seaman in 1946 and has served 18 years in Soviet prisons. Ivan Hel spent 15 years in jail — released in 1987 on completion of his sentence, his crime? To be a Catholic.

has spent 18 years of his life in Soviet jails — refusing to give up his faith, determined that the five million Catholics of the Ukraine will not be left without the sacraments and the ministry which we in the west take so much for granted.

I gave the Bishop copies of the Catholic Pictorial — and a service sheet from the Walsingham pilgrimage — which somehow had escaped the vigilant attention of the border officials — and told him of the centuries of struggle and

persecution which finally led to the emancipation of English Catholics.

As we left Lvov the people were making ready to place candles in their windows and to switch off their lights for 30 minutes.

This was to mourn the loss of national identity, of free speech, of religious worship.

I couldn't help wondering how long it will be before the lights will be re-lit all over Europe; before Gorbachev's perestroika becomes a reality in the Ukraine.

Ukrainian Bishop

POPE John Paul II has appointed Bishop Michael Kuchmiak as the new Apostolic Exarch for Ukrainian Catholics in Great Britain. Bishop Kuchmiak is at present auxiliary bishop of the Ukrainian Archdiocese of Philadelphia, USA.

The solemn installation of Bishop Kuchmiak will take place at 5.00pm on Tuesday 10 October at the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of the Holy Family in Exile, Duke Street, London.

Cardinal Hume, who is the acting Metropolitan for Ukrainian Catholics in Great Britain, will preside at the ceremony.

Several Ukrainian bishops will be in attendance at the ceremony, as will other members of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy and representatives of non-Catholic denominations.



THIS priest was punished for performing liturgies in public by being sent to Chernobyl, the site of the world's biggest nuclear accident. He was forced to clean up nuclear debris. By day he stokes a boiler.

This is the other side of Gorbachev's Russia where Perestroika has not even touched. Gorbachev meets Pope John Paul at the Vatican in November. High on the agenda will be the position of our fellow Catholics in the Ukraine.



The nun pictured here was one of the 250,000 at the illegal open-air Mass. Defying a State ban she wore her habit — priests and nuns have to minister in secret to the Ukraine's five million Catholics.

INTERVIEWS WITH IVAN HEL & PAVLO VASYLYK

As punishment for celebrating Mass, a young priest of the banned Ukrainian Catholic Church was sent to Chernobyl to clear up the mess. Together with others considered "disloyal", Father Mykhailo Havryliv was taken to the site of the world's largest nuclear disaster, and for the next two-and-a-half months exposed to radiation as he was forcibly employed in the clear-up work.

This incident is just one of a catalogue of outrages perpetrated by the Soviet authorities on the Uniate Church since it was officially banned by Stalin in 1946. It was revealed by Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk in an interview with a delegation from the Jubilee Campaign, a Christian human rights organisation, that included Liverpool M.P. David Alton, campaigner David Campanale and myself.

The interview took place in the West Ukrainian City of Lvov in a tiny fifth-floor flat, home of Ivan Hel leader of the movement for the Liberation of the Ukraine, and chairman of the committee for the defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Even as the Bishop spoke, the Assistant Chief of the Lvov Militia and his lieutenant demanded entrance and to know who his dinner guests were.

Such interventions are nothing new for the Bishop, who was first arrested as a 20 year-old deacon and sent to prison for eight years. In the years that followed, persecution became a way of life. As a priest with the responsibility for a parish stretching from Lvov to the Carpathian mountains, Father Pavlo covered thirty to forty kilometers a day from village to village sleeping each night in barns so as not to endanger his flock. Re-arrested in 1959 he was not to see freedom again for another ten years.

Now retired from a job of collecting herbs for medical use, Pavlo Vasylyk, one of the seven bishops of the Uniate Church displays a peace completely devoid of any animosity for the pain and injustice he has suffered. "We suffer for God and the truth" he says "for the church and the people, that truth love and justice may reign throughout the world, this is the real peace that Jesus Christ brings to the world". His close friend and our host Ivan Hel, himself no stranger to persecution having spent a total of 18 years in Soviet prisons, often in the most appalling conditions, has emerged as the natural leader of the Ukrainian people. A charismatic leader whose enthusiasm is infectious, Ivan Hel is respected throughout the country and it is not difficult to see him as the Lech Walesa of the Ukraine. Indeed to hear him speak one feels that given the profile of Walesa in the Western media, the achievements of Solidarity in Poland could be emulated in the Ukraine.

The wind of political change sweeping through Eastern Europe is inextricably linked to the church. A fact that becomes abundantly clear when you question his motives, "Firstly I do what I do for spiritual reasons" he says "For centuries the church has defended the needs of the people and in this unity we seek revival".

Ivan Hel is also very clear on how he sees his movement, "This is not unrest" he says "It is the activation of the liberation process, the natural aspiration of the people".

This weekend I watched as 250,000 people gathered outside the The Church of the Assumption to express those aspirations for liberations, to show support for the newly formed Christian Democratic Front and to express their faith by celebrating Mass on a scale not seen before Ukrainian history.

Bill Hampson 18th September 1989

LVOV 15 SEPTEMBER 1989

- Q. How long have you been a Bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church?
- A. I was consecrated a Bishop in May 1974, though I first became a priest in 1950 in Ivano-Frankivsk, I was a deacon before that.
- Q. What was it like to be a priest in 1950?
- A. In August 1956 I returned from an 8 year prison sentence, I was a 20 year-old deacon at the time of my arrest, and I was ordained by Bishop Cherneesky in Lvov. I began ministry in several regions, Lvov, Ivano-Frankivsk and the area right up to the Carpathian mountains. I would travel 30 - 40 kilometers each day from village to village, church to church, always in secret. I slept in the barns, I couldn't sleep in homes it would have been much too dangerous for my flock. I was imprisoned again in 1959 for 5 more years followed by 5 years in exile. On my return to the Ukraine in 1969 I started working collecting herbs for medical use. I did that job until I retired last year.
- Q. Your church has been an underground church of the catacombs since 1946 and yet you have an estimated 5 million members, how are they able to worship?
- A. It was illegal and barbarous to take away the churches, but every home in the Ukraine will stand as a church. Besides the homes we hold services in the open air, in forests. Since June last, Mass has been celebrated in the open every day.
- Q. How many priests look after such a large number?
- A. No-one knows. It is around 600-700, we have currently 100 priests in training and there are of course 7 Bishops. In addition there are around 1,000 monks and nuns.
- Q. Is it true that priests were sent to Chernobyl?
- A. Yes, some were sent along with other "disloyals" to clean up the radioactive waste as a punishment. One priest from Lvov Fr. Makhaylo Havryliv was sent to Chernobyl for 2½ months. Last year three were taken away as a punishment for holding liturgies, one of our priests is this year serving in the army as punishment. But you may ask for whom do they suffer? They suffer for God and the truth, for the church and the people, why? for the salvation of the Ukrainian people and of all other people, that truth love and justice may reign throughout the world. This is the real peace that Christ brings to the world.

- Q. As Chairman of the Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, could you tell us of your hopes and aspirations for the future?
- A. Firstly, I thank you for coming to support us in our struggle. I admire your Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher and her policies on liberalisation and democratisation and for supporting our fight against the totalitarian system, but firstly I do what I do for spiritual reasons. For centuries, the church has defended the needs of the people and in this Uniate we seek revival. You may ask, why the Uniates - because it is part of our tradition and my family over the have been involved in Ukrainian politics. Two years ago I returned from prison and was immediately elected Chairman of the Committee for the Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.
- Q. How long were you in prison?
- A. I have been in prison for a total of 15 years. I was first arrested by the KGB as a student in 1961, since then I have been involved in the struggle for the Ukraine against its occupation by Russia. I have dedicated my life to the liberalisation of the Ukraine during the period of Breshnev's repression policies, I was arrested again in 1972 and sent to prison firstly in Mordovia which is 400 km north east of Moscow and then to Perm in the Urals, to Perm number 36 known to everyone as the "camp of death". It was a strict regime camp and many political prisoners died there. We were both morally and physically terrorised with hard labour and permanent imprisonment in isolation cells and kept half naked in temperatures up to -15 degrees C. We were fed only every other day with very limited food and low quality - you know a low calorie rate. As a punishment I was sometimes deprived of correspondence, at one time I had no contact or correspondence with my wife Maria or my daughter for 3 years.
- Q. When were you released?
- A. I was released in January 1987 on the completion of my sentence even though Gorbachev came to power in 1985, I still completed my sentence, so the first stage of Perestroika did not help me, in fact the first stage did not help pre Chernobyl. After Chernobyl, Perestroika moved on much faster - which was necessary to lessen the grip.
- Q. Has there been any easing of the situation for the Ukrainian Catholic Church since Gorbachev?
- A. There is no comparing 50 years ago with now-a-days, things have changed dramatically. Under Stalin and Brechnev fear reigned, even 2 years ago we could not feel as free as now, great changes have been made.
- Q. Do you think there will be a future improvement in the situation following Mr Gorbachev's meeting with Pope John Paul II?
- A. I await with great expectation a visit with Gorbachev and Pope John Paul II and hope that the problem of legalisation will be settled. I hope too that there will be a visit to the Ukraine by the Pope, the Bishoprik has already invited him, I am very optimistic of an agreement and a resolving of the illegality.

You see it is impossible to split freedom of our country from freedom of our church. The current Perestroika is an answer to the prayers of Christians. Over the years you have seen the upsurge of Nationalist opinion in the Baltics but now here in the Ukraine with 50 million people this is likely to worry the authorities much more.

Q. What developments do you think will be made by the forthcoming discussion on the Nationalities question by the Soviet Parliament?

A. Firstly, I must emphasise that this is not unrest, please do not call it unrest as it is the activation of liberation processes that have been taking place, what is going on in the Ukraine and the Baltics is the natural aspirations of the people. Gorbachev and the polit bureau are regarding the Baltic movement in a different way from the Ukraine. Lithuania and Latvia are merely the size of Lvov and the whole of the Baltic can be compared with the West Ukraine. The Ukraine has 50 million people, it generates 25% of the economy of the USSR, it accounts for more than 20% of its agriculture - Russia can do without the Baltic without much problem, but it regards the sovereignty of the Ukraine in a totally different way. The political platform of the Communist party of the Soviet Union on the nationalities question, the statement of Central Parliament on the question of the Baltics, the refusal to legalise the Catholic Church are all evidence to the fact that Moscow is not yet ready for radical changes. Yet we look optimistically to the future. Last week I met with Bishop Vasylyk and we drew up a new programme for the Ukraine including an alternative programme for the economy suggested as a counter-balance to the communist party plan.

Q. Do you see a "Solidarity" style organisation emerging?

A. We are striving for our church to follow the path shown by the Polish Catholic Church. The evidence will be the 100,000 people who will turn out on Sunday.

Q. Where will they come from and what will take place?

A. Half will come from Lvov and half from Ivao-Frankivsk. During the gathering mass will be celebrated and there will be a sermon. About 10-15 priests, representatives of all regions will take part.

Q. Is it legal?

A. Yes, well no, not officially, but we fear no consequences from the authorities - I would call it aSolomon decision.

Q. What is your ultimate objective?

A. Revival of our nation and the winning of Sovereignty.

Q. What about Shcherbitsky, would you like to see a change?

A. The sooner the better. Shcherbitsky is a staunch Stalinist, he has done more wrong to the Ukraine than Khan Barty, Khan destroyed people physically Shcherbitsky has destroyed spiritually with his satanic influence and transformed people into cosmopolitan nihilists who have spiritual emptiness, therefore all the Ukraine hates him as a ruiner, and I believe in the near future he will leave the political arena. I know that shortly he will be removed from the polit bureau.

Q. What do you see as the future shape of politics in the Ukraine? Will there be an emergence of a Christian or Social Democratic party?

A. People want to start political parties. The Christian Democratic Front has now been initiated and promises to be a political party. The future of the Ukraine lies in political pluralism and it will gradually change from pluralistic to federation to confederation and then to complete sovereignty. The Ukraine has always turned its eyes to the west not the east. The Ukraine is in Europe, Russia is Asia. People in the west should keep emphasising our historical situation and rights. Don't call us Russians, inform more about the Ukraine and maintain closer personal contacts.



IVAN HEL

IVAN HEL, the Lech Walesa of Ukraine, addresses a crowd of 250,000 Ukrainian

David Alton MP established Jubilee Campaign in Parliament in 1987 and now 75 MPs have agreed to adopt cases of religious persecution from around the world.



JUBILEE CAMPAIGN

P.O. BOX 80 COBHAM SURREY KT11 2BQ

Tel: 01-892 3637 Fax: 01-891 5027

JUBILEE CAMPAIGN AUSTRALIA

PO BOX 581 BROOK VALE 2100 NSW

Serving the Suffering Church

CAMPAIGN TO LEGALISE THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

David Alton MP and Jubilee Campaign have launched a major campaign to bring about the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which has been outlawed since March 1946. This is being organised with the co-operation and support of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy in Britain.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church with an estimated five million members continues to be repressed, despite the changes under Glasnost. Priests have been secretly ordained and believers gather in forests and private homes for worship. Other religious groups, particularly the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, have also suffered at the hands of the Soviet State.

Today, Ukrainian believers continue to be fined, harassed and imprisoned for their faith. In one particularly severe case, Father Mykhailo Havryliv a young priest was forced to clear radioactive waste, without adequate protection, at Chernobyl as punishment for his priestly duties. Several other documented cases of old style KGB banditry have occurred in a systematic persecution of religious believers in Ukraine.

David Alton MP visited members of the Ukrainian catholic Church in Poland and led a delegation to Ukraine in order to personally investigate the plight of Ukrainian Catholics. The group met leaders and activists of the Ukrainian Catholic Church such as Bishop Vasylyk and Ivan Hel, as well as joining a demonstration of 250,000 Catholics protesting at the outlawing of their Church.

Jubilee Campaign have published an information pack documenting the history of the outlawed Catholic Church and the persecution which they endure. In addition, an international petition has been launched seeking support from political and church leaders around the world. Postcards and posters are available to increase awareness and action.

Jubilee Campaign will highlight Ukrainian prisoners of faith in their Parliamentary Adoption Programme and British Members of Parliament will be urged to support this international campaign for religious liberty in Ukraine.

Jubilee Campaign is a Christian human rights group working for Christians who are suffering for their faith. David Alton MP launched Jubilee Campaign in Parliament in 1987 and now more than 100 MPs have adopted prisoners of faith from around the world.

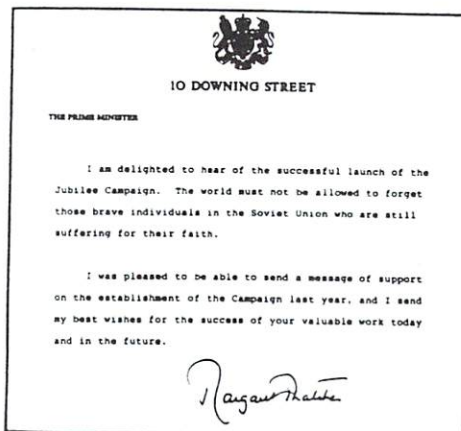


JUBILEE CAMPAIGN

PO BOX 80 COBHAM SURREY KT11 2BQ
Tel: 01-892 3637 Fax: 01-891 5027 Telex: 94013609 (RICHG)

David Alton MP established Jubilee Campaign in Parliament in 1987 and now 75 MPs have agreed to adopt cases of religious persecution from around the world.

MP'S who have sponsored cases through JUBILEE CAMPAIGN include: Richard Alexander, David Alton, Julian Amery, David Amess, Donald Anderson, Peter Archer, David Ashby, Paddy Ashdown, Jack Ashley, Jack Aspinwall, David Atkinson, Rosie Barnes, Spencer Batiste, John Battle, Alan Beith, Henry Bellingham, William Benyon, Sir Peter Blaker, Paul Boateng, Andrew Bowden, Martin Brandon-Bravo, Graham Bright, Alick Buchanan-Smith, Alexander Carlisle, William Cash, Harry Cohen, Michael Colvin, Robin Corbett, Patrick Cormack, David Evennett, Tony Favell, Frank Field, Roger Gale, John Gilbert, Dr Norman Godman, Sir Philip Goodhart, Harry



Greenway, John Greenway, Win Griffiths, I. Grist, Neil Hamilton, Dr Keith Hampson, Jeremy Hanley, John Hannam, Ken Hargre, David Hinchliffe, Alan Howarth, Gerald Howarth, Sean Hughes, Simon Hughes, Andrew Hunter, Timothy Kirkhope, Norma Lamont, Dr Marjorie Mowlam, Cecil Parki, John Patten, Sir Geoffrey Pattie, Joyce Quir, Keith Raffan, Robert Rhodes-James, George Robertson, Peter Rost, Tom Sackville, Colir Shepherd, John Taylor, Matthew Taylor, Ne Thorne, Dr Ian Twinn, Dr Gerard Vaughan, George Walden, Jim Wallace, John Watts, Timothy Wood, Tim Yeo.

House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

7 April 1989

Pavlo Kampov

Dear Mr Warnes,

Thank you for your letter of 21 March. I confirm that I am continuing to press the Ambassador but he has so far ignored my appeals on this one. You will have noted that I was a signatory to the recent Times advertisement in connection with Mr Gorbachev's visit to this country.

Yours sincerely,

Ruben Alexander

House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

1st December 1988

Dear Mr Warnes,

Thank you for your letters of 24th and 30th November, with enclosures. I was glad to note the contents of the first letter and confirm that I will be willing to continue the work for Mr Kampov. I return your form, duly completed, with a press release covering both cases.

Yours sincerely,

Ruben Alexander

The Rt Hon. Sir Bernard Braine, DL, MP



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

1st July 1989

Dear Mr Smith

Mr. David Alton MP has recently asked me if I would be prepared to adopt a 'prisoner of faith' under the scheme you operate. I would be delighted to join the scheme and I would be grateful if you could send me further information on Stepan Khmara.

As you may know, I have spoken out for many years now on behalf of those who are persecuted and silenced by oppressive regimes throughout the world. I look forward to working with you.

Ben Braine

JUBILEE CAMPAIGN DAY HOUSE OF COMMONS

Freelance journalist Ian Boston interviewed MPs attending JUBILEE CAMPAIGN DAY for local papers around the country. Here are extracts from those interviews:

SIR PETER BLAKER 'Results can be achieved by sufficient attention to particular cases, but it does require continuous interest. If a case is taken up, the pressure must be sustained and not dropped. JUBILEE CAMPAIGN has adopted the right response and I very much congratulate it.'

MICHAEL COLVIN 'I share the view expressed at Jubilee Campaign Day and I would like to associate myself with what's been said. It is important that we, the MPs, and Jubilee Campaign and its supporters follow up the cases.'

ANDREW BOWDEN 'It is up to everybody who believes in basic freedom to worship God to help others get it.'

SIMON HUGHES 'Prisoners of Faith are imprisoned by conviction and choice and if they're there because of their faith — people who have a faith owe it to them to pray for them because prayer breaks chains.'

SIR JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON 'I sometimes think it is a reproach to Christians that they don't take the same interest and work so hard for those Christians who suffer for their faith as do our Jewish friends.'

RICHARD WAINWRIGHT 'I've been waiting impatiently for fellow Christians to help suffering Christians (as our Jewish friends have done). Therefore I'm wholeheartedly behind this operation and I hope it has the same success as the Jewish Campaign and eventually, God willing, get the message across to the various tyrannies that are persecuting our fellow Christians.'

PATRICK CORMACK 'The most fundamental freedom of all is the freedom to worship. Any country that persecutes people for their faith has no claim to be called a civilised one, and so I welcome your campaign and I'm glad to be involved.'

JIM WALLACE 'I think not only is it important that we take up this matter politically but also remind ourselves that prayer can be a potent weapon for people in these circumstances.'

HENRY BELLINGHAM 'I believe that all the people in the Western world who are lucky enough to live in free societies and democracies have a right to fight for these people suffering for their faith. I certainly am happy to join your campaign and will be adopting a 'Prisoner of Faith'.'

KEITH BEST 'The question of prisoners of faith has achieved a prominence in the last few years. The pressure is on for governments to justify why people are imprisoned for their faith and why they are prevented from leaving their country.'

DONALD ANDERSON 'In the comfort of free countries we can sometimes ignore the plight of those who stand up for their faith in harsh regimes. By this gesture of campaigning we are lighting a candle as a sign of solidarity.'

ROBIN CORBETT 'I find it extraordinary that any regime can lock people up because they have a religious conviction.'

DAVID AMESS 'It's unbelievable that in 1987 anyone or any group of people should be imprisoned because of their religious beliefs.'

SUCCESS! 60 MPs SPONSOR CASES OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

Your help is needed to keep the pressure on!



Jubilee Campaign Day in parliament, 3rd Feb. 1987.
(left to right) Gerald Coates, Clive Calver, David Steel MP, Mike Morris, David Grant, Danny Smith.

JUBILEE CAMPAIGN DAY held in the appropriately titled Jubilee Room in the House of Commons was a tremendous success. 60 MPs from all parties have now adopted specific cases and will be working for Christians around the world who are suffering for their faith.

This is a fantastic opportunity to respond with prayer and action for the Suffering Church and to convince Parliament that Christians in Britain are concerned for their persecuted brothers and sisters around the world.

Please take a moment of your time to consider how you can help this strategic development in the House of Commons.

ACTION IN PARLIAMENT

WHAT WE WANT YOU TO DO

1. Has your local MP adopted a 'Prisoner of Faith'? If so, write and thank him! If he hasn't, please write and urge him to sign EDM No 583 and ask him to write to us about sponsoring a case.

2. Consider adopting a 'Prisoner of Faith' yourself. Write informing us of the name of your local MP (check the local paper). We will then send you the case that your MP has adopted.

*** Letters to your local MP will confirm that there is concern among Christians in Britain for the Suffering Church. If you have not received a 'check list' of MPs and cases please contact JUBILEE CAMPAIGN 01-892-3637 for a free copy.

Help support this **PRAYER ACTION NETWORK**

CAMPAIGN TO LEGALISE THE UKRAINIAN

CATHOLIC CHURCH

HOW YOU CAN HELP

- 1: PRAY REGULARLY for the Christians of Ukraine in their difficult situation. Pray also that the Soviet authorities will legalise the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Churches.
- 2: CIRCULATE AND SIGN THE PETITION.
- 3: Get the ACTION PACK for the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches.
- 4: WRITE TO THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR AND PRESIDENT GORBACHEV expressing your concern about the Christians within Ukraine, but don't mention Jubilee Campaign and please be polite.

HIS EXCELLENCY
LEONID ZAMYATIN
SOVIET AMBASSADOR
SOVIET EMBASSY
13 KENSINGTON PALACE GARDENS
LONDON W8 4QX

U.S.S.R., R.S.F.S.R.
103132 MOSKVA
STARAYA PLOSHCHAD 4
GENERALNOMU SEKRETANYU
TSK KPSS
GORBACHEV M.S.

- 5: WRITE TO YOUR LOCAL M.P. and inform him of your concern for Ukrainian Christians. Ask him to sign the appeal and to write to the Soviet Ambassador.
- 6: WRITE A "LETTER TO THE EDITOR" of your local paper explaining that other changes need to be made within the Soviet Union.
- 7: KEEP YOUR CHURCH AND CHURCHES IN YOUR AREA INFORMED and encourage your priest, vicar or minister to announce the situation as a matter for prayer.
8. Use my gift of _____ for the Campaign to Legalize the Ukrainian Catholic Church
9. I would like to support Jubilee Campaign's work for the Suffering Church around the world.

YES, I WANT TO HELP!

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

USE MY GIFT OF _____ FOR THE FOLLOWING

_____ AID TO FAMILIES IN NEED

_____ CAMPAIGN IN PARLIAMENT

_____ WHERE THE NEED IS GREATEST

I do/do not need a receipt

PLEASE SEND ME:

_____ "UPDATES"

_____ MP CHECK LIST

_____ "NETWORK NEWS" ABOUT ACTION IN PARLIAMENT

_____ "CONFIDENTIAL PRAYER LETTER"

_____ "AM I FORGOTTEN" by GRAHAM ORD
I enclose £2.00 to cover costs

_____ "LOST HERO" by DANNY SMITH
I enclose £3.00 to cover costs

STANDING ORDER AUTHORITY (please fill this in and return

To: _____ Bank PLC

ADDRESS _____

PLEASE PAY TO THE JUBILEE CAMPAIGN

THE SUM OF (amount in words)

COMMENCING ON THE 8th of (month) _____ 198____
AND MONTHLY THEREAFTER UNTIL FURTHER
NOTICE FROM ME/US.

Your name(s) _____

Your address _____

Your account no. _____

Your signature(s) _____

Date _____

FOR BANK USE ONLY
PAY TO: THE JUBILEE CAMPAIGN
NATIONAL WESTMINSTER BANK plc
Cobham Surrey Branch Account no. 34271783

A large black cross is centered on the page. A black barbed wire ribbon winds around the cross, starting from the top right, going down the right side, around the bottom, up the left side, and around the top. The barbs on the wire are small, sharp points.

We, the undersigned, call upon the Soviet authorities, in the light of current reforms, to legalise the Ukrainian Catholic Church, stop the harassment and persecution of its priests and laity, and initiate a programme for the return of confiscated Church buildings.

ADDRESS

— Please tick for mailing list

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

CAMPAIGN TO LEGALISE THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH



UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS HOLD SECRET CHURCH SERVICE IN THE SNOW. (Fr. Mykhailo Havryliv (right) was forced to clear radioactive waste from Chernobyl, without adequate protection, as punishment for performing his priestly duties).