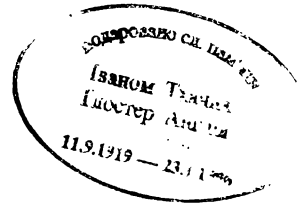


THE GUN and THE FAITH

*Religion and Church in Ukraine
Under the Communist Russian Rule*



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**Religion and Church in Ukraine
under the Communist Russian Rule**

A Brief Survey by
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INTRODUCTION

Western press agencies reported recently on the arrest of Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskiy of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern rite in Lviv, the capital of West Ukraine, on January 27, 1969. While the archbishop was on his way to hear the confession of a sick woman, the KGB men followed him to the woman's house, arrested him and brought him back to his own apartment which was then searched thoroughly. Arresting Archbishop Vasyl they told those present: "You will never see him again."

After the archbishop's imprisonment the KGB searched the homes of other Ukrainian Catholic priests in Lviv and in other cities of West Ukraine. Many were arrested on the same day.

In 1968 a 56-year old priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Father Antin Potochniak, was arrested in the city of Stryi and sentenced to 5 years of hard labour. The court found him guilty of having conducted "illegal" divine services, of having preached to large numbers of the faithful who were thus kept from "useful work" and of having warned children against atheistic indoctrination in schools. The last charge was considered the most damaging. Asked by the court whether he was going to plead guilty to the charges, Father Potochniak said: "I have not committed any crime and I feel innocent of the charges."¹

In 1966 apparently the last Orthodox village church in the Dnipropetrovsk region of Ukraine was dynamited and blown up in the village of Surs'ke. The old Cossack church of Holy Mother of *Protection* which once was painted by Taras Shevchenko, the famous Ukrainian 19th C. poet and painter, was pulled down.²

Recently, the Ukrainian Orthodox Convent which was situated at No. 15, Bekhterivs'kyi Provulok in Kiev has been closed. It existed since World War II and its 250 nuns earned their living by working in various artisan shops which they ran themselves, such as tailoring, book-binding, painting, etc. workshops. There remains now only one monastery in Kiev, the so-called Voznesensky monastery.^{2a}

1) Arrests of Ukrainian Archbishop and Clergy", *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XX, No. 2, March-April 1969, p. 16.

2) "The Witches' Sabbath of the Chauvinists", *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, p. 46.

^{2a}) *Shliakh Peremohy*, Ukrainian weekly, Vol. XVI, No. 26 (801), June 29, 1969, Munich, p. 3.

These are only a few examples of the most recent acts of the persecution of religion and Church in Ukraine by the communist Russian regime of occupation. These facts remind the free world that these things do not simply belong to the past, to the dark era of Stalin, but live on in the present, supposedly more enlightened days.

On the other hand, these facts illustrate that religious spirit lives on despite persecutions, and that there exists underground Church, that free conscience of man cannot be shut in by draconic laws and regulations and the tyranny of the bureaucratic agents of the power of a totalitarian state.

The following survey of the abnormal relations between the State and the Church in Ukraine, imposed by the alien Russian Bolshevik regime of occupation, and maintained by terror and force until the present day, should serve as a warning to all those who naïvely imagine that freedom of conscience exists in the USSR or that its leaders are likely to bring about an improvement in this respect in the future.

BOLSHEVIST ATTITUDE TO RELIGION AND FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

The Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedia states that "Freedom of conscience — is one of the democratic freedoms which consists in the citizens' right to profess any religion or not to profess any." It further asserts that real freedom of conscience exists only in Socialist Society, apparently in the USSR. But a few lines further it states that in the USSR "All citizens are assured of the freedom of performance of religious rites and the freedom of anti-religious propaganda." This logical sleight of hand occurring between the first and the last statement reveals to some extent the inequality of the legal position of religion and Church in the USSR. For the same entry in the Encyclopaedia explains further: "The Soviet State has created all conditions for the final eradication of religious ideology by way of the utilisation of the means of ideological influence in order to educate men in the spirit of scientific-materialist world outlook, to overcome religious superstitions."³ Thus we see that even in an article on the freedom of conscience the authoritative Soviet source stresses the bias of the immensely powerful State machinery of the USSR against a religious outlook, and the individuals and groups who wish to preserve it, in favour of the atheistic world outlook. The partiality of the Communist State against real freedom of conscience is immediately obvious. In real life, as different from propaganda articles, the unequal situa-

³) *Ukrains'ka radians'ka entsyklopediia*, vol. 13, p. 11.

tion of religion and Church in the USSR amounts to nothing less than a great tragedy.

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The Communist doctrine embraced by Russian Bolsheviks denied all value to religion which in Marx's definition was "opium for the people" and an instrument of the bourgeoisie for keeping the proletariat in subjection. And although, for propaganda reasons, the Bolsheviks proclaimed full freedom of conscience, they had never any intention of implementing such declarations in real life.

In one of his authoritative statements Lenin said: "Our Party... cannot and must not be indifferent to lack of consciousness, ignorance or obscurantism in the form of religious beliefs." And as the Communist Party and the Soviet State have been and remain just two aspects of the same inseparable whole, the Party's attitude has naturally been transferred to the attitude of the Soviet State towards religion, irrespective of all formal declarations about the freedom of conscience. For it is the Communist Party that in fact wields full power in the USSR and is able to carry out its policies through the State machinery without any hindrance and even sometimes contrary to its own laws and solemn declarations. The declarations and laws assuring tolerance of religion are kept largely for the sake of propaganda, in particular abroad, to neutralise actual or potential opponents of the regime on religious grounds, and to win support for some of the Kremlin's campaigns by parading official church dignitaries as their sponsors or supporters.

The real attitude of the Communist Party and State towards freedom of conscience, religion and church, has been militantly hostile throughout. How could it have been otherwise, when Russian Bolsheviks could not even tolerate the existence of like-minded communist or socialist groups with slightly divergent views and either destroyed them physically or forced them to renounce their opinions and stay silent? Even today Communism of a slightly different brand than that advocated currently in Moscow by its supreme spokesmen is regarded with hostility by Russia, and is mercilessly suppressed once Moscow sees a chance to do it. What tolerance can one expect then with regard to freedom of conscience in the usual meaning of freedom of religion in its various aspects, religion which is regarded by them as a reactionary remnant of capitalist bourgeois society? Of course there can be no delusion on this score, such tolerance is in reality non-existent, and if it sometimes appears that there is a modicum of tolerance on the part of Soviet Russian authorities towards religion

or its representatives, this is but a temporary and insincere tactical retreat which changes into an attack as soon as conditions permit.

* *
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As one of their first pronouncement the Bolsheviks proclaimed, in a decree of January 20, 1918, separation of the Church from the State and of School from the Church. The decree promised full freedom of conscience which included the right of the citizen to profess any religion or not to profess any, the freedom to perform religious rites if they did not violate public order, the prohibition of the teaching of religion in schools (though private study of religion was permitted), the prohibition for church and religious organisations to own property and to enjoy rights of a legal person, the nationalisation of all Church property. At the discretion of central or local government organs church buildings and objects necessary for religious services could be handed over to religious communities for free use.⁴

This decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Federative Soviet Socialist Republic was formally extended to Ukraine by the so-called Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Ukraine by the decree of January 19, 1919.⁵ The latter was a Bolshevik puppet government installed by Russian external force with the help of some collaborators in Ukraine, largely consisting of non-Ukrainian Communists, mostly Russians and Jews, against the genuine Government of the Ukrainian National Republic which came into being as the expression of the democratic will of the Ukrainian people, and proclaimed the independence of Ukraine on January 22, 1918. The published official text of the decree somehow omitted to specify that the Churches were deprived of their rights of legal persons. This omission was "rectified" by the decree of the Soviet government of Ukraine of August 3, 1920 which ordered the implementation of the law in complete agreement with the practice in the Russian Republic.⁶

The first Constitution of the RSFSR of July 10, 1918 proclaimed in its Art. 13: "To ensure real freedom of conscience for the working people, the Church is separated from the State and School from the

⁴) *Istoriya sovetской konstitutsii (v dokumentakh) 1917-1956*, Gos. izd. yurid. lit., Moscow 1957, p. 109-110.

⁵) *Kul'turne budivnytstvo v Ukraïns'kii RSR, 1917-1959*, zbirnyk dokumentiv, vol. 1, Derzh. polit. lit., Kyïv 1959, p. 28-30.

⁶) *Ibid.*, p. 67-68.

Church, and freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens.”⁷

The Constitution of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic approved on March 14, 1919 was more limiting. Art. 23 states:

“In accordance with this general rule, in order to ensure real freedom of conscience for the working people, *as well as to curb any possibility for utilising religion and church in the interests of the preservation of class society*, the Church is separated from the State, and the right of all citizens to propagate religious doctrines *which do not have any social or political aims*, as well as antireligious doctrines *which in their spirit do not contradict Communist world outlook*, is recognised for all citizens.”⁸

This article of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR limits freedom of religion and conscience to a considerably greater degree than the analogous article in the Constitution of the RSFSR. Not even atheistic doctrines contradicting Communist world outlook were permitted, let alone religious “propaganda” which could easily be construed as pursuing social or political aims. This example illustrates the general fact that the Soviet regime in the non-Russian republics and areas of the former tsarist empire was more intolerant and ruthless than in the centre. Ukraine was treated in fact as an occupied territory and any sign of dissent was brutally suppressed.

The policies of the Communists with regard to religion are outlined in the Programme of the Russian Communist Party adopted at its 8th Congress on March 22, 1919. It stated:

“13. As regards religion, the Russian Communist Party is not satisfied with the already decreed separation of the Church from the State and of School from the Church, i. e. with the measures which are advocated by bourgeois propaganda, but nowhere realised completely in the world, because of numerous real connections between the capital and religious propaganda.

The Russian Communist Party is guided by the conviction that only the realisation of planning and consciousness in the totality of social and economic activities of the masses will lead to complete dying away of religious prejudices. The Party desires complete destruction of the bond between the exploiting classes and the organisation of religious propaganda, furthering the liberation of the working masses from religious prejudices and organising the widest possible scientific educational and anti-religious propaganda. At the same time it is necessary to avoid offending the religious

⁷) *Istoriya sovetskoy konstitutsii . . .*, op. cit., p. 145.

⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 196. Our italics.

feelings of the believers in any way, for this can only lead to the strengthening of religious fanaticism.”⁹

Some of those who formulated this resolution may have realised the dangers of offending the religious beliefs of the faithful, but the rank-and-file Bolshevik fanatics arbitrarily exercising complete and unchecked power on the spot, understood only that they had to eradicate religion as soon as possible, and any scruples about not offending religious beliefs of the faithful largely fell by the roadside. Especially ardent in mocking religion, the priests, and religious services were members of the militant Young Communist League (Komsomol) who in the 1920s staged real orgies of hooliganism in the streets or even in churches on the occasion of great Christian feasts, such as Christmas or Easter. Later this function was taken over by the Union of the Militant Godless with Yemelyan Yaroslavskiy at their head. That organisation published masses of vulgar atheistic literature and arranged various anti-religious events. It ceased officially its activities during World War II, while Yaroslavskiy himself perished in one of Stalin's purges in the 1930s. After World War II its function was taken over by the “Knowledge” Society which operates on a more “scientific” plane. Moreover, anti-religious propaganda has to be carried on by each member of the Communist Party, the Komsomol, various government employees, like teachers for instance, and even by members of the Young Pioneer organisation.

More than once the Soviet State and the Communist Party declared themselves not only a-religious but definitely anti-religious.¹⁰ In particular education was affected by this attitude. School became not only separated from the Church, but it became atheistic and anti-religious. The Code of Laws on Public Education in the Ukrainian SSR introduced on 25th November, 1922 stated the following on this score:

“§ 27. School is separated from the Church.

§ 28. Upbringing and education in the Ukrainian SSR ought to be free from any religious influence.

§ 29. Teaching of religious doctrines to pupils in the educational establishments and to persons below 18 years of age in churches, prayer houses and private homes — is forbidden.

§ 30. Teaching of general educational, as well as special subjects in all educational establishments by people who are in material or official dependence on organisations of religious cults — is forbidden.

§ 31. In order to free the working masses from religious prejudices, all educational, scientific and political educational establish-

⁹ *Kulturne budivnytstvo . . .*, op. cit., p. 39.

¹⁰ E. g. “Directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine”, dated October 18th, 1922”, *Kulturne budivnytstvo . . .*, op. cit., p. 153.

ments are to carry out a wide and planned scientific educational and anti-religious propaganda."¹¹

Thus, despite the propagandistic assurances about freedom of conscience, religious education of the young generation in Ukraine has been virtually prohibited.

The provisions of the decree on the separation of the Church from the State and School from Church of January 20, 1918 condemned various religions in the former tsarist empire, including Ukraine to virtually illegal existence. Deprived of the rights of legal persons and of all their property, religious communities could only receive permission to exist if they formed themselves into groups of at least 20 people and applied to government authorities for registration and for the use of a church on the basis of a decree of April 15, 1923. Unsatisfied with having confiscated the churches and all their property, the Soviet Russian government imposed exorbitant taxes on the religious communities often amounting to thousands of roubles. The taxes were not fixed once and for all, or for a definite period of time, but were imposed from occasion to occasion, according to the whims of the Communist authorities, and amounted in fact to tributes which were imposed in ancient times by conquerors on the population of a conquered land. The failure to pay taxes resulted in the church buildings being taken away and closed for divine services.

According to their final objective, namely the closure of all the churches, and the eradication of all religions, the Bolsheviks used various methods to close the churches and to deprive the faithful of religious care and education, to do away with the clergy and make impossible any form of worship and propagation of religious beliefs. If they felt that direct coercion was not advisable in a given case they applied indirect methods. Usually they tried to create the appearance of voluntary closure of churches. For this purpose meetings of workers were staged in towns and the participants were cajoled into passing resolutions demanding closure of churches. The authorities then graciously complied with these "spontaneous" wishes of the population. In the villages, the effective power was handed over to the committees of "poor peasants" which included a large proportion of criminal and rough ignorant elements which were encouraged by the Communist authorities to terrorise the ordinary rural population. These Committees under the direction of urban Party bosses also organised the closure of churches in many villages.

Nevertheless, during the period of the so-called New Economic Policy introduced by Lenin in 1921 to save the Soviet State from complete economic collapse and rebellion by peasants and oppressed non-Russian nationalities, the anti-religious campaign was not carried

¹¹) *Ibid.*, p. 158.

on in such a ruthless manner as it was done later in the 1930s. Its intensity declined by the middle 1920s and it seemed that the relations between the religious communities and the atheistic State would reach some sort of a *modus vivendi*.

However, with Stalin's rise to power in the second half of the 1920s and the adoption of his ruthless plan of industrialisation and "construction of socialism in one country" by totalitarian tyrannical methods of suppression of any kind of different opinion, of any kind of actual or imagined, even remotely potential enemies of the regime, the position of religion and church in the USSR deteriorated sharply. A heavy blow was dealt to them by the Soviet decree of April 14, 1929. It altered the previous formulation in such a way as to lay down that citizens now enjoyed only "freedom of religious faiths and of anti-religious propaganda", thus permitting only anti-religious propaganda and by implication prohibiting propagation of religion by any means. This formulation was introduced into the revised Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR of May 15, 1929 (Art. 8).¹²

The Stalin Constitution of December 5th, 1936 which is still in force in the USSR, was even more explicit. Under Art. 124 it bluntly states: "All citizens enjoy the freedom of performance of religious rites and of anti-religious propaganda." It limits religious freedom simply to the performance of religious rites, and even that is severely circumscribed by many other regulations and prohibitions.

Anti-religious campaign in the USSR, and in particular in Ukraine reached its climax in the 1930s when churches were, practically speaking, destroyed. During World War II, some churches were again permitted to come back to life under strict surveillance of the appropriate government organs and on condition that they constantly prove their complete loyalty to the Communist Russian regime by fulfilling various propagandistic and quasi-diplomatic tasks.

¹²) *Istoriya sovetskoy konstitutsii . . . , op. cit., p. 515.*

THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

Prior to the 1917 Revolution the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians (about 90 p. c.) belonged to the Eastern Orthodox branch of the Christian religion, following the Byzantine tradition but using the Old Slavonic language in liturgy and rites.

Ukraine adopted the Christian faith from Byzantium in 988 during the reign of the Great Prince of Kiev Volodymyr (Vladimir) who ruled the State of Rus' (ancient Ukraine with vast dependencies in Eastern Europe). Following the decline of Kiev after the Tatar-Mongol invasion in the 13th century, the Metropolitans of Kiev began to live in one of the powerful successor states of the Rus' State, the principality of Suzdal-Moscow, formerly a dependency of ancient Ukraine. Following the conquest of Ukraine by Lithuania and Poland in the 14th Century, the Orthodox Church in Ukraine established itself as a separate Metropoly of Kiev and Halych directly subordinate to the Patriarchs of Constantinople, while with the growth of Muscovy as a power, the metropolitans of Moscow assumed the title of Patriarchs. After a brief period of independence of the Ukrainian Cossack State in the middle of the 17th century, Ukraine became a vassal state of Muscovy, gradually losing its autonomy in the 18th century. Following the political domination over Ukraine, Moscow prevailed on the Patriarch of Constantinople to hand over the jurisdiction over the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the Patriarch of Moscow. This happened in 1685. Thus the Ukrainian Orthodox Church began to lose its autonomy, and in the course of the 18th century became simply a part of the Russian Orthodox Church which was then ruled already not by Patriarchs but by the so-called Holy Synod established by tsar Peter I as an instrument of secular interference in ecclesiastical affairs. Like Russian government, the Russian Church carried out a thorough policy of Russification of Ukraine and of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In tsarist Russia the enslaved Ukrainian people was deprived of the opportunity to develop its political, social, religious, economic and cultural life to such an extent that even Ukrainian language was forbidden for more than 30 years in the Russian empire, and even in the periods that it was not officially forbidden, it was persecuted and suppressed. Prior to the outbreak of the 1917 Revolution the great majority of the hierarchy and clergy of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine were either Russians or Russified Ukrainians who were alienated from the Ukrainian people. They regarded with hostility the new Ukrainian national movement which had as its aim the liberation of the Ukrainian people from national and social oppression in tsarist Russia and the re-establishment of a free Ukraine. It is no wonder, therefore, that the

authority of the Russian Orthodox Church was considerably undermined in Ukraine and was maintained mainly by secular power of the tsarist Russian empire. When that power collapsed in 1917, the until then latent tendencies among the Ukrainian faithful aiming at the restoration of the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church came into the open and their strength began to grow from day to day. Thus, while in Russia itself the State-imposed Synod was abolished and Patriarchate of Moscow was re-established, in Ukraine the movement for the establishment of the autocephaly (independence) of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and for the severance of dependence on the Moscow Patriarchy began to take over initiative into its hands. Moscow Patriarchy attempted to avert this break-away of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church by agreeing (in 1918) to a nominal (but not real) establishment of an "Autonomous" Ukrainian Orthodox Church headed by old Russian hierarchy. This satisfied neither the patriotic Ukrainian faithful nor the political circles of the newly independent Ukrainian National Republic. On January 1, 1919 by a Government decree, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was proclaimed autocephalous, i. e. independent from Moscow Patriarchy. This remained largely on paper, because the Ukrainian State, unaided by the Entente powers, was not able to withstand attacks from several sides at the same time: from the Red and White Russians, the Poles and the internal anarchy fomented by outside forces, and fell in 1920. Nevertheless, despite political setbacks suffered by the Ukrainian national movement, the strength of the autocephalous trends within the Orthodox Church in Ukraine grew, and in October, 1921 a Council of the Ukrainian clergy and faithful, gathered in the ancient capital of Ukraine, Kiev, established the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. In view of the fact that the old Russian hierarchy and a large part of the clergy remained loyal to Moscow Patriarchy, the Council had to consecrate bishops of the Autocephalous Church in the manner of the first Christians, by the laying on of hands by the whole body of the congregation. This departure from the traditional consecration of new bishops by other bishops created many difficulties for the Autocephalous Church from the canonical point of view, especially prevented its recognition by other Orthodox Churches, and its total acceptance even within Ukraine. The "Autonomous" Orthodox Church in Ukraine under the Patriarch of Moscow continued to exist, although many faithful left it for the Autocephalous Church. But the development of the latter was cut short by brutal reprisals on the part of the Soviet Russian government in the 1930s when the Church, practically speaking, ceased to exist in Soviet Ukraine. During the German-Soviet war, however, the Autocephalous Church quickly came back to life and in 1942 corrected the deficiencies of its hierarchical structure, by having its bishops canonically consecrated in the usual traditional manner by other bishops recognised by the Orthodox Churches. After the return of the Soviet

Russian troops to Ukraine in 1944, the Autocephalous Church in Ukraine was suppressed and the faithful have again been subordinated to the Russian Orthodox Church and the Patriarch of Moscow. This situation continues until this day. At present the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church exists openly only in the free countries of the West while in Ukraine it lives in the hearts of its faithful.

* *
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The beginning of the persecution of religion and Church in Ukraine coincided with the launching of the Soviet Russian aggression against the young Ukrainian National Republic on December 27, 1917. Communist Russian troops and bands swooped on Ukraine from the North in support of a pro-Russian Communist faction which set itself up as a "workers' and peasants' government of Ukraine" in the second-largest city of Ukraine, Kharkiv, on December 25, 1917, and called to Lenin for military assistance. This rebellious "government" consisted predominantly of ethnic Russians, Jews and other national minorities to whom the cause of Ukrainian national state and independence was strange and whose aim was to bring Ukraine back under the supremacy of the Russian Communist government. As these minorities constituted a considerable proportion of the urban population of Ukraine (small in comparison with the rural Ukrainian population), they were able to incite widespread rebellion against the national Ukrainian government in many towns of Ukraine and thus to create chaos and havoc. At the same time the destruction of the old social order carried out by the Russian Bolsheviks included also a blow at the Orthodox Church as supporter of that order.

As one of the first victims of the Communists was the head of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Volodymyr Bohoyavlensky, who was murdered by Bolshevik rebels in Kiev on January 25, 1918.

Many atrocities on clergy and faithful were committed by Communist bands in various parts of Ukraine in the course of three years of fighting (1917-1921) and repeated invasions of Ukraine. In January, 1918, for instance, 25 monks of the monastery in Lubni were executed. Many churches, monasteries and convents were ransacked and looted, priests, monks and nuns murdered or persecuted.¹³

But as the period of War Communism passed and Lenin proclaimed the introduction of New Economic Policy, i. e. a compromise with capitalist principles, the violence against the churches and religions

¹³) Dr. Lev W. Mydlowsky, "Bolshevist Persecution of Religion and Church in Ukraine", *Russian Oppression in Ukraine, Reports and Documents*, Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London, 1962, p. 112-113.



HOLY SAVIOUR'S TRANSFIGURATION CATHEDRAL
IN CHERNIHIV (11th C.)
(Closed)



VYDUBETSKY MONASTERY CHURCH
(Transformed into a book-store)



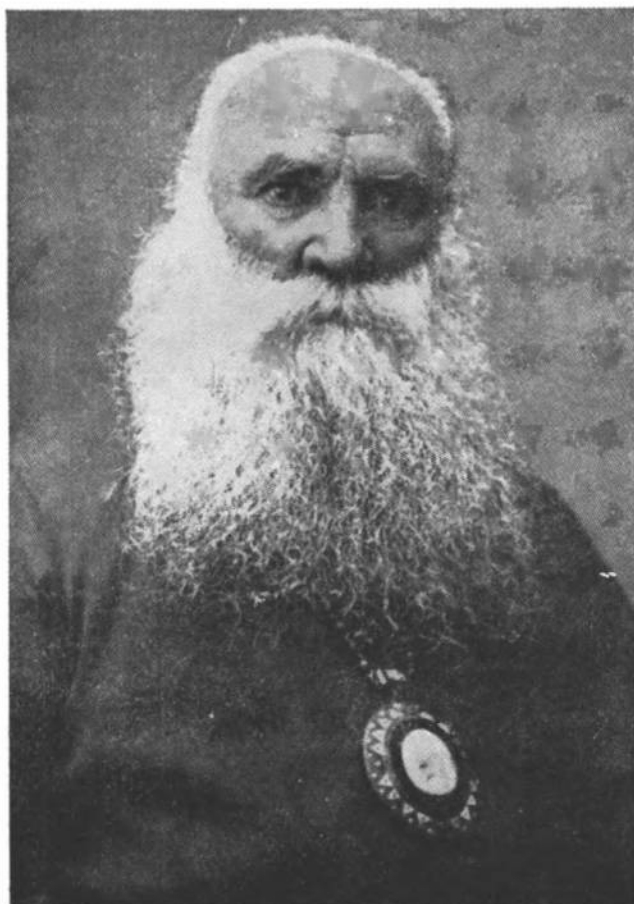
MONASTERY OF THE CAVES IN KIEV (11th C.)
Transformed into an antireligious museum. Its main monument, the Assumption Church (top picture), was mined by the Communist Russians and blown up during World War II (bottom picture).



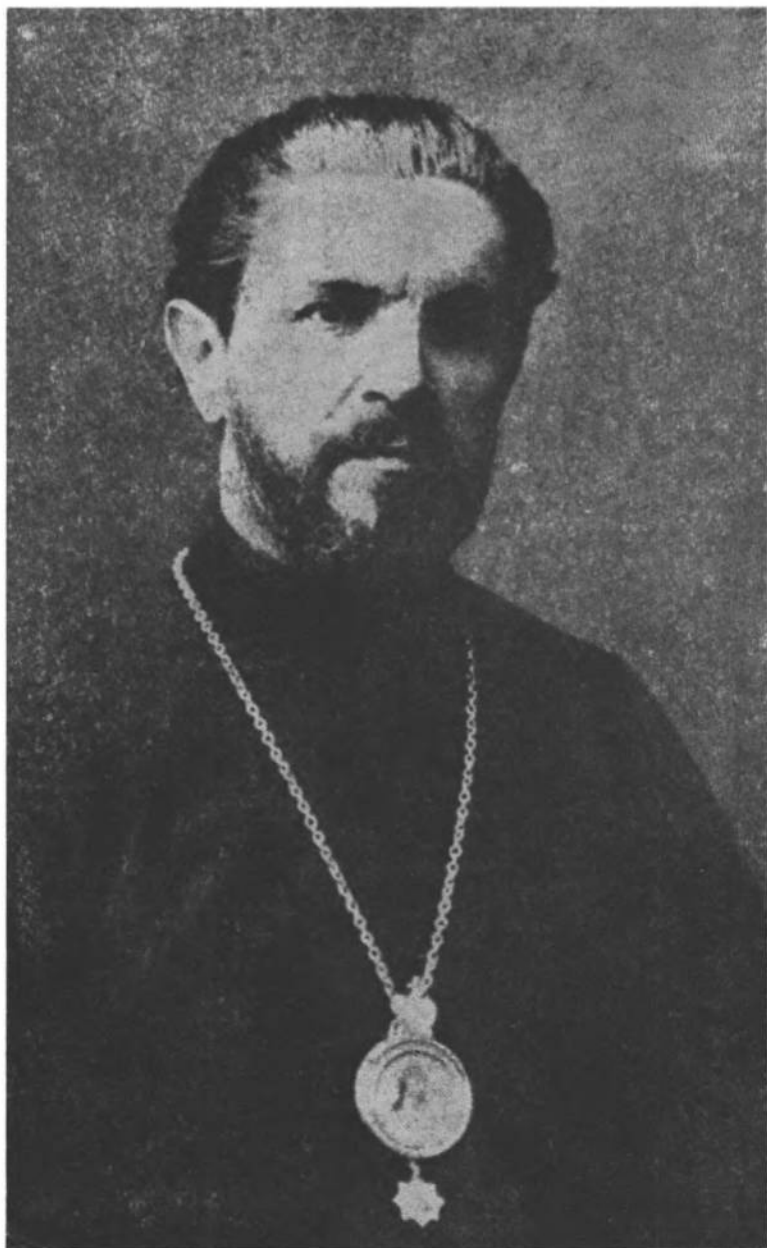
ST. MICHAEL'S "GOLDEN-DOMED"
monastery in Kiev (11th C.)
(destroyed in 1934)



ST. NICOLAS "MILITARY" CATHEDRAL IN KIEV (17th C.)
(destroyed in 1934)



METROPOLITAN VASYL LYPKIVSKYI
Died in a Russian concentration camp.



METROPOLITAN MYKOLA BORETSKYI
Died in imprisonment.



ARCHBISHOP OLEKSANDER YARESHCHENKO
Exiled. Fate unknown.



ARCHBISHOP YURIY ZHEVCHENKO
Imprisoned. Fate unknown.



ARCHBISHOP STEPAN ORLYK
Imprisoned. Fate unknown.



POCHAÏV MONASTERY IN VOLYNIA
(*Monks persecuted.*)



ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH
in Kiev (18th C.)
(Closed)



ARCHBISHOP POLYKARP (Sikorskyi)
Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous
Orthodox Church (1942-1953)



ARCHBISHOP NIKANOR (Abramovych)
Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous
Orthodox Church
(1953-1969)

priests were intimidated and blackmailed into renouncing their vows publicly, churches were accused of committing various offences and crimes, disputes between churches, in particular about the use of church buildings, were incited. Militant atheists staged blasphemous mock "religious" services and processions, organised mobs for disturbances at church services and for causing damage to church property, etc.

Prior to the Revolution there were 10,835 Orthodox parishes in Ukraine, organised in nine dioceses. The metropolity of Kiev possessed a higher Theological College, 10 lower theological seminaries and 35 schools. There were 188 students in higher Theological College and 3,724 pupils in the lower ones. There were, moreover, 10,000 parish schools.¹⁵ As a result of the anti-religious drive by the Bolsheviks, all these schools were abolished and the number of parishes declined considerably.

At the height of its growth, in 1926, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church was divided into 20 church districts with 17 active bishops.¹⁶ By 1927 there were in existence, according to the most cautious estimates, about 1100 parishes of the Church.¹⁷ Altogether during the 1920s there were 34 bishops of the Church. The rate of decline of the church life, compared with the pre-revolutionary period, is illustrated by the fact that while in 1914 there were 10,793 church cantors in Ukraine, by 1927 their number decreased to 4,574, i. e. by 6,219 or by more than 57 p. c.¹⁸

In the second half of the 1920s the anti-religious policy of the Soviet Russian government intensified. It became particularly vicious after 1929 when Stalin launched the reckless drive aiming at total collectivisation of agriculture. Together with all the "remnants of the past" hampering "the construction of socialism" religion and church suffered merciless blows. All still remaining restraints were thrown overboard and the closing and demolition of churches and persecution of clergy and faithful proceeded at a rapid pace. Collective farm authorities appointed by the Communists were encouraged and intimidated into issuing decisions to close church buildings on the grounds either that they were not needed by the people, or that the buildings were in a dangerous state of disrepair. Innumerable acts of vandalism and outrage against the churches were committed by the mobs led by the Communists. Most church buildings were converted for profane use, and turned into clubs, cinemas, warehouses, or demolished together with their interior adornments and religious objects, often of considerable historic and artistic value. Wooden churches which existed in many villages were transformed into

¹⁵ *Ukrain's'ka zahal'na entsyklopediia*, 3 vols., L'viv, p. 896-899.

¹⁶ I. Vlasov's'kyi, *op. cit.*, p. 140-141.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

granaries, barns or even pig-sties, but most of them were simply pulled down and the material used to build collective farm sheds or as fuel.

The famous Pechersky (Cave) Monastery in Kiev, the most ancient and important in all Eastern Slavonic countries, had 500 monks still in the year 1926. But then their abbot, Hermogenes Holubynsky, was arrested and the monks dispersed.¹⁹ Only seven of them remained when the monastery was closed down and transformed first into a "museum city" in September, 1926, and in 1933 into an anti-religious museum. It was only after World War II that some of the buildings of the monastery were handed over to the monks of the Russian Orthodox Church. But even this smaller monastery was finally closed down in 1961 on the pretext of the reconstruction of the architectural complex of the monastery.

In 1931 the famous 17th C. monastery of Mezhyhirs'kyi Spas near Kiev suffered a pogrom. Its baroque iconostasis, paintings by the famous Italian artist, Antonio Scotti, and the library were destroyed, church bells were smashed up. Frescoes were defaced and painted over with "socialist-realist" scenes.

In February, 1934 the St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev dating back to the 11th C., the most venerated shrine in all Ukraine and other East Slavonic lands, was closed and transformed into a "State museum and reservation." Its interior was to a considerable extent plundered and ruined. Before their retreat from Ukraine in 1941, St. Sophia's Cathedral was mined by the Bolsheviks and was saved from demolition only by pure chance.

The year 1934, marking the reign of the notorious henchman of Stalin, Postyshev, in Ukraine, was disastrous for historic church architecture in Ukraine apart from any other considerations. Many ancient cathedrals and churches in Ukraine were closed and demolished. In Kiev alone some of the most venerated churches were pulled down on the pretext that government buildings were to be built on the vacated sites. For in that year the capital of the Ukrainian SSR was transferred from Kharkiv to Kiev and the Communist authorities wanted to transform the Kiev skyline with its numerous church domes into a more "modern" and "socialist" look. Among many churches, the following most famous ones fell victim to a hasty and barbarous "reconstruction": 1) St. Nicholas (Military) Cathedral (17th C.), 2) St. Michael's "Golden-domed monastery (11th-12th C.), 3) Three Saints' Church (12th C.), 4) Bratsky Monastery (17th C.) with its famous church and belfry, 5) Assumption Church (12th C.), and many others.

¹⁹) L. Mydlowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

The St. Michael's "Golden-domed" Monastery contained invaluable mosaics and frescoes. Some of the mosaics were cut into pieces and saved by courageous Ukrainian scholars, and later transferred to Moscow and to St. Sophia's Cathedral, but most of the ancient medieval frescoes have been lost to posterity. Ukrainian scholars were not even permitted to copy all of them and to take exact measurements of the structure of the monastery church. Even today, decades after the tragic event, the site of the church stands undeveloped for the authorities changed their minds and did not build any structure on it after all.

Prof. M. Makarenko, an archaeologist and member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, who tried to save the ancient church monuments in Kiev by petitioning the Communist Party secretary in Ukraine, Postyshev, and even Stalin himself, was arrested by the GPU, exiled from Ukraine to Russia where he died.

As already mentioned above, the ancient Pechersky (Cave) Monastery in Kiev was robbed of its treasures, its monks were persecuted and expelled, and the monastery transformed into an anti-religious museum, a hotbed of atheistic propaganda.

The Metropolitan Cathedral Church of St. Volodymyr in Kiev was closed for divine services and transformed into a branch of the anti-religious museum. It was restored for use as a church during the war.

Ancient cemeteries in Kiev were barbarously destroyed. Thus, e. g. the so-called Askold's Grave Cemetery with artistically valuable mausoleums and vaults was razed to the ground and a "park of culture and rest" with an open-air theatre was created in its place.

Similar destruction of ancient shrines went on all over Ukraine. In *Kharkiv*, St. Nicholas Church in the centre of the city was blown up and many other churches demolished. The Annunciation Cathedral was transformed into the Radio Centre. In *Odessa* the magnificent Transfiguration Cathedral, as well as other churches, was pulled down. In *Poltava* the Assumption Cathedral, the Resurrection Church and other shrines were destroyed.

Monasteries throughout Ukraine were liquidated. By 1937, as a result of the Soviet anti-religious campaign, all churches and monasteries in Ukraine were closed and the majority of them were destroyed. No church, even the most ancient and revered one, remained untouched by vandalism. Similar destruction affected religious buildings belonging to other denominations. Secular monuments of Ukrainian history and culture were not spared either, because anti-religious campaign coincided with the drive against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism", meaning any sign of solicitude for national identity, traditions and culture of Ukraine,

Since the middle of the 1920s the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church experienced increasing interference on the part of Soviet

authorities, in particular the GPU secret police, which manipulated even the elections of metropolitans and bishops of the Church. Thus under the pressure from the GPU, the great Metropolitan of the Church, Archbishop Vasyl' Lypkivs'kyi, was forced to stand down and leave active participation in Church affairs, in order not to exacerbate the relations between the Church and the Soviet regime. Intimidation and terrorisation of individual bishops and priests of the Church increased from year to year to such an extent that some of them were blackmailed into co-operation with the secret police and into carrying the task of ruining the Church from within. Arrests and banishment of the members of the clergy became increasingly more frequent. After a thorough preparation by the GPU terror machine, a mortal blow was dealt to the Church. On January 28-29, 1930 the GPU managed to stage what purported to be an Extraordinary Council of the Church attended by some bishops and priests, which announced the dissolution of the organisational structure of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church. The parishes were left to fend for themselves as best they could without any central body or hierarchy. This coincided with widespread arrests among nationally conscious Ukrainian intelligentsia and clergy who were accused of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and service in the interests of foreign "capitalist" powers, in particular Poland. Shortly afterwards in March, 1930, a show trial of alleged leadership of two closely connected clandestine organisations, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (S.V.U.) and the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.), took place in the Kharkiv Opera House. About 40 most prominent Ukrainian intellectuals were put in the dock and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and banishment. Most of them were never seen again and died in prison. Among them was Volodymyr Chekhivs'kyi, a former Premier of the Ukrainian National Republic and one of the chief lay propagators of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Great numbers of people were sent to prison or were liquidated without any trial.

The situation eased up a little towards the end of 1930 and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was able to hold another extraordinary council which restored the hierarchy of the Church to some extent and created 7 dioceses. The Metropolitan see was transferred to Kharkiv which was then the capital of the Soviet Ukraine. However there was constant surveillance and interference on the part of the Communist authorities. Incessant persecutions and arrests, intimidation and terrorisation of the bishops, priests and faithful resulted in a rapid decline of the Church as an organised body. While prior to its liquidation the Church had 22 districts with over 1000 parishes, by the end of 1930 the number of parishes dwindled to about 300 and by 1933 to not more than 200.²⁰ By 1936, it seems, this

²⁰) I. Vlasovs'kyi, *op cit.*, p. 323.

Church disappeared completely when the last known parish went down under the assault of the atheistic regime.

Following the liquidation of the Autocephalous Church, the two other forms of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, the so-called Patriarchal and the "Synodal" churches, were likewise almost completely wiped out by 1936-37. It appears that the last active bishop of the Orthodox Church under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow, was arrested in Poltava in 1938 together with four priests of his Church and two priests of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

An eye-witness of the martyrdom of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, writes about its destruction by the atheistic Communist Russian regime as follows:

"Tens of thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals, clergy, workers and peasants were shot, exiled and tortured for having manifested their religious convictions, or just because they had been suspected of such convictions. In the years 1932-33 a famine was artificially brought about in Ukraine. It annihilated one fifth of the population of Ukraine. The religious life was restricted to the limits. Intimidated people feared to go to church, or, if they did, they did this by stealth. The priest was isolated from the people. The faithful feared to meet him, and even more so to enter into conversation with him.

The years 1934-36 saw the final destruction of the visible signs of religious life in Ukraine. Churches were destroyed on a mass scale then. The last mock trials of clergy and faithful, were staged by the government. Over 30 bishops, over 2000 priests and a great number of faithful from among the flock of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church were annihilated. Only a few priests returned to Ukraine before the Second World War. But during the war they again organised and brought back to life the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church had 34 bishops and over 3,000 priests and deacons. From this number, during World War II, only two bishops, with impaired health, returned to Ukraine from exile; one of them died in 1943. The Kiev All-Ukraine Church Council registered, at the end of 1941, only 270 priests who returned to Ukraine from exile."²¹

* * *

The Orthodox Church in Soviet Ukraine had almost completely been annihilated by 1939 when the Western provinces of Ukraine, Galicia (Halychyna), Volynia and Polissia, which for 20 years had been under the Polish rule, were occupied by Soviet Union according

²¹ Father M. Yavdas, *Ukrains'ka Avtokefal'na Pravoslavna Tserkva* Munich, 1956, pp. 19-20.

to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. In the northern provinces of Western Ukraine (i. e. in Volynia and Polissia) the great majority of the population was Orthodox and there were six bishops of the so-called Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Poland. This Church was predominately Ukrainian in membership and its Metropolitan Archbishop Dionysius had his see in Warsaw, then under Nazi German occupation. Although the Communist Russian regime proceeded more cautiously in this newly-annexed area than in Central and Eastern parts of Ukraine, they nevertheless severely restricted the activities of the Orthodox bishops and clergy, prevented their contacts with Metropolitan Dionysius, imposed exorbitant taxes and forced the submission of these dioceses to the Moscow Patriarchate.

When in 1941 Nazi Germany attacked Communist Russia and German troops occupied Ukraine, they found that some members of the clergy still survived in Central and East Ukraine and after the escape of the Communists came out into the open. Two small churches were still functioning in Kiev and there were in Ukraine three archbishops, Anthony (Abashidze) in Kiev (old and crippled), Anatole in Odessa, Theophil in Kharkiv, and Bishop Damaskin in Kamyanets-Podilsky, who were under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow.

Despite German attempts at intermittent meddling in religious affairs, the religious life in Ukraine immediately revived. In parallel with the "Autonomous" Orthodox Church in Ukraine which retained ties with the Russian Church, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church came back into existence and was set up on a new organisational footing in 1942, declaring its independence from Moscow. This Church began rapidly to gain ground in Ukraine and the "Autonomous" Church began to lose popular support.

The rapid growth of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, its resurrection from almost complete annihilation in the 1930s, was possible thanks to the survival of a small part of its clergy, and also thanks to the fact that the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church in Western Ukraine (formerly under Poland) rallied predominantly to the Autocephalous cause. This Church openly declared its Ukrainian patriotic character and thus reflected the aspirations of the Ukrainian nation to full freedom and independence in all respects from any foreign power or centre. Many Ukrainians realised that subservience to the Church of Moscow which for centuries had been in close political dependence on the authoritarian Russian State was detrimental to the cause of the national liberty of Ukraine.

The canonically consecrated West Ukrainian Orthodox bishops provided a link with the entirety of the Orthodox Church and its Ecumenical Patriarchy of Constantinople. Within a short period of time they consecrated new bishops so that the hierarchy soon numbered 14 princes of the Church headed by Metropolitan Archbishop

Polykarp, former bishop of Lutsk in Volynia. The Church soon restored to life 500 parishes in Central and East Ukraine and gathered a somewhat greater number of priests.

Seeing the rapid growth of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the head of the rival Autonomous Church, Metropolitan Alexius, signed on October 8, 1942 an act of union with the Autocephalous Church. This act, however, remained unimplemented owing to strong German pressure and opposition of a number of "autonomous" bishops, and Metropolitan Alexius was compelled to retract his signature. Soon afterwards he was killed accidentally by Ukrainian partisans, and the Soviet army re-occupied Ukraine once more in 1943-44.

Meanwhile, seeing the rise in religious feelings of the population as a result of the war privations and disasters, and in particular the great revival of the Church life in German-occupied territories, and desirous to win the support of religiously-minded people for the Soviet war effort, Stalin and the Soviet Russian government relaxed their anti-religious policies and allowed the restoration of organised religious life in the USSR. In particular the toleration of the Russian Orthodox Church under Patriarch Sergius and of several other recognised Churches was announced in 1943. At the same time a Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church was set up at the Council of Ministers of the USSR and in 1944 and similar council for other denominations was created. Their task was to exercise close supervision over the activities of the permitted religious bodies. Similar subordinate councils were set up at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR. In 1945 the Soviet authorities issued a number of unpublished decrees and regulations which restored to the recognised religions some of the rights cancelled by the decree on the separation of the Church from the State of 20th January, 1918. The most important of them was the unpublished decree of August 15, 1945 restoring to the Church the right of legal person including the right of acquiring property. It must be remembered, however, that while tolerating and reducing their propaganda war against the so-called "loyal" Churches, the Communist authorities did not stop to denounce in their propaganda some of the denominations which either had their centres abroad or were regarded as anti-Russian or anti-social, e. g. the Catholics, especially Ukrainian Catholics of the Eastern rite or Jehovah's witnesses.

Thus the most favoured Church in the USSR, since 1943, became the Russian Orthodox Church which co-operated very closely with the Communist authorities in rousing the Russian population to a war effort against the Germans and in awakening among the Russian masses patriotic and even imperialistic feelings, in the same way as this Church had done prior to the Revolution under the tsarist regime.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church which declared its independence from Moscow became an object of hatred of the Communist Russian authorities and the Russian Orthodox leadership. Therefore the entire hierarchy and a number of the clergy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church left Ukraine before the advancing Soviet armies, fearing savage reprisals on the part of the Russians. A large part of the hierarchy and clergy of the "Autonomous" Church in Ukraine also went into exile. The Soviet authorities immediately liquidated the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church upon their return to Ukraine and the remaining clergy and faithful had to submit to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow and his Exarch in Ukraine.

Moreover, in 1946, the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern rite which existed in the Galician part of Western Ukraine, with its 3000 parishes and about 5,000,000 faithful was forced under terror to submit to the Patriarch of Moscow and renounce the allegiance to Rome. Its entire hierarchy and most of the priests were arrested and deported to slave labour camps before the break with Rome was announced.

In view of the fact that religious life revived to a greater extent in the areas that experienced German occupation, the proportion of Ukrainian Orthodox parishes in the Russian Orthodox Church remains very high. By the middle of the 1950s, for instance, it was reported that there were functioning in Ukraine 8,500 Orthodox parishes (out of the total of 20,000 in the USSR) with 6,800 priests, nearly 40 monasteries (out of the total number of 67 in the USSR) and three theological seminaries (out of eight in the USSR).²²

This relative toleration of the church life ended in November, 1958 when, on Khrushchev's insistence, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU decided on a sharp change of course in relation to religion and church and on the strengthening of atheistic propaganda. In the next few years, as a result of a vicious propaganda campaign and increasing pressure by means of various levers which a totalitarian state power has at its disposal, many churches were closed down and the number of parishes fell down catastrophically. By 1963 their number fell by about 50 p. c. Even in 1961 the number of Orthodox parishes in the whole USSR was given as 11,000. In Ukraine the resistance to the campaign of the closing of churches was greater than in Russia herself, as is witnessed by the fact that the decline in the number of churches was somewhat less. It is estimated that there are at present about 5,000 Orthodox parishes in Ukraine.²³ This is a very small number indeed if one takes into account the

²²) A. Zhukovs'kyi, "Suchasnyi stan relihii i tserkvy pid sovietamy, zokrema v USSR", *Zapysky NTSh*, vol. 181, "Relihiya v zhytti ukrains'koho narodu", 1966, p. 52-53.

²³) *Ibid.*, p. 55-56.

fact that about a half of them are former Ukrainian Catholic ("Uniate") parishes in Western Ukraine and a quarter, perhaps, are situated in Volynia and Bukovina (West Ukraine). Thus, at most just over 1,000 (or one quarter) are situated in the Central and Eastern provinces of Ukraine with three quarters of the population of Ukraine. It should also be remembered that Ukraine with its population of over 40,000,000 people of Orthodox background has 1200 towns and urban settlements and 32,000 villages, most of which had one or more Orthodox churches before 1917. The Orthodox Church in Ukraine is divided now into 19 dioceses many of which remain, however, unoccupied owing to the fact that bishops of the old generation are dying out rapidly and there are few replacements. The same goes for the clergy. The present head of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine and Exarch of the Patriarch of Moscow is Archbishop Filaret Dmitrovsky, appointed by the Synod of Moscow Patriarchy in 1966. He is a Russian monk who on his appointment was only 37 years old. He had already held important administrative and diplomatic posts in the Russian Church prior to his most recent appointment.

Thus there exists now in Ukraine only a fraction of the number of parishes that existed there before the Bolshevik invasion. The number of monasteries has fallen down almost to nil, so that at present only three remain open, and even these are threatened with closure. During the 50 years of existence of the Soviet regime not even one new church has been built. Many of the churches of exceptional historical and cultural value have been pulled down or fell into a deplorable state of disrepair. The process has not been halted and many churches continue to be destroyed.

The Kiev Monastery of the Caves was closed down in 1961 on the pretext that the buildings were threatened by a landslip and that reconstruction was needed, but the civilian inhabitants of the monastery area continue to live in their apartments. The Odessa nunnery was closed in one night when a squad of militia surrendered the building and expelled the nuns. The case of the famous Pochaïv monastery in Volynia where monks had been persecuted and driven out of the monastery has received world-wide attention owing to the fact that a copy of the monks' petition to the Soviet leaders reached the West and was published in the press.

The methods to persecute the monks and nuns are many. Younger monks are drafted into the army, the older ones are sent to hospitals on the pretext that they suffer from a disease, some of them are sent to mental hospitals, although they are completely sane. Some are deprived of their internal passports without which they are unable to move about and consequently are arrested for "vagrancy" and sentenced to prison. It is under this pretext that several monks from Pochaïv were sent to prison in 1964.

The Kiev Theological Seminary was closed when its building was confiscated in 1960. The Lutsk Seminary stands before closure because of the shortage of students due to the difficulties which the regime places before the prospective priests.

One bishop was declared an unwanted person in Ukraine and another was deprived of the right to preach and the right to say Mass. In 1961 Archbishop Andriy Suchenko was sentenced to 8 years of imprisonment on trumped up charges of tax evasion and keeping minors from work.²⁴

A new anti-religious legislation was introduced in Ukraine in 1961. Article 227 of the new Criminal Code states, among other, things, that "the leaders or directors of a group the activity of which, under the pretext of a lecture, includes religious teaching or the practice of religious rites, thus endangering the health of the citizens who are members of the group . . . or which is connected with the demand for abstention from any form of social activity . . . as well as the acceptance of minors in such a group . . . shall receive sentences of up to five years imprisonment . . ."

This article of the Code does not remain an empty threat but is applied in practice as occasional newspaper reports confirm.

In Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, with its population of 1,500,000 there are only seven Orthodox churches open today, while before the Soviet occupation there were 106 for a much smaller population of 250,000. In Kharkiv, the second-largest Ukrainian city, with a population of 1,200,000 there are only four churches open, and similar situation prevails throughout Ukraine.

The Orthodox Church in Ukraine is bound hand and foot today, it lives under double oppression. On the one hand, the all-pervading obstructiveness of the Communist Russian authorities which use every pretext to cripple it and finally liquidate it, on the other hand, the chauvinist hierarchy of the Moscow Patriarchy, which refuses to recognise the separate individuality of Ukraine, and in the interests of the imperialistic messianism of "holy Russia", prevents the development of a genuine Ukrainian Orthodox Church, free and live in spirit as well as in organisational structure. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church cannot exist in Ukraine at present, it is a proscribed Church and anyone who would attempt to reconstitute it would be severely persecuted. However, it exists as an underground Church, as an ideal in the minds of many religious Ukrainians, and there is no doubt that it would immediately revive again if the shackles of oppression were suddenly removed. Openly it can exist only in the free world where there are three metropolies of this Church, in Europe, the USA and in Canada, with hundreds of thousands of faithful.

²⁴) Nikita Struve, *Die Christen in der UdSSR*, p. 327 ff., *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI. No. 1., Spring 1969, p. 53-59.

THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE EASTERN RITE

In the West Ukrainian provinces (East Galicia, Carpatho-Ukraine) which prior to 1918 were parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire of the Hapsburgs, the Ukrainian (or Ruthenian, as it was sometimes known) population, in its overwhelming majority, belonged to the so-called Greek-Catholic (or "Uniate") Church correctly described as the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite. Until the end of the 16th C. this Church formed part of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. In 1596 the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church entered into Union with the Roman Catholic Church at a Council at Berestya (Brest), but this Union was repudiated later by some bishops and a great part of the laity, so that since that time there have existed in Ukraine two main Churches with very few differences in their dogmas, rites and liturgical language. While the Ukrainian Orthodox Church fell eventually under the Russifying influence of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, in the course of centuries, became increasingly more identified with Ukrainian national life in Galicia. While the official Russian Orthodox Church which absorbed the Ukrainian Orthodox Church became a stifling instrument of tsarist Russian autocracy and denationalisation, the Ukrainian Catholic Church became a mainstay of the resistance of the Western branch of the Ukrainian nation against Polonisation which constantly threatened it.

The expansionist and imperialist policies of the Russian government always included the aim of completely wiping out the "Uniate" Church which potentially threatened the absolute dominance of the Russian Orthodox Church and the unity of the Russian empire. Since the partition of Poland at the end of the 18th C. when most of Ukraine was annexed by Russia, the latter strove to liquidate the "Uniate" Church by various means, including violence. The last remnants of the Church within the Russian empire were forced to accept Orthodoxy or to join the Roman Catholic Church in the Kholm region of Ukraine (at present eastern fringes of the Lublin province of Poland) in the year 1875 when armed force was used to "convert" the people to Orthodoxy. When the Russian armies invaded East Galicia during World War II in 1914 one of the first acts of the Russian occupying authorities was to abolish the Union of Berestya and to subordinate the Greek-Catholic Church, as it was known then, to the Russian Orthodox Church. The Metropolitan of Lviv, Archbishop Andrey Sheptytskyi, was arrested and exiled to Russia and a Russian Orthodox bishop and priests were sent to the occupied

West Ukrainian territory to take over the Church. Upon the retreat of the Russian troops in 1915, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was restored to its former status. Under the Polish rule, between 1919 and 1939, the Ukrainian Catholic Church remained one of the main pillars of the Ukrainian national life in West Ukrainian provinces, despite every effort of the Polish State to weaken and undermine Ukrainian national entity.

The Soviet occupation of these territories after September 1939 when the Polish State collapsed and its territories were divided between Hitlerite Germany and Stalin's Soviet Russia, brought about increasing difficulties for the Ukrainian Catholic Church. During the two years of Soviet-German co-operation (1939-1941), the Communist Russian authorities conducted a policy of slow strangulation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by well-tried methods of severe restriction of the status of the Church, its hierarchy and priests in social life, and by imposing ever greater financial burdens on it. All landed property belonging to the Church was, of course, confiscated, and a number of outspoken priests put behind bars in order to silence the rest into submission.

However, the full implications of the Soviet policies with regard to the Ukrainian Catholic Church did not yet have time to become revealed, because the Communists realised the immense popularity and support that the Church enjoyed among the masses of the West Ukrainian population and had to tread cautiously. Then came the German attack on the Soviet Union in June, 1941. Before their hasty retreat from West Ukraine, the Soviet Russian secret police arrested thousands of Ukrainian patriots, among them a number of priests. Some of them were deported to the East and thrown into prisons and concentration camps, but thousands of others, especially Ukrainian nationalists and some priests, were brutally massacred in the prison yards in many Ukrainian cities. In Lviv alone, mutilated bodies of about 6,000 murdered prisoners were discovered in prison yards on the day when the Soviet troops and secret police abandoned the town.²⁵

When the restoration of the Ukrainian Independent State was proclaimed by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera in Lviv on June 30, 1941, in defiance of the policies of Nazi Germany, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the person of its Metropolitan, Archbishop Andrey Sheptytskyi, gave its blessing to the Provisional Government of the Ukrainian State headed by Premier Yaroslav Stetsko, as did also the Ukrainian Orthodox Bishop Polykarp of Volynia who in 1942 became Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.²⁶

²⁵) *Russian Oppression in Ukraine. Reports and Documents*. Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London 1962, pp. 147-218.

²⁶) *Ibid.*, pp. 239-258.

During the German occupation Metropolitan Sheptytskyi, on behalf of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, voiced protests against the murder of civilians, in particular Jews, by the Nazi German authorities in Ukraine.

Upon the return of the Soviet Russian troops to West Ukraine in 1944 the Ukrainian Catholic Church hierarchy remained in their sees despite the great threat of reprisals for the Church's unconcealed sympathy with Ukrainian national aspirations for independence from any alien powers, including Russia.

At first, while the war against Germany was still being waged, the Soviets pursued a deceptively moderate policy with regard to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in order not to rouse the discontent of the population even more. For at that time the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) was active in West Ukraine and was supported by the overwhelming majority of the population. The U.P.A. was called into being by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) and under its brilliant Commander-in-Chief General Taras Chuprynka (real name, Roman Shukhevych) fought against both the German and the Russian occupation for an independent Ukrainian State.²⁷

On November 1, 1944 the highly respected and revered Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi, a national Ukrainian figure of historic significance, died in somewhat obscure circumstances. There have even been persistent rumours that he had been poisoned by the Communists. Unprecedentedly for the Bolsheviks, his funeral was attended by Khrushchev himself who was then First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and even made a funeral oration.

But soon afterwards Soviet propaganda began a campaign of denigrating Metropolitan Sheptytskyi's memory.

Metropolitan Sheptytskyi was automatically succeeded by his coadjutor, Archbishop Yosyf (Joseph) Slipyi, widely respected for his scholarly achievements, a former rector of the Theological Academy in Lviv.

The Russian occupation authorities exerted pressure on the Church to aid them in combating the armed resistance of the Ukrainian people to the Soviet rule. Naturally, Metropolitan Slipyi refused to involve the Church in such an undertaking. On the other hand he tried to soothe the Russians by donating, on behalf of the Church, a sum of 100,000 roubles for the welfare of the wounded soldiers of the Soviet army.²⁸

The Patriarch of Moscow sent a formal letter to the Metropolitan and the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, calling upon them to renounce their allegiance to the Pope and to "return to the fold of the Russian Orthodox Church", submitting to his jurisdiction. This demand was rejected by the Ukrainian Catholic bishops.

²⁷) *Ibid.*, pp. 259-274.

²⁸) Dr. Lev Mydlowsky, *op. cit.*

At the same time the Soviet authorities intensified their drive against the priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. They were compelled to attend meetings at which Communist agitators publicly attacked and ridiculed them, trying to provoke them into making politically dangerous retorts. The ground was gradually prepared for a general assault on the Church, by undermining the public confidence in their priests and hierarchy. Suddenly, on April 11, 1945 the Metropolitan and all the Ukrainian Catholic bishops resident on the territory of Galicia annexed by the USSR, were arrested by the NKVD, taken to Kiev and kept there in strict isolation and were interrogated under constant threat of torture and physical and mental humiliation. Eleven months later, in March, 1946 they were put on trial behind closed doors before a military tribunal charged, under the provisions of Article 54 (sections 1 and 11) of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, with "high treason", "collaboration with the enemy", and "hostile, criminal offences against the fatherland." The indictment alleged that these crimes had been committed by them during the German occupation of West Ukraine between 1941 and 1944.

These accusations were, of course, groundless and were needed simply to remove the Ukrainian bishops from the stage in order to decapitate the Church and make room for Russian Orthodox bishops. The very fact that it took the prosecution 11 months to prepare the trial, and even then to withhold the public from it, is an indirect proof that the evidence was very tenuous if any.

The Ukrainian Catholic bishops were not guilty of any treasonable activities, in particular as far as Soviet Russia is concerned. First of all, West Ukraine was annexed by the USSR by force of arms in accordance with the Hitler-Ribbentrop pact, so the USSR was no "Fatherland" of West Ukrainians. Secondly, Ukrainian bishops did not collaborate with the Germans politically in any sense. There were, of course, official contacts with the German occupation authorities, as there were with the Soviet occupation authorities, or Polish occupation regime before the war, but these contacts concerned mainly pastoral care for various sections of the population. The indictment claimed that the arrested bishops helped the German occupying regime to send people to slave labour in Germany and to secure deliveries of agricultural produce by the peasants. In particular Metropolitan Slipyi was accused of having delegated chaplains for the Ukrainian Division "Galicia" which fought against the Russians. These facts corresponded with the truth only to the extent that the Church extended pastoral care over the Ukrainian labourers in Germany and the Ukrainian soldiers fighting against the Russians. The fact that Ukrainian hierarchy, priests and the population in general were not particularly friendly towards the Russian occupation army should not be surprising to the atheistic regime which persecuted religions and Church and exterminated Ukrainian patriots. No Ukra-

inian in his senses could feel anything but resentment against the Soviet Russian "Fatherland." At the same time the Ukrainian hierarchy and the population in general resented the policies of Nazi Germany in Ukraine, especially the liquidation of the Provisional Ukrainian Government, arrests and murders of Ukrainian patriots, deportations to slave labour, reprisals and annihilation of millions of civilian population, especially the Jews. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, together with the entire Ukrainian people, entertained the aspirations for an independent existence of Ukraine and sympathised with the liberation fight of the Ukrainian people against both oppressors. Communist Russian prosecutors twisted statements and acts expressing these sentiments into evidence of "high treason" to the USSR.

That the prosecution had very little to go on is proved by the fact that the Soviet press published only a very terse and vague little notice about the trial without quoting the text of the indictment, or any documents, testimonies by witnesses or other evidence.²⁹ The reason was that the whole indictment was based on the most flimsy tissue of lies and distortion of truth by Stalin's secret police.

It cannot be denied that the Church, like the entire Ukrainian community in West Ukraine, were relieved when there appeared a prospect of the end of the oppressive, alien and tyrannous godless Communist Russian regime in Ukraine, and did not hide their revulsion against the latter. The German occupation, however, brought another kind of tyranny against which the Church and the Ukrainian political representatives protested on numerous occasions, and against which subsequently there grew nation-wide resistance led by the O.U.N. and the U.P.A. Throughout the entire period the Church stood with the Ukrainian people, defending its interests, spiritual and material, and the enemies of the Ukrainian people and religion had no right to accuse the spiritual leaders of the Ukrainian people of high treason to the Russian occupying power.

On March 6, 1946 the Soviet press reported that in conclusion of the secret trial the Metropolitan Archbishop Yosyf Slipyi, the bishops Nykyta Budka and Ivan Liatyshevs'kyi were each sentenced to eight years hard labour in concentration camps, Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn to 10 years and Bishop Mykola Charnetskyi to five years imprisonment.

At about the same time, without any publicity at all, other members of the clergy were arrested and deported, too. Among them were Fathers M. Galiant, Kovalskyi, Kunytskyi, Gorchynskyi, Beley, Sampara, Trush, Bilyk, Hodun'ko, and others. The Apostolic Exarch for Catholic Ukrainians in Germany, Father Dr. P. Verhun, was arrested in Berlin and imprisoned in Russia.

²⁹) *Vil'na Ukraïna*, March 1, 1946; *Pravda pro uniïu*, Lviv 1968, pp. 363-4.

The arrested dignitaries of the Church were sent to prisons and concentration camps in the Far North of Russia to spend many years in squalid conditions of misery and despair among the most depraved and violent criminals who terrorised prisons and camps. As a result most of the convicted bishops and priests died before their term of imprisonment expired. Thus Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn died in a Kiev prison on December 24, 1946.

At about the same time Polish Communist authorities arrested Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovskiy and his coadjutor, Bishop Hryhorii Lakota, in Peremyshl, in the part of West Ukraine which still remained under the Polish occupation. The two bishops were extradited to the Russians. Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovskiy died, as a result of tortures, in a Soviet prison on November 17, 1947, and Bishop Hryhorii Lakota in the Vorkuta concentration camp on November 12, 1950. Mgr. Verhun died in exile in Krasnoyarsk region of Siberia on February 7, 1957. Bishop Mykola Charnetskyi of Volynia was imprisoned in Vorkuta concentration camp, and although his sentence ended in 1950, he was not released until 1956 and died on April 2, 1959. Bishop Ivan Liatyshevskiy was released in 1956, having spent three extra years in prison. He was forbidden to resume his ecclesiastical duties and died in Stanyslaviv on November 29, 1957. Bishop Nykyta Budka died in imprisonment in Karaganda (Kazakhstan) on October 6, 1949.³⁰

The Metropolitan Archbishop Yosyf Slipyi completed his sentence in 1953, but without any legal justification whatsoever he was sentenced to a further indefinite term of imprisonment. In 1957 he was again tried secretly and sentenced to seven years of imprisonment and hard labour and in 1962 condemned to imprisonment in the Mordovian concentration camps. Then suddenly his release unexpectedly came at the beginning of 1963. On February 9, 1963 the chief martyr of the Ukrainian Catholic Church arrived in Rome after nearly 18 years of imprisonment and on January 25, 1965 was nominated Cardinal by Pope Paul VI.³¹ By divine Providence he alone remained alive from all the West Ukrainian bishops and as Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church heads this Church in the free world. As Major Archbishop he enjoys the same rights as a Patriarch of the Church. The Ukrainian Catholic Church outside the USSR now has 14 bishops and dioceses in many countries, under the supreme guidance of Major Archbishop Cardinal Joseph Slipyi.

Following the arrests of the hierarchy and the leading priests, the Russian Communists proceeded to terrorise the remaining clergy into

³⁰) Lev Mydlowsky, *op. cit.*

³¹) *Zapysky NTSh*, vol. 181, *Relihiia v zhytti ukr. narodu*, "Kardynal Josyf Slipyi (Biohrafichnyi narys)", Munich-Rome-Paris, 1966, pp. XX-XXIII.

UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH



ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL IN LVIV



ARCHBISHOP ANDREY SHEPTYTSKYI
Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church
of the Eastern Rite (1901-1944)



MAJOR ARCHBISHOP YOSYF CARDINAL SLIPYI
Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church
of the Eastern Rite (1944 —)
Imprisoned in Siberia for 18 years.



Bishop NYKYTA BUDKA
Died in imprisonment.



Bishop IVAN LIATYSHEVSKYI
Imprisoned for 10 years. Died in 1957.



Bishop HRYHORII LAKOTA
Died in a concentration camp.



Bishop HRYHORII KHOMYSHYN
Died in a Russian prison.



Bishop PAVLO GOYDYCH
Sentenced to life imprisonment.
Died in 1960.



Bishop JOSAPHAT KOTSYLOVSKYI
Died in prison.



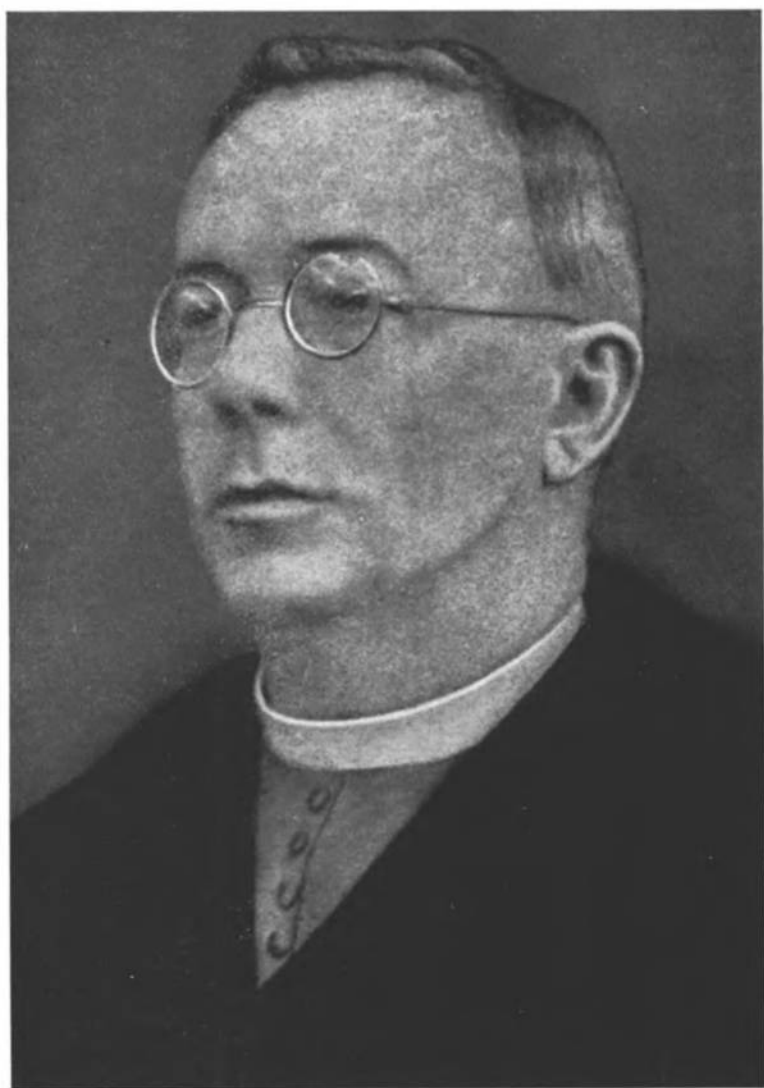
Bishop VASYL HOPKO
Imprisoned for 13½ years.



Bishop THEODORE ROMZHA
(Killed)



Bishop MYKOLA CHARNETSKYI
(Imprisoned for 11 years. Died in 1959)



FATHER AVGUSTYN VOLOSHYN
Leading Ukrainian Catholic priest in Carpathian Ukraine,
President of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic
(1938-39)
(Executed)



Archbishop VASYL VELYCHKOVSKYI
Head of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine.
Spent many years in Siberian concentration camps. Again arrested
in January 1969 and sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment.



METROPOLITAN ARCHBISHOP MAJOR YOSYF SLIPYI
in conversation with Pope John XXIII.



THE CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA IN ROME
built by Cardinal Slipyi and consecrated by Pope Paul VI
in September, 1969. On the right: Ukrainian Catholic
University of St. Clement.



EASTER DAY IN THE CARPATHIANS,
Ukrainian highlanders (the Hutsuls) gather after Holy Mass for the blessing of the Easter eggs and Easter breakfast food. Many such old and original wooden churches, as shown above, have been barbarously destroyed by the Communist Russian and Polish authorities.



UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS
walking in procession with other Council Fathers in St. Peter's Square
in Rome during Vatican II Council.



EPISCOPATE OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
gathered at a Conference in Rome during the Second Vatican Council.



CARDINAL SLIPYI
(second from left) with other Cardinals at St. Peter's in Rome.



**BISHOPS OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
with Pope Paul VI at St. Peter's Church in Rome.**

abrogating the Union of Berestya, to break ties with the Pope and to submit to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow. For this purpose an "Initiative Committee" was set up headed by Father Havryil Kostelnyk which under the secret police terror convoked an illegal Council of the Church in Lviv. The Council was poorly attended, for out of about 2,500 priests, only 216, including some members of the laity, took part, without any of the bishops being present, for they were under arrest. The Council which met between March 8 and 10, 1946, purporting to speak on behalf of the entire Church, declared Union of Berestya invalid and announced the submission of the Church under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow. This was the pretext needed for the Russian Communists to declare the Ukrainian Catholic Church illegal and to arrest those priests and faithful who refused to recognise the decisions of the spurious "Council."

The forcible liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was accompanied by a campaign of intimidation against priests and faithful. Under threats of imprisonment, deportation and other methods of blackmail the priests were asked by secret police agents to sign statements to the effect that they had "voluntarily" joined the Russian Orthodox Church. The great majority of them refused and suffered martyrdom as a result. In 1946 alone about 800 priests were arrested, sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and deportation to concentration camps or exiled to distant areas of the USSR.³² Many of the convicted priests died in inhuman conditions in the slave labour camps of Vorkuta and Siberia, but some are still surviving there. A minority of the priests were blackmailed into accepting the authority of the Patriarch of Moscow, but they did so only under extreme duress, trying to save their families from persecution and almost certain death in prisons and camps.

An official communique by TASS Soviet press agency announced that as from January 1, 1948 the Ukrainian Catholic Church ceased to exist and had no longer any legal rights. This was long after the Church had in fact been violently destroyed. However, even though the Ukrainian Catholic Church does not officially exist in Ukraine, it exists in the hearts of a large number of the faithful and clergy. It has been driven underground and, from time to time, newspaper reports speak about clandestine activities of the remnants of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which has been driven into the catacombs by persecution. According to some reports the faithful meet in private homes to hear Mass celebrated by underground priests.

Very recently the world press brought a report that on January 27, 1969 the Russian secret police arrested in Lviv Mgr. Vasyl Velychkovskyi who, as the press reports said, had been appointed by Metropolitan Slipyi his successor as Archbishop of Lviv, i. e. head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine. The arrest took place

³²) Lev Mydlowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

when Archbishop Velychkovskyi visited the home of a sick woman to hear confession. Other Ukrainian Catholic priests were arrested in Lviv at the same time. Archbishop Velychkovskyi was tried secretly and sentenced to three years imprisonment for "illegal activities."^{32a}

Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskyi was born on June 1, 1903 in Stanyslaviv (now Ivano-Frankivsk), became a Redemptorist monk and priest in 1925, and was later teacher and preacher in Volynia and Galicia, as well as parish priest. In 1942 he became abbot of the Redemptorist monastery in Ternopil, and after the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the Bolsheviks was sentenced to death for "anti-Soviet activities", but the sentence was later changed to imprisonment in Siberian concentration camps. He was released in late 1950s.³³

* * *

A similar fate as in East Galicia befell the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Carpatho-Ukraine and Priashiv region (East Slovakia). These regions were under Hungarian rule in the Dual Monarchy, and between two World Wars they belonged to Czechoslovakia. In 1938-9 Carpatho-Ukraine enjoyed a brief period of autonomy and proclaimed its independence on March 15, 1939. Ukrainian Catholic priest Father Augustine Voloshyn became its President. Soon, however, it was occupied by Hungarian troops and police which dealt extremely harshly with Ukrainian nationalists. In 1944 the region was occupied by Soviet Russian armies and annexed to the USSR, as part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Attacks against individual Ukrainian Catholic priests and confiscation of several churches marked the initial period of the Communist rule. Some members of the clergy were imprisoned. Father Dr. Augustine Voloshyn, the former President of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic was arrested in Prague, extradited to the Russians and died in prison in Kiev as a result of "interrogations." Show trials of priests who were accused of collaboration with Hungary were organised and the population was intimidated to switch over their allegiance from Rome to the Russian Orthodox Church. Pressure was exerted on Mgr. Theodore Romzha, the Ukrainian Catholic bishop of Mukachiv, the second capital of Carpatho-Ukraine, in an attempt to compel him to submit his see and the faithful to the Patriarch of Moscow. As he refused, various methods were employed to undermine the Church and destroy it. Thus on March 22, 1947 the secret police troops closed the largest monastery in Carpatho-Ukraine, that of Mukachiv, and arrested all the monks. On October 27, 1947 a horse-

^{32a}) "Pid shyrmouiu relihii", *Slava Rodiny*, Lviv, 15th November, 1969; *Shliakh Peremohy*, 21st December, 1969.

³³) "Korotka biohrafiia Vsevoloda Velychkovskoho...", *Ukrainська Dumka*, London, No. 19 (1152), 1 May, 1969, p. 3.

drawn carriage in which Bishop Romzha was travelling was intentionally rammed by an army lorry, as a result of which the Bishop was injured. Not satisfied with that the soldiers beat him up with the butts of their rifles and left him lying for dead in the road. Found by civilian passers-by, he was transferred to a hospital in Mukachiv where, after temporarily recovering, he died on October 31, 1947. There are some indications that he may have been poisoned in the hospital by a new staff which unexpectedly replaced the previous one.³⁴

The real feelings of the population with regard to the "unification" with Moscow Patriarchy could be seen from the following. In August, 1947, the Orthodox Church attempted to proclaim "unification" of the faithful from Carpatho-Ukraine with the Moscow Patriarchy. For this purpose five Orthodox bishops arrived from other parts of the USSR and took part in the church service at the Mukachiv monastery confiscated from the Catholic Church in the presence of about four to five thousand people. At the same time at the parish church in Mukachiv the Greek-Catholic church service was attended by about 70-80,000 pilgrims.³⁵

No doubt, the death of Bishop Theodore Romzha which occurred two months later was an act of premeditated murder according to the saying, "Strike the shepherd and the sheep will scatter."

No persuasions or intimidations were able to shake the defenders of the Greek Catholic Church in Carpatho-Ukraine until 1948, by which time the Russian secret police managed to blackmail one priest into switching his allegiance to the Patriarch of Moscow. In February, 1949 came the final phase of the attack on the Church. All the leading priests in the region and many of the faithful were arrested and deported to Siberian camps. All other priests were expelled from church buildings and transferred to a prison in Uzhhorod where they were being "persuaded" with the aid of physical and moral tortures to join the Russian Orthodox Church. Finally, as a culmination of the campaign, on August 28, 1949 a "manifestation" of "reunification" of the Greek Catholic Church in the Carpathian region of Ukraine with the Russian Orthodox Church was staged at the confiscated monastery in Mukachiv. However, details about who of the priests attended it or agreed to it were never made fully known. Obviously this would have revealed lack of support for this illegal act among the priests and the population.

For a period of time there still existed many parishes which refused to accept Orthodoxy, but gradually their number declined and finally the Church disappeared altogether. Only a minority of the priests

³⁴) Lev Mydlovsky, *op. cit.*

³⁵) Vasyľ Markus', "Nyshchennia Hreko-Katolyts'koï Tserkvy v Mukachivs'kiy yeparkhii v 1945-50 rr." *Zapysky NTSh* vol. CLXIX, *Zbirnyk na poshanu Zenona Kuzeli*, 1962, p. 385-405.

submitted to the Orthodox Church, those of the others who were not arrested entered civilian life and became ordinary workers, shop attendants or book-keepers. Some of the younger unmarried priests continued to carry on their priestly duties illegally.³⁶

* * *

The diocese of Priashiv of the Greek Catholic Church which embraces several districts in the North-East of Slovakia numbered about 300,000 faithful of whom the majority were Ukrainians (or Ruthenians, as they were sometimes known in these parts), and the rest were Slovaks, or rather Slovakised Ukrainians.

Unlike Carpatho-Ukraine which was annexed by the USSR, this region remained in the Czecho-Slovak Republic after World War II. After the Communists took over power in Czecho-Slovakia, the small Orthodox Church in this region was favoured and pressure was exerted on the hierarchy and faithful of the Greek Catholic Church to become Orthodox. When this was to no avail, the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Priashiv, Pavlo Goydych and his deputy, Bishop Vasyl Hopko, were arrested on March 28, 1950. Bishop Goydych was put on a mock trial in Bratislava in January, 1951 and sentenced to life imprisonment. The trial failed, however, to bring the desired propaganda effect for the Communists, as the Bishop rejected the accusations. Bishop Vasyl Hopko was sentenced at a secret trial to fifteen years of imprisonment, of which he served thirteen and a half years. Bishop Goydych died in Leopoldovo prison on July 19, 1960. Many priests and faithful were arrested and suffered persecutions.

In 1968, during the famous "liberalising" spring in Czecho-Slovakia, there arose possibilities for the restoration of the Greek Catholic Church. On April 10, 1968 a meeting of 133 priests and faithful, with the participation of Bishop Hopko, took place in the town of Kosice in East Slovakia. The meeting set up an Action Committee for the restoration of the rights of the Greek Catholic Church in Czecho-Slovakia. As a result of its activities, the government of Czecho-Slovakia, on 13th August, 1968, issued an official permission for the restoration of the rights of the Greek-Catholic Church. Since that time reorganisation of the Church has begun. About 170 priests have joined Bishop Hopko and have begun to serve their parishes of which there should be about 300.³⁷

The church of St. Clement in Prague which for the last 18 years was in the hands of the Russian Orthodox metropolitan Dorotey, was restored to the Greek Catholics and Bishop Hopko celebrated Mass there in 1968. The remains of the martyred bishop Pavlo Goydych were transferred from Leopoldovo prison and buried with all the reverence due to a church dignitary in Priashiv.

³⁶) *Ibid.*

³⁷) *Nasha Tserkva*, No. 2, 1969, London, pp. 18-20.

Unfortunately for the Ukrainian majority in the Greek-Catholic Church of the Priashiv diocese, upon the insistence of the Slovak circles, in 1969 the Vatican appointed a Slovak priest as administrator of the diocese of Priashiv, virtually compelling Bishop Hopko to go into retirement. Political considerations have outweighed the wishes of the Ukrainian population of that area and the martyrdom of Bishop Hopko in the cause of his Church seems to have earned him little respect in those places that should be uninfluenced by political opportunism.

A similar co-operation between the Polish Communist regime and the influential circles of the Polish Roman Catholic hierarchy has prevented, it seems, the restoration of the Ukrainian Catholic See in Peremyshl, presently under the Polish occupation, where it had existed for nine centuries until 1946. In that year it was forcibly liquidated by the Polish Communist regime with Russian approval, and almost the entire Ukrainian population of that region (about 300,000) was deported to the former German territories of East Prussia and Pomerania. Very few of them have been allowed to return to their homeland, and the Polish Roman Catholics have occupied the Ukrainian Cathedral of Peremyshl and other churches. Many churches have been destroyed.

* * *

In 1944-45, when the Soviet Russian troops occupied West Ukraine, there were three Ukrainian Catholic dioceses of Lviv, Peremyshl and Stanyslaviv, and two circuits of the Apostolic Visitor in Volynia and an Apostolic Administrator in the Lemko region. (Parts of the Peremyshl diocese and the Lemko area were ceded to Poland by the USSR in 1945). Together with Mukachiv diocese embracing Carpatho-Ukraine, which was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR in 1945, and the Priashiv diocese which remained in Czecho-Slovakia, this compact Ukrainian territory contained approximately 5,000,000 Ukrainian Catholics. The Church hierarchy consisted of 1 Archbishop-Metropolitan and 10 bishops and was divided into 5 dioceses and 2 circuits of Apostolic Administration. There were 3,040 parishes with 4,440 churches and chapels, as well as 127 monasteries and convents. There were 2,950 diocesan priests, 520 priests in orders, 1,090 nuns. There were also 540 seminarians in 1 theological academy and 5 ecclesiastical seminaries. In addition, the Ukrainian Catholic Church possessed a great number of cultural centres, primary and secondary schools, publishing houses, libraries, welfare and aid associations, orphanages, student and youth leagues, and societies.

All these were ruthlessly destroyed in 1945-50 by the Communist Russian government and its satellite regimes in Poland and Czecho-slovakia, although in the latter two countries there has been a restricted revival in the last few years. In Ukraine itself the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite has been placed outside the law and exists only as an underground Church.

PROTESTANT CHURCHES

1. THE UNION OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN BAPTISTS

Apart from the traditional Orthodox and Catholic Churches there exist in Ukraine a number of Protestant churches or sects. Some of them are registered with the appropriate government organs, but others have been refused registration and are working illegally, therefore suffer from a particularly vicious persecution.

The most widespread Protestant Church in Ukraine is the Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists (UECB) who form territorial communities. In 1960 the total number of Baptists in the USSR was given as about 540,000, more than half of whom lived in Ukraine. There were 170 communities in Kiev region, 56 in Kharkiv, 73 in Donetsk, and 72 in Chernihiv regions.³⁸

Following the renewal of the anti-religious drive, the so-called "New Statute" of the Church was introduced in 1960, which was more restrictive than the previous one and made it an offence for the parents to give religious instruction to their children. The new Statute called forth a storm of dissatisfaction among the UECB members. Protests were voiced and the official leadership of the sect was accused by its rank and file of excessive collaboration with the atheistic State authorities. Many members refused to comply with the new Statute and, as a result, there followed numerous arrests of the leading protesters.

The dissatisfied members of the UECB called an All-Union Conference of the Relatives of Prisoners of the Church of Evangelical Christian Baptists. The conference which took place on February 23, 1964 found that between 1961 and February 1964 155 people from various parts of the USSR had been arrested for voicing their opposition to the "New Statute" or for attempting to teach their children religion. Some children had even been taken away from their parents by court order. The conference decided to appeal to the Government on the basis of the Soviet laws which permitted religious education, such as for instance the Decree on the Separation of the Church from the State of 1918, Art. 9: "The citizens can teach and learn religion privately", and the "Bye-laws on the fight against discrimination in the field of education", Art. 5, § 6, approved by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on July 2, 1962, and entered into force on November 1, 1962: "Parents and, in appropriate cases, legal guardians, should have the possibility to ensure religious and moral education of their children according to their own convictions." The Conference set up a Temporary Council to petition the government on behalf of the arrested.

³⁸) Nikita Struve, *Christians in Contemporary Russia*.

Two incomplete lists enumerating 319 members of the ECB Church arrested between 1961 and June 1964 contain the names of 117 Ukrainians.³⁹

There occurred a split between the officially recognised UECB and the unofficial Baptist communities. The latter began to meet secretly for their Gospel Services in private homes and forests, and as a result began to be severely persecuted and terrorised. One of such known meetings took place in a forest on the outskirts of Kiev on May 22, 1966 and was broken up by militiamen, KGB agents and soldiers and its participants were cruelly beaten up, including women, children and elderly people.

The efforts of a delegation of the various communities of the unofficial Church of ECB to meet representatives of the Central Committee of the CPSU in Moscow to petition for an end of persecution and release of prisoners were unsuccessful. A "Declaration" written by the Kievan community of Evangelical Christian Baptists and addressed to General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, and other Soviet leaders, and signed by 116 persons stated:

"On May 16, 1966, an all-Union delegation of the Evangelical Christian Baptist churches from more than 130 cities, numbering 500 persons, among them 14 delegates from our [Kievan] community gathered in front of the building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union... This gathering took place because for decades (with the knowledge and on instructions of the central and local authorities) the faithful of the ECB found themselves most unjustly treated, as can be witnessed by systematic reprisals, assaults, arrests, searches, the demolition and confiscation of houses of prayer, the taking away of children [from their parents], the disruption of religious services, the discrimination in factories and schools, the incitement of the public against the faithful, etc..."

Instead of seeing them and hearing the needs and pleas of the church delegates who for 24 hours had stood in the rain by the walls of the Central Committee building, the delegates, on orders of the Central Committee officials led by Comrade Semichastny, the head of the K.G.B. [Committee of State Security], were surrounded on May 17 of this year [1966] by K.G.B. agents and militiamen and were ferociously assaulted: they were dragged by the hair, had their heads cracked against the walls and the asphalt, were choked, beaten with bottles over their heads, etc.

Afterwards, the delegates, among them delegates of the Kievan community, were arrested and sent to Moscow's Lefortovo jail. Some

³⁹) Hearing before the Subcommittee... of the Committee on the Judiciary of U.S. Senate, 89th Congress, 2nd session, *Testimony of Rev. Richard Wurmbrandt*, May 6, 1966, Appendix, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1967, pp. 33-42.

of them later returned home, but the fate of the majority of the members of the delegation, including seven of our [14] members, is not known. The punishment near the Central Committee building set the tone for similar actions by local government officials.⁴⁰

A letter addressed to Brezhnev and signed by members of the Council of Relatives of the Prisoners of the Church of ECB of May 22, 1967, published in the West, lists a series of cases of terror and persecution practised by government organs against recalcitrant members of the sect. Prayer house have been closed, among others in Zhytomyr, Kiev, Berestya, Kharkiv, Odessa, Kryvyi Rih and other places. Participants in prayer meetings are fined heavily, a vicious press campaign continuously vilifies members of the sect, children of Baptists are intimidated and beaten up, KGB persecutes the imprisoned faithful for praying or for refusing to work on Sundays, Bibles are confiscated from prisoners. Even letters from relatives quoting passages from Holy Scriptures are confiscated by the administration of prisons and concentration camps and not permitted to reach the prisoners. Visits from relatives are refused and parcels from them are returned if a prisoner continues his religious practices in the concentration camp. The prisoners' health is undermined purposely by the camp administration.⁴¹

2. The Union of the Seventh Day Adventists is officially recognised by the Soviet authorities and has its centre in Moscow. This sect has 300 communities of which 115 are in Ukraine. Out of their total number of 26,000 in the USSR, 9,000 are in Ukraine with bigger communities in the Donetsk and Crimea regions.

3. The Pentecostals are banned in the Soviet Union for their alleged "anti-social and anti-Soviet" attitude. But groups of them exist as can be judged from newspaper reports attacking them or describing their "misdeeds." Pentecostal communities exist illegally in Odessa, Volynia and Rivne regions of Ukraine.

4. The sect of Jehovah's Witnesses is banned in Ukraine and its members are severely persecuted. The Soviet press frequently relates hair-raising stories about the alleged "crimes" of members of this sect and their clandestine activities. For some time Jehovah's witnesses published their journal "Watchtower" illegally in Ukrainian language. Their groups are active in Donetsk, Mykolaiv and West Ukrainian regions.

⁴⁰) V. Borovskyi, "Peresliduvannia khrystyan v SSSR zahostruiyetsia" (Persecution of Christians in the USSR is stepped up), *Svoboda*, Jersey City, 9. 3. 66.

⁴¹) "Lyst heneralnomu sekretarevi TsK KPSS L. I. Brezhnevu vid Rady rodychiv uviaznennykh yevanhel's'kykh khrystyan-baptystiv, yaki za Slovo Bozhe strazhdayut' v SSSR", *Shlyakh Peremohy* (Way to Victory, Ukrainian weekly), Munich, March 2nd and 9th 1969.

Some of the sects are considered dangerous from the Soviet point of view, because of their members' "anti-social behaviour", i. e. they refuse to serve in the army, to attend atheistic meetings, watch Soviet films or television programmes, they do not allow their children to join Young Pioneers or Komsomol organisations, etc.

THE JUDAIC RELIGION

According to the census of January 15, 1959 there were 840,000 Jews in Ukraine, living predominantly in the big cities.

The Judaic religion is officially recognised in the USSR, and as such, according to an authoritative statement, it enjoys "possibilities for free existence (synagogues, schools, religious literature). It has no single centre in the USSR, but synagogues have links with one another . . ." ⁴²

Like all forms of religious way of life, the Jewish religion has often been attacked by Communist propaganda and its representatives have been persecuted by the Soviet Russian regime. A particular motivation for attacks on the Jewish religion has been the accusation that "the Jewish religion has been closely intertwined with the Jewish bourgeois nationalism and Zionism . . . to which a section of the Jewish population in the USSR, mainly from the young Soviet Republics and regions [i. e. territories annexed by the Soviet Union since 1939 — Ed.], has fallen prey." ⁴³

Suspicious against the Jews as people likely to waver in their loyalty to the Soviet Union rose particularly strongly after the establishment of the State of Israel when many Jews began to entertain hopes of emigrating to Israel and of working for their newly restored national home. In the morbidly suspicious minds of the Bolshevik leaders and their secret police Jews appeared as potential traitors and spies for Israel and the United States which supported Israel. They do not permit large-scale emigration of Jews, because, on the one hand, this would antagonise the Arabs in the whole Near and Middle East which is an important target of Soviet Russian infiltration and expansion, and, on the other hand, it might lead to

⁴²) V. K. Tancher, *Osnovy ateizmy*, p. 110; A. Zhukovs'kyi, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁴³) *Pravda pro tudeis'ku relihiu i sionizm*, Kiev, p. 10.

what the Russians consider as the betrayal of State secrets, in fact to the spreading of the truth about the real state of affairs in the Soviet Union, its weaknesses and faults.

A number of Jews from the Soviet Union managed to emigrate to Israel in the years 1946-48 and 1956-57, and in order to stop large-scale emigration the Soviet authorities started an intensive campaign to discredit Israel, depicting life of emigrés there in the darkest colours.

Among numerous books, brochures and articles published as part of the campaign against "Zionism", there was one which gained world-wide notoriety, namely the book by A. Kychko, "Judaism without Embellishment", published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. The world-wide protests against this sort of publication caused the Soviet authorities to withdraw this book from circulation and to publicly separate themselves from its author. But all this was done more to placate Western pro-Communist Jewish circles than to change the course in the USSR. The fact that this is so can be testified by many subsequent publications vilifying Jewish religion and Israel, even by Kychko himself.

Alongside the campaign against Judaism, there was the campaign of combating "economic crime", i. e. illegal private trade, speculation, embezzlement of state property etc. People convicted as a result of this campaign were for the most part Jews, and a justifiable suspicion arises that the campaign might have been particularly directed against the Jews.

In all these anti-Jewish measures the Communist Russians tried to implicate Ukrainians, inciting them against the Jews, in order thus to distract their attention from their real oppressor, namely the imperialist Russian government and its chauvinist Russian supporters and servants.

Jewish religious life in Ukraine has been reduced to the barest minimum. There are no Jewish schools or publications in Ukraine, most synagogues have been closed or ruined, and the process continues. Russification and abandonment of religion is rapidly progressing among the younger Jewish generation.

THE MOSLEM RELIGION

Before World War II the small Moslem population of the Ukrainian territory consisted largely of the Crimean Tatars. Of the 205,000 Tatars living in Ukraine in 1926, 175,000 were inhabitants of the Crimea. After their mass expulsion from the Crimea by the Russian government to Central Asia and Siberia in the wake of the war, as reprisal for alleged collaboration with the Germans, their number fell sharply. The census of 1959 shows only 62,000 Tatars in the Ukrainian SSR, some of whom are probably Volga Tatars, newcomers working in the Donbas mines and the industrial towns of East Ukraine. And although the Crimean Tatars were officially rehabilitated in September 1967, very few of them have been given the opportunity to return to their homeland. They received no compensation for their confiscated and ruined homes and possessions, and did not get any State help for building new homes in the Crimea. When some individuals returned to the Crimea, police authorities refused to grant them residence permits on the basis that there were no jobs for them there. Nevertheless six thousand of them filtered back to their homeland, but all of them were deported for the second time. Since 1959 200 Crimean Tatars have been sentenced to up to seven years imprisonment.

On 21 April 1968, they staged a demonstration in the town of Chirchik (Uzbekistan) demanding permission to return to the Crimea. About 300 Tatars were arrested as a result of the riot and on April 23 a deputation of 16 Tatars went to Moscow and handed in a letter of protest to the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Later on further delegations numbering 800 persons went to Moscow but their protests ended with arrests and deportations. In the spring of 1969 a group of Soviet citizens headed by former general Petro Hryhorenko (Grigorenko), former Professor of Cybernetics at Frunze Military Academy, campaigned on their behalf. Hryhorenko got himself arrested in Tashkent on May 7, 1969, and stood a group trial together with 10 Tatars. On June 6, 1969 six Tatars staged a demonstration in Moscow protesting against the persecution of their people, but were quickly arrested and deported to Ukraine.⁴⁴

As a result of the Tatars' expulsion from the Crimea by the Russian Communist regime, their mosques have been closed and converted to other uses. The Tatars scattered in the industrial towns of Ukraine have no facilities to practice their religion.

⁴⁴) *East West Digest*, London, July 1969, p. 204-7.

CONCLUSION

Ever since their violent capture of power in the former Russian empire, the Russian Bolsheviks have unrelentingly tried to extinguish freedom of conscience and eradicate every non-Communist philosophy and faith in their sphere of domination. They endeavoured to supplant them with what they regarded as the only "scientific" doctrine, namely Marxism-Leninism, and that only as currently interpreted in the Kremlin.

Public, and even private, upholding of views different from the totalitarian Communist doctrine has been effectively restricted. Often it has been persecuted in a ruthless manner and draconic punishments, dismissals from work, deportation, imprisonment and occasionally even execution, have not been unknown. Institutions based on beliefs and aspirations conflicting with those of the Russian Communist Party have been banned and many of their leaders and followers savagely persecuted and done away with. Even according to the Soviet Constitution only institutions and organisations in which Communists constitute the leading core can exist in the USSR (Art. 126). Of the religious institutions, in particular Churches, only such have managed to survive openly which have agreed to collaborate closely with the secular atheistic power and be exploited by that power for propaganda purposes. They have become feeble shadows of their true self and vegetate under the watchful eye of the secret police. The permitted religious institutions have become so stifled and restricted in the scope of their activities that they have little prospect of growth and seem to be doomed to a gradual decline.

On the other hand the religious feelings of the population are not extinguished, despite the gigantic efforts of the Soviet propaganda and State machinery, they continue to show themselves in the support for the churches that are not compromised by their collaboration with the regime. The Churches which the Soviet regime finds dangerous to itself have been driven underground.

The drive against the free human spirit has been particularly ruthless in the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union because popular resistance against the regime of violence and terror has been intensified there by differences in spiritual outlook, national and religious motives, while in Russia itself Bolshevism has found some indigenous roots.

The most sustained and barbarous offensive against man's spirituality, against his free conscience and will, was waged by Moscow in Ukraine, the largest non-Russian nation in the USSR. There have been several reasons for it: 1) Ukrainian historical and cultural tradition is permeated with the ideas of individual and national

liberty, negation of tyranny and of unquestioning obedience to a central imperial power; 2) the Ukrainian religious movement has been closely bound with the national movement, the one supporting the other; 3) the Ukrainian independence movement, including the movement towards Church autocephaly, is, from Moscow's point of view, the most dangerous of all the forces threatening to disrupt the Russian colonial empire from within, because of the great importance of Ukraine to any Russian empire from many points of view.

The sufferings that the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite and other denominations have undergone at the hands of the Communist Russian occupation regime in the last 50 years is a great tragedy which most people in the free world still fail to realise. The martyrdom of the Ukrainian Churches ought to be widely known so as to warn those who are inclined to give too readily the benefit of doubt to the Communist Russian regime. It should also encourage people in the free world to stand up in defence of the persecuted behind the Iron Curtain, in particular in defence of the rights of the Ukrainian nation to religious, national and political liberty.

Appendix 1

PERSECUTIONS OF THE HIERARCHY OF THE UKRAINIAN AUTOCEPHALOUS ORTHODOX CHURCH

Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi — Metropolitan of Kiev and All Ukraine, (1921-1927), was forbidden to travel outside Kiev and thus severely restricted in his rights as Metropolitan. In 1927, at the insistence of the GPU (secret police), he was not re-elected Metropolitan, and lived shunned and forgotten in abject poverty in Kiev. In February 1938 at the age of 74, he was arrested and exiled to the north of Russia. There are unconfirmed reports that he died in Vorkuta concentration camp on 28 April, 1938.

Metropolitan Mykola Boretskyi (1927-1930) — was arrested in 1930 and sent into the isolation prison in Yaroslavl' (Central Russia). According to some reports he was unable to withstand the terrible conditions of imprisonment and became mentally ill, dying in a mental hospital in Leningrad in 1933.

Metropolitan Ivan Pavlovskyi (1930-1936) — previously bishop of Cherkassy and Chernihiv, Archbishop of Kharkiv, was deprived of his cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev in 1934 when it was transformed into a museum. In 1936 he was arrested and exiled to Kazakhstan. His later fate is unknown.

Archbishop Oleksander Yareshchenko — arrested in April 1926, exiled to Turkestan. Later fate unknown.

Archbishop Yosyf Oksiyuk — terrorised by the secret police, compelled to return to secular life, lived in great poverty, arrested in 1935, released in 1950s. Died in 1961.

Archbishop Konstantyn Malyushkevych — arrested several times between 1930-34 and prohibited by Soviet authorities to fulfil his religious duties and to travel outside Kiev. Finally forced to return to secular life. In 1937 arrested, his subsequent fate remains unknown.

Archbishop Yurii Zhevchenko — bishop of Poltava and later of Odessa. Arrested in Odessa on September 1, 1929, tortured, then exiled to the Far Eastern concentration camps for eight years penal servitude. In 1937 he received a further sentence of 10 years of hard labour. His subsequent fate remains unknown.

Archbishop Konstantyn Krotevych — bishop of Vinnytsia, arrested in 1930 and exiled from Ukraine. According to one report he died in great poverty in the Caucasus, according to others he was exiled to Siberia where he was shot in 1931.

Archbishop Yurii Mikhnovskyi — deputised for Archbishop Malyushkevych in Kiev during the latter's frequent arrests. Himself arrested and shot in Kiev in 1937.

Archbishop Stepan Orlyk — arrested in 1928 and exiled to Solovki concentration camp in the North of Russia. After 10 years of exile he returned to Zhytomyr

in Ukraine, but was rearrested and after two months' imprisonment in a dark dungeon he became blind. His further fate remains unknown.

Archbishop Feodosii Serhiyev — bishop of Berdychiv, forced to return to secular life in 1930, but nonetheless arrested in 1936 and exiled to Kolyma concentration camps in Siberia. His subsequent fate is unknown.

Bishop Yukhym Kalishevskiy — bishop of Cherkassy, later in Odessa, arrested and exiled apparently twice, in 1930 and 1936, forced to return to secular life, his further fate remains unknown.

Bishop Volodymyr Samborskyi — bishop of Hlukhiv and later of Vinnytsia, arrested in 1935 and exiled, returned from exile in 1942, but soon died due to the impairment of his health during the period he spent in concentrations camps.

Bishop Mykola Karabinevych — bishop of Uman', left Ukraine for Moscow after 1930. Arrested there in 1935 and shot.

Bishop Konon Bey — bishop of Cherkassy. After 1930 he was ordered by Soviet Russian authorities to leave Cherkassy for Irkutsk in Siberia. His further fate remains unknown.

Bishop Oleksander Chervinskyi — bishop of Chernihiv and later of Vinnytsia. Arrested in Vinnytsia about 1934, his further fate remains unknown.

Bishop Yuriil Teslenko — bishop of Bila Tserkva. Arrested in 1930 and exiled to concentration camps in the North of Russia. Released after 10 years as a completely exhausted T.B. case. Worked as a collective farm guard near Voronezh. Died in Vinnytsia in 1943 from T.B.

Bishop Maksym Zadvirniak — bishop of Proskuriv, arrested in 1930 and exiled to Solovki concentration camp where he died.

Bishop Volodymyr Dakhivnyk-Dakhivsky — bishop of Tulchyn in Podolia. Arrested in 1931 and exiled to the North of Russia. His further fate remains unknown.

Bishop Yakiv Chulayivskiy — according to one report, he was arrested in 1931 and exiled to Siberia where he died.

Archbishop Mykola Pyvovaryv — bishop of Kamianets-Podilskiy, arrested on 27 August, 1929 together with 45 priests and faithful, kept in a single cell for six months and then sentenced at a secret trial by a special committee of three, to 10 years hard labour in Siberia. Owing to his poor state of health, he was released after five years and returned to Vinnytsia where he lived in great poverty and soon died of exhaustion.

Appendix 2

PERSECUTIONS OF THE HIERARCHY OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Archbishop Joseph Slipyi — Metropolitan of Lviv and Halych, imprisoned in 1945, released in 1962 after nearly 18 years of imprisonment in concentration camps. Now Cardinal in Rome.

Bishop Nykyta Budka — Auxiliary Bishop of Lviv, imprisoned in 1945. Sentenced to 8 years hard labour. Died in Central Asian exile in 1949.

Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn — Bishop of Stanyslaviv, imprisoned in 1945, died in prison the same year, at the age of 80.

Bishop Ivan Liatyshevskiy — Auxiliary Bishop of Stanyslaviv, imprisoned in 1945. Sentenced to 8 years hard labour, but held in a concentration camp for 10 years. Died in 1957.

Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovskiy — Bishop of Peremyshl, imprisoned in 1944, then in 1946 by the Polish Communist regime, extradited to the Russians. Sentenced to many years of hard labour. Died in a Soviet prison in 1947.

Bishop Hryhorii Lakota — Auxiliary Bishop of Peremyshl, imprisoned in 1944, then again in 1946 by Polish Communist regime, extradited to the Russians. Sentenced to many years of hard labour. Died in Vorkuta concentration camp in 1950.

Bishop Mykola Charnetskyi — Bishop of Volynia, imprisoned in 1945, sentenced to five years hard labour, but kept in Vorkuta concentration camp for 11 years. Released in 1956. Died in 1959 at the age of 75.

Bishop Theodore Romzha — Bishop of Uzhhorod, murdered by the Communists in 1947.

Bishop Pavlo Goydych — Bishop of Priashiv, arrested in 1950 by Czechoslovakia's Communist regime, sentenced to life imprisonment. Died in Leopoldovo prison in 1960.

Bishop Vasyl Hopko — Auxiliary Bishop of Priashiv, imprisoned in Czechoslovakia in 1950. Sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, served 13½ years. Resumed his duties in Spring 1968, now retired.

Mgr. Dr. Petro Verhun — Apostolic Visitor for Ukrainian Catholics in Germany. Arrested in Berlin in 1945, died in Siberian exile in 1957.

All Ukrainian Catholic bishops within the reach of the Russian Communist regime were arrested and imprisoned and the Ukrainian Catholic Church was officially dissolved and liquidated. Most of the priests, monks and nuns and thousands of the faithful suffered the same fate as the hierarchy.

