

# MARTYRDOM IN UKRAINE

RUSSIA DENIES RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

by  
Walter Dushnyck

25c



*John Paulian*

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IN UKRAINE

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## PREFACE



**R**UTHLESS persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the Soviet Government and by Russian Communists is a challenge to our Christian civilization. It constitutes a virtual denial of our deeply founded convictions that no man should be persecuted for his religious beliefs or his political tenets. To secure freedom from such persecution settlers first came to our shores. To guarantee those freedoms the Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution. More recently, our country, together with other nations claiming allegiance to these ideals, fought the Second World War to make sure that the followers of National Socialism would not destroy human liberty.

Today, one of the victors of the war is embarking upon a policy of persecution in order to secure her political gains. We are not consoled by the thought that the Soviet Union, which has turned persecutor, was helped to victory by these free United States. Already several independent states have been incorporated as autonomous Soviet Republics against the will of their citizens. Millions of Eastern Europeans, alien to both Russian race and psychology, have been added to the conglomeration of unhappy beings who live under the iron rule of the "proletarian" dictatorship. Among these unfortunates are the Ukrainians, whose story is told herein.

What goes on behind the "iron curtain" is beyond normal comprehension. Not even during the Mongolian incursions has history witnessed any worse barbarities than are designedly practiced by a member of the United Nations.

In presenting the facts about the persecution of the Catholic Church in Ukraine, the writer, a veteran of the American Armed Forces, has no political end in view. He feels, however, that it concerns all of us to see that mankind is not enslaved.

## THE UKRAINIAN CHURCH TODAY

December 23, 1945, was the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Union of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with Rome. His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, commemorated the occasion by the Encyclical *Orientalis Omnes Ecclesias*. He wrote as follows:

Once again in these times, with great distress in Our paternal heart, We see a new and fierce storm overhanging the Ruthenian Church. Reports reaching Us, though infrequent, suffice to fill Us with concern and anxiety. Three hundred and fifty years have elapsed since this very ancient community was happily united to the Supreme Pastor, the successor of St. Peter, but the anniversary has been turned into "a day of tribulation and distress, of calamity and misery; a day of darkness and obscurity, of cloud and whirlwind." For with grief We learn that, in regions which lately passed under Russian authority, Our brethren and children of Ruthenian people are afflicted with great distress because of their fidelity to the Apostolic See.

What His Holiness had in mind was that all the Ukrainian Catholics now under the Soviet rule are subject to brutal persecution because of their loyalty to the Catholic Church.

Subsequent to the Holy Father's pronouncement, the voice of another Church dignitary was raised in defense of Ukrainian Catholics. Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, Secretary for the Congregation for the Oriental Church, openly declared that Soviet policy east of the Curzon Line was aimed at "destruction of Catholicism." He charged that in Russia "the order of the day is that the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Catholic Church must disappear." The Pope, he recalled, had condemned "forced return to one's country" and "denial of the right of asylum." Cardinal Tisserant then added:

Scenes of great sorrow and despair have occurred in the concentration camps of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, Italy and elsewhere. Some Ukrainians have declared that they prefer

to die rather than put themselves in the Communist power, and these have asked for a Christian death. (*New York Times*, March 2, 1946).

Despite Soviet charges to the contrary, the basic facts of Cardinal Tisserant's statement have not been disproven.

In taking possession of his titular church, that of Saint Peter and Paul in Rome, Francis Cardinal Spellman (*New York Times*, February 26, 1946) vigorously condemned totalitarian procedure and called particular attention to the plight of the Ukrainian Church under Soviet rule. He recalled the Pope's denunciation of the Russian treatment of Ukrainian Catholics and pointed out the uselessness of talking of freedom so long as freedom of religion is denied. The Cardinal then asserted:

The anxiety that our Holy Father manifested about this portion of his flock extends to many parts of the world where man's right to religious freedom is violated with diabolical deceit and satanic fury.

Reports of religious happenings in other parts of the Russian sphere of influence confirm the Cardinal's stand.

In the United States Constantine Bohachevsky is Ordinary Bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese, which covers the entire country. He and his Auxiliary, Bishop Ambrose Senyshyn, felt obliged to issue a statement on the treatment of their brethren received in the homeland.

We speak for a nation whose Bishops, priests and faithful find themselves powerless to express themselves as they wish—the nation whose people have been rendered helpless by well-known repressive measures of Communist activities in Ukraine. It is of this nation that the recent shocking announcement came from Moscow on March 17, 1946, in which it was declared that her people had broken, on March 8 at the Synod of Lviv, the 350-year-old unity with Catholic Rome in favor of reunion with Russian Orthodoxy. Because it would be a grave injustice to these people and their Church if the world should accept this announcement as the truth, we, the former sons of Ukraine, reared and nurtured on her lands and thoroughly familiar with the history of her people and Church, feel it is urgent that a statement should be made so misrepresentations may be rectified and falsehood may be evident.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>*Statement of the Bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese in the United States*, April 4, 1946.

The Bishops knew their people and realized immediately that the Soviet announcement could only be the result of fraud.

The truth became evident as further news was received from Ukraine. In a dispatch from its correspondent in Bratislava, Slovakia, the *New York Times*, on June 6, 1946, revealed:

More than 100,000 Greek Catholics and some thousands of Jews are reported to have fled Carpatho-Ukraine (Ruthenia), once the eastern end of Czecho-Slovakia and now a part of the Soviet Union. Many of them are said to be hiding in the forests of Czecho-Slovakia, others have fled into Germany and some have joined the "Bender" group of bandits who have been raiding across the Polish-Czech border.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>The correspondent has in mind the Ukrainian Underground Movement led by Stephen Bandera whose powerful Ukrainian Insurgent Army fought the Germans in Ukraine, and after the defeat of Germany turned against the new oppressor of Ukraine, Soviet Russia.

Who are these people who by hundreds of thousands flee their ancestral homes and seek asylum in foreign lands? Are they fugitives from justice because of crimes committed against their community? Are they unwilling to accept the new rule because of political antipathy toward its philosophy of life, or are they simply terrified because they know a path of martyrdom awaits them from the hands of Russian commissars? What relation have they to the Ukrainian displaced persons whom Cardinal Tisserant reports as preferring a Christian death in exile rather than return to their homes, now under the despotic rule of Russia?

A partial answer to these questions is found in an address by Bishop Senyshyn to the American Catholic Hierarchy in November, 1945. Speaking of the Soviet rule in Western Ukraine, he declared that it is

a ruinous one. Brutal enforcements, seizures of cultural possessions, confiscation of Catholic religious institutions, heavy pressure aimed at making Catholics join the Orthodox Church, killings and imprisonment of the clergy and outstanding people these things gave a brief but clear picture of the devastation and enslavement that has been wrought.

Further answers to questions about the Ukrainian Church will be found in the brief history which follows.

## UNIATE CHURCH — VANGUARD OF CATHOLICISM IN EASTERN EUROPE

### I. HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE UNIATE CHURCH IN UKRAINE

The purpose of this pamphlet is to give our Catholic readers the background of the sorrowful events which are taking place today in Eastern Europe. To make our task easier, some introductory explanation is necessary, at least so far as the political and geographical nomenclature is concerned.

The main action of the extremely brutal persecution of the Catholic Church by the Soviet Government is taking place in the Western Ukraine, known also as "Eastern Galicia," or the disputed territory east of the "Curzon Line". It extends from the Carpathian mountains in the south to the Pripet Marshes in the north. Populated 75-85 percent by Ukrainians, this unhappy region was troubled for centuries by its neighbors from the west and east. It was originally part of the Kingdom of Ukrainian princes and dukes, one of whom, King Danilo, founded the city of Lviv in 1254. The region then passed under the rule of Polish Kings, only subsequently to become a part of the Polish-Lithuanian-Ukrainian federation. With the partition of Poland in the eighteenth century it came under Austrian domination. From 1848 to 1918 it enjoyed various degrees of semi-autonomy until, on Nov. 1, 1918, the Ukrainians proclaimed "the Western Ukrainian Republic". On Jan. 22, 1919, it was united with its sister republic, the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in Kiev, to form one sovereign Ukrainian state. Attacked by the Red and White Russian Armies, by the Poles and Rumanians, it soon succumbed, and at the end of 1919 the Western Ukraine was conquered by the new Poland. It remained under Polish rule until Sep. 17, 1939, when Stalin and Hitler dismembered Poland and established the well-known "Curzon Line". On June 31, 1941, after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, Ukrainian nationalists again proclaimed a republic; but they were soon arrested by the

Germans. The republic was abolished and the Western Ukraine was attached for administrative purposes to the "Government General of Poland", while the rest of Ukraine was divided into districts governed by German *Gauleiters*.

At no time in history did Western Ukraine belong to any Russian state, Czarist or Soviet!

Popular confusion about the history and geography of Ukraine extends also to the domain of the Church. We are accustomed to hear talk in America about the "Ruthenian" Catholic Church, or "Uniate," or even "Schismatic" Church. The term "Ruthenian" or "Ruthenia" is a derivation from the Latin translation of *Rus* and *Rusky* (noun and adjective), the historic names of the Ukrainian people. When Muscovy embarked upon the conquest of its weaker neighbors in the seventeenth century, it not only took the name of *Rus*, which became *Rossia* and *Russia* in English, but usurped the entire early period of Ukrainian history as its own. Hence, since the term "Ruthenian" may imply "Russian" to the reader unfamiliar with the situation in Eastern Europe, the Ukrainian Catholic Hierarchy in Western Ukraine has abandoned its use, calling its Church the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Oriental or Byzantine Rite. In Carpatho-Ukraine, however, which up to 1919 was under strong Hungarian (Austrian) rule, the term "Ruthenian" is still retained when speaking of the Church.

We underscore these differences in order to clarify the following presentation of what is going on in the Soviet-dominated Ukrainian territories. No matter what we call this branch of the Catholic Church, its bishops, priests and faithful will be the Ukrainians, and it is the Ukrainians who are modern martyrs for their Catholic Church and Faith.

\* \* \*

The Moscow radio announced on March 17, 1946, that the "people of Western Ukraine," in a "Synod" gathered in Lviv on March 8, 1946, had broken their 350-year-old ties with the Roman Catholic Church. While the NKVD men were busy rounding up those who refused to apostatise the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, organ of Patriarch Alexei, Stalin-made head of the Russian Orthodox Church, constantly pounded away, advising the

Ukrainian Catholics to come back to the bosom of the Russian Orthodox Church, "their Mother". The Ukrainian Catholic Bishops in the United States, referring to one of Alexei's letters, simply aver that it is "an erroneous conception".

In the year 988, the ancestors of present day Ukrainians accepted Christianity from the Byzantine Patriarchate, which at that time was in union with the Catholic Church. Since the Kiev Metropolitan and all his hierarchy were subordinate to Rome through the Byzantine Patriarchate (Constantinople), it was natural that the Great Schism brought by Photius in 1054 should have had its repercussions in Ukraine. Separation followed even though the Kiev State, to quote the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops' statement, "did not formally sever relationship with Rome". Schism occurred later, through the intrigues of Muscovite princes and Byzantium. But Ukrainian metropolitans and bishops did not stop in their efforts to come again under Rome's jurisdiction. The first attempt was made at the Council of Florence, 1439. The Kiev Metropolitan Isidore accepted the Union, and upon his return to Ukraine in 1440, he proclaimed it in such cities as Lviv, Kholm, Smolensk and Kiev. He then went to Moscow, but was imprisoned there by the Grand Duke Basil II. The Byzantine Patriarchate, together with Constantinople, the "Second Rome," came under Turkish rule, and the intrigues of the Russian princes interfered with the Ukrainian Church. Hence, Union with Rome was not firmly established.

On December 23, 1595, Pope Clement VII received two Ukrainian Bishops, Cyril Terletzky and Ipatius Potiy.<sup>1</sup> They were given preliminary instructions and in October 1596 they convoked a Synod of Ukrainian, Lithuanian and White Russian bishops, prelates and priests at Brest and achieved the long-desired union with the Roman Catholic Church. The Union was signed by six bishops, with Metropolitan Mykhailo Rohoza as their head, and two Archimandrites.

This act of union was an important event in the history of the Catholic Church in Eastern Europe. With the growing menace of expanding Turkish power the Popes were eager to unite all the Christian world against the hordes of infidels. Bringing the Ukrain-

<sup>1</sup>*Ukrainian General Encyclopedia*, Lviv, 1934, Vol. 3, 919 ff.

ian Church under their jurisdiction constituted one of the most outstanding steps in that direction. As Bishop Bohachevsky writes of the Ukrainians in his *Statement*

... in their worship of God such union was traditional. The demoralized state of Orthodoxy, together with its lack of discipline and its disintegration, caused their lament but likewise guided them to unity with Rome.<sup>1</sup>

Vast plans were promptly laid for Catholic action in the east of Europe. This was best expressed by Pope Urban VIII when he wrote to the Ukrainian Bishop of Kholm, Methodius Terletzky: *Per vos, mei Rutheni, orientem convertendum esse spero.* (I hope that through you, my Ruthenians, the East will be converted). In the middle of the seventeenth century Carpatho-Ukraine accepted the Union, and in the beginning of the eighteenth, so did the dioceses of Lviv and Peremyshl. The untiring pioneers of the Union were such outstanding Ukrainian Catholics as Metropolitans Potiy, Rutzky, the "Martyr of the Union," St. Josaphat Kuntzevich, and the two Ukrainian Cardinals, Levitzky and Sembratovich.

## 2. RUSSIAN ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Russian rulers, together with the subservient Orthodox Church, were naturally opposed to the Union. In a period that followed the Russian Government, at different times and in varying degrees, began suppressing the Catholic Church, which they scornfully termed "Uniate." It was the time of rising Russian imperialism, with Moscow, the "Third Rome," the spiritual seat of the *ex oriente lux* idea. Peter the Great, hostile to Catholicism, did not hesitate to kill a Basilian priest with his own hands. His vituperations against Rome are widely known. He issued the *ukases* banishing the Jesuit Order, compelling the Catholic Ukrainians to join the Russian Orthodox Church, and subjecting those who were recalcitrant to torture and death. The Russian Orthodox Church then, as today, was the docile instrument of a despotic government. Patriarch Alexei's *dictum* to the Catholics of Western Ukraine—"Where is the Vatican leading you at the

<sup>1</sup>*Statement of the Bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese in the United States, April 4, 1946.*

present time. . . To complicity with the abetter of Fascism"—is, of course, nothing new in the terminology of the Russian Patriarchs.

The reign of Catherine the Great was especially difficult for Catholics. Her manifestos of 1779 started a systematic destruction of the Uniate religious orders. Catholic priests were exiled, and their places taken by Russian Orthodox priests. "Many clergy," writes the Ukrainian writer V. J. Kisilevsky,

were imprisoned, and much brutal force was used. In a few decades of such treatment Catherine II could boast of having "converted" eight million Ukrainians to Orthodoxy, and had abolished 9,316 Ukrainian Catholic parish churches and 145 monasteries.<sup>1</sup>

Her destructive policy reached even the Western Ukraine, which, so far, had been outside Russian Church jurisdiction.

Under Czar Nicholas I, a new impetus was given religious persecution in Ukraine. The Catholic College was transferred to St. Petersburg. In 1832 all Basilian monasteries were confiscated, and in 1837 the Czar completely liquidated Catholicism in his Empire. Ukrainian Church Chronicles were re-edited by the Russian priests in order to destroy all vestiges of Roman Catholic influence. Religious books were burned and the Holy Gospel was considered illegal literature.

In 1905, when the First Russian Revolution brought some liberties to the subjects of the Czar, the status of the Catholic Church remained unchanged. The *Duma*, a travesty upon Western parliaments, excepted the Uniates from the newly-granted reforms.

The War of 1914, and the Russian invasion of the Western Ukraine, brought the rest of the Ukrainian Catholics, under the rule temporarily, of the Russian Czar. The Russians, faithful to the principle *cuius regio, eius religio*, immediately started persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The venerable Metropolitan Sheptytzky was imprisoned and sent to Siberia, where he spent three long years in solitary confinement. He remained there until the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917 and establishment of the Ukrainian independent state.

<sup>1</sup>*Eastern Churches Quarterly*, July, 1937, London.

Mr. Michael Derrick, author of *Eastern Catholics Under Soviet Rule*, writes about the fidelity of the Ukrainian Catholics as follows:

What is truly marvelous, the complete justification of the Uniates, the proof of how genuinely religious and unpolitical their Catholicism was and remains, is the resistance offered to all this prolonged and seemingly irresistible campaign to drive them into apostasy. When their priests were either in prison or in exile in Galicia or Siberia, the Ruthenian Catholics practiced their religion secretly with the aid of priests of the Latin Rite . . .

### 3. POLISH-UKRAINIAN CHURCH RELATIONS

After World War I, the largest part of Ukraine found itself again under Russian rule, this time the Soviet. Although nominally there is a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, actual rule is in the hands of the Moscow-controlled Communist Party. Even the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, revived after 1917, was liquidated.

The Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church was able to survive only in the Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine, these territories being under Poland and Czechoslovakia respectively since 1920.

Paradoxically, Polish-Ukrainian Church relations did not go along a smooth and even path. Even while Poland and its Church were subject to the unscrupulous and ruthless policy of Russia, Polish policy toward the Ukrainian Catholic Church was always deplorable. When, after the Union of Brest in 1596, religious strife broke out in Ukraine, the partisans of Orthodoxy, supported by the Russian Czars, strongly argued that the Union was in the interests of Poland, which, at that time, was pursuing an imperialistic policy in Ukraine, Lithuania, and neighboring states. So closely was Polish nationalism associated with Catholicism that the Union with Rome was unfortunately regarded by many Ukrainians as disguised Polish political action.

During the period between 1920 and 1939 Polish Ukrainian relations were marked by bitter antagonisms and open persecution by the Polish Government. In 1930, during the so-called "Pacification" of Eastern Galicia, several Ukrainian Catholic priests

were beaten and thrown into the notorious concentration camp at Bereza Kartuska. In 1938, just before the Munich capitulation, the Polish Government organized a campaign against both Ukrainian Churches, the Catholic and Orthodox. In some localities the Ukrainian Churches were razed by the Poles. The Warsaw Government behaved in an unpardonable manner when, in the summer of 1938, it "confiscated" 112 Ukrainian Orthodox Churches in Volhynia and Polisia on the pretext that these had been unlawfully taken from the Uniates under the Czars, Metropolitan Sheptytzky issued on that occasion a strong Pastoral Letter, saying:

The shocking events of these last months . . . compel me to arise in public in defense of our persecuted brethren of the non-United Orthodox Church. . . The Orthodox Church is veiled in sorrow. . . We must painfully feel the sufferings of our brethren, and must brand these anti-Christian acts.<sup>1</sup>

The Letter was confiscated by the Polish Government and did not reach the Catholic faithful of Western Ukraine. There were other such acts by the Polish Government, as, for instance, replacing the Latin and Ukrainian languages by Polish on birth certificates issued by the Ukrainian Catholic parishes.

No doubt politics were a constant obstacle to achievement of a real *modus vivendi* between the Polish and Ukrainian peoples. But, in all fairness, what the Ukrainian Catholics underwent during the Polish rule is not to be compared with the sanguinary ordeal under the iron rule of Stalin and Molotov.

Today, perhaps, the Poles, with their Church and country under the ruthless domination of the Soviets, are painfully aware of their erring policies toward the Ukrainians and their Church.

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<sup>1</sup>*Eastern Catholics Under Soviet Rule*, p. 22.

## UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH UNDER THE TWO TOTALITARIAN POWERS

### 1. GERMAN-RUSSIAN PARTITION OF POLAND AND THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

On September 17, 1939, the Red Army Crossed the Eastern frontiers of the already dying Poland. The Moscow radio broadcast a statement of Mr. Molotov in which he declared that the Red Army is going to "liberate blood brothers, the Ukrainian and White Russian peoples from the yoke of Polish masters". He did not say, however, that spheres of influence of Nazi and Bolshevik totalitarian powers had been pre-arranged between Molotov and von Ribbentrop. Poland fell the first victim of aggression, and with her seven and one-half million Ukrainians, of whom five million were Catholics. Hundreds of thousands of them, fearing ruthless persecution by the NKVD and the Communists, fled to the "Government General of Poland" and to other countries of Central and Western Europe.

But the bulk of these five million Ukrainian Catholics remained in their native land, apprehensively awaiting the "liberators."

### 2. THE FIRST SOVIET OCCUPATION : SEPTEMBER, 1939-JUNE, 1941

According to several Ukrainian and Polish refugees who witnessed the first Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine, the Soviet authorities had a definite policy toward the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its priests; cautious hostility. There are several possible explanations of that policy. Stalin was still playing his "strategic security game", not knowing whether his alliance with Hitler would succeed, or whether he might not ultimately come to an agreement with the Western "degenerate democracies". Nonetheless, Soviet *politruks* (political agents) were convoking

mass anti-religious meetings in which anti-religious resolutions were read and passed "unanimously." They requested the Soviet state to "liberate the masses" from the clerical yoke. But all these efforts were of no avail. The entire Ukrainian population remained united for, and not against, their Church. All showed great courage and determination in defending the Catholic faith.

The Metropolitan Sheptytzky was then still alive, enjoying great prestige and esteem among the people, including Poles and Jews. Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church since 1900, he was a pillar of Catholicism. He had comprehensive plans for Catholic action in the East of Europe, eventually paying for them with a three-year imprisonment in Czarist jails. The Soviet commissars with their hatred for religion in general, and for the Catholic Church in particular, did not dare to attack this venerable Catholic. The NKVD men made more than one searching raid on his palace in Lviv, confiscating his property, numerous archives, libraries. But he, like his priests, was supplied with the necessities of life by the faithful. In a Pastoral Letter in 1940, which the efficient NKVD was unable to withhold from circulation, he bitterly assailed atheistic Communism and the persecution of the Ukrainian people. His brother, a Basilian Father, was executed by the NKVD. Other heroic deeds of Metropolitan Sheptytzky are too numerous to mention here.

At the end of 1940 and at the beginning of 1941, the Soviet authorities stepped up their persecution of the Ukrainian Catholics. Hundreds of priests were exiled to Siberia, and a good number of them executed. The lay Ukrainian intelligentsia paid heavy toll: all former members of the UNDO party, one of the largest in Poland, which at one time had seventy-five members in the Warsaw Parliament, were arrested, exiled, and executed. All libraries, *Prosvita Societies*, thousands of cooperatives and dairies—held second only to the Danish—were liquidated.

When the Germans attacked the Soviet Union on June 21, 1941, the retreating Soviet troops and the NKVD committed mass murders of Ukrainian Catholics in such cities as Strey, Drohobych, Stanislaviv, Lviv, Tarnopol. Scenes of horror were reported by American correspondents who covered the German campaign in Western Ukraine. Among hundreds of murdered Catholic priests

were Father Conrad of Lviv, doctor of philosophy and prominent writer; Father Ischak, internationally known authority on Eastern Churches.

The Russians behaved themselves with traditional ruthlessness, so far as shooting of their own prisoners was concerned. This is attested to by Mr. V. Kravchenko in his book *I Chose Freedom*.

### 3. THE GERMAN OCCUPATION: SUMMER, 1941—SUMMER, 1944

The first step of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which aroused the new invader of Ukraine, Nazi Germany, was its blessing bestowed upon the Ukrainian patriots who, on the eve of the Germans' arrival, gathered in Lviv and proclaimed the independent Ukrainian Republic. The Nazi party and the Gestapo were quick to show the Ukrainians that they came to Ukraine to be the "master race." The leaders of this movement, Stephen Bandera and Yaroslav Stetzko, were sent to a concentration camp near Berlin, and all other members were bitterly persecuted for their vast underground movement directed against the Nazis.

Metropolitan Sheptytzky gained even greater prestige among both Catholic and Orthodox Ukrainians by his resolute stand against the German invader. In 1942 was issued a notable Pastoral Letter in which he condemned the inhuman treatment of the Jews by the Nazis. The Gestapo raided his palace and the St. George Cathedral in Lviv, and it is rumored that only intervention of Erich Koch, German Commissioner for conquered Ukraine, saved the Metropolitan from arrest by the Gestapo.

A Second Pastoral Letter, issued in 1943, was directed against wholesale conscription of Ukrainians for slave labor in Germany. These deportations increased before the German retreat. More than three million Ukrainians were deported to Germany, and although the majority of them were from the Soviet Ukraine, the Catholics of Western Ukraine were heavily represented with hundreds of thousands. Nevertheless, only nineteen Catholic priests were allowed to go with the deportees

to serve their spiritual needs. The work of these priests under Reverend Peter Verhun was greatly hampered by the German authorities. Father Verhun was promptly arrested by the NKVD when the Russians entered Berlin, and has not been heard of since.

When the final *Gotterdammerung* came the Gestapo arrested hundreds of Ukrainian Catholic priests; some of them were sent to Dachau or to Oswiecim. The Ukrainian Catholic Church was hostile to the German domination of Ukraine, and the Germans, "preaching their Messianism of the West", were never able to enlist the assistance of the Catholic Church. This fact is all the more important because the Moscow radio, a few weeks ago, announced that Metropolitan Slipy, successor of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, is not dead, as reported, but awaits trial by the military tribunal as a "war criminal" in a Kiev prison.

## BOLSHEVIK POGROM AGAINST UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

### 1. YALTA AGREEMENT AND WHAT FOLLOWED

The war against the Nazis was still in full intensity on both Western and Eastern fronts, when decisions of tremendous importance were reached at Yalta. The late President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill made far-reaching compromises for Stalin's benefit: the Atlantic Charter was apparently put aside in allowing the Soviet Union to annex the Western Ukraine, the Baltic States, etc. This was purely territorial aggrandizement on Soviet Russia's part. The territory of Western Ukraine, as we have pointed out, never belonged to any Russian state. Ukraine could have claimed this part of her territory were she free and independent, but she herself is merely a slave of the Russian Communists.

The second accepted principle subsequently disregarded by the Russians was that of political asylum. If it is true that Stalin at Yalta received assurances all his political enemies, proven or potential, would be handed over by the Western democracies, then a violation of moral principle was involved. Cardinal Tisserant denounced the Allies for this reported secret deal. Defending the displaced Ukrainians and others who faced forced repatriation to their Soviet-dominated countries, he said:

I have seen what I was told was a true copy of that agreement made at Yalta. I cannot disclose the identity of the person who showed it to me, but I have every reason to believe him. The agreement provided for the return of persons who left Soviet territory since 1929, but refugees tell me that they are being sent back at the whim of military authority.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>New York Times, March 6, 1946.

## 2. SECOND SOVIET INVASION OF WESTERN UKRAINE, SUMMER, 1944

Several events of international importance occurred before the final Russian onslaught against Western Ukraine and Poland. There was the well-known Russian game with the Polish Government-in-exile in London; the affair of the murder of 10,000 Polish officers at Katyn Wood; the heroic uprising in Warsaw by General Bor-Komorowski in August, 1944, and his betrayal by Marshal Zhukov; and last but not least the abandonment of General Draja Mihailovich by the Allied Powers in favor of the Communist exponent of Stalin in Yugoslavia, Tito.

While Stalin and Molotov were driving a hard bargain apropos the so-called "Curzon Line" and the Ukrainian territory, important and significant "changes" were taking place in Ukraine. Moscow radio announced that "due to the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian and White Russian peoples against Fascist Germany," Ukraine and White Russia would be given vast national "concessions." Nominally independent, Ukraine was to have her own foreign ministry and soon to become a member of the United Nations. Well-known Ukrainian Communist writer Alexander Korneichuk, author of the plays *Bohdan Khmelnitzky* and *The Front*, became "Foreign Commissar" of Ukraine. He married the Polish Communist writer, Miss Wanda Wasilewska, a member of Polish Stalin-sponsored Lublin Government. With the *Comintern* dissolved a year ago, the Allies took all these superficial changes within the Soviet Union at their face-value.

With respect to the Church great strides have been made by Stalin. The Moscow Orthodox Patriarchate was re-established, together with a new propaganda slogan to the effect that there is "freedom of religion" in the Soviet Union. Since the war could not have been considered won as yet, the Soviet Government had to play with the nationalist traditions of Western Ukraine and other countries about to fall under Stalin's domination.

In January, 1945, when von Rundstedt's offensive in Belgium was completely broken and our armies were racing to the Rhine, Stalin had no doubt as to the issue of the war. He saw in Soviet victory the "historic justification and rehabilitation

of Communism," as he proclaimed at the 21st anniversary of Lenin's death.

At a new *Sobor* of the Russian Orthodox Church, gathered in January, 1945, in Moscow, Alexei was elected Patriarch. He was a nominee of the Soviet Government and a personal friend of Stalin. In his mouthpiece, the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, Alexei had already showed himself hostile to Western civilization, and an intransigent enemy of the Holy See.

### 3. UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH FACES NEW ORDEALS

On November 1, 1944, death claimed Metropolitan Sheptytzky at his palace in Lviv. He died a worn out man, cared for by his faithful, priests and bishops and also by Polish Archbishop Twardowski (reported later dead in a Soviet prison). Since 1900 he had been unquestionably leader of his people. He was buried in a crypt of St. George Cathedral. Ukrainian clerical reports say that the people paid the expenses of his funeral. Others, however, report that the Soviet Government paid these expenses, and that the Ukrainian Soviet Government was represented by Mikita Khrushchov, Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party and member of all-powerful *Polit-bureau* in Moscow. According to these unconfirmed reports he laid a wreath on Metropolitan Sheptytzky's grave on behalf of Stalin himself.

The new Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was Most Reverend Joseph Slipy, a close associate of the late Sheptytzky. He was confronted with the difficult task of saving his Church and people from the blood-thirsty semi-Asiatic hordes who were pursuing the beaten *Wehrmacht*. The Soviet attitude during the first months of occupation was that of cautious and watchful waiting. True, priests were being arrested here and there, and some were executed for "collaboration" with the Germans. But on the whole the Catholic Church was temporarily left in relative peace.

In April, 1945, the all-out offensive against the Ukrainian Catholic Church began. The military situation was all in favor of Stalin's decisive move. The American armies had crossed the Rhine, while the Russians were at the outskirts of Berlin. The "Ukrainian" Armies of Malinovsky, Konev and Telbukhin were in

Austria, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans. Meanwhile in San Francisco the first conference of the United Nations opened. To it the "independent" Ukraine and White Russia were admitted. Thus we had evidence of questionable compromises at Yalta. Stalin, evidently, had all the blue chips in his hands.

A vast campaign against the Catholic Church in the Western Ukraine got under way when two Orthodox Bishops arrived in Lviv, accompanied by great number of Orthodox priests. Reports are current that these clerics were schooled by the NKVD, attend the Red Army's officer mess and clubs and conduct themselves in the same manner as the Russian officers in other occupied countries, especially so far as women are concerned.

The Catholic Church was denounced in the press in Kiev and Lviv, and other Ukrainian cities. The Pope's Christmas allocution on "True and False Democracy" was bitterly attacked and he was labeled "abetter of Fascism". In April, 1945, an article entitled "With Cross and Knife" by Volodymyr Rosovich appeared in the Communist papers *Free Ukraine* in Lviv and *Soviet Ukraine* in Kiev. The article attacked the late Metropolitan Sheptytzky as the "servant of reactionary Rome". Its writer stated that Soviet patriotism found its expression in the revival of the Russian Orthodox Church. He asserted that the Greek Catholic Church and its clergy in league with the Vatican were supporting the Ukrainian underground movement against the Soviet system, and therefore could not be tolerated.

Following these verbal sallies actual physical attack began. We reproduce here eye-witness reports printed in the publication *For An Independent State* (No. 9-10), which appears clandestinely despite the Soviet dictatorship:

On April 11, 1945, a special detachment of NKVD troops surrounded the St. George Cathedral in Lviv. After a thorough search, according to the best methods of NKVD, the following were arrested: Metropolitan Joseph Slipy; Bishops N. Budka and M. Charnetzky; the Prelates, Rev. O. Kovalsky and Rev. L. Kunitzky; Rev. Gorchynsky, Rev. V. Beley; Rev. S. Sampara, Rector of the Theological Seminary, and his Administrator, Rev. J. Trush; Rev. R. Bilyk, Director of a Catholic School, and Rev. J. Hodunka, who after brutal tortures died in prison a few days after his arrest. The students of the Theological Seminary were rounded up and put in a camp at Pieracki Street. All professors of the Theological Seminary

were herded to a meeting organized by the NKVD and informed that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church had ceased to exist, that its Metropolitan was arrested and St. George Cathedral would be taken over by the Orthodox Bishop appointed by the Soviet authorities. During the search the NKVD men conducted themselves in a brutal manner, taking all gold and silver objects, liturgical wine, etc.

This happened but two weeks before the opening of the San Francisco Conference, where Russia and Ukraine were hailed as *bona fide* supporters and builders of a hard-won peace.

The raids were going on throughout the Western Ukraine. All Ukrainian Catholic bishops were arrested. In Lviv, besides Metropolitan Slipy, two bishops were apprehended: Mgr. Mikola Charnetzky, Titular Bishop of Lebedus and Redemptorist Apostolic Visitor in Volhynia, and Mgr. Niketa Budka, Titular Bishop of Patara, Ordinary for Catholics of Byzantine Rite.

In Stanislaviv, the NKVD arrested Bishop Gregory Khomyshyn and his Auxiliary Bishop, Mgr. Latyshevsky, Titular Bishop of Adada. Bishop Khomyshyn, an old man of 78, died in a train on his way to prison in Kiev. His secretary, Father Galant, was tortured to death. Bishop Latyshevsky was reported dead later.

In Peremyshl, which nominally does not belong to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic but rather to the Poland of Bierut & Co., the NKVD arrested Bishop Josaphat Kocylovsky<sup>1</sup>, together with his Auxiliary, Bishop Gregory Lakota, Titular of Daonio, subsequently reported dead in a Kiev prison. The only unharmed Bishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, besides Bishop Bohachevsky and Bishop Senyshyn who are in the United States and Most Rev. Volodymyr Ladyka, Bishop Ordinary and Apostolic Exarch of the Ukrainians, and Most Rev. Neil Nicholas Savaryn who are in Canada, is Bishop Ivan Buchko, Auxiliary of Lviv Diocese, at present in Rome.

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<sup>1</sup>The Ukrainian Press Service in London reports that Bishop Kocylovsky of Peremyshl Diocese, has returned to his See City after having been held by the Polish Secret Police in Rzeszow prison. The Polish authorities under Russian pressure, tried to force the Bishop to go to the Soviet Ukraine, since Peremyshl is west of the Curzon Line. Bishop Kocylovsky is reported to have refused, saying: "Rome placed me at Peremyshl, and only Rome can recall me from there."

All Polish Bishops, east of the "Curzon Line," have also been arrested. Archbishop Twardowski died at the age of 81, in a Soviet dungeon. No one knows the fate of Bishop Szelasek, Bishop of Lutzk, or Bishop Baziak, Auxiliary of the Latin Diocese of Lviv.

General Bor-Komorowski, leader of the ill-fated Warsaw uprising during the Summer of 1944, told this writer in an interview that Bishops of both Latin and Eastern Rite, east of Curzon Line, have simply disappeared.

After the pogrom against the Ukrainian Catholic Hierarchy the Russians went on to liquidate the lesser clergy. When news about the arrests of the Catholic Bishops spread, the Ukrainian Catholic priests, 500 of them, gathered in Lviv, to protest. The NKVD broke up the meeting and killed many of those in attendance. The others were arrested and are unheard of since. The Catholic Church was subjected to heavy persecution by the NKVD; no services were permitted without its special authorization.

A month later, in an undated document called "To the Priests and Faithful of the Greek Catholic Church in the Western Ukraine", Patriarch Alexei "invited" the Ukrainian Catholics to apostasy. His language was purely political and polemical in a tone hitherto unknown to any Church. For instance, he encouraged people to hate their enemies bitterly. After having stated falsely that the Russian Orthodox Church is "mother" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Alexei emits such words of eloquence as:

Now to what have the Metropolitan Sheptytzky and his colleague exhorted you? They have invited you to submit yourselves to the yoke of Hitler and to bow your heads before him. *Where is the Vatican leading you at this present time, by the Pope's addresses at Christmas and at the New Year? To complicity with the abettors of Fascism and to mercy toward Hitler, the greatest scoundrel the world has ever seen.* (Italics added).

Subsequently, his official publication, the *Journal of Moscow Patriarchate* printed a series of violent articles against the Vatican and Pope Pius XII.

It was the letter of Alexei which His Holiness the Pope had in mind when in the Encyclical *Orientalis Omnes Ecclesias* he wrote:

With grief We learn that in the regions which lately passed under Russian authority, Our dear brethren and children of the Ruthenian people are afflicted with great distress because of their fidelity to the Apostolic See. There is no lack of persons who are working with every means to entice them from the bosom of Mother Church and induce them to enter the community of the dissidents, against their own desire, their conscience and their sacred duty. . . Who does not know that the Patriarch Alexius, recently elected by the dissident Russian Bishops, in a Letter addressed to the Ruthenian Church, openly advocates and preaches its defection from the Catholic Church—a Letter which has notably contributed to the development of this sort of persecution. . .

Pope Pius XII referred to a special paragraph of the letter, that part, namely where Stalin's man calls upon the Ukrainian Catholics in these words:

*Break, tear the bonds which bind you to the Vatican; by its habitual ways it is leading you into darkness and into spiritual ruin; at this time it wishes to make you turn your backs on the whole world, in arming you against freedom-loving men.*  
(Italics added).

The last phrase apparently means "Stalin's freedom." No ecclesiastic in any religion or rite would use such profane and base language; Alexei's language is the parlance of the Russian secret police, the NKVD.

#### 4. PREPARATION FOR APOSTASY

Meanwhile the Russian secret police and special agents were working in towns and villages of Western Ukraine. The very existence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was left to the discretion of the local NKVD men. Brave priests who continued to exercise their duties were heavily fined or arrested on the slightest pretext.

One of those arrested was Rev. Dr. Havriil Kostelnyk, well-known in Ukrainian ecclesiastic circles. In 1936 he had written a pamphlet *Ideology of the Union* (1596), in which appeared the following:

Schism in the Church should be removed. The original Catholic Church, Eastern and Western, should be restored under the primacy of the Holy See of the Roman Bishop-Pope.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Statement of the Bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese in the United States, April 4, 1946.*

While he was in prison, the Lviv radio accused his two sons of having been in the German army. Father Kostelnyk himself was called "enemy of the people." But after a sudden release, he and two other priests, Rev. M. Melnyk and Rev. A. Pelvetzky, organized a "Committee of Initiative for the Transference of the Greek Catholic Church to Orthodoxy". Scores of other priests, among them Father Kladochny, are reported as having refused to join the "Committee of Initiative."

On May 28, 1945, a few weeks after V-E Day, the above-mentioned priests issued a letter addressed "to the Reverend Fathers of the Greek Catholic Clergy in the Western Province of the Ukraine," which, in contents and style, was identical with the letter addressed previously by the Moscow Patriarch Alexei. The Union of Brest was criticized as an instrument of Polish imperialism and international (Roman) reaction. A great deal of praise was given to the "incomparable and brilliant" First Marshal Stalin for his services to the Ukrainian nation and, indeed, mankind. The Catholic clergy was urged to join the "Committee of Initiative," because "*State authority will recognize only the steps taken by the Committee of Initiative, and will not recognize any other administration of the Greek Catholic Church*". The letter urged the Catholic clergy to join the apostate group, "*because they will need government-issued certificates in order to conduct their Church affairs.*"

On the same day, May 28th, 1945, *Free Ukraine*, Communist daily published in Lviv, printed a petition, signed by the same three priests, "To the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Society Socialist Republic." As in previous letters and petitions, the text did not deal with ecclesiastic issues, but was, indeed, a political assurance of loyalty and submission to Stalin and his men in Ukraine.

On June 18th, 1945, the Soviet Government sent its reply to the apostate group. Although their petition was addressed to the Ukrainian Soviet Government, the answer came from "the representative of the Council of People's Commissars for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church on the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S. S. R." In order to acquaint the

Western mind with the methods used in the Soviet Union in regard to the Church, we reproduce the document at length.<sup>1</sup> (Italics inserted) :

To the Members of the Committee of Initiative for Transference of the Greek Catholic Church to Orthodoxy, Dr. Kostelnik, Dr. Melnyk and Dr. Pelvetzky :

In reply to your declaration of May 28th, 1945, and conforming with the instructions of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S. S. R., I communicate to you the following :

1. The "Committee of Initiative" for the reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church, headed by you, is recognized officially as the sole juridico-ecclesiastic and administrative body having the right to control without reservation the Greek Catholic parishes of the Western Ukraine and promote their Union with the Russian Orthodox Church.

2. This "Committee of Initiative" has the right to direct those parishes in agreement with the representatives of the Council of People's Commissars for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church on the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S. S. R., and, as the case may be, in the districts, in agreement with local representative.

3. As the registration of Greek Catholic deaneries, parishes and religious houses proceeds, the "Committee of Initiative" will send to the representative of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S. S. R., the list of deans, priests and superiors of religious houses who refuse to submit themselves to the "Committee of Initiative for the Transference of the Greek Catholic Church to the Orthodox Church."

(Signed) : The representative of the Council of People's Commissars for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church on the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S. S. R. June 18th, 1945.

—P. KHOTCHANKO."

These documents, as the reader will see, are political rather than theological in character. Comrade Khotchanko ordered a list made of all these "deans, priests and superiors of religious houses who refuse to submit themselves to the "Committee of Initiative"! What would happen to those who did not follow Dr. Kostelnik and this group? In a state supremely despotic there is but one measure of "proletarian justice"—execution as "enemy of the people."

And yet, even such pressure did not force the faithful Ukrainian Catholics to submit.

<sup>1</sup>*Freedom of Conscience Under the Bolsheviks*, Foreign Department, Ukrainian Underground Movement, 1946, p. 16.

*Out of a total of 3,600 Ukrainian Catholic priests only 42 had submitted to the "Committee of Initiative" by the end of June, 1945!*

As soon as these letters of the Rev. Kostelnyk and his associates became known, more than 300 Ukrainian Catholic priests gathered at St. George Cathedral in Lviv, to protest against this unbelievable usurpation of man's conscience. They addressed a letter, not to Dr. Kostelnyk or Comrade Khotchanko, but to Foreign Commissar V. Molotov. With restraint they stressed their loyalty to the Soviet Ukraine and the Soviet Union. They wanted to take care of their people's souls, which could not but be beneficial for Church and State. This document, striking in dignity and wholly different from the others issued by the Soviet Government or its emissaries, will long be an example of the spiritual greatness of free men. These priests pointed out that freedom of religion finds guarantee in the Stalin Constitution, and that religion is respected all over the world. They requested, therefore, the release of their Metropolitan, their Bishops and "a great number of priests." Here is the document in full<sup>1</sup>:

To V. M. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs:

Following arrest of the whole Episcopate and a great number of priests of the Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, and in consequence of a prohibition vetoing all direction by our own clergy, Our Church found herself in a very abnormal situation.

This situation is further complicated by a fact that there has been set up in Lviv a "Committee of Initiative" for uniting the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church. This Committee headed by Rev. Dr. H. Kostelnyk of Lviv, Rev. Dr. Mikhaïlo Melnyk of Drohobych (Peremyshl Diocese) and Rev. A. Pelvetzky of Stanislaviv, has published an appeal *To the Reverend Clergy of Western Ukraine*, dated May 28th, 1945, and signed by the above-named priests.

We ourselves, priests of the Catholic Church, will not reply to the historical inexactitudes contained in this appeal; the facts in question are known to all. In the present letter we want simply to state our own position toward the Soviet Union and to lay our petition before the Government.

We would ask the Government to observe, in the first place, that we profess, and intend to profess, the most pure patriotism to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and to the Soviet Union, and that we intend to fulfill conscientiously our duties to

<sup>1</sup>*Freedom of Conscience Under the Bolsheviks*, Foreign Department, Ukrainian Underground Movement, 1946.

the State. *We will not on any account engage in any activities of political nature, but will devote ourselves to the work of saving our souls and those of our people. We think that such a work will bring benefits not only for the Church but for the State as well.*

Our attitude to Dr. Kostelnyk's initiative is completely negative. His actions we condemn as detrimental, as entirely opposed to the tradition of the Church, and as contrary to the Truth proclaimed by Christ: "There shall be one fold and one shepherd". It is, therefore, evident that we cannot listen to a voice which incites us to apostasy from the Faith. *A situation such as that which at present exists may rapidly lead to one of those religious wars, which as history shows, can bring nothing but loss, not only to the Church, but to the whole nation.*

Therefore, we request the Government to release our Bishops, in the first place, our Metropolitan. And, while awaiting their liberation, we ask the Government to grant us the right to regulate all questions regarding our Greek Catholic Church. We further ask, that, until the release of the Metropolitan and Bishops, a canonically legal organization may administer the ecclesiastic province of Lviv-Galicia. We want to believe that the Government will receive this request favorably and come to our assistance, since the Stalin Constitution guarantees to all citizens of the U. S. S. R., including ourselves, liberty of conscience and religious practice.

We know that the Revolution of 1917 was in the name of high principles, and we believe that these ideals of freedom are respected today and practised in the whole world.

We don't believe that the Government wants to persecute us for our Faith and we consider the action of the "reunion with Orthodoxy", as a misunderstanding, as an act *sui generis*, of minor or major officials.

Therefore, in the name of justice, in the name of the glorious victory of the Soviet Union, we ask for ourselves, and for our people of Western Ukraine, that liberty of ecclesiastic administration which we have enjoyed during the centuries, and to which, according to Soviet law, we have the right.

Lviv, St. George's Place, No. 5, July 1st, 1945.

What were the results of this eloquent appeal?

##### 5. STALIN-MADE APOSTATE "SYNOD" IN LVIV

All signatories of this petition were arrested and accused of "sabotage," and violation of state laws involving security. From fully reliable sources detailed information is available as to the resulting persecution of Ukrainian Catholics *en masse*. Clergy and laity were killed by the hundreds, countless numbers were beaten, and thousands of others were forced into slave camps or

deported to Asia and Siberia. Whole villages were uprooted, families were deliberately divided; husbands and fathers were sent to the impenetrable regions of Siberia, wives and mothers to brick factories in Turkestan. Children were collected into Communist child centers. But thousands fled into the hills and mountains to join underground forces, and many others scattered throughout Germany, Italy, Austria, France and elsewhere, there to join the thousands of Ukrainian DP's already under American, British and French occupation government.

More and more names of Catholic priests executed are coming to light. After Japan surrendered the Russian persecution increased in intensity and quantity. Several young Ukrainian priests, former students of Rome and Innsbruck theological colleges were put to death. Such cities as Sambir, Drohobych, Zolochiv, Dobromyl, were scenes of mass murder of Catholic priests and laity.

On June 29th, 1945, the Czechoslovakian Government of Benes and Fierlinger ceded Carpatho-Ukraine, or Ruthenia, to the Soviet Union. The dreaded NKVD at once started a manhunt in this poor and mountainous region. The fate of these Catholics was no different from that of their brother Catholics in Galicia. The local Soviet Commissar, Ladislaus Tudosi, with one decree confiscated all Catholic churches, monasteries and properties.

Cardinal Tisserant, whom we have already quoted, made the following accusations against the Russians to the Rome correspondent of the *New York Times*, March 1st, 1946:

Priests, religious orders and sisters are being deported systematically, with more than one-fifth of the 2,000 of Ruthenian Dioceses already banished into Asia.

Ukrainian Catholics in lower Carpathia have suffered by confiscation of Catholic property by the State, and suppression of Catholic Schools. Sermons are censored, priests deprived of their means of livelihood and forced to seek manual labor to live.

Communist propagandists holding meetings in villages to urge the Catholics to join the Orthodox Church of Moscow. Priests resisting similar pressure, are labeled "enemies of the people".

The Seminary of Mukachevo, 180 miles northeast of Budapest, has been robbed of its buildings.

The Basilian Fathers have lost all their houses and institutions and more than thirty have been arrested and nothing has been heard of them since.

The Bulletin of the Catholic Association for International Peace, May, 1946, issue, reports:

Bishop Theodore G. Rhomza, the only Catholic Ruthenian Bishop of the Byzantine-Slavonic rite who has had even a limited amount of freedom, has been arrested and deported to parts unknown. Much of the Church property in his diocese, including the Cathedral, has been seized and handed over to Moscow-dominated Schismatic Orthodox Church.

Cardinal Tisserant cites the Encyclical issued by the Pope on January 19, 1946, in which he said: "For the Ruthenians the matter is reduced to this dilemma: either schism or martyrdom; and martyrdom means arrests, deportation into Asia, prison, forced labor and death."

In the Western Ukraine, meanwhile, great numbers of NKVD agents and political agitators, headed by such Ukrainian Communist writers as Bazhan (later Soviet Ukraine's representative to the inter-Government Commission on DP's in London!), Tychyna, Rylsky, Vyshnia, and others, were terrorizing the Ukrainian population and forcing them to accept Orthodoxy of Stalinist make.

Finally on March 8th, 1946, a "Synod" attended by 216 Ukrainian priests, and headed by Dr. Kostelnyk, Dr. Melnyk and Dr. Pelvetzky, "officially" proclaimed the "reunion of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church. The three apostates were nominated "Bishops" by Patriarch Alexei's man, Archbishop Macarius of Kiev, known as Mikhailo Oksaniuk.

There was no one to oppose this farcical and yet so tragic move. All recusants, according to the instruction of Comrade Khotchanko, were physically removed from their parishes and deaneries. A great majority of them became modern martyrs for their beloved Catholic Church.

The "Synod" did not fail to send the following communication to the actual head of the Russian Orthodox Church, Joseph Stalin:

The Council of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine gathered in Lviv on March 8th, 1946, has resolved to revoke the Brest Union with the Vatican from 1596 and to return to the bosom of the ancestral Russian Orthodox Church, the light of which emerged from Kiev, the historic cradle of the

Russian, Ukrainian and White Russian nations. We are happy to be able to entreat you, oh Leader of the Great Soviet Union, to consent to accept this report together with expressions of our happiness that henceforth nothing will ever divide our unified Ukrainian nation. In this historic and epoch-making moment we feel obligated to express our deep gratitude to you for the great act of unifying the Ukrainian lands into one. Without this unification it would not have been possible even to dream of liquidating the disunity in our Church and in our religion.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Ukrainian Press Service, London, March, 1946.

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The Holy See and the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops of the United States declared this "Synod" illegal and its decisions invalid. According to canon law, only bishops have the right to convene such ecclesiastic meetings. There are reports that among 216 "priests" attending this "Synod," the majority were the Russian NKVD agents disguised as Catholic priests.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church, veritable *ante-murale Christianitatis*, is going through a crucial and trying period.

\* \* \*

In other Catholic countries now under the aegis of enslaving Bolshevism, Church conditions vary according to local situations. Yet the NKVD has a far-reaching arm. The basic philosophy of Russian Communism as regards the Church has not been changed; on the contrary, the violence with which the Russians persecute the Ukrainian Catholic Church indicates the mounting fury of these dark forces of materialistic totalitarianism.

Bernard Cardinal Griffin, at a special mass of intercession at Westminster Cathedral, implored: "We invite all who would proclaim the sacred rights of men and his personal, religious and political liberty to join us in protesting against the brutal treatment meted out to those who fought that men be free."—(New York Times, March 25, 1946).

General Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski, leader of the Warsaw uprising against the Nazis, declared that the Catholic Church in Poland is greatly hampered by the Polish Security Police, which is under direct control of the NKVD. Both Polish Cardinals, Hlond and Sapieha, are beset by difficulties, while the only Catholic paper *Dziennik Katolicki*, is limited in its circulation. General Bor

stated that, after the liquidation of Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party, the Catholic Church will be the first victim of the Russian forces in Poland.

In Hungary the Catholic Church and its Cardinal Mindszenty are officially declared "enemies of the people." The government circles, under Russian instigation, did not hesitate to put the Cardinal in prison.

Tito's rule over Catholic Croatia and Slovenia is one organized pogrom against the Catholic Church. Separation of Church and State and suppression of religious institutions have been voted by Tito's parliament. Bishop Gregory Rozman of Liubliana is under constant threat of arrest. A few months ago Tito's military tribunals condemned five Yugoslav nuns to death for alleged complicity in a murder involving Communist Partisans.

In Croatia, in February, 1946, the prisons were full of Catholic priests. Archbishop Stepinac is under constant supervision of the OZNA, Tito's version of the NKVD. His publication, *Narodna Tiskara*, was suppressed.

In Czechoslovakia, especially in Slovakia, anti-Catholic persecutions are of daily occurrence. The Czech Government is more often than not a willing partner of the NKVD.

The Baltic Catholics since 1940 have been under a brutal police system, successively NKVD and Gestapo, and now again under the NKVD.

\* \* \*

The tragic history of the Ukrainian Catholics indicates what is in store for the Catholic Church all over the world, if the Russians extend their destructive policy in Asia, to Western Europe, to South and North America. There is no alternative for them, but to do what they are doing in Ukraine. Their materialistic philosophy will tolerate no other. The brutality will only be increased because their hatred for the "decadent West" is bottomless.

## DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO "APOSTASY"

DOCUMENT I:—*The Patriarch of Moscow Alexei to the Ukrainian Catholics in April, 1945, inviting them to betray the Roman Catholic Church.*

To the Pastors and Faithful of the Greek Catholic Church in the  
Western Ukraine!

Very dear Fathers, Brothers and Sisters in Christ.

On February 2 of this year the *Sobor* of the Russian Orthodox Church raised me to the dignity of Patriarch of Moscow and of All Russia. In this capacity I cannot refrain from making the voice of my fatherly affection heard to you. Since ancient times you have been tied to Russia and to her people by language and your ancestral customs. Now Divine Providence has restored to Russia her ancient frontiers; you are henceforward with us for ever.

It would be an inexpressible happiness for me and for all the Russian Orthodox Church if we were able to live this historic time with you, not only in the same spirit but in the same common prayer in our holy churches, wherein, with one mouth and with one heart, we would praise and give thanks to the Lord, the source of all good. Unhappily, we are unable to recite this common prayer with you. During the period when they were detached from Russian soil, your ancestors were also detached from their Mother, the Russian Orthodox Church; and, under foreign influence, your ancestors, and you, their descendants, accepted the spiritual guidance of the Pope of Rome and adhered to Catholic dogmas which degrade the primitive purity of Greek Orthodoxy. The Orthodox rites which you retain in the liturgy bear eloquent testimony to your ancient attachment to the Orthodox Church, but they have no longer her spirit and they no longer

nourish the faithful with divine grace; for, as a leaf broken from its branch cannot live, so a spiritual community of the Church which is detached from the unity of Orthodoxy loses contact with the apostles and with the transmission of grace.

As your Father, I can only lament over such a situation. See, dear Fathers and Brothers, where this spiritual direction has led you in the historic time in which you are living. Hitler, preaching hatred among men, according to his Fascist doctrine, and cherishing the senseless desire to exterminate the Slav peoples, and all the other peoples of inferior races, as he calls them, according to the Fascist theory—Hitler dreams of conquering the world. All that is best in mankind, all honest men and friends of progress, rose up against this bloodthirsty madman. God visibly blesses the arms of those who fight against Hitler and Fascism in the defense of the liberty, peace and prosperity of mankind. The finger of God points for the world to see to the imminent and final end of this cannibal.

Now to what have the Metropolitan Sheptytzky and his colleagues exhorted you? They have invited you to bow your heads before him. Where is the Vatican leading you at this present time, by the Pope's addresses at Christmas and at New Year? Toward complicity with abettors of Fascism and to mercy towards Hitler, the greatest scoundrel that the history of the world has ever seen.

The Holy Apostle John says: "I have no greater grace than this to hear that my children walk in truth" (III John 1:4). I repeat these words to you and say, as your Father and your Patriarch, that I could not have a more holy consolation than to see you, remembering your ancestors, turn your hearts from the Vatican so as to turn them towards your Mother, the Orthodox Church, who awaits you with outstretched arms, that we may all, the sons of Great Russia and of Galician Russia, feel ourselves to be truly brothers in Jesus Christ, and may advance, in the bosom of the Orthodox Church, towards eternal salvation.

You have doubtless learned from the press that two Eastern Patriarchs, two representatives of the other two Patriarchates, and representatives of the Serbian, Georgian and Rumanian Churches took part in the *Sobor* of the Russian Orthodox Church

in Moscow in February. Despite the Vatican, the whole Orthodox Church, through these representatives, condemned Hitler, the bloodthirsty one, and sent its blessing to all progressive humanity and to its illustrious leaders who are struggling to destroy Fascism and to cause peace, liberty and prosperity to reign on earth. I conjure you, my brothers, to keep with us the unity of spirit with the union of peace. Break, tear the bonds which bind you to the Vatican; by its habitual ways it is leading you into the darkness and into spiritual ruin; at this time it wishes to make you turn your backs on the whole world, in arming you against freedom-loving men.

Hasten return to your Mother's embrace, to the Russian Orthodox Church. We shall soon celebrate the liberation of the world from Fascism, the source of aggression and evils. It is necessary that at the same time we shall celebrate your return to the faith of your ancestors, to the House of the Father, to union with us, to the Glory of the Triune God, to Whom be honor and glory for ever and ever.

ALEXEI, Patriarch of Moscow and of all Russia.

DOCUMENT II:—*Dr. Kostelnyk and his apostate priests send a formal petition to the Ukrainian Soviet Government for official "protection."*

(Printed in *Communist Free Ukraine*, Lviv, May 28th, 1945)

To the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S. S. R.

In the Greek Catholic or Uniate Church, among both their clergy and the faithful, there have always been found men conscious of the rights of the faith and the truth of their ancestors. In our history, the union of the Church has been conceived and brought about by the Poles, as the surest and most convenient means of submerging our nation. There is no need for deep learning to be aware of this; it is enough to be able to think freely. If Russia had not partitioned Poland, our Ukrainian nation and the White Russian nation would, under Poland, have disappeared from the face of the earth before the "spring of the nations" in the nineteenth century; for, because of the Union, they would have been transformed into Poles. It was then that Russia saved our people from a shameful destruction. Who, then, will think of the children if not their mother?

Under Austria, the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia, in the nineteenth century, shook off gradually the spiritual yoke of the Poles and spiritually contributed to the revival of our people; but under Hungary the magyarization of our people was continued in the nineteenth century, thanks to the Uniate clergy, and it was only Czecho-Slovakia, created after the First World War, which saved our nation. When Poland rose again, it became clear, little by little, that the Uniate Church of Galicia was no longer of any use to Rome. Rome had always desired the most complete assimilation of our Church to the Latin Church, and it is for that reason that she introduced the celibacy among our clergy. Those who were fighting for the rights and honor of our Church were under constant accusation and persecution.

Poland wanted to Latinize our Church and Polishize our people; she persecuted the Orthodox Church; availing herself of the Union, she built churches, and, outside Galicia, with the blessing of Rome, she created a new Uniate Church, directly subordinate to the Polish Bishops. Strange things happened: the Metropolitan Sheptytzky protested publicly in the press against the opening of churches called "pre-uniate," and Pope Pius XI sold those churches to the Polish Government for 2,000,000 zlotys.

Our Greek Catholic Church in Galicia found herself hopelessly stationary, without any possibility of development and growth. The partisans of Latinization preached that our Church had to be steered toward full Latinization, and in the same time preached hatred for the Orthodox Church. And those of us who were of independent thought, because of all these abuses of the Union, began to see clearly that our path was not with Rome. They were waiting for a new world-development, for it was the only hope for our people to save themselves and their Church from destruction under chauvinistic Poland.

The war of Hitlerite Germany against the U. S. S. R. became very soon a war of annihilation of all Slavs. One might have thought that the Germans would leave in peace the Uniate Church and the Orthodox Church. It was far from that—they were prepared for the complete destruction of our Church. They brought all sorts of religious sects of German origin, they forbade discussion of the reunion of Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches,

they did not tolerate consolidation of Western Ukraine, and in Eastern Ukraine (Soviet) they purposely hampered the Orthodox Church, divided it according to their administrative districts, in order to subject the Bishops to the authorities in those districts. The old *divide et impera* was applied to the fullest extent in Ukraine. It became clear that if Germany had won the war, our people and our Church would have been condemned to destruction.

To whom were we to look for assistance? We do not conceal the fact that our people of Western Ukraine were from the fourteenth century under the influence of Western Europe. They were imbued with the ideals that formed Western civilization, and it was because of that that they were enabled to withstand the pressure of Polish super-nationalism.

On the other hand, we in our hearts could not look hopefully at the Soviet Union, because we were afraid of its revolutionary atheism, we were completely alien to its Socialism, and we still did not have confidence in the righteous solution of the nationalities problem in the Soviet Union. But we were erring in that respect; the result of the Patriotic War for the fatherland against the German invader is the best proof how wrong we were. These Soviet peoples, actually, would not have been able to march as a single people and to endure so many sacrifices for their country if they had not been satisfied with the solution of the problem of nationalities. We confess that at the end of the German occupation we had no more than one single thought: fear without any hope. We had committed an error in misjudging the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of the First Marshal, the Incomparable Stalin, the brave and wonderful Red Army covered itself with an immortal glory, has wiped out the Hitlerite army and saved Europe from the frightful Nazi domination and all Slav peoples from destruction.

The centuries-long dream of all Ukrainians have been realized; all the Ukrainian lands have been re-united to the motherland; the Great Ukraine has arisen in a fraternal union with Moscow and all the Soviet people. She has already achieved a full security and every possibility of a most brilliant development.

Marshal Stalin will eternally be in our history the collector

of all Ukrainian lands. Thus we, the Western Ukrainians, are grateful to him, because we cannot repay our moral debt to the Soviet Government. The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S. S. R., Nikita Sergejevich Khrushchov, has also very great merits for the unification of Ukraine. All Ukrainians express their sincere gratitude to him.

This is our stand, which we shall defend with all our resources. We have full confidence in the Soviet Government and we want to work for the good of our Orthodox fatherland, for if the Soviet Government had made so many sacrifices to liberate us, will it refuse anything that we may be able to live?

For those who think, it is clear that the Uniate Church, in these new political conditions and national forms, is an historical paradox. When our Ukrainian nation is united in a single political state organism, its Church also must be united in one Church, in a national Church, depending on no foreign authority, in an Orthodox Church, which is the Church of our ancestors. This ideal was recognized in the most enlightened circles of our people even when we were under Poland. Unfortunately, our Bishops have not been able to adopt a sensible point of view, either of the political situation or of the recent situation of the Church. These historic events have passed over their heads, and we found ourselves without a captain on a sinking ship.

Our Church has found herself out of step and in a state of anarchy. That has had a repercussion on our religious life. This situation cannot last for ever.

That is why, we, the undersigned, representatives of three dioceses, have decided to lead our Church out of this state of anarchy, to consolidate it in the Orthodox Faith, and we ask that our action be approved.

We have decided to undertake the direction of "The Committee of Initiative for the Transference of the Greek Catholic Church to the Orthodox Church." Religious psychology is of a very delicate nature, and one cannot think of an immediate transformation of the Uniate Church into an Orthodox Church. Time will be needed in order to save the honor of the priests, to persuade and educate the clergy, to pacify and re-educate the faithful.

The Committee of Initiative, which every day gains new adherents, intends to start the registration of its members, and the publication of books already written under Polish domination. In general, it wishes to conduct this affair in such a way as not to cause unnecessary struggle. We want to take steps to ensure that there may not be those who will be recalcitrant.

This action will be carried out in accordance with the government and the Synod of the All-Russian Orthodox Church, because only such a cooperation guarantees a complete success.

We, therefore, ask you to approve our group and give it the right to direct intended action.

(Signed): HAVRIIL FEDOROVICH KOSTELNYK, priest, of the Preobrazhenska Church, Lviv, Chairman of the Committee of Initiative, Representative of the Eparchy of Lviv.

MIKHAIL IVANOVICH MELNYK, parish priest of Nizhankovychi and Vicar-General of Drohobych District of Eparchy of Peremyshl, Representative of the Eparchy of Peremyshl.

ANTIN ANDRIYEVICH PELVETZKY, parish priest of Kopychyntzi, Rural Dean of Husiatyn, Representative of the Eparchy of Stanislaviv.

Lviv, May 28th, 1945.

DOCUMENT III: *Memorandum in Regard to the Persecution of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine.*

(Text of the Memorandum which was sent by the General Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation to His Holiness Pius XII, the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and others).

On March 18, 1946, the TASS reported that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, in its "Synod" in Lviv, attended by 216 priests, decided to break its ties with Rome and to return to the bosom of the Russian Orthodox and thus submitted itself to the Russian Patriarch. This fact was also confirmed by the Holy See.

The Soviet commentaries add that this was accomplished by

the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church spontaneously, voluntarily and with great joy.

The "Synod" had resolved its canonical status, while its relation to the State was determined by the "representative of the Council of People's Commissars for the Russian Orthodox Church on the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S. S. R." in a letter addressed to the "Committee of Initiative" on June 18, 1945.

The General Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation, the only legal government of the Ukrainian people fighting the Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine, makes the following declarations:

1. The break of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with Rome and its submission to the Russian Patriarch was accomplished *against the will of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishops, clergy and faithful*. Even the Synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Autocephalic) abroad in its session in March, 1946, in Esslingen, Germany, condemned this "reunion" as an act of brutal persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

As far back as 1939 (after joint occupation of Poland with Hitler) the Bolsheviks tried to destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church. But at that time the Russians did not feel strong enough to challenge world opinion by persecuting the Catholics within their borders. But now their attack on the Catholic Church is part of a vast plan for destruction of our present civilization, a plan that took a definite form after the recent Russian victory.

In addition, the prestige of Metropolitan Sheptytzky, then still alive, was too great among the millions of the Ukrainian people not to be taken into consideration. Only after his death in November, 1944, did the Bolsheviks renew their attacks upon the Ukrainian Catholic Church. First, they organized a press and radio campaign against the Church. Then they arrested Metropolitan Slipy and his bishops. Bishop Khomyshyn and his Secretary, Father Galant, died the death of martyrs in Bolshevik prisons. The others still remain in prison, nobody knows where nor for what reason. Hundreds of Ukrainian Catholic priests were arrested and deported into the interior of the Soviet Union. Many of them died for their Faith. Hundreds of thousands of Catholics were sent to Siberia or other parts of Russia. Now the

Ukrainian people, besides their fight for political and social freedom, have to fight for their religion.

In order to attain their goal, the Bolsheviks have used the so-called "Committee of Initiative" composed of a few priests. This group in its appeal to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy writes: "The State authorities will recognize only decisions of the 'Committee of Initiative' as the only representative administration in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church." According to the Soviet information, the "Committee of Initiative" was represented by 216 priests. There are about 3,600 Catholic priests in Western Ukraine; thus 3,400 are denied the right of administering to their Church and the Faithful.

Furthermore, in his letter to this "Committee of Initiative" of June 18th, 1945, the representative of the Council of People's Commissars for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church on the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S. S. R., writes: ". . . the list of deans, priests and superiors of religious houses who refuse to submit themselves to the 'Committee of Initiative' should be submitted to the authority."

It is necessary to add that the Stalin Constitution in its 124th article guarantees every citizen freedom of conscience. As far as there is question of those who are recalcitrant to the "reunion", one has only to disobey the order.

*But yet, not even one Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishop gave his approval or his voice to this action.* On the contrary, the Metropolitan and all Bishops who opposed this action most vigorously were arrested. Thus the "reunion" of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church was accomplished against the will of the former.

2. This "reunion" was accomplished under pressure of the Soviet Government, which for this purpose resorted to terror and physical brutality.

As was pointed out, hundreds of thousands of Catholic faithful were deported to Siberia, bishops and priests were arrested and deported, churches were closed. Deaneries were dissolved and their members were arrested and placed in different jails of the Soviet Union. The Greek Catholic Church was left without any administrative authority. Cathedrals and residences of Bishops were confiscated by the state authority.

In 1939 the Russians tried to use Rev. H. Kostelnyk for their purposes, but unsuccessfully. In 1945, in a press campaign directed against the Greek Catholic Church, Kostelnyk was represented as the "enemy of the people" whose two sons were in Hitler's army; but a month later Kostelnyk organized the "Committee of Initiative".

The Ukrainian Catholics west of the "Curzon Line," in the new Poland, have met the same fate. In a Catholic Poland under pressure of the Russians, the same persecution of the Ukrainian Catholics is taking place. According to Russian-Polish agreement came the repatriation of the Ukrainians to the Soviet Union, which the Ukrainians resisted. Hundreds of villages were burned down, many Catholic priests and faithful were killed. Bishop Kocylowsky, Ordinary of Peremyshl Diocese, was ordered by the Polish Warsaw government on September 23, 1945, to leave his See and go east of the "Curzon Line." When he refused to do so, he was promptly arrested. The Apostolic Administrator of Lemkivschyna, Father Malinovsky, was ordered in August, 1945, to go under an armed escort to the Soviet Union.

After this terroristic preparation among the Catholic clergy and their faithful, the NKVD was able to organize this "Committee of Initiative," which was ordered to convoke the "Synod" resulting in separation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with Rome and its submission to the Russian Orthodox Church.

3. This act of "reunion" is another instance in the history of the Ukrainian people of Russian assault upon the liberty and conscience of Ukraine. Representing the well-known theory of a "Third Rome" (*ex oriente lux*), Russia has been since the fourteenth century aiming at the same goal. It was especially hard for the Ukrainian Church in the seventeenth century. In 1685 the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and its hierarchy was brutally subordinated to the Russian, the Ukrainian language was barred from the Church, religious books were prohibited to be printed in Ukrainian, and the Holy Gospel in the native tongue was considered illegal literature. Heavy censorship was imposed on religious books and all Ukrainian dioceses were staffed with Russians hostile to the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian clergy was deported to Siberia, while their places were taken by Russian priests. The Orthodox Church in Ukraine became a bastion of

Russian imperialistic policy, so hated and opposed by millions of the Ukrainians.

At the end of the sixteenth century the Ukrainian Episcopate concluded a Union with Rome (1596). The Ukrainian Church recognized supremacy of Pope, but retained its rite and extensive rights in the field of Canon law. The Union was signed by six Bishops with Metropolitan Mykhailo Rohoza at their head, and two Archimandrites. In the middle of the seventeenth century Carpatho-Ukraine accepted the Union, and in the beginning of eighteenth century the diocese of Lviv and Peremyshl.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the Union was suppressed by the policy of the Russian Czars. Some 10,000 parishes with eight million faithful were forced to become Orthodox. In 1675 the last Ukrainian diocese under Russia, that of Kholm, was forced to abandon the Union.

Only in the western parts of Ukraine (Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine) the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church retained close contact with Rome. In 1939 this Church had more than five million faithful, over 4,000 priests, sixteen Bishops and one Apostolic administrator.

During the first World War, in 1914, the Russian Government renewed its attacks upon the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Its head Metropolitan Sheptytzky, was arrested and kept three years in Czarist prisons. Today the "democratic Soviet regime" is doing exactly the same thing. The successor of Metropolitan Sheptytzky, Metropolitan Slipy, and other bishops are already in Soviet prisons. The Ukrainian Catholic Church ceased to exist by one decision of a Russian official.

There is no Ukrainian Church, Catholic or Orthodox. There is only one Orthodox Soviet Church under Patriarch Alexei of Moscow, which is alien to the Ukrainian people. This Church is illegal because it was created by the Russian police after liquidation of the old Russian Orthodox Church in 1930-37.

4. From the canonical point of view, the "Synod" of Lviv, attended by 216 priests on March 8, 1946 is illegal and in consequence has no legal obligation for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and its faithful. Only the Metropolitan, according to canon

law has the right to convene a Synod, and only bishops have the right to decide in matters of Church jurisdiction.

The Union with Rome was concluded at Brest Synod in 1596, signed by a Metropolitan, six Bishops and two Archimandrites. Its abolition was signed by three priests in a "Synod" attended by 216.

\* \* \*

The General Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation, in the name of its revolutionary government, which is conducting an armed struggle against the Bolshevik invaders:

1. Registers a protest before civilized mankind against usurpation by the Russian Bolsheviks upon the conscience of the Ukrainian people.

2. Warns all Christian Churches against the false methods of anti-religious Bolshevism.

3. Makes known that the present Russian Orthodox Church in its masses mentions as "being sent by God" Stalin the greatest persecutor of Christianity in the history of mankind.

4. States that in suppressing the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church the Russians have exclusively a political aim, and not religious consideration for the Ukrainian people.

The General Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation submits to the Holy See the following requests:

1. To designate an exarch for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Western parts of Ukraine until all Bishops and priests will be released from Soviet prisons.

2. To make all efforts for the liberation of Ukrainian Bishops and priests from Soviet prisons.

3. To take a canonical stand in regard to so-called "re-union" of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church.

4. To ask the United Nations to send a mixed commission to investigate the "voluntary" transference of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church to the Russian Orthodox Church.

5. To nominate a Field Bishop for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

6. To nominate an Apostolic Administrator for the Ukrainian Catholic refugees in Western Europe.



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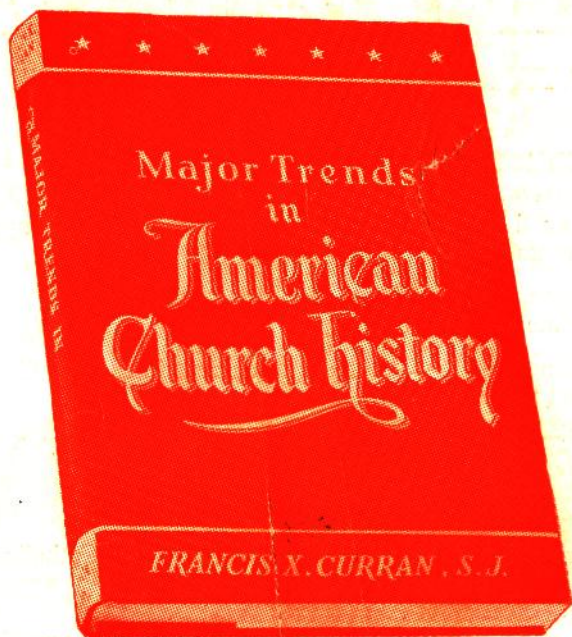
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