

# The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Soviet State (1939-1950)



BOHDAN R. BOCIURKIW

## **The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Soviet State (1939 - 1950)**

Bohdan Rostyslav Bociurkiw's book is a pioneering study of the Stalinist suppression of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and a model for the post-1989 scholarship on the Soviet Union. It is being published on the 50th anniversary of the so-called L'viv Sobor of 1946, at which the church was abolished. Dr. Bociurkiw's book is the fruit of a lifetime of painstaking research. It weaves together information gleaned from the major publications on the subject, Soviet and non-Soviet periodicals, documents in Soviet, Vatican and Ukrainian Catholic archives, eyewitness accounts, letters and interviews. Most of the Soviet archives consulted by the author had been classified until recently and had thus been unavailable to scholars and researchers. Dr. Bociurkiw judiciously pieces together the information he collected to describe the planning, realization and immediate consequences of the Soviet liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church. He carefully analyzes Soviet policy towards the church from the first occupation of Galicia by the Red Army in 1939 through to the church's "reunion" with the Russian Orthodox Church and the repression of the leading Greek Catholic clergy after World War II. In the process he identifies the main executors of the Kremlin's directives and separates fact from fiction and deliberate Soviet disinformation.



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**Bohdan Rostyslav Bociurkiw**



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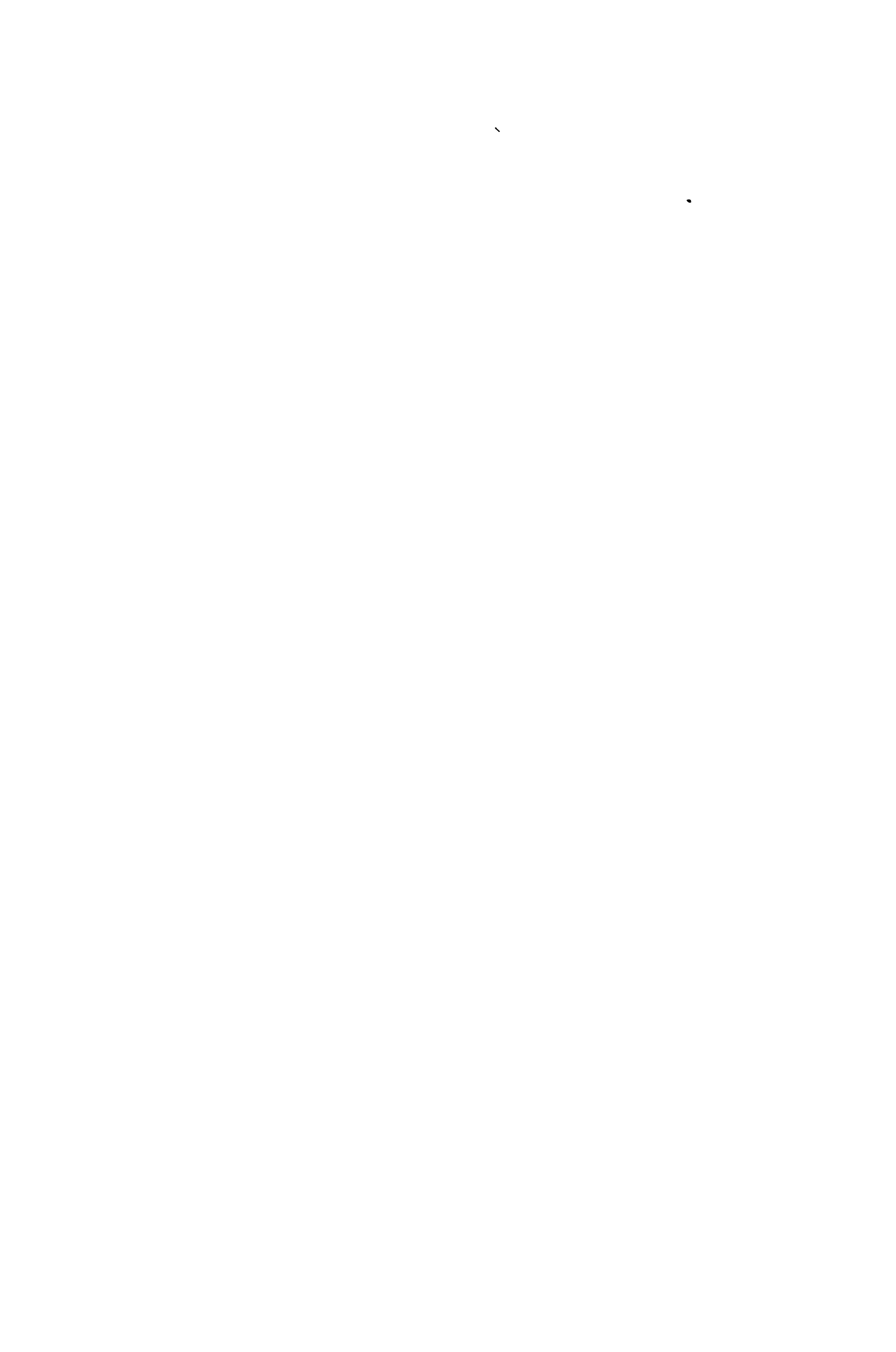
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## *Preface*

The year 1996 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet suppression of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia, as well as a double jubilee—four hundred years since the Union of Brest (Berestia) of 1596, and the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the 1646 Union of Uzhhorod. Stalin's regime attempted to dissolve the Union of Brest by forcibly "reuniting" its child—the Galician metropoly of Halych—with the Russian Orthodox Church at the so-called L'viv Sobor in 1946 and by imposing in 1949 a similar "reunion" upon Mukachiv eparchy, which had resulted, eventually, from the Union of Uzhhorod. Until that time, neither the Galician metropoly nor Mukachiv eparchy in Transcarpathia had ever been part of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Chronologically, the scope of this book (except for the historical introduction) extends from the first Soviet occupation of Galicia in 1939 to the suppression of the Greek Catholic monasteries there and the "reunion" of the last Greek Catholic eparchy in the Soviet bloc serving Ukrainians, Prešov eparchy in Slovakia, in 1950. It also surveys the "de-legalization" and dispersal of the Greek Catholic Church in the Polish-ruled, westernmost part of the Galician metropoly. In the case of Mukachiv eparchy, the story begins with the 1944 Soviet occupation of Transcarpathia. Thus the scope of this book largely coincides with the last years of Stalin's dictatorship and ends with the beginning of the cold war.

This is not a study in "martyrology" of Ukrainian Catholics. Rather, given the symbiotic relationship between Greek Catholicism and Ukrainian national identity in Galicia and the inevitable sympathy of the predominantly Greek Catholic population there for the massive armed UPA-OUN resistance against the Soviet Russian occupiers, this book explores the relationship between Stalin's "new religious policy" and his nationalities policy in Western Ukraine and the adjoining Ukrainian-populated territories. The study analyzes the motives, means, and results of this intertwined ecclesiastical-nationality policy. It finds explanations and models for that policy not in Marxism-Leninism, but in the tsarist policies towards the Uniates in the territories annexed after the partitions of Poland in the late eighteenth century. The subsequent total Soviet

secret-police domination of the Russian Orthodox Church in the post-1939 period and that church's marginal and instrumental role in the events of 1939–50 are discussed.

Careful rereading of published sources and newly accessible documents, especially from the hitherto closed Soviet archives, now makes it possible to tell the story of the Kremlin's policy toward the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church without the gross distortions that characterized the Soviet rewriting of the history of the "reunion of the Uniates," and without the sentimentalism, exaggerations, or superficialities of émigré "martyrology."

In this book "Uniate Church" and "Uniates" are used for the period from the Union of Brest to the forcible suppression of Eastern Catholicism in the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century. Only in tsarist and Soviet propaganda do these terms have pejorative connotations. In the Austrian Empire the Uniate Church was officially renamed "Greek Catholic" in 1774, and the latter term is used accordingly in the discussion of Western Ukrainian events after that date. The designations "Ukrainian Catholic," which was adopted in the postwar Ukrainian diaspora in the West, and "Eastern Catholic," which has been used by some Vatican and Western publications, appear only in contexts warranting them. To avoid any misunderstanding, the ethnic designation "Ukrainian" is employed for the post-Brest period instead of "Rusyn" or "Ruthenian."

Except for the well-established, in English, names of Galicia (Ukrainian: Halychyna), Volhynia (Volyn'), Podlachia (Pidliashshia), and Brest (Berestia), all other Ukrainian and Belarusian names are transliterated from their respective languages, including the now official names in English of Kyiv (instead of Kiev) and Belarus (instead of Belorussia). Current Polish names are used for the cities of Przemyśl and Chełm in the historic Ukrainian-Polish borderlands. The names of the Uniate/Greek Catholic eparchies of Peremyshl' and Kholm, however, whose sees were located in these cities but whose creation predated their incorporation in Poland, are rendered according to their official, Ukrainian forms. All Cyrillic names, terms, and titles are transliterated according to the Library of Congress transliteration system.



## *Acknowledgements*

This book was conceived many years ago, and its first draft was completed in 1989. The subsequent implosion of the Soviet Union and opening of archives in Ukraine to researchers from abroad made it possible to undertake a fundamental revision of this study on the basis of authentic Soviet Party, government, and secret police sources that had been classified until the early 1990s.

My research, writing, and subsequent revisions were made possible by many individuals and institutions. Much of my initial inspiration for this study came from the late confessor of the faith, Iosyf Cardinal Slipyi. His near-miraculous arrival in Rome from the Soviet Gulag in February 1963 renewed interest in the fate of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church under Communist rule by making accessible its principal witness and victim. Since that time I have visited Rome many times, especially after the creation, by the late metropolitan-archbishop major and cardinal, of the Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, which invited me repeatedly to lecture during its summer terms. Thus I was able to meet from time to time with Cardinal Slipyi and to elicit from him answers to some important questions concerning the subject of this book.

I am also deeply grateful to Cardinal Slipyi's closest collaborators: to Bishop Ivan Khoma (Choma), the former rector of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, for supplying me with numerous relevant sources and photographs; to the Rev. Dr. Ivan Dats'ko (Dacko), the principal secretary to the late cardinal, who gave me access to important archival documents, above all Cardinal Slipyi's indispensable "Memoirs," which were completed in 1964; and to the former Studite archimandrite and now exarch of the Kyiv-Vyshhorod exarchate, Bishop Liubomyr Huzar (Husar), for helping me to secure substantial research funds from the St. Sophia Religious Society of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada. During my visits to Rome, I also benefited from meetings with Bishop (later Archbishop) Myroslav Marusyn, who kindly agreed to search in the otherwise inaccessible archive of the late Archbishop Ivan Buchko for answers to my questions. I also wish to express my appreciation to the protoarchimandrite of the Basilian Order, Fr. Isydor

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I also thank the former rector of the Holy Spirit Ukrainian Catholic Seminary in Ottawa, Mitred Archpriest Iosyf Andrijshyn, who offered to me unlimited access to the seminary's extensive library collection and, on

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numerous occasions, alerted me to new source materials and provided me with photocopies of them; the late Dr. Anatol' M. Bazylevych of Toronto, for sharing with me his extensive knowledge of émigré publications about the suppression and subsequent clandestine activities of the Greek Catholic Church and for supplying me with private letters from Ukraine containing information about the church; Mr. George Duravetz of Toronto, who lent me a copy of the 1946 Soviet film, *L'vivs'kyi sobor*; and Mr. Myron Momryk of the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa, who arranged to have this film transferred to a video cassette.

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The opening of formerly classified archival holdings in Ukraine made it possible for me, in 1990 and 1991, to examine relevant collections of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine (TsDIAU) in L'viv and the State Archive of L'viv Oblast (DALO). I owe special thanks to Ms. Oksana Haiova (TsDIA) and Mr. Myron Iatsula (DALO), as well to Mr. Roman and Ms. Lesia Kryp'iakevych of L'viv, who managed to have photocopies of selected documents forwarded to me. I am also grateful to Dr. Borys Gudziak, director of the L'viv Institute of Church History, for supplying me with relevant L'viv *obkom* archival documents and sharing with me some of his oral history project testimonials; to Dr. Petro Arsenych of Ivano-Frankivs'k, for searching for needed documents in the State Archive of Ivano-Frankivs'k Oblast (DAI-FO); to Mr. Iaroslav Stots'kyi, for supplying with his transcripts of some important documents in the State Archive of Ternopil' Oblast (DATO); and, in particular, to Ms. Maryna Mukhyna of Kyïv, for researching on my behalf relevant holdings of the Central State Archive of the Higher Organs of Power and Government of Ukraine (TsDAVO), the Central State Cinema, Photography, and Sound Archive (TsDKAU), and the Central State Archive of Civic Associations of Ukraine (TsDAHOU). The most important documents in my possession are from the TsDAHOU, and I express to its director, Mr. Ruslan Pyrih, my profound appreciation for his co-operation. I also benefited greatly from the published and unpublished documents assembled by Dr. Ivan Bilas (now a general and a member of the Ukrainian Parliament), who included most of them in his recently published doctoral dissertation. I thank him for what I was able to learn from these crucial documents. Thanks are also due

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I owe the greatest debt of gratitude to my wife, Vera, and our children for bearing my absence during the long years I was engaged in research travels, reading, and writing—that is, time I should have devoted to them. Their patience, encouragement, and moral support made this book possible, and I dedicate it to them.

B. R. B.  
Carleton University  
April 1996

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## CHAPTER ONE

# *The Uniate/Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine: A Historical Introduction*

Soviet policy toward the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church cannot be explained in terms of Marxism or Leninist atheism alone.<sup>1</sup> For the models and precedents for Stalinist church policy in Western Ukraine, one should also look to the treatment of the Greek Catholic Church during centuries of tsarist rule and to the traditional, caesaropapist pattern of relations between the Muscovite/Russian state and the Orthodox Church.

Russian hostility toward the Uniate (Eastern Catholic) Church goes back to the church's inception at the Union of Brest (Berestia) in 1596, when the majority of Orthodox bishops in Ukraine and Belarus (then part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) recognized the primacy of the pope in return for Polish promises of equality with the Roman Catholic Church and for papal guarantees that the Uniates would retain their Byzantine-Slavonic rite, the Church-Slavonic liturgical language, Eastern canon law, a married clergy, and administrative autonomy.<sup>2</sup> Coming only seven years after the establishment

1. That is, in terms of the official, "overt" ideology of the ruling Communist Party in the Soviet Union. In fact, the Party was guided in its treatment of religion by an unofficial, "covert" variety of Leninism, which was best exemplified by Lenin's secret letter to the Politburo of March 19, 1922, in which he called for a massive terror campaign against the ecclesiastical enemies of the Soviet system until they accepted unconditional subservience to the Party's secret commands and the nearly total control of internal church activities and personnel by the Bolshevik security organs. V. I. Lenin, "Pis'mo V. M. Molotovu dlia chlenov Politburo TsK RKP(b), 19 marta 1922 g.," *Izvestiia TsK KPSS*, 1990, no. 4, 190–5.

2. On the Union of Brest, see Oskar Halecki, *From Florence to Brest (1439–1596)* (Hamden, Conn., 1968); Hryhor Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ka Tserkva mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom: Narys istorii Ukrain's'koi Tserkvy* (Philadelphia, 1954), 236–88; Atanasii H. Velykyi, OSBM, *Z litopysu khrystyians'koi Ukrainy: Tserkovno-istorychni radiolektsii z Vatykanu*, vol. 4 (Rome, 1971), 9–174; and Borys Gudziak and Oleh Turii, eds., *Istorychnyi kontekst, ukladennia Beresteis'koi unii i pershe pouniine pokolinnia* (L'viv, 1995). For pro-Orthodox points of view, see Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 5 (New York, 1955), 539–618; Ivan Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys*

of the Moscow patriarchate,<sup>3</sup> which claimed jurisdiction over the Orthodox in the Commonwealth, the Union of Brest was viewed by the Muscovite state not only as a Polish-inspired ecclesiastical obstacle to the realization of the idea of Moscow as the “Third Rome,”<sup>4</sup> but, even more importantly, as an attempt at permanently separating “Little” and “White” Rus’ from “Great Rus’”—that is, Ukraine and Belarus from Muscovy—while setting the spiritual foundations for the Polonization of the Ukrainians and Belarusians.

Fortunately for Muscovy, the union with Rome did not have the support of all Orthodox bishops (the bishops of L’viv and Peremyshl’ [now Przemyśl in Poland] refused to sign the act of union), priests, and monastics in Ukraine and Belarus nor of the Orthodox magnates and nobles (led by Prince Konstantyn Ostroz’kyi) and the increasingly vocal church brotherhoods there. At the two concurrent sobors in Brest held by the supporters and the opponents of the union respectively, the two groups anathemized each other.<sup>5</sup> The most important source of hostility toward the church union became the Cossacks, a rising military estate whose *raison d’être*—the protection of

*istorii Ukraïns’koi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy*, vol. 2 (New York and Bound Brook, N.J., 1957); and S. N. Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina: Politika Rimskoi kurii na ukrainskikh zemliakh v XVI–XVII vv.* (Kyïv, 1989). For the articles of the Union of Brest, see Gudziak and Turii, *Istorychnyi kontekst*, 173–9.

3. In reaction to the Union of Florence, the Muscovite Orthodox Church proclaimed its autocephaly in 1448. It had to wait for its recognition until 1589, when the patriarch of Constantinople happened to visit Moscow and was imprisoned by Tsar Boris Godunov until he agreed to raise Moscow metropoly to the status of a patriarchate.

4. The theory of the “Third Rome” (i.e., after the fall of Rome and the “Second Rome”—Byzantium—Moscow became the “Third Rome” and “there shall not be a Fourth Rome”) came to Muscovy from the Balkans after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and was adopted during the autocephalous Russian church’s schism from the Ecumenical patriarchate. The theory was formulated in the early sixteenth century in letters to the tsars by the hegumen of the Transfiguration-St. Eleazar Monastery in Pskov, Filotei. Its adherents not only claimed that Moscow should have ecclesiastical primacy in the Christian world, but also that the Muscovite tsar should be supreme over all other Christian rulers. The theory became something of an official justification by the Muscovite state and church for colonial expansion until the Time of Troubles and, especially, the Great Schism (*raskol*) in the Russian church after Patriarch Nikon’s reforms in the seventeenth century. See Oleksander Ohloblyn, *Moskovs’ka teoriia III Rymu v XVI–XVII stol.* (Munich, 1951).

5. Velykyi, *Z litopysu*, 4: 115–17; Luzhnyts’kyi, *Ukraïns’ka Tserkva*, 286.



Christian Ukraine from recurrent raids by the Muslim Crimean Tatars—was now extended to protecting Orthodoxy against the imposition of the union. It was because of Cossack intervention that in 1620 Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem secretly consecrated an Orthodox hierarchy headed by Metropolitan Iov Borets'kyi and installed them in Kyïv and other Ukrainian sees that had been vacated by the “treason” of the Uniate bishops and had remained vacant because of the Polish prohibition of new Orthodox episcopal ordinations.<sup>6</sup>

The revival of Kyïv as the centre of Orthodox theological learning, education, and national culture and, above all, the victorious Cossack-peasant war of liberation from Polish oppression, launched in 1648 by Het'man Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, sealed the fate of the church union in the Cossack-controlled territories. To be able to continue the war with Poland, however, Khmel'nyts'kyi concluded a treaty with Muscovy at Pereiaslav in 1654 whereby Ukraine accepted the suzerainty of the “Orthodox tsar” in return for military assistance and diplomatic support. The Treaty of Pereiaslav was hardly advantageous for the Ukrainian side, and, as such, it was staunchly opposed by the Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchy, who wanted to protect the virtual independence they had been granted by the patriarchate of Constantinople from the designs of its Moscow rival.<sup>7</sup>

From the very beginning Moscow interpreted the 1654 treaty as a surrender of Ukrainian independence to the tsar. After Khmel'nyts'kyi's death, Moscow rewrote the terms of the treaty (as it did upon the election of every subsequent new het'man) in an attempt gradually to deprive the Cossack Hetmanate of the attributes of statehood. In 1667, in violation of the Pereiaslav Treaty, Moscow concluded the Treaty of Andrusovo with Poland, whereby Ukraine was partitioned between the two powers along the Dnieper River. This partition was confirmed by the so-called Eternal Peace agreement of 1686, which ceded Kyïv and a small surrounding Right-Bank area to Russia. By 1686, after the patriarchate of Constantinople was “persuaded” to transfer its jurisdiction over Kyïv metropolity to Moscow, that metropolity lost its *de facto* independence.<sup>8</sup>

6. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, 7 (1956): 432–50.

7. *Ibid.*, 9, pt. 1 (1957), 746–7; *idem*, *Z istoriï relihiinoï dumky na Ukraïni* (L'viv, 1925), 84.

8. It took some political pressure, by way of the Ottoman government, and bribes for Moscow to achieve the transfer of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church under the supremacy of the patriarch of Moscow. See Hrushevs'kyi, *Z istoriï*, 84–86. In his 1924 *tomos* recognizing the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in Poland, the ecumenical patriarch declared that the 1686 transfer of Kyïv metropolity to the Moscow patriarchate had been uncanonical.

This loss set in motion the rapid dismemberment of the metropoly into separate eparchies directly subordinated to the Moscow patriarchate; a parallel process occurred in the monasteries. As it was progressively stripped of its ancient privileges and particularities, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was subjected to increasing Russification. By the beginning of the nineteenth century it had been transformed into a powerful agent of denationalization.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, under Polish rule, the Uniate Church was abandoned by most Ukrainian nobles who had originally embraced the union. This occurred because Warsaw's promise to equalize the status and privileges of that church with those of the Polish Roman Catholic Church was never fulfilled. Furthermore, through its Jesuit schools, the Polish church converted the children of the Orthodox nobility to Roman Catholicism, and this, in turn, led to their Polonization.<sup>10</sup> As the Uniate parish clergy became progressively more culturally Polonized, so too did the Basilian Order (and, to some extent, the episcopate that sprang from its ranks). Thus Latin-rite innovations were introduced in the church. Because of the impact of Polonization on the clergy in Polish-ruled Ukraine and Belarus, it was largely only the ritually conservative Ukrainian peasantry that obstructed the Latinization processes of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Polish-ruled Right-Bank Ukraine, influences from the Left-Bank Hetmanate, occasional Cossack-led uprisings against the Poles, and the violent rebellion of the anti-Uniate *haidamaky* known as the *Koliivshchyna*, with its massacre of the Catholics in Uman' in 1768, all contributed to the weakening of the Uniate Church. In the first eight months of 1768 alone, it lost 306 parishes.<sup>11</sup> Only in Galicia, the westernmost region of Polish-ruled Ukraine, and only under unrelenting Polish pressure did the Uniate Church expand after the last two Orthodox eparchies—Peremyshl' and L'viv—acceded to the union in 1691 and 1700 respectively.<sup>12</sup>

9. Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 3 (1957): 5–62.

10. Velykyi, *Z litopysu*, 4 (1971): 202–4.

11. Teofil' Kostruba, *Iak Moskva nyschyla Ukrain's'ku Tserkvu*, 2d ed. (Toronto, 1961), 30. For a more extensive discussion of the consequences of the *Koliivshchyna* for the Uniate Church, see Velykyi, *Z litopysu*, 6 (1973): 227–57.

12. Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 2 (1957): 176–9.

## **The Partitions of Poland and the Suppression of the Uniate Church in Russian-Ruled Ukraine and Belarus**

While the Austrian annexation of Galicia in the first partition of Poland (1772) saved the Uniate Church in this part of Ukraine, after the second partition (1793), in the newly Russian-annexed areas of Ukraine and Belarus, Empress Catherine II launched a widespread campaign aimed at converting the Uniates to Russian Orthodoxy and persuading the Uniate clergy to “return” to the “mother church.” “Recalcitrant” priests were subjected to a variety of repressive measures; in 1772–73 alone, sixty-eight Uniate priests were imprisoned under inhuman conditions in the Berdychiv prison.<sup>13</sup> Catherine II, a freethinker and admirer of Voltaire, clearly pursued political ends in combating the Uniate Church. Her chief concerns were to eliminate the barrier to the integration of the Ukrainians and Belarusians with the Russians and to eliminate the Polish nobility’s influence over them. Despite Russian guarantees of religious freedom in the 1793 Treaty of Grodno (Hrodna), immediately after its signing Catherine undertook a series of measures against the Uniate Church, from the launching of Orthodox “missionary” activities under Bishop Viktor (Sadkovskii) to issuing decrees that called for repossession of Eastern Catholic churches once built by the Orthodox, the imposition of Orthodox pastors in vacant Uniate parishes, the wholesale “conversions” of villages, and the abolition of the eparchies of Luts'k, Brest, and Pinsk in 1795. By the end of Catherine’s reign, out of five thousand Uniate parishes in Kyïv, Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi, Luts'k, and Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi eparchies, only two hundred survived.<sup>14</sup>

Under Nicholas I (1825–55), the frontal assault on the remaining Uniate parishes (most of them now located in Belarus and Lithuania) gained momentum, especially after the failed Polish Insurrection of 1831. Support for the insurrection by some Polonized Uniate clerics and Basilian monks was used as a pretext by the tsarist authorities for severe new measures against the Uniate Church.

In fact, however, plans for the complete abolition of the Eastern Catholic Church in the Russian Empire had begun in 1828, when a secret committee was formed in St. Petersburg to help the government’s “Orthodoxization” of

13. Kostruba, *Iak Moskva*, 27–32.

14. Wasyl Lencyk, *The Eastern Catholic Church and Czar Nicholas I* (Rome and New York, 1966), 14–20; Kostruba, *Iak Moskva*, 33–42; Velykyi, *Z litopysu*, 7 (1975): 121–32.

the Uniates.<sup>15</sup> A principal figure in the planning and realization of this “reunion” was the apostate Uniate priest, Iosyf Semashko.

The “reunion” drive began with several measures. Luts'k eparchy, which had held the last remaining Eastern Catholic parishes in Ukraine, was abolished through its incorporation into the Belarusian eparchy. Jurisdiction over the Uniate Church was transferred from the Roman Catholic College in the government's Department of Foreign Religions to a separate Greco-Uniate College in St. Petersburg headed by the pliant Metropolitan Iosyf Bulhak. The Basilian Order—which was seen as the main opponent of “reunion”—was subordinated to the eparchial bishops.<sup>16</sup> A campaign of “purification of the rite” from Latin influences was launched: teaching in Eastern Catholic seminaries was reformed to resemble as closely as possible the methodology in Orthodox seminaries; churches were remodelled by removing side altars and organs and installing iconostases; and Catholic liturgical books were replaced with Orthodox ones.<sup>17</sup> In 1832 all former Latin-rite monks were ordered out of the Basilian monasteries, and eighteen Uniate monasteries in Ukraine were turned over to the Orthodox Church.<sup>18</sup> In 1831 the mainstay of Basilian influence in Volhynia since 1712—the Pochaïv Lavra—was forcibly restored to the Orthodox Church.<sup>19</sup>

In 1835 a new secret committee for the unification of the Eastern Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches was established by the tsar's ukase; it was dominated by Minister of the Interior Dmitrii N. Bludov and by Semashko, who had been consecrated a bishop in 1829.<sup>20</sup> In 1838 the Greco-Uniate College was subordinated to the *oberprokuror* of the Russian Holy Synod, and Semashko assumed the presidency of the college after the death of Metropolitan Bulhak in February of that year.<sup>21</sup> Though docile and passive in the face of measures preparing the absorption of the Uniates into the Russian state church, Bulhak had remained loyal to the Catholic Church, and his death

15. Lencyk, *The Eastern Catholic Church*, 74.

16. *Ibid.*, 41–2.

17. *Ibid.*, 60–5.

18. *Ibid.*, 60.

19. Isydor Patrylo, OSBM, “Narys istorii Vasyliian vid 1748 do 1839 roku,” in *Narys istorii Vasyliians'koho chynu Sviatoho Iosafata* (Rome, 1992), 247.

20. Lencyk, *The Eastern Catholic Church*, 74–6.

21. *Ibid.*, 78, 92.

removed one of the last obstacles to the planned “reunion.”<sup>22</sup> Assisted by two other apostate bishops, Antonii Zubko and Vasiliï Luzhinskii, Semashko now proceeded to extract, by promises and threats, signed declarations from individual clergymen of non-opposition to the forthcoming “reunion.” At the end of 1838, however, out of 1,735 eparchial (secular) and regular (monastic) clergy, 701 still refused to submit. They were subjected to various sanctions, including their removal from parishes, confinement in Russian monasteries for “re-education,” demotion to precentor or servant status, and imprisonment; a minority of them were broken by such repressions and their own despair, and their protests (and those of their parishioners) to the imperial authorities were answered with new repressions.<sup>23</sup>

The “reunion” campaign culminated in a “sobor” at Polatsk in February 1839, when an “Act of Reunion” was signed by Bishops Semashko, Zubko, and Luzhinskii and twenty-four senior priests and submitted with a list of 1,305 priests who had committed themselves to join the Orthodox Church.<sup>24</sup> On March 30, 1839, the Holy Synod received the “converts” into the Russian church and rewarded Semashko with the rank of archbishop. The publication of the tsar’s proclamation dissolving the Uniate Church was delayed, however, to conceal the government’s principal role in the “reunion.”<sup>25</sup> To commemorate this event, Nicholas I ordered a medal struck with the inscription “Torn away by force (1596), reunited by love (1839).”<sup>26</sup> Despite precautions, the tsarist regime still had to suppress Uniate resistance to the “reunion” in some localities by military force. To counter the flight of the Eastern Catholics to the Roman Catholic Church, the latter’s clergy was prohibited in 1840 from ministering to the “reunited” believers.<sup>27</sup> After 1839, only some 250,000 Uniates remained within the Russian Empire, mostly in Kholm (Chełm) eparchy in the autonomous Congress Kingdom of Poland.<sup>28</sup>

22. Velykyi, *Z litopysu*, 7: 265–6.

23. Lencyk, *The Eastern Catholic Church*, 105–108; Velykyi, *Z litopysu*, 7: 263–4.

24. Lencyk, *The Eastern Catholic Church*, 108–17.

25. *Ibid.*, 114.

26. *Ibid.*, 117.

27. Velykyi, *Z litopysu*, 8 (1976): 57–8.

28. Extrapolated from earlier statistics (see n. 30, below).

### The Abolition of the Uniate Church in Kholm Eparchy

Nowhere was the Uniate Church as entrenched and exposed to Polish Roman Catholic influence as in the two-centuries-old eparchy of Kholm (and Podlachia).<sup>29</sup> In the late 1820s the eparchy had a bishop and an auxiliary bishop (of Belz), 817 parishes, 400 parish priests, 5 Basilian monasteries, 20 monks, a Basilian convent with 6 nuns, a seminary with 15 clerics, and 228,000 faithful.<sup>30</sup> Previously the eparchy had been part of the metropolitan see of Halych, but in 1830 it was directly subordinated to Rome.<sup>31</sup> Simultaneously with its campaign against the Eastern Catholic Church in Russia proper, the Russian government began pressuring Kholm eparchy to adopt Russian liturgical books and to send four candidates for the priesthood to the Orthodox seminary in Kyiv. When Bishop Pylyp Shumbors'kyi of Kholm refused to do so and tried instead to send candidates to the Roman Catholic seminary in Warsaw, the Russian government did not allow them to go.<sup>32</sup>

After Shumbors'kyi's death in 1851, tsarist authorities appointed the docile Fr. Ivan Terashkevych administrator of the eparchy (he was not consecrated a bishop until 1863 and died two months later).<sup>33</sup> His principal advisers were Frs. Iosyf Voitsits'kyi and Ivan Potii, rector of the Kholm Eparchial Seminary, who were supporters of the "reunion." Potii imposed the use of an Orthodox catechism in the church schools and subordinated the Kholm seminary to St. Petersburg.<sup>34</sup>

On the pretext of Uniate support for the abortive Polish Insurrection of 1863 (the new administrator of Kholm eparchy, Ivan Kalins'kyi, did, in fact, support it<sup>35</sup>), the tsarist government transferred jurisdiction over this only surviving Eastern Catholic eparchy in the empire (the Congress Kingdom of Poland had been abolished after the 1863 insurrection) to a Governmental Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs. The commission virtually stripped the local bishop of control over the appointment of pastors, parish properties, and

29. Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 3: 224.

30. Velykyi, *Z litopysu*, 8: 61.

31. *Ibid.*, 66–8.

32. *Ibid.*, 69, 183–5; Kostruba, *Iak Moskva*, 62–8.

33. Velykyi, *Z litopysu*, 8: 184.

34. Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ka Tserkva*, 470, 472–4.

35. Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 3: 244.

payment of the clergy.<sup>36</sup> Aiming at the staunchest opponents of Orthodoxization, the government closed four of the five remaining Basilian monasteries, leaving only the one in Warsaw open.<sup>37</sup> In 1866 Administrator Kalins'kyi was arrested and deported to Viatka gubernia in Russia.<sup>38</sup> In his place the government installed Iosyf Voitsits'kyi, another supporter of Orthodoxization, who launched a campaign to “purify” the Eastern rite of Latin influences with the support of imported Russophile clergy from Galicia. Among these Galicians was Fr. Markel' Popel', who was destined to play a role analogous to Semashko's in the 1830s. Voitsits'kyi prohibited liturgical prayers for the pope and ordered the imprisonment of fourteen “recalcitrant” priests. Meantime other opponents of the “reunion” escaped across the border to Austrian-ruled Galicia.<sup>39</sup>

Pope Pius IX's unusually strong reaction to the tsarist measures led to Voitsits'kyi's dismissal and the appointment, in 1868, of a legitimate Uniate bishop from Galicia, Mykhailo Kuzems'kyi. Kuzems'kyi reversed some of the “purification” measures and reinstated some of the rituals and customs that had been especially popular among the faithful. But in protest against the continued Russification and “reunion” pressures, he resigned in 1871 and returned to Galicia.<sup>40</sup> The tsarist government was then able to replace him with Markel' Popel', who immediately accelerated the Orthodoxization of the ritual. Popel''s actions provoked mass resistance by the clergy and believers, which could only be broken by gendarmerie and army units after bloody confrontations in a number of parishes. By 1874 forty-three Uniate priests had been imprisoned and deported to Russia proper. Early in 1875 the government demanded that each village pastor and two parishioners sign a petition in support of the “return” to the Russian Orthodox Church. Priests who refused to comply were deported to Russia without their families, and their children were taken away and brought up as Orthodox.<sup>41</sup>

36. Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ka Tserkva*, 470, 472–4.

37. *Ibid.*, 476.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*, 476–7.

40. Velykyi, *Z litopysu*, 8: 192–4.

41. Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ka Tserkva*, 478–90. See also the eyewitnesses' account “Vozsoedinenie uniatov,” in A. Z., *Materialy k voprosu ob obrazovanii Kholmsskoi gubernii*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1908), 75–84; and Archpriest Nikolai N. Livchak, *K istorii vozsoedineniia uniatov Kholmsskoi eparkhii: Zapiski i vospominaniia* (Vilnius, 1910), esp. vi–vii and 7–10.

In this way, signatures for “reunion” petitions were extracted from forty-five parishes and twenty-six priests.<sup>42</sup> In February 1875 Popel' led a delegation to St. Petersburg bearing such petitions. The delegation was received by Alexander II and the Holy Synod, which declared the acceptance of Kholm eparchy's Uniates into the Russian church. Popel' was rewarded for his efforts by being appointed bishop of Lublin.<sup>43</sup> According to an Orthodox historian, 204 priests (including 40 Russophiles from Galicia)<sup>44</sup> were eventually “reunited,” but they were often opposed by at least part of their flock.

The “reunion” of 1875 was clearly imposed by force. Consequently, when Nicholas II issued his “toleration” decree (the “toleration” that did not apply to the Uniates) in 1905, some 200,000 “reunited” believers in the Kholm-Podlachia region opted for Roman Catholicism and, inevitably, Polonization.<sup>45</sup> Thus, in the final analysis, the real contest in this region became that between the Poles' and Russia's claims to the national loyalties of the Ukrainian Uniates, whose sense of ethnic identity was unable to rise to such a twofold challenge.

### The Greek Catholic Church in Austrian-Ruled Galicia

The Uniate Church (renamed the Greek Catholic Church in 1774 by Empress Maria Theresa<sup>46</sup>) survived and flourished in Austrian-annexed Galicia (as well as in Hungarian-ruled Transcarpathia) thanks to the Habsburgs' desire to strengthen it as a barrier to Russian expansionism and as a counterbalance to Polish irredentism. Impoverished and undereducated, the Galician Greek Catholic clergy<sup>47</sup> was granted opportunities by the Austrian government to study theology at the Barbareum in Vienna (1774–84),

42. Kostruba, *Iak Moskva*, 77–8.

43. Ibid.; Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ka Tserkva*, 480–2.

44. Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 3: 245.

45. Ibid., 247.

46. Ivan L. Rudnytsky, “Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule,” in his *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History*, ed. Peter L. Rudnytsky (Edmonton, 1987), 316.

47. In 1783 the Austrian *Referent* for Galicia found that only one in thirty Greek Catholic priests had an appropriate education and that many clergymen were illiterate. Only in 1777 did the Vienna government free rural Greek Catholic priests from serf-like obligations to local Polish landlords. Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ka Tserkva*, 483–6.



the Studium Ruthenum (1787–1809)<sup>48</sup> affiliated with L'viv University, and the L'viv Eparchial Seminary (est. 1783).<sup>49</sup> In 1807 Emperor Francis I restored the Galician metropolitan see of L'viv, and Peremyshl' and Kholm eparchies were subordinated to it. The first metropolitan of that see was the L'viv bishop Antin Anhelovych.<sup>50</sup>

During the Napoleonic Wars, Galicia was briefly occupied in 1809 by Napoleon's Polish Legion, which unleashed repressions against the Greek Catholic hierarchy and clergy, and Russia temporarily annexed Ternopil' and Chortkiv districts in northeastern Galicia (1809–12).<sup>51</sup>

After the Congress of Vienna, the Greek Catholic Church entered a century of continued qualitative growth. Out of the newly empowered stratum of educated parish (married) clergy came most of the earliest political, intellectual, and cultural leaders of nineteenth-century Galician Ukrainian (Ruthenian) society. Eventually they were replaced by a secular intelligentsia who were mostly the sons and daughters of Greek Catholic pastors. As John-Paul Himka has noted, "bound to the clergy by a network of family connections, the newly emerging Ukrainian intelligentsia also shared a culture with the clergy, not simply ethnic, Ukrainian culture, but a peculiarly clerical one."<sup>52</sup> Until the last decade of the nineteenth century, the overwhelmingly rural Galician Ukrainian society could be reached only by the clergy, who alone had direct contact with the peasants. It was initially through the efforts and leadership of the parish pastors and their families that the infrastructure of civil society—the growing network of schools, cultural-educational societies, church brotherhoods, co-operatives, gymnastics and arts clubs, and sobriety societies—developed in the Galician villages.<sup>53</sup> Having liquidated slavery (personal ownership of serfs by the gentry—which ironically was extended under Catherine II to Russian-ruled Ukraine in 1782), Austria abolished serfdom in 1848 just as the "Spring of Nations" shook the very foundations of the multinational Habsburg Empire. Led by their church, Galicia's

48. See D. H. Struk, ed., *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 5 (Toronto, 1993), 84. During its existence, 470 students graduated from the Studium Ruthenum.

49. Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ka Tserkva*, 488.

50. *Ibid.*, 498–9.

51. *Ibid.*, 500–3.

52. John-Paul Himka, "Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867–1900," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 21, no. 1 (March 1979), 3.

53. *Ibid.*, 5–9.

Ukrainians took the side of the imperial throne against both the Polish and Hungarian insurrectionists, forming in the process their first political organization—the Supreme Ruthenian Council—and establishing their first newspaper, *Zoria Halyts'ka*, and holding the first Congress of Ruthenian Scholars. For the first time, the Galician Ukrainian leadership declared Austria's Ruthenians to be part of a single “fifteen-million strong” Ukrainian nation that inhabited both sides of the Russo-Austrian border and had a language and culture of its own.<sup>54</sup> But the voiced desiderata of the new Galician Ukrainian leadership—the division of eastern and western Galicia into Ruthenian and Polish crownlands respectively and the federalization of the empire—were thwarted by the victory of reaction, the dissolution of Parliament in 1849, and a return to absolutism. With the dissolution of the Supreme Ruthenian Council in 1851, the leadership of Galicia's Ukrainian national movement passed into the hands of conservatives who increasingly began to identify with the Russian nationality, language, and cultural models; some even supported Russian aspirations to “reunite” Galician “Russia” with the tsarist empire. The Galician Russophile movement (*moskvofil'stvo*), which had arisen much earlier in Hungarian-ruled Transcarpathia and had been actively promoted and subsidized by tsarist authorities since the second half of the 1830s, eventually came to predominate among the leadership of Halych metropoly. The latter disdained the use of the peasant vernacular as a literary language and used instead an artificial *iazychiie*—a mixture of Church Slavonic, Ukrainian, and Russian—or, in some cases, Russian. Stimulating the growth of the Russophile movement were Vienna's pro-Polish policies in Galicia from 1859, the unsuccessful official attempts at imposing use of the Latin alphabet upon the Ruthenians, and the general loss of faith among the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the imperial government's impartiality toward the Ukrainian-Polish conflict in Galicia. Moreover, the now Polish-controlled provincial government deliberately favoured the Russophiles to keep the Ukrainians divided and to denounce in Vienna their leadership as at least potentially subversive, despite repeated declarations by the Greek Catholic Church and secular leaders of their loyalty to the Habsburg throne.

It was not until the 1880s that the younger generation of Galician Ukrainian populists (*narodovtsi*), who founded a mass-education society, Prosvita, in 1868 and eventually a network of Ukrainian-language co-operatives, gymnastics societies, and other institutions, managed to prevail over the

54. Velykyi, *Z litopysu*, 8: 111–20. See also Jan Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia: 1815–1849* (Edmonton, 1986), chapters 11, 15, 16.

Russophiles in political, ecclesiastical, cultural, and socio-economic life.<sup>55</sup> The rise in the 1890s of the strongly anti-clerical, peasant-based Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party, from which the largest Galician party, the Ukrainian National Democratic Party, and the small, Marxist, Ruthenian-Ukrainian Social Democratic Party soon separated, signalled the emancipation of Galician politics from clerical control and the re-identification of the populist majority as Ukrainians (rather than Ruthenians) aspiring to eventual unity with the rest of the Ukrainian nation in a sovereign Ukrainian state.<sup>56</sup>

The greatest difference between the Russified Orthodox Church in Russian-ruled Ukraine and the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia was that between their respective attitudes to the rising Ukrainian nationalist movements in the last two decades before World War I. In Russian-ruled Ukraine, the Orthodox Church joined the most reactionary forces in the tsarist government in combating “*mazepinstvo*”<sup>57</sup> and even modest demands for the legalization of the banned Ukrainian language<sup>58</sup> and cultural autonomy. In Galicia the Greek

55. Rudnytsky, “Ukrainians in Galicia,” 329–33. See also S. Ripets'kyi, “Moskvofil'stvo,” in Volodymyr Kubiiovych, ed., *Entsyklopediia Ukraïnoznavstva*, vol. 5 (Paris and New York, 1966), 1652–4.

56. John-Paul Himka, “Young Radicals and Independent Statehood: The Idea of a Ukrainian Nation-State, 1890–1895,” *Slavic Review* 41, no. 2 (Summer 1982), 219–35.

57. A label applied by the Russian official media, government, and Russian Orthodox Church to all manifestations of Ukrainian life; the term stemmed from Hetman Ivan Mazepa, who, in 1708, led an unsuccessful Cossack rebellion against increasingly oppressive Russian rule and sided with King Charles XII of Sweden against Peter the Great. Even before the rebels were defeated at the Battle of Poltava in 1709, on the tsar's orders the Orthodox Church, of which Mazepa was one of the greatest benefactors, anathematized Mazepa as a “traitor” to the tsar *and* the church, and that anathema was repeated every year in all Orthodox churches in the Russian Empire until the twentieth century. After the Bolshevik takeover of Ukraine, the label *petliurivets* (from the name of the president of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Symon Petliura) replaced *mazepinstvo*, just as, after World War II, *banderovshchina* (from the name of the OUN leader, Stepan Bandera) was applied to the UPA's armed resistance in Western Ukraine and to all manifestations of Ukrainian “nationalism,” including—unofficially—even use of the Ukrainian language (“*banderovskii iazyk*”).

58. Reacting to a request for permission to publish Pylyp Morachevs'kyi's Ukrainian translation of the New Testament, the Russian minister of internal affairs, Petr Valuev, issued a secret instruction on July 30, 1863, banning all Ukrainian-language publications, except belles lettres. His prohibition, which was undoubtedly generated by a fear of Ukrainian “separatism,” was officially justified in his instruction by the claim that “No separate Little Russian language has [ever] existed, does exist [now],

Catholic Church became the bearer and defender of Ukrainian identity and eventually, especially after the accession to the Galician see of the great Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi (1901–44), the most important force in national integration and nation-building.

### **The Russian Occupation of Galicia and the “Orthodoxization” Campaign (1914–15)**

The outbreak of World War I prompted the Galician Ukrainians to consolidate their political forces and to organize the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen legion within the Austro-Hungarian army in the hope of liberating Ukraine from Russian domination and uniting all Ukrainian lands in a single state under a Habsburg monarch.<sup>59</sup> But they were cruelly disappointed in their expectations of victory by the Central Powers.

The war offered tsarist Russia the first opportunity to mount a direct attack on the Galician Greek Catholic Church on its home territory. On September 3, 1914, tsarist troops took L'viv; before long they had occupied all of Eastern Galicia and laid siege to the fortress of Przemyśl. The occupation authorities immediately banned the public use of Ukrainian and closed down all Ukrainian institutions, organizations, and publications except those that were run by collaborationist Russophiles.<sup>60</sup> The Galician Russophiles welcomed

and cannot [ever] exist, and the dialect used by the common folk is the very same Russian language, only adulterated by the influence on it of the Polish language.” (Cited in R. Senkus, “Valuev, Petr,” in Struk, *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, 5: 552–3). Valuev’s ban was extended to *all* kinds of Ukrainian publications by a secret ukase signed by Alexander II on May 30, 1876, in the German spa of Ems. The ukase also prohibited the importation and distribution of Ukrainian-language publications and banned the staging of plays and public readings in Ukrainian and even Ukrainian lyrics to musical works. The Russian Orthodox Church readily supported the prohibition, as did the chauvinist Russian press. Thenceforth publishing in Ukrainian could occur only in Austrian-ruled Galicia (“the Ukrainian Piedmont”), and books had to be smuggled from there into Russia. Only with the Revolution of 1905 did the Russian government and Holy Synod lift the ban on the Ukrainian language, after the Imperial Academy of Sciences recognized Ukrainian as a separate Slavic language. See “Ems Ukase,” in Volodymyr Kubijovyč, ed., *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1984), 824–5.

59. See Stepan Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: Zhyttia i diial'nist'* (Munich, 1947), 55–6.

60. *Ibid.*, 58–62, 68.

their “liberation” by the Orthodox Russian military. Reinforced by the pro-Russian émigrés who then returned to Galicia, they supplied the occupation authorities in Galicia with detailed information about Ukrainian leaders and activists who had not retreated with the Austro-Hungarian forces; their denunciations later served as grounds for the latter’s deportation to Russia.<sup>61</sup>

The only national institution that remained after the anti-Ukrainian crackdown was the Greek Catholic Church headed by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, long known as the Vatican’s chief protagonist of the union of Russian Orthodoxy with Rome. On Sunday, September 6, 1914, the metropolitan delivered a sermon at the Dormition Church in L'viv. In it he reminded the faithful that despite similarities in church ritual, “our orthodoxy is ecclesiastical, while theirs [Russia’s] is a state faith [*kazionne*] i.e., they base their orthodoxy on the power of the state, while we derive our strength from the unity with the holy Catholic Church, on which rests the grace of God and within which is the true source of salvation.”<sup>62</sup> This passage in Sheptyts'kyi’s sermon was deemed “subversive” and led to his arrest on September 15, an extensive search of his palace, and the seizure of his archives. After several days of house arrest, the metropolitan was deported to Kyiv along with his confessor (a Basilian priest); the rector of the L'viv Theological Seminary, Fr. Iosyf Botsian; his major-domo, Brother Iosyf Grods'kyi; and a servant.<sup>63</sup> During a short stopover in a Kyiv hotel, the metropolitan secretly consecrated Fr. Botsian the bishop of Luts'k, and appointed the vice-rector of the L'viv seminary, Fr. Dmytro Iaremko, the bishop of Ostrih.<sup>64</sup> From Kyiv Sheptyts'kyi was taken under armed escort via

61. Ibid., 52–5. Already on July 29, 1914, Russophile leaders who had fled to Russia and organized in Kyiv a Carpatho-Russian Liberation Committee issued an appeal to the “much-suffering Russian people of the Galician land” that, among other things, informed Galicia’s Uniates that “the Orthodox Russian Army is bringing you ... the Orthodox faith of your fathers.” Ibid., 55.

62. Cited in full *ibid.*, 63.

63. Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolitaine André Szeptyckyj, 1865–1944* (Rome, 1964), 131.

64. Dmytro Doroshenko, “Perebuvannia Mytropolitya Andreia Sheptyts'koho v Rosii za chasiv viiny,” *Meta* (L'viv), June 14, 1931. Bishop Botsian’s assignment to Luts'k (in Orthodox Volhynia) was never recognized by the Vatican nor by the interwar Polish government. He remained in L'viv as Sheptyts'kyi’s auxiliary until his death in 1926. After their secret consecrations in Kyiv, Botsian and Iaremko were deported to Siberia; Iaremko died in exile. Halych metropolity was administered by Vicar-General Andrei Bilets'kyi, a moderate Russophile, until Sheptyts'kyi’s return to Galicia in

Nizhnii Novgorod to Kursk.<sup>65</sup> Sheptyts'kyi's deportation left Galicia without a single bishop: Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv spent the entire period of the Russian occupation in Vienna, while the ailing Bishop Konstantyn Chekhovych was cut off from his eparchy in besieged Przemyśl and died there in April 1915, shortly after the Russian capture of the city.<sup>66</sup>

During the tsarist occupation, a large Russian Orthodox mission, ultimately directed by Archbishop Evlogii (Georgievskii) of Volhynia, descended upon Galicia, taking advantage of the fact that some three hundred Greek Catholic parishes had been deprived of pastors by the Austro-Hungarian arrest and deportation of 265 actually and allegedly Russophile priests to concentration camps in Austria and Hungary,<sup>67</sup> by the call-up of some pastors to serve as chaplains in locally mobilized units, and by the flight of others from villages at the front. The mission was at first constrained by military regulations:

The [military] authorities intend to show full religious tolerance, not to allow forcible conversions to Orthodoxy, [but] they will not permit the return from hiding of the Uniate and Catholic priests to their previous posts.... New priests will not be admitted [to vacated parishes] without the special permission of the governor-general in each case; Orthodox priests should be sent to villages according to the wishes of the *inhabitants*, but only after three-fourths of them have expressed their wish to have, specifically, an Orthodox priest.... If there is a Uniate priest in the parish but three-fourths of inhabitants would nevertheless prefer an Orthodox priest, the former shall remain in charge of the [local] church, while another building should be allocated for Orthodox services.<sup>68</sup>

September 1917. Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei*, 68.

65. In Kursk Sheptyts'kyi was allowed to rent two rooms in a hotel. Korolevskij, *Métropolitte André*, 134.

66. Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei*, 68–9.

67. Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ka Tserkva*, 681–4n, offers the most complete list of clergy deported by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. A number of allegedly Russophile priests were executed by the retreating troops. Cf. Feliks Przysiecki, *Rządy rosyjskie w Galicji Wschodniej* (Piotrków, 1915), 64–5. On the Russian Holy Synod's ukase of September 14 directing Archbishop Evlogii "to take care of the spiritual needs of the Russian population in the part of Galicia occupied by the Russian troops," see Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 3: 247. According to Vlasovs'kyi, three Greek Catholic parishes bordering on the Pochaïv area had switched to Orthodoxy by late August 1914.

68. *Tserkovnyi vestnik*, October 16, 1914 (O.S.).

In November 1914 the Petrograd *Tserkovnyi vestnik* reported, however, that “the local Russian occupation authorities do not interfere in any way with the mass reunion of Russian [i.e., Galician Ukrainian] Uniates with the Orthodox Church, which is much facilitated by the careful treatment of the flock newly entrusted to his grace, Archbishop Evlogii [Georgievskii] of Volhynia.”<sup>69</sup> From the old centre of Russian anti-Uniate propaganda, the Pochaïv Lavra in southwestern Volhynia, a flood of anti-Uniate printed propaganda and propagandists inundated Galicia; they were reinforced by material incentives and even coercion that were used to sway Greek Catholic peasants to become Orthodox. As Galicia’s military governor-general, Georgii Bobrinskii, admitted in April 1915 to a correspondent of *Russkoe slovo* in Petrograd, despite the occupation authorities’ regulations, “we are sending Orthodox priests into vacated villages *without a vote* [by parishioners].... The Uniate Church has no future. An insignificant part of the Uniates will switch to [Roman] Catholicism, and the main mass [of them] will convert to Orthodoxy without any involvement on our part.”<sup>70</sup>

At the end of 1914 Evlogii reported that forty-five Galician parishes had converted to Orthodoxy.<sup>71</sup> In April 1915 a Russian newspaper stated that fifty-two parishes had converted.<sup>72</sup> In all, according to a postwar report by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi to Rome, twenty-nine priests abandoned the Greek

69. Ibid., November 13, 1914 (O.S.). For Evlogii’s recollections of his 1914–15 “Galician mission,” including his complaints about the obstacles created by the Russian military authorities, see *Put' moei zhizni: Vospominaniia Mitropolita Evlogiia* (Paris, 1947), 253–5, 258–69.

70. *Tserkovnyi vestnik*, May 14, 1915 (O.S.).

71. Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 3: 249.

72. By the time Russian troops were evacuating L'viv, Evlogii claimed some two hundred parishes had “converted.” In a secret report to the Holy Synod, he recommended the establishment of an Orthodox L'viv eparchy; the seizure from the Greek Catholics of St. George’s Cathedral, the metropolitan’s palace, and the Dormition and Transfiguration churches in L'viv with all their possessions; and the closure of all Basilian monasteries and confiscation of their property by the state. *Vsepoddaneishii doklad Ober-Prokurora S. Sinoda ob ustroistve Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi v zavoevannoi Rossieiu chasti Galitsii* (Petrograd, 1915), 15–16, cited in Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 3: 247. For the most complete chronicle of Russian persecution of the Greek Catholic Church during the occupation of Galicia in 1914–15, see Fr. Iuliiian Dzerovych, “Materiialy do istorii martyrolohii nashoi Tserkvy v chasi svitovoï viiny,” *Nyva* (L'viv) 12 (1916): 92–100, 166–8, 226–43, 262–5, 279–86, 384–400, 437–47, 513–24.



Catholic Church.<sup>73</sup> They fled with the Russian armies before Austro-German troops recaptured L'viv on June 22, 1915. The retreating Russians also forcibly took along as hostages seventy-seven Greek Catholic priests and twenty Basilian monks.<sup>74</sup> Soon after, the newly implanted Russian Orthodox Church in Galicia collapsed when its clergy departed and the Austrian authorities repressed those collaborators who had failed to escape with the tsarist troops.

Sheptyts'kyi remained in Russian captivity until after the Russian Revolution of 1917 began, first under house arrest in Kursk, then, from September 1916, at the severe "ecclesiastical prison" at the Transfiguration-St. Euthymius Monastery in Suzdal',<sup>75</sup> and finally, from December 12, 1916 to mid-March 1917, in somewhat relaxed internment at Iaroslavl'.<sup>76</sup> After being released by

73. Korolevskij, *Métropolitte André*, 129.

74. Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ka Tserkva*, 683–4n.

75. Korolevskij, *Métropolitte André*, 135–39. The metropolitan's transfer to Suzdal' may have been a delayed Russian reaction to the discovery, by Russian security officers in L'viv in the spring of 1915, of Sheptyts'kyi's secret memorandum to the Austrian High Command, "Pro Memoria" ("Sobald eine siegreiche österreichische Armee ..." August 15, 1914). In this document he outlined, in anticipation of the Austrian occupation of "Russian Ukraine," the reorganization of the military, political, and ecclesiastical system in what he expected would become an autonomous Ukrainian state under Austrian protection. Sheptyts'kyi proposed a break in relations between the Orthodox Church in Ukraine and the Holy Synod in Petrograd, the removal of the most pro-Russian bishops, and the subordination of the Orthodox Church in Austrian-occupied Ukraine to the "metropolitan of Halych and all Ukraine" and, through him, to the pope. A copy of this memorandum appears in the archival collection of Sheptyts'kyi's letters assembled in the Vatican as part of the campaign for his beatification, *Beatificationis et Canonisationis Servi Dei Andreae Szeptycky Archiepiscopi Leopoliensis Ucrainorum Metropolitae Haliciensis*, vol. 2, *Variae Epistolae et Relationes*, 145–201. The Ukrainian translation of this document appears, along with the Russian secret police report describing the discovery of Sheptyts'kyi's memorandum, in V. Iu. Malanchuk et al., eds., *Pravda pro uniiu: Dokumenty i materialy* (L'viv, 1968), doc. 87, 137–41.

76. *Ibid.*, 140. The release of the metropolitan from the Suzdal' monastic prison and his transfer to Iaroslavl' occurred apparently in response to mass protests inside Russia (including appeals by Aleksandr Kerenskii in the Imperial Duma and by the writer Vladimir Korolenko), by the Vatican, and by a great many public figures both in the Central Powers and countries allied with Russia.



the Provisional Government, he arrived in Petrograd on March 14, 1917.<sup>77</sup> There, in May 1917, Sheptyts'kyi used his special authority granted by the pope to convene the first Russian Catholic synod that established the Russian Greek Catholic Church headed by Exarch Leonid Fedorov, which was subsequently recognized by the Provisional Government.<sup>78</sup> Before leaving Russia via Stockholm, the metropolitan briefly visited Kyiv, where he established a Greek Catholic parish<sup>79</sup> and authorized the founding of several other parishes throughout Ukraine for deported or resettled Greek Catholics from Galicia under his exiled vicar, Fr. Mykhailo Tshel's'kyi.<sup>80</sup>

After failing to obtain an exit visa for Rome, Sheptyts'kyi travelled via Germany and Switzerland to Vienna and then returned to L'viv in September 1917. In both cities the “tsar’s prisoner” was given an enthusiastic welcome by representatives of the government, Ukrainian leaders, the clergy, and masses of the faithful.<sup>81</sup>

Many war-generated problems awaited the metropolitan in Galicia: the widespread destruction of villages and churches; great impoverishment of the population, especially in the countryside; depopulation; large numbers of invalids and orphans; Russian anti-Catholic propaganda, which had taken root in some parishes; and an acute shortage of clergy. To add to his worries, a “calendar war” erupted in Stanyslaviv eparchy, provoked by Bishop Khomyshyn’s ultimately unsuccessful attempt to impose use of the (“new”) Julian calendar in 1916.<sup>82</sup>

77. Korolevskij, *Métropolitte André*, 140–1.

78. *Ibid.*, 215–17.

79. The wooden Greek Catholic church in Kyiv, whose foundations were blessed by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, was designed by Stefan Hryniuk in the Hutsul style and consecrated in the fall of 1917. It became a centre for the numerous Galician Ukrainians in Kyiv. Its pastor, Fr. Mykola Shchepaniuk, served until the Bolsheviks closed the church in 1934 and converted it into a grain-storage shed. The church was dismantled in 1935. Fr. Shchepaniuk was deported to a concentration camp on the Solovets Islands, where he died in 1937. See O. Buchats'kyi, “Ukrains'ka hreko-katolyts'ka tserkva v Kyievi,” *Tserkovnyi visnyk* (Chicago) 26 (1993): 9–12; and P. Tshel's'kyi, “Slidamy ukrains'koï hreko-katolyts'koï tserkvy v Kyievi,” *Viruii* (L'viv), no. 18 (August 1994).

80. Korolevskij, *Métropolitte André*, 142–43; Doroshenko, “Perebuvannia Mytropolyta,” 6.

81. Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei*, 74–6.

82. Bishop Khomyshyn’s pastoral letters of February 15 and April 10, 1916. See *Nyva*, 1916, no. 5.

## The Church and Ukrainian Statehood

Again, in contrast to the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, the Greek Catholic Church threw its full support behind Ukrainian statehood as it emerged in central Ukraine after the fall of tsarism, culminating in the proclamation of the *de facto* independent Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) after the Bolshevik coup in Russia, and of *de jure* sovereignty on January 22, 1918. As the UNR, in response to the first Soviet Russian invasion of Ukraine, negotiated a separate peace treaty with the Central Powers, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi spoke in the House of Lords in Vienna in support of the reunion of the German-occupied Chełm region with the UNR (which was provided for in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk) and raised the matter of Austria's commitment (made in a separate secret Austro-Ukrainian agreement) to create an autonomous Western Ukrainian crownland under the Habsburgs out of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna.<sup>83</sup> In the fall of 1918, as the Austro-Hungarian Empire started to dissolve, the metropolitan and Bishops Khomyshyn and Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi took part in the Galician-Bukovynian Ukrainian constitutional convention that voted to proceed with the takeover of power from the Austrian authorities and the establishment of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR).<sup>84</sup> When the republic was proclaimed on November 1, 1918, the church gave its full support to the new state, staffing the newly born Ukrainian Galician Army (UHA) with chaplains and instructing the clergy and the faithful to pray for the Ukrainian authorities.

Despite his Polish family connections, Sheptyts'kyi unequivocally took the Ukrainian side as a Polish insurrection in L'viv and the French-supported Polish invasion of the ZUNR grew into a protracted Polish-Ukrainian war that ended with the Polish military occupation of Galicia from mid-July 1919. Interned by the Poles at his palace in L'viv, the metropolitan did not recognize the Polish claims to Galicia;<sup>85</sup> when he succeeded, in November 1920, in leaving Poland for an apostolic visit of the Ukrainian Greek Catholics in the Americas, he stopped over in Vienna to discuss with the ZUNR government-in-exile the ways and means of securing at least Ukrainian political autonomy within Poland, which had been promised by the Allies but which Poland refused to grant.<sup>86</sup> During his tour of Western capitals and the Vatican, the

83. Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei*, 79–82.

84. *Ibid.*, 89–90.

85. *Ibid.*, 90–1.

86. *Ibid.*, 94–5.

metropolitan lobbied the Allies to fulfil their promise. But the Council of Ambassadors in Paris ceded Galicia unconditionally to Poland in mid-March 1923, and Sheptyts'kyi returned to L'viv in October 1923. There he presided over the Ukrainians' mass protest against the Council of Ambassadors' decision and administered an oath of fidelity to the Ukrainian people's cause.<sup>87</sup>

Meanwhile, the ill-fated 1920 alliance concluded by Symon Petliura's UNR government with Poland at the expense of Western Ukraine—in the desperate hope of wresting at least UNR territory away from the Bolsheviks—ended in the Soviet invasion of Poland. Twenty counties of Galicia were briefly occupied by the Red Army, thus bringing the Bolsheviks face to face with the Greek Catholic Church for the first time. A Galician Socialist Soviet Republic was proclaimed on July 15, 1920, and on August 1 its “government”—the Galician Revolutionary Committee (Halrevkom)—established itself in Ternopil' under a Russified Ukrainian Bolshevik, Volodymyr Zaton's'kyi. On the same day, the Halrevkom issued its “decree on the separation of the church from the state and of the school from the church,” which eliminated all privileges for the clergy and all forms of state assistance to the church and provided for the nationalization of all property owned by churches and religious societies. Before this decree could be fully implemented, however, the two-month old Halrevkom had to evacuate with the retreating Red Army; it was dissolved on September 23, 1920, as the Polish-Soviet armistice took effect. The subsequent partition of Ukraine (and Belarus) under the Treaty of Riga in March 1921 consolidated the interwar Polish-Soviet border.<sup>88</sup>

### **The Greek Catholic Church in Interwar Poland**

After the fateful decision by the Council of Ambassadors in March 1923 closed the book on the issue of Western Ukraine's national-territorial autonomy within Poland as far as the international community was concerned, Western Ukrainian political activities became bifurcated. On one side were the moderate, legal Ukrainian political parties, led by the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (UNDO); on the other were the radical nationalists, led by the underground Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) headed by former officers of the UNR Army and UHA, which resorted to acts of sabotage and individual terror against representatives of the Polish occupation regime and

87. See the photograph in *ibid.*, between 80 and 81.

88. Vasyl' Veryha, *Halyts'ka Sotsiialistychna Soviets'ka Respublika (1920 r.) (Persha bol'shevyts'ka okupatsiia Halychyny)* (New York and Toronto, 1986), 77–80, 158–9.

its Ukrainian collaborators. The bifurcation also proved to be generational, with the older generation of politicians taking a loyalist, pragmatic approach in defense of Ukrainian rights and the underground nationalist struggle attracting increasingly more Western Ukrainian youth.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and Bishops Khomyshyn and Kotsylovs'kyi and their auxiliaries sided with the first approach on moral and theological grounds, preaching after 1923 the Christian obligation of obeying the powers that be, except when their commands conflicted with divine ones, and condemning the radical nationalists' use of violence and political murder. In 1929 there emerged from the ranks of the UVO and émigré nationalist organizations the revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The OUN's integral-nationalist doctrine, in which the ends justified the means, placed it on a collision course with the Greek Catholic Church despite the tacit support the OUN had among the younger clergy. The collision was publicly demonstrated in May 1933, when the OUN boycotted the 100,000-strong Ukrainian Youth for Christ rally held in L'viv to celebrate the 1,900th jubilee of Christ's resurrection. When, in 1934, the OUN successfully carried out the assassination of the Polish minister of internal affairs, Bronisław Pieracki, in Warsaw, and shortly after that of an anti-OUN Ukrainian educator in L'viv, the Greek Catholic hierarchy publicly condemned these terrorist acts. The first assassination led to mass arrests of OUN members and the imprisonment of nearly the entire Western Ukrainian leadership of the OUN.<sup>89</sup>

Polish policies—political suppression, Polonization of the schools, colonization by Poles of the Western Ukrainian countryside in parcelled out large landholdings, and discrimination against Ukrainian organizations, co-operatives, and other enterprises—resulted in 1930 in retaliatory acts of sabotage organized mostly by the OUN. The Polish government responded with a military and police “Pacification” directed against all Ukrainians and their institutions, involving mass beatings, destruction of property, and state-sponsored terror. Protests and interventions by Ukrainian members of the Polish Parliament and Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi himself, as well as international condemnation, had a limited effect on stopping the “Pacification.” All that the Polish persecution did was drive even more Ukrainian youth into the ranks of the OUN and generate further retaliatory terrorist acts.<sup>90</sup>

89. Bohdan Budurowycz, “Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement after 1914,” in Paul R. Magocsi, ed., *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Edmonton, 1989), 53–7.

90. *Ibid.*, 55–56; Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei*, 96–9.

The Vatican-Polish Concordat signed on February 10, 1925, gave the Greek Catholic Church a formally equal status with the Roman Catholic Church and made it incumbent upon the Polish state to respect the church's historical rights and to offer it a measure of material support.<sup>91</sup> It did not, however, shield against subsequent Polish harassment of Greek Catholic pastors for allegedly Ukrainianizing "Polish Greek Catholics" in church registers. Under Polish pressure the Vatican barred the Greek Catholic Church from proselytizing in Volhynia and Polissia,<sup>92</sup> and in 1934 it yielded to the Polish and Polish-supported Russophile clergy's demands to separate the westernmost part of Peremyshl' eparchy and create from it an Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region headed by a Russophile priest.<sup>93</sup>

In 1938 the Polish government, supposedly with the Vatican's blessing, launched a violent "revindication" campaign in the Chelm region, confiscating from the Ukrainian Orthodox the former Uniate churches (in 1938 alone, 115 churches were destroyed, while others were transferred to the Roman Catholics) and forcing Orthodox descendants of Uniates to convert to Roman Catholicism. In response, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi spoke out publicly in defense of the Orthodox Ukrainians' rights and accused the Polish authorities of compromising the Vatican by alleging that it was their partner in this campaign.<sup>94</sup>

In the meantime, the Greek Catholic Church joined with the rest of the Catholic world in speaking out against Communism and the persecution of religious believers and violation of basic human rights in the USSR. In his pastoral letter of August 3, 1936, occasioned by the new Communist "united popular front" strategy in Western Ukraine and elsewhere in Poland and abroad, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi stated that

Whoever helps Communists in any of their actions, especially in organizing the so-called popular front, betrays the cause of the poor, suffering, and wronged people in the entire world. This obvious truth should be more and more frequently repeated to the entire Ukrainian society now that the Bolsheviks, having destroyed with famine Great [Soviet-occupied] Ukraine, are beginning to harm the poor, wronged, and suffering among our unfortunate people in all Ukrainian [populated] territories in Poland.... Communists are

91. Korolevskij, *Métropolitte André*, 172.

92. Ibid., 210–11, 220–1, 249–50. Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ka Tserkva*, 550–3.

93. Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei*, 100–4.

94. Ibid., 107–11.

atheists, and in their programme there is no point about which they are more sincere than ... the struggle against God.... [T]he lies, deception, violence, terror, oppression of the poor, demoralization of children, debasement of women, destruction of the family, destruction of the peasantry and driving of the people to extreme poverty ... [Bolshevism] covers up with false, actually opposite names ... [T]wenty years of experience have hitherto clearly shown that when the Bolsheviks speak about freedom, they mean slavery; when they speak about prosperity, they use this word to mean famine; when they speak about [rule by] soviets, they mean a system in which no one is allowed to speak their mind; when they speak about the power of the peasantry, they mean a system in which the peasant is forced to work without pay.... And when they speak of the power of the proletariat, they bestow the proletariat's name upon a caste that has been bleeding the people white....

With the aim of destroying religion, churches are being closed. Sometimes they [the Bolsheviks] resort to a farce "of expressed popular demand," but more often they turn churches into cinemas without staging this comedy, and where people are sufficiently inclined to retain the church and the priest, they impose such impossible taxes on churches that it makes it impossible to maintain them.<sup>95</sup>

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's admonitions were no doubt noted by the Soviet authorities and remembered when the Red Army invaded Western Ukraine three years later.

By the end of the 1930s the Greek Catholic Church within Poland represented a formidable organization comprising L'viv archeparchy, Peremyshl' and Stanyslaviv (now Ivano-Frankivs'k) eparchies, and the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region. It had one metropolitan, two bishops, four auxiliary bishops, and an apostolic administrator, who presided over 2,387 parishes with 2,352 eparchial and 143 monastic priests, a theological academy, three eparchial seminaries with 480 students (plus 46 others), 31 monasteries and 121 convents and religious houses with 315 monks and 932 nuns, and nearly 3.6 million faithful.<sup>96</sup>

During the interwar period, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi did much to

95. "Perestoroha pered komunizmom," *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosty* (hereafter *LAV*), July–September 1938, 81–98, reproduced in Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory (moral'no-pastoral'ni)*, vols. 56–58 (Rome, 1983), 275–6. My trans.

96. See Table 1, pp. 28–30.

strengthen monasticism. He revived the Studite Order, implanted the Redemptorist Order from Belgium, and facilitated the creation and endowment of several new female congregations. With the help of the rector of the L'viv Greek Catholic Theological Seminary, Fr. Iosyf Slipyi, in 1929 he established a postgraduate theological academy, which was conceived as the embryo of a future Ukrainian Catholic university to compensate for Poland's broken promise to set up a Ukrainian university; attainment of that goal was prevented by the ever-vigilant Polish authorities.<sup>97</sup> To counter the secular nationalist and anti-clerical leftist organizations, in 1931 Sheptyts'kyi founded the Ukrainian Catholic Union network of specialized affiliated organizations and periodicals.<sup>98</sup> Using his considerable family fortune, he became the most generous patron of the arts, scholarship, orphans, priests' widows, and students. In 1938 he helped to build and equip a modern hospital—the Narodnia Lichnytsia in L'viv—and financed the establishment of numerous charitable and economic self-help institutions.<sup>99</sup>

Internally, however, the Greek Catholic Church was beset by old tensions that sometimes escalated into an open conflict between the “Easternizers” (*vostochnyky*) and “Latinizers” in the church. The former were comprised of some of the married clergy and a large section of the Greek Catholic intelligentsia, who strove to purge their rite of Latin-rite borrowings and fiercely opposed the introduction of compulsory celibacy for candidate priests at the Stanyslaviv (est. 1920) and Przemyśl (est. 1925) Greek Catholic theological seminaries. Many of their supporters were affiliated with L'viv's Greek Catholic theological schools and enjoyed cautious support from Sheptyts'kyi, who repeatedly argued in his correspondence with the Vatican against the imposition of celibacy on the Greek Catholic clergy.<sup>100</sup> The

97. Pavlo Senytsia, comp. and ed., *Svityl'nyk istyny: Dzherela do istorii Ukraïns'koï katolyts'koï bohoslavs'koï akademii u L'vovi, 1928-1929-1944*, vol. 1 (Toronto and Chicago, 1973), 41–56.

98. Ann Slusarczyk Sirka, “Sheptyts'kyi in Education and Philanthropy,” in Magocsi, *Morality and Reality*, 278.

99. *Ibid.*, 271–81. According to estimates that are far from complete, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi donated \$500,000 for the care of orphans, more than \$250,000 for monastic orders, approximately \$800,000 for economic aid, and \$200,000 for other causes. *Ibid.*, 281.

100. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's letter to the pope, “Suivant l'ordre ...” (Objet: Question du célibat dans les éparchies ruthènes de Galicie), Rome, December 10, 1925, in *Beatificationis et Canonisationis*, vol. 1, *Epistolae et Relationes ad Sanctam Sedem Lingua Gallica Exaratae*, 5 pp.; and his letter to Cardinal Eugène Tisserant,



faction's most outspoken representative was the popular Fr. Havryil Kostel'nyk.<sup>101</sup> The most vocal representatives of the "Latinizers" were Bishop Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv and the Basilian Order.<sup>102</sup>

The conflicts between the two factions were exploited by enemies of the Greek Catholic Church and challenged its identity, which historically had been an uneasy synthesis of Byzantine and Roman Christianity. As Jaroslav Pelikan has noted,

The heritage of the Ukrainian Church between East and West ... may become clearer through the enumeration of four pairs of positive and negative implications that come out of this separation of Eastern Christianity from much of the rest of Christendom: the preservation of tradition, but the danger of traditionalism that stifles creativity; the centrality of liturgy, but

"Mes délégués pour la visite ..." (Objet: Cause de célibat), L'viv, September 15, 1937, in *ibid.*, 5 pp.

101. A native of the Bačka region in Serbia, Kostel'nyk (1886–1948), played a principal role in the linguistic and literary revival of the Bačka Rusnaks (Ruthenians), who were descended from Ruthenian colonists from the Prešov region (now in eastern Slovakia) who settled along the Austro-Hungarian–Turkish frontier in the eighteenth century. The writer, theologian, and philosopher moved to Galicia, where he taught religion in secondary schools and served from 1920 to 1928 as a professor at the L'viv Greek Catholic Theological Seminary. He was removed from his post by the rector, Fr. Slipyi, on Rome's demand for alleged anti-Vatican tendencies. Antagonism between Kostel'nyk and Slipyi stemmed from Kostel'nyk's harshly critical review of Slipyi's 1923 habilitation dissertation (see Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi, "Spomyny," 59, in APSS). Sheptyts'kyi then appointed Kostel'nyk pastor of the Church of the Transfiguration, the largest Greek Catholic church in L'viv, a position he held while serving as catechist in Ukrainian gymnasiums under Polish and German rule in Galicia and until his assassination in 1948. Although Kostel'nyk was an outspoken enemy of Communism, he was also an eloquent critic of the Latinizing tendencies within the church and of the Vatican's eastern policies. Consequently he was targeted from 1939 by the Soviet occupation authorities as a potential leader of an "Away from Rome" movement. But Kostel'nyk's unswerving loyalty to Sheptyts'kyi frustrated NKVD pressure and blackmail while his patron was alive.

102. Having failed to impose the Julian calendar on his eparchy in the years 1916–18, Khomyshyn introduced compulsory celibacy at the Stanyslaviv Theological Seminary in 1920 and founded a network of Catholic reading halls, organizations, and publications to exclude from his eparchy the Radical party-dominated Prosvita adult-education society, the main Galician Ukrainian daily, *Dilo*, and other publications and organizations not under his control.



the danger of ritualism that cannot distinguish between the important and the trivial; the profound affinity between cultus and culture, but the danger of cultural impoverishment that neglects critical scholarship; the fostering of national identity in each Eastern Church, but the danger of equating that identity with the lifestyle of the Old World at the eventual cost of both Catholicity and particularity.<sup>103</sup>

During the catastrophic upheavals of the Second World War, one characteristic of Galicia—the symbiotic relationship between Ukrainian nationality and Greek Catholicism—would be severely tested.

103. Jaroslav Pelikan, *Confessor between East and West: A Portrait of Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1990), 12–13.

**Table 1**  
**The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia, 1938**

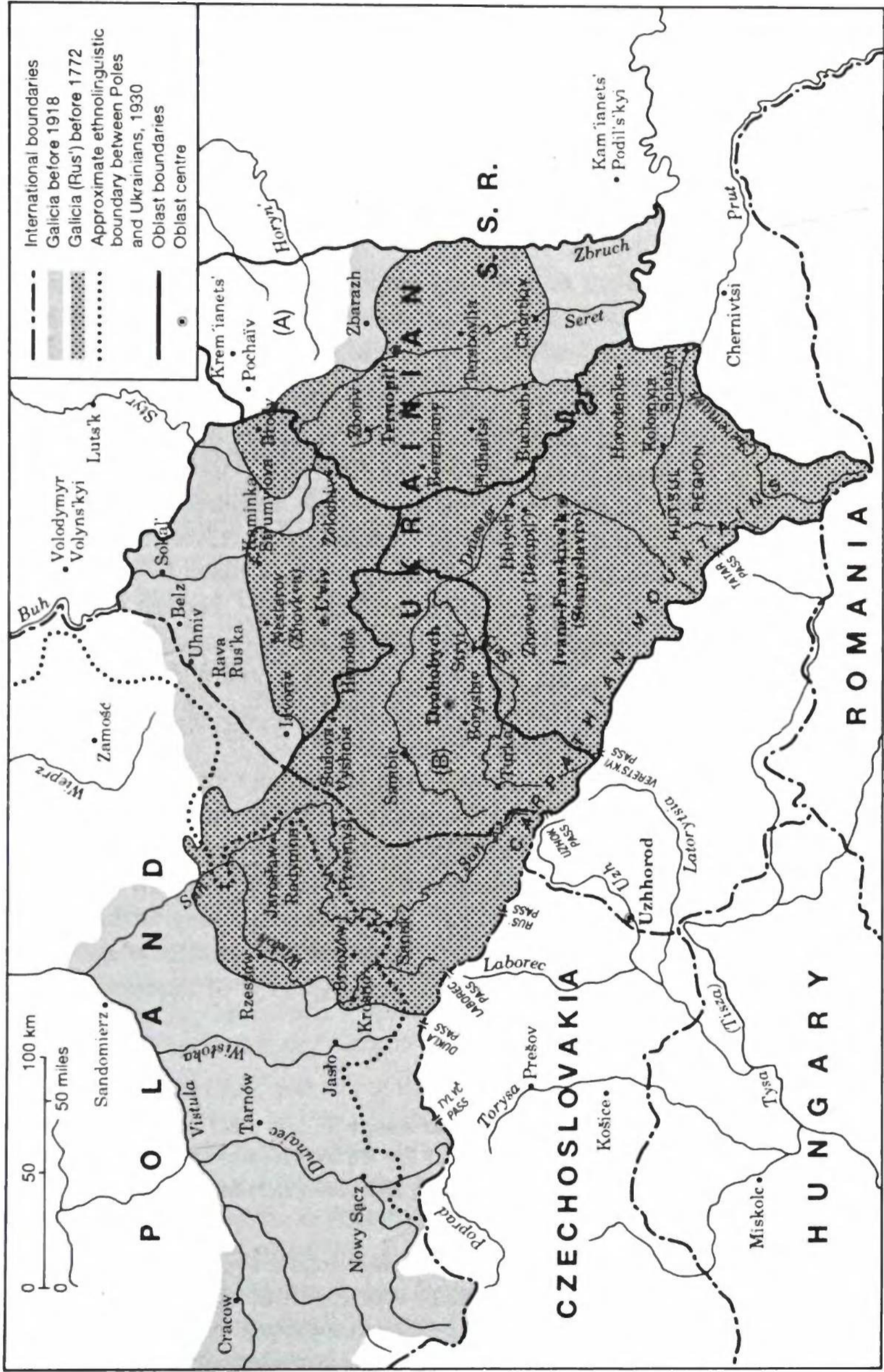
	Lviv archeparchy <sup>1</sup>	Stanyslaviv eparchy <sup>2</sup>	Peremyshl' eparchy <sup>3</sup>	Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region (1936) <sup>4</sup>	TOTALS
Bishops	1	1	1	-	3
Auxiliary bishops	2	1	1	-	4
Apostolic administrator	-	-	-	1	1
Deaneries	54	30	45	9	138
Parishes	1,267	421	577	122	2,387
Maternal (parish) churches	1,308	421	640	198	2,567
Filial (sub-parish) churches	n/a	392	492	72	956
Chapels	n/a	73	135	10	218
Eparchial priests	1,032	450	740	130	2,352
Monastic priests	61	31	50	1	143
Theol. academy students <sup>5</sup>	-	-	-	-	-
Theol. seminary students	280	87	108 <sup>6</sup>	5	480
Theol. students abroad	n/a	4	11	-	15
Basilian seminarians	-	-	31	-	31

Monasteries	14	8	8	1	31 <sup>7</sup>
Basilian	4	6	8	-	18
Studite	6	1	-	1	8
Redemptorist	4	1	-	-	5
Monks	201	30	81	3	315
Scholastics and philosophors	-	-	59	-	59
Novices	55	-	20	-	75
Convents and religious houses	36	40	44	1	121
Basilian Sisters	5	2	4	-	11
Sisters Servants of Mary					
Immaculate	22	30	34	3	89
Studite Sisters	1 <sup>8</sup>	-	-	-	1
Sisters of the Holy Family	4	4	-	-	8
Sisters of St. Josaphat	3	2	-	-	5
Sisters of Mercy of St. Vincent	-	1	-	-	1
Myrrhophore Sisters	1	1	-	-	2 <sup>9</sup>
Sisters of St. Joseph	-	-	16	-	16
Nuns	405	272 <sup>10</sup>	252	3	932 <sup>11</sup>
Novices	19	10	62	-	91
Candidates	29	4	9	-	42
Greek Catholic faithful (1943) <sup>12</sup>	1,300,000	1,000,000	1,159,400	127,600	3,587,000

## Notes to Table 1

1. Source: *Shematyzm dukhovenstva L'vivs'koï arkhieparkhii, 1938* (L'viv, 1938).
2. Source: *Shematyzm vseho klyra hreko-katolyts'koï eparkhii Stanyslavivs'koï na rik Bozhyi 1938* (Stanyslaviv, 1938).
3. Source: *Shematyzm hreko-katolyts'koho dukhovenstva zluchenykh eparkhii Peremys'koï, Sambirs'koï i Sianits'koï na rik Bozhyi 1938–39* (Przemyśl, 1938).
4. Source: *Shematyzm hreko-katolyts'koho dukhovenstva Apostol'skoï Administratsii Lemkovshchyny* (L'viv, 1936).
5. The L'viv figure includes both academy and seminary students.
6. Not including first-year students (at least seventeen).
7. Outside Galicia there was a Basilian monastery in Warsaw and a Redemptorist monastery in Kovel', Volhynia.
8. Not including six filial religious houses.
9. A third religious house (in Zazuli) is listed in *Sacra Congregazione per le chiese Orientali, Oriente Cattolico: Cenni storici e statistiche*, 4th ed. (The Vatican, 1974), 681.
10. *Shematyzm vseho klyra* does not list how many Sisters of St. Josaphat were in the Stanyslaviv eparchy.
11. *Oriente Cattolico* lists higher numbers of religious houses and nuns for some female orders.
12. Source: *Annuario Pontificio per l'anno 1976* (The Vatican, 1976), 307, 520, 432, 869.

# Map 1 Political and Ethnic Boundaries



(A) Kremianets' county annexed from Volhynia to Galicia (Ternopil' oblast), December 1939-June 1941, July 1944.

(B) Drohobych oblast, 1939-1941, 1944-1959; incorporated into L'viv oblast in 1959.



## CHAPTER TWO

### *The First Encounter (1939–41)*

The Soviet invasion of Western Ukraine, which began on September 17, 1939, had been agreed to in a secret protocol of the recently concluded Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact between Nazi Germany and the USSR. The invasion caught the local population by surprise. The Red Army advanced swiftly, and on September 22 it entered the capital of eastern Galicia, L'viv (besieged by the Germans since September 11), rendering a final blow to the embattled remnants of the Polish administration and army there. For the time being, it also dispelled widespread Ukrainian nationalist expectations that, upon the ruins of the Polish state, the victorious Germans would allow the creation of an autonomous Ukrainian state—perhaps similar to that of Tiso's Slovakia—as the nucleus of a future greater nation-state.<sup>1</sup>

At the time of the Soviet invasion, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia consisted of L'viv archeparchy and the suffragan eparchies of Stanyslaviv and Peremyshl'. The Galician church province was presided over by Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, the metropolitan of L'viv and Halych, with the help of Auxiliary Bishop Nykyta Budka.<sup>2</sup> The suffragans were Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv eparchy (assisted by Auxiliary Bishop Ivan Liatyshevs'kyi)<sup>3</sup> and by Bishop Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi of Peremyshl' eparchy

1. Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, *Vid derzhavy do komitetu (Lito 1941 roku u L'vovi)*, 2d ed. (New York and Toronto, 1970), 20; and Fr. Havryil Kostel'nyk, "Persha zustrich z bol'shevykamy," in Milena Rudnyts'ka, ed., *Zakhidnia Ukraïna pid bol'shevykamy, IX. 1939–VI. 1941: Zbirnyk* (New York, 1958), 15.

2. Budka was born on June 7, 1877. He was ordained on October 14, 1905, and consecrated the titular bishop of Patara on July 15, 1912. He served as the apostolic exarch for Ukrainians in Canada (1912–27) and subsequently as auxiliary bishop of L'viv. The metropolitan's other auxiliary, Msgr. Ivan Buchko, the titular bishop of Cadi, left earlier in 1939 for a visitation of Ukrainian Catholics in South America and never returned to his native Galicia.

3. Liatyshevs'kyi was born on October 17, 1879. He was ordained on October 20, 1907, and consecrated the titular bishop of Adada on January 26, 1930.

(assisted by Auxiliary Bishop Hryhorii Lakota).<sup>4</sup> In the fall of 1939 the metropolitan was also joined by the apostolic visitator for Volhynia and Polissia, Bishop Nykolai (Mykola) Charnets'kyi,<sup>5</sup> who had been forced by the Soviet arrival to abandon his missionary outpost in overwhelmingly Orthodox western Volhynia.

In the Western Ukrainian territories occupied by the Red Army there were approximately 2,120 Greek Catholic parishes with about 2,030 priests serving over 3.1 million faithful. The L'viv Greek Catholic Theological Academy and the theological seminaries in L'viv, Przemyśl, and Stanyslaviv had a combined total of 475 students. There were also 29 monasteries with some 140 regular clergy and over 300 monks, and 120 convents with over 820 nuns.<sup>6</sup>

The demarcation line along the San River between the German and Soviet occupation zones left several hundred thousand Ukrainians in the so-called Generalgouvernement of Nazi-occupied Poland. The Generalgouvernement included the entire Greek Catholic Apostolic Administration for the Lemko Region, which in 1936 supervised 122 parishes with 198 churches, 130 priests, and some 128,000 faithful;<sup>7</sup> and that part of Peremyshl' eparchy that was west of the San, which in December 1939 contained 136 parishes with 161 priests and 216,910 faithful.<sup>8</sup> The Peremyshl' eparchial parishes in

4. Lakota was born on January 31, 1883. He was ordained in 1908 and consecrated the titular bishop of Daonio on May 16, 1926.

5. Charnets'kyi was born on December 14, 1884. He was ordained on October 2, 1909, joined the Redemptorist order in 1919, was nominated apostolic visitator for the "Slavs of the Byzantine rite outside the Ruthenian eparchies in Poland," i.e., in the Volhynia, Polissia, Chełm, and Podlachia regions, on January 1, 1931, and was consecrated the titular bishop of Lebedo on February 2, 1931.

6. These figures exclude that part of Peremyshl' eparchy west of the Soviet-German demarcation line. They are derived from official church sources: *Shematyzm dukhovenstva L'vivskoi akhyeparkhii, 1938* (L'viv, 1938); *Shematyzm hreko-katolyts'koho dukhovenstva zluchenykh eparkhii Peremys'koi, Sambirs'koi i Sianits'koi na rik Bozhyi 1938–39* (Przemyśl, 1938); and *Shematyzm vseho klyra Hreko-katolyts'koi eparkhii Stanyslavivs'koi na rik Bozhyi 1938* (Stanyslaviv, 1938).

7. *Shematyzm hreko-katolyts'koho dukhoven'stva Apostol'skoi Administratsii Lemkovshchyny 1936 r.* (L'viv, 1936).

8. Among the priests were thirty-four who had fled from Soviet-occupied Galicia. See the report of the auxiliary bishop of Peremyshl' eparchy, Lakota, to Nuncio Orsenigo in Berlin (December 9, 1939), reproduced in Pierre Blet et al., eds., *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*, vol. 3, *Le Saint Siège et la situation religieuse en Pologne et dans les Pays Baltes, 1939–1945*, pt. 1

German-occupied territory were administered by Bishop Lakota, who took up residence in Jarosław.

In Soviet-ruled Galicia east of the San, initial concessions to national sentiments, particularly in education, scholarship, culture, and the fine arts, gave rise among part of the Ukrainian population to illusions as to the intentions and future political course of the occupation authorities. No false hopes were nursed, however, by the hierarchy and clergy of the Greek Catholic Church, which found itself to be virtually the only major surviving Ukrainian national institution in Galicia after other Ukrainian structures and organizations were dissolved or absorbed into the Soviet institutional framework. Because it had been outspokenly anti-Communist and closely identified with Ukrainian national aspirations, the church was perceived by the new Communist rulers as a formidable obstacle to the Sovietization of Galicia and as the last major bastion of Ukrainian nationalist resistance.

### The First Measures against the Church

The Soviet press left no doubts about the official evaluation of the political and social role of the Greek Catholic Church. The regime's attitude was reflected in a sweeping indictment that appeared in Kyïv's Communist party daily, *Komunist*, on October 9, 1939: "The Uniate clergy headed by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi conscientiously served in the past the Polish large landowners and bourgeoisie. Uniate priests, as a rule, acted as agents of the Polish *defenzywa* [counter-intelligence] in the villages of Western Ukraine.... From church pulpits rabid priests [*oskazhenili popy*] constantly called for action against the USSR. The priests acted as the most determined, most dedicated agents of counter-revolution in Western Ukraine."<sup>9</sup> Such grotesque charges and their echoes in other Soviet periodicals<sup>10</sup> were designed to intimidate the clergy and to undermine its lay support. But being aware of the immense popularity the church's primate, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, enjoyed

(Vatican City, 1967), doc. 64, 145–6.

9. F. Iastrebov, "Uniats'ke dukhovenstvo na sluzhbi u pol's'koho panstva," *Komunist* (Kyïv), October 9, 1939.

10. See, for instance, D. Efimov, "Kak podavlialas' svoboda sovesti v panskoi Pol'she," *Bezbozhnik* (Moscow), September–October 1939, 7–8; I. El'vin, "Tserkov' na sluzhbe pol'skikh panov," *Antireligioznik* (Moscow), November 1939, 21–6; and V. Rozhitsyn, "Uniiia," *ibid.*, October 1939, 56–7.



in Western Ukraine and being careful not to enrage the Greek Catholic masses just yet, the Soviet authorities prudently did not initiate a frontal attack against the church. Nor did they hurry to apply in the newly occupied territories the most crippling Soviet legislation on religious cults, such as the prohibition of private religious instruction of minors, nationalization of church buildings and their contents, or licensing (registration) of congregations and the clergy.<sup>11</sup> They did, however, proceed at once to deprive the church of its means of societal influence and material subsistence.

Immediately after invading Galicia, Communist officials took over all mass media, including the publishing and printing facilities of the Greek Catholic Church. Twenty Greek Catholic newspapers, journals, and other serial publications were shut down.<sup>12</sup> Religious literature was removed from book stores and from public and school libraries and generally was destroyed.<sup>13</sup> The nationalization of all educational institutions deprived the church and monastic orders of their network of private gymnasiums, teachers' colleges, trade schools, elementary schools, student residences, orphanages, kindergartens, nurseries, and shelters.<sup>14</sup> The authorities' seizure of the buildings housing the L'viv Greek Catholic Theological Academy and the major and minor seminaries in L'viv, Stanyslaviv, and Przemyśl brought to a halt the

11. For the Soviet Ukrainian legislation and administrative regulations on religion, see Ivan Sukhopliuiev, ed., *Vidokremlennia tserkvy vid derzhavy: Zbirnyk zakonopolozhen' S.R.S.R. i U.R.S.R., instruktsii, obizhnykiv i poiasnen' Narkomvnusprav U.R.S.R.* (Kharkiv, 1930); and K. Z. Lytvyn and A. I. Pshenychnyi, eds., *Zakondavstvo pro relihiini kul'ty: Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Kyïv, 1973), 67–154.

12. Among the banned publications were the newspapers *Nova zoria* (L'viv, semiweekly, 1926–39); *Meta* (L'viv, weekly, 1931–9); and *Pravda* (L'viv, weekly, 1927–39); the journals *Dzvony* (L'viv, monthly, 1931–9); *Misionar* (Zhovkva, monthly, 1897–39); *Katolyts'ka aktsiia* (L'viv, quarterly, 1934–9); *Dobryi pastyr* (Stanyslaviv, quarterly, 1931–9); *Nash pryiatel'* (L'viv, monthly, 1921–39); *Ukrains'ke iunatstvo* (L'viv, monthly, 1933–9); *Lytsarstvo prechystoi divy Mariï* (L'viv, monthly, 1936–9); *Bohosloviia* (L'viv, quarterly, 1923–39); *Pratsi Hreko-Katolyts'koi bohoslovs'koi akademii* (L'viv, irregular, 1929–38); *Zapysky Chyna Sviatoho Vasylïia Velykoho* (Zhovkva, irregular, 1924–35); and *LAV* and the *Vistnyks* of Stanyslaviv and Peremyshl' eparchies.

13. Volodymyr Doroshenko, "Knyzhky na palyvo," in Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraina*, 238–9; and idem, "Dyvni praktyky Oblitu," in *ibid.*, 245.

14. Most of these institutions had been run by Greek Catholic nuns.

regular training of candidates for the priesthood.<sup>15</sup> The same fate befell the monastic centres of philosophical and theological studies, and novitiates. All religious education, ceremonies, and symbols were banned from schools, although not without opposition from parents and students. Priests' organizations and all secular Ukrainian Catholic institutions, organizations, and sodalities were banned by the new regime. In line with the declared separation of church and state, responsibility for the registration of births, marriages, and deaths was transferred from the parish priests to government agencies (*zahs*).<sup>16</sup>

Without waiting for a mandate from the puppet legislature, the People's Assembly (*Narodni zbory*) of Western Ukraine, the authorities seized all capital and commercial property held by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, the church, and monastic orders<sup>17</sup> and proceeded to confiscate buildings housing monasteries and convents. Soon after they seriously reduced the number and facilities of monasteries, liquidated all convents, and forced the dispersed nuns

15. The Bolshevik authorities were somewhat more lenient with the Roman Catholic seminaries in L'viv and Przemyśl, which were allowed to continue functioning during the years 1939–41, although on a very limited scale. See Sheptyts'kyi's letter (August 30, 1941), to the Holy See via Nuncio Angelo Rotta in Budapest, in *Actes et documents*, 3, doc. 297, 440; and Dennis J. Dunn, "The Catholic Church and the Soviet Government in Soviet-Occupied East Europe, 1939–1940," in R. T. De George and J. P. Scanlan, eds., *Marxism and Religion in Eastern Europe: Papers Presented at the Banff International Slavic Conference, September 4–7, 1974* (Dordrecht, 1976), 110.

16. *Zahs*: a Soviet acronym for [the Office for the] Registration of Acts of Civil Status.

17. In the absence of complete and reliable documentation, it is difficult to determine the total losses suffered by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as a result of the Soviet confiscation of its property. According to Soviet sources (apparently based on the archives of L'viv metropoly that were seized in 1945), the church held varying shares in the co-operative Narodnia Torhivlia, the co-operative banks Dnister and Sil's'kyi Hospodar, the enterprises Dostava and Ryznytsia (Sambir), the refinery Uniia, and other companies, including a majority of shares in a land-mortgage bank, Zemel'nyi Bank Hipotechnyi. The metropoly also owned the Brozhniv-Osmoloda railway line (assessed in 1934 at over 3.3 million Swiss francs), a paper factory, and a printery in L'viv, Bibl'os.

In 1937 the gross annual income from housing owned by the metropoly in L'viv amounted to 10,821 Polish zloty. See V. Iu. Malanchuk et al., eds. *Pravda pro uniiu: Dokumenty i materialy*, 2d rev. ed. (L'viv, 1968), 9–10, 256–7; and "Bol'shevyts'ka relihiina polityka v Zakhidnii Ukraïni," in Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, 119–21.

to assume formally secular occupations. (The latter did, however, create small, clandestine communities.) In the process, the Bolsheviks confiscated valuable monastic libraries and archives.<sup>18</sup>

The People's Assembly was elected on October 22, 1939, from a single, regime-compiled candidates' list. Four days later it convened in L'viv to request the formal unification of Western Ukraine with the Ukrainian SSR. On the next day it voted to nationalize all large land holdings, including those owned by monastic orders.<sup>19</sup> Although the assembly's declaration omitted any reference to eparchial and parish lands, the Soviet authorities also nationalized them.<sup>20</sup> In addition, they discontinued all state payments to the clergy,<sup>21</sup> imposing instead huge, discriminatory taxes on them as a "socially unproductive" stratum as well as on the churches they served. Consequently priests found themselves dependent on the generosity of the faithful.

### The Church's Position vis-à-vis the State

On October 9, 1939, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi issued a pastoral letter to the clergy of his archeparchy:

A page in history has been turned and a new era has arrived. Let us greet it with a humble prayer and with strong hope in the eternal goodness and mercy of Jesus Christ, who leads all towards God's glory and our own well-being. I greet you with the Christian salute, "Christ is among us."

Our program of work is as follows: we will obey the authorities and comply with the laws insofar as they are in conformity with God's law; we

18. Doroshenko, "Knyzhky," 235.

19. See the declaration of the People's Assembly in Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, 291–2.

20. In the spring of 1940, for example, the Zhuravno Raion Executive Committee instructed a village soviet that, according to the decision of the People's Assembly, "all church, parish, and erectional lands are subject to nationalization, and no one has the right to leave the clergy with even a single *morg*" (i.e., 0.6 ha. of land). Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, 293.

21. The Polish state had provided, in its annual budgets, for subsidies to Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Judaic, and Moslem organizations, including payments for the upkeep of various theological schools, parsons, vicars, and theological students. See Chief Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Poland, *Concise Statistical Yearbook of Poland—1938* (Warsaw, 1938), sec. 19, "Administration of Religions."

will not interfere in political and secular matters but will not cease to work devotedly for Christ's cause among our people. The first and most important of our duties is to teach young people the catechism. We will preach catechismal sermons on each Sunday and holy day, urging the people to participate in daily common prayer out loud; and daily, after each service, we will read Christian prayers out loud with a section from the catechism.... Every pastor should teach some intelligent and pious household heads how to baptize children in case a priest is not available.<sup>22</sup>

A few months later the metropolitan instructed his clergy that the church must remain apolitical: they could not display flags of any kind on church buildings nor honour persons with the singing of the traditional "Mnohaia lita."<sup>23</sup> In December 1940 Sheptyts'kyi reminded the clergy of the "danger and harm to their pastoral work that would result from their interference in politics, which would create for the pastor political opponents among the faithful."<sup>24</sup> They were to feel free to vote or not vote in Soviet elections, but could not attempt in any way to influence the people. Nonetheless, the clergy were to feel free to utilize all rights guaranteed by the Soviet constitution.

One of Sheptyts'kyi's primary concerns was the continuity of church leadership in the event of his arrest or deportation. He prepared for the worst, in light of what had happened to him twenty-five years earlier after tsarist forces had occupied L'viv and what had befallen the Catholic bishops in the Soviet Union during the interwar years.<sup>25</sup> Accordingly, on October 10, 1939,

22. LAV, September–October 1939, M. O., no. 1, 1. Sheptyts'kyi's 1939–40 pastoral letters were reprinted as a supplement to *Lohos* (Yorkton, Sask.), 1955, no. 5, and 1956, no. 3. The pagination is that in the supplement.

23. LAV, February 1940, M. O. no. 26, 14.

24. [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolitya Andreia z chasiv bol'shevyts'koi okupatsii* (Yorkton, Sask., 1961), M. O. no. 95, 75–6.

25. On the Soviet destruction of the Catholic Church in the USSR after the March 1923 show trial of leaders of the Roman Catholic Church (Archbishop Jan Cieplak and others) and of the exarch of the Russian Greek Catholic Church, Leonid Fedorov, see F. McCullagh, *The Bolshevik Persecution of Christianity* (London, 1924); A. Galter, *The Red Book of the Persecuted Church* (Dublin, 1957); J. J. Zatko, *Descent into Darkness* (Notre Dame, 1965); and Dennis J. Dunn, "Pre-World War II Relations between Stalin and the Catholic Church," *Journal of Church and State* (Waco, Texas) 15, no. 2 (1973), 192–204. At the time of the Soviet invasion of Poland in September 1939, only two Roman Catholic parishes remained in the USSR—the Church of St. Louis des Français in Moscow, attended by American and other members of the

he wrote a letter to Pope Pius XII, which was dispatched to Rome through a secret courier, Fr. Iosyf Kladochnyi.<sup>26</sup> In that letter the metropolitan requested that the pope confirm the special powers given to him by Pius X and to extend them to Galicia.<sup>27</sup> He also requested authority to consecrate Fr. Iosyf Slipyi, the rector of the L'viv Greek Catholic Theological Academy, his coadjutor with the right of succession.<sup>28</sup> Reporting on the first Bolshevik measures against the church, the metropolitan wrote:

capital's diplomatic community, and the Church of Our Lady of France in Leningrad.

26. See Fr. Iosyf Kladochnyi, "Nelehal'na podorozh z bol'shevyts'koho tsarstva do Papy Piia XII," *Kalendar-al'manakh "Novoho shliakhu"* (Toronto), 1995, 84–106.

27. The special powers pertained to Sheptytsky's church-building efforts in the Russian Empire, which Pope Pius X had granted him on February 18 and 22, 1907, and Pope Benedict XV had confirmed on February 23, 1921. See the minutes of the Holy Congregation, "Pro Ecclesia orientali," no. 52/30/21 (February 24, 1921), TsDIAU, *fond* 358, *opys* 3(t), *sprava* 104. Subsequently, in Kyïv, the metropolitan appointed Fr. Mykhailo Tsehel's'kyi the vicar for Great [i.e., Russian-ruled] Ukraine. Following the Treaty of Riga, which left to Poland Orthodox Volhynia, Polissia, Podlachia, and the Chełm region, the Polish authorities began questioning Sheptyts'kyi's powers in those areas, which Warsaw was attempting to insulate from the more nationalist Galician Ukrainians. The Polish authorities prevented Msgr. Botsian, whom the metropolitan had consecrated the bishop of Luts'k in 1914, from carrying on his duties in Volhynia. According to a Polish-Vatican agreement, eastern-rite Jesuits (a sub-order established in 1923) were subordinated to the local Polish Roman Catholic hierarchy and were entrusted with converting the Orthodox Ukrainians and Belarusians under Polish rule. This action evoked bitter hostility not only among the Orthodox, who tended to identify this Polish "neo-union" campaign with denationalization, but also within the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church itself. The Vatican's appointment in 1931 of a Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest, Msgr. Mykola Charnets'kyi, as the apostolic visitor for the Orthodox territories in Poland was an attempt at mollifying this anti-Polish animosity. (The new visitor was not subordinated to Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi.) See Korolevskij, *Métropolitaine*, 187–259; and Kh., "Na shliakhu do pravyl'noï rozviazky uniinoho pytannia," *Nyva*, 1931, no. 2, 41–4; no. 4, 140–1. The Vatican's position on promoting Greek Catholicism in Volhynia was ambivalent. This is illustrated by the fact that Botsian was never officially recognized as a bishop in the *Annuario Pontificio* or other publications of the Holy See.

28. Slipyi was born on February 17, 1892, in Zazdris', Terebovlia county. He was ordained by Sheptyts'kyi on September 30, 1917. After completing his studies in Rome, he was appointed professor of theology (1921) and then rector (1926) of the L'viv Theological Seminary, which he reorganized into the L'viv Theological Academy; he was appointed the academy's first rector in 1929.

The parishes have still been left alone in peace, but [they are] exposed to actions [against them] by local committees, which are dominated by revolutionary elements. The monasteries seem to be heading towards inevitable suppression: they have been deprived of all means of existence; they have been expropriated [and] occupied together with the houses of the religious [monks] and nuns; they [the monastics] have been dispersed without suffering any wrong, except for the confiscation of all their possessions, real [estate] as well as personal property. Catholic schools have been suppressed or converted into atheist schools.<sup>29</sup>

Sheptyts'kyi concluded with a personal request:

I humbly request the Holy Father to give me his apostolic and fatherly blessing and to designate, delegate, and appoint me to die for the Faith and the Church. The Vicar of Christ can look confidently toward a future for Catholicism in Russia. May he give us all his blessings. We will accomplish our task, and the Goliath of Soviet Communism will be turned back.<sup>30</sup>

On November 25, 1939, Pius XII nominated Fr. Slipyi archbishop of Serre and coadjutor of L'viv archeparchy. Cardinal Eugène Tisserant, secretary of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches, replied to Sheptyts'kyi on behalf of the pope on November 27.<sup>31</sup> His letter was brought back the following month by Fr. Kladochnyi, and on December 22 Fr. Slipyi was consecrated by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and Bishops Budka and Charnets'kyi in a secret ceremony at the metropolitan's chapel witnessed only by members of the metropolitan chapter. Symbolically, instead of a crosier the new bishop was given the same simple wooden staff, ring, and missal that Sheptyts'kyi had presented to Fr. Botsian when he had secretly consecrated him bishop of

29. This letter has not been published by the Vatican. A brief excerpt including this quotation appears in Korolevskij, *Métropole*, 356.

30. Ibid. Sheptyts'kyi's anticipation of martyrdom may have been caused by news of the recent murder of his brother, Leon, and Leon's wife, Jadwiga, by the NKVD (or a Red Army unit, according to another account) at the Sheptyts'kyi family's estate in Prylbychi in the early autumn of 1939. Details of their deaths (ascribed to "Ukrainian nationalists" by Soviet disinformation) were supplied by Leon's and the metropolitan's nephew and guardian of the family archives, Jan Szeptycki, in an interview in Warsaw on September 16, 1988. See Roman Holiiat, "Interv'iu z Ianom Sheptyts'kym, plemynnykom Mytropolyta Andreia," *Novyi shliakh* (Toronto), April 1, 1989.

31. *Actes et documents*, 3, pt. 1, doc. 52, 134–5.

Luts'k in September 1914.<sup>32</sup> It was not until January 13, 1942, however, that Sheptyts'kyi officially announced Slipyi's consecration.<sup>33</sup> The Soviet authorities likely learned about this event earlier, at the latest by the early autumn of 1940.<sup>34</sup>

### Meeting the Challenge of State Atheism

During the initial twenty-two months of Soviet occupation, despite extensive paralysis of his limbs, Sheptyts'kyi proved to be a tower of strength and a source of inspiration both to his pastors and his flock in the face of the Soviet onslaught. While he protested to the authorities against violations of the rights of the church and of believers, he also took measures to strengthen the clergy's morale, to reinvigorate ecclesiastical life, and, in particular, to turn the church's attention from the hardships of Soviet rule to the prospects that Ukraine's territorial unification had opened up for missionary work in the rest of Ukraine and the Soviet Union.

In pastoral letters and directives, Sheptyts'kyi admonished the clergy not to leave their parishes without his authorization.<sup>35</sup> In fact, during the first Soviet occupation of Galicia only some one hundred priests left their posts and, for the most part, escaped to German-occupied territories west of the San.<sup>36</sup> Because only 807 pastors were left to serve the archeparchy's 1,267 parishes under Soviet rule, the metropolitan turned to regular clergy, who had been expelled from the monasteries, to fill those vacant parishes.<sup>37</sup>

During those trying times, Sheptyts'kyi urged the clergy to intensify their preaching and catechistic activities, especially among children and youth, to

32. For Slipyi's description of his consecration, see his 1942 letter cited in Senytsia, *Svityl'nyk istyny*, 1: 198.

33. [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho, ChSVV. z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsii*, part 2 (Yorkton, Sask., 1969), 1–2.

34. The news was broken by the Ukrainian Catholic monthly *Misionar*, 1940, no. 5, 79, which was published in the German-held part of Przemyśl.

35. *LAV*, January 1940, M. O. 13, 14, 11.

36. Iaroslav Nahurs'kyi, "Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi v litakh 1939–1941," *Zhyttia i slovo*, no. 1 (1948), 161.

37. Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Tisserant, dated December 26, 1939 (but dispatched on January 16, 1940, with the returning German repatriation commission), *Actes et documents*, 3, part 1, doc. 79, p. 171.



compensate for the church's exclusion from the schools, mass media, and public life. "Instances multiply," announced the metropolitan early in 1940, "of believers accusing the priest of neglecting sermons. I must, therefore, emphasize again and again that the priest who neglects preaching and catechization I consider bad and unworthy to work as a pastor."<sup>38</sup> On that same theme, he declared: "Owing to the general danger of atheism, which increases every day, a sermon in our times must, above all, aim at the strengthening of the faith.... Moreover ... our preaching should offer our believers a weapon for combatting atheism."<sup>39</sup>

To overcome restrictions imposed by the new authorities on religious practices, Sheptyts'kyi relaxed certain ecclesiastical rules, allowing religious services in private homes and out-of-doors, and secret administering of sacraments to the sick and dying in the nationalized hospitals.<sup>40</sup> He instructed priests to prepare lay persons to undertake, whenever necessary, the religious instruction of children,<sup>41</sup> and called upon believers to help maintain the dispossessed pastors and to assist each other in need. To provide for greater participation in religious services, the metropolitan urged the clergy and precentors to introduce popular singing of the liturgy and prayers and to use vernacular Ukrainian for the reading of the Gospel and Epistles as well as for certain liturgical prayers.<sup>42</sup> He also allowed priests to hold evening services on Sundays and feastdays in order to accommodate believers who had to work on those days.<sup>43</sup>

To replenish the clergy's ranks, which had been depleted by emigration, arrests, and death, in February 1940 the metropolitan invited former theological students and other qualified individuals, especially Studite monks, to enroll in theological courses that were to be held in the evenings at his residence.<sup>44</sup> To his disappointment, only twelve students signed up.<sup>45</sup>

38. *LAV*, February 1940.

39. *LAV*, March 1940, M. O. 66, 36.

40. *LAV*, November 1939, M. O. 5, 5; February 1940, M. O. 30, 15; March 1940, M. O. 57, 28.

41. *LAV*, November 1939, M. O. 4, 3; December 1939, M. O. 9, 7–8.

42. *LAV*, December 1939, M. O. 6, 5–6; M. O. 8, 6.

43. "Bol'shevyts'ka relihiina polityka," 121.

44. *LAV*, February 1940, M. O. 20 and 32, 12, 16. Teenagers from the age of fourteen were also encouraged to register with the metropolitan for courses preparing them for future theological studies.



Noting the particularly difficult situation of the monastics, Sheptyts'kyi gave superiors of monasteries and convents special powers to release from their vows monks and nuns who desired to return to a secular life and to allow others to reside outside monastic communities and wear civilian clothes. In granting such dispensations, he was careful to point out that “They do not cease being members of their monastic family. Where communal life is impossible, they must maintain themselves by working [in secular jobs], but let them combine labour with prayer and service to their neighbour; let them instruct children in catechism; let them give to the faithful all that which is offered by such a centre of existence as the monastic home.”<sup>46</sup>

Later, in March 1940, Sheptyts'kyi addressed special messages to the superiors in which he condemned the dispossession and suppression of monastic institutions and the continuing persecution of monastics.

The monasteries have suffered grave injustice, which is a major insult of the church. To be sure ... the delegates [to the People’s Assembly], fearing for [their] lives, have not realized that they have become a blind instrument of our enemies and that by their decision, though probably hardly conscious or voluntary, they have rendered a heavy blow to our church and our people.... Wartime conditions have forced us to keep silent until now and have not allowed us to rise resolutely in your defence against [such] violence—[which was] most painful as it was falsely presented as the will of the people. Let no one interpret this involuntary silence of ours until now as consent to the violence. We do not only disagree, but resolutely protest against the injustice and the heavy blow struck against our church and our people.<sup>47</sup>

The metropolitan warned that “those who deprive the church of the means to maintain the priest ... are harming the parish and all Christians who depend on the work of the priest”; those who had appropriated church lands were “guilty of sacrilege and fall under excommunication, which can be lifted only after the committed injustice has been corrected.”<sup>48</sup>

Because of traditional loyalty to the church and the metropolitan, or because of an elementary sense of fairness, peasants, even the poorest, were

45. Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Rotta.

46. *LAV*, September–October 1939, M. O. 3, 2.

47. *LAV*, March 1940, M. O. 64, 34.

48. *LAV*, January 1940, M. O. 11, 10.

often reluctant to accept parish lands offered to them by the authorities.<sup>49</sup> As late as May 1940, some village soviets had not yet expropriated the local church lands, while others allowed priests to retain a good share of the parish holdings.<sup>50</sup> Eventually, much of the nationalized lands were assigned to collective and state farms, which were forcibly introduced starting in early 1940.

Because the church was banned from schools and students were being increasingly exposed to antireligious propaganda, Sheptyts'kyi laid special stress on the religious upbringing and catechization of children and youth, which he called “the most important matter for the church, the people, and families.”<sup>51</sup> He called upon parents to demand religious instruction in schools, and directed the clergy to organize catechistic classes in churches and private homes, to set up religious circles (brotherhoods) for students, and to seek people who were able and willing to prepare for religious vocations or lay proselytizing.<sup>52</sup> In December 1939, in a special message to Ukrainian youth, the metropolitan urged students to continue saying common prayers in schools, to take Communion frequently, to study catechism, and to teach it to other children. At the same time he warned: “Protect yourselves from sin against the Holy Faith, stay with the Holy Church. Just as treason against the fatherland is an abominable crime, so is betrayal of the Holy Church, our Mother.”<sup>53</sup>

In the early spring of 1940, Sheptyts'kyi addressed to the head of L'viv oblast's Department of Education, Zharchenko, a protest against the “corruption of [children's] consciences” by teachers who are “turning schools into instruments of atheist propaganda.”

The constitution safeguards freedom of conscience for all citizens, including children, and it follows that schools should also ensure children this ... freedom of religious practice in the confession to which they belong and in which they were raised by their parents....

This article [of the constitution] also grants parents liberty to bring up

49. See Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Tisserant (December 26, 1939), in Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, 170. Cf. “Zakhidn'oukraïns'ke selo pid bol'shevykamy,” in Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, 314.

50. See Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, doc. 190, 293.

51. LAV, November 1939, M. O. 4, 3.

52. LAV, December 1939, M. O. 10, 8; February 1940, M. O. 28, 15.

53. LAV, December 1939, M. O. 9, 7.

children in their faith and gives parents the right to demand that the school respect their will with regard to children's education; i.e., that the school educate children according to the desire of their parents and in their faith, or at least that the school not interfere in religious questions and not attack the religion of children and of their parents.<sup>54</sup>

The metropolitan followed this protest with an outspoken pastoral "To the People about Atheism," dated April 1, 1940.<sup>55</sup> It provoked a sharply worded reply from the organ of the Union of the Militant Godless, *Bezbozhnik*, which accused "the old politician" Sheptyts'kyi of anti-Communist agitation.<sup>56</sup>

### Preparations for Missionary and Union Activities in the East

Despite all the difficulties it created for his church, the Soviet occupation of eastern Galicia appeared to Sheptyts'kyi—the most prominent promoter of the cause of church union in his time—to provide a new opportunity to achieve what he considered the ultimate historical mission of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church: to Christianize the Godless in the Soviet Union and bring about the reunification of the Orthodox and Catholic churches.<sup>57</sup> Hence, from the very outset of Soviet rule in Galicia, Sheptyts'kyi sought to infuse his clergy and flock with a missionary spirit, and at the same time he attempted to devise a means of spreading out from the Greek Catholic "Piedmont" in Galicia to the east.

To remove any doubts about his authority to undertake church-unification work outside Galicia, Sheptyts'kyi requested, in a letter to the Vatican dated October 10, 1939, a confirmation from Pope Pius XII that he still had the special powers in the Russian Empire (and hence the USSR) that had been granted to him in 1907 and 1908 by Pope Pius X and reaffirmed by Benedict XV.<sup>58</sup> In his letter, he also requested extension of those powers to Galicia.<sup>59</sup>

54. LAV, March 1940, M. O. 68, 38.

55. [Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia ... z chasiv bol'shevyts'koi okupatsii*, 53–4.

56. "Glava uniatov," *Bezbozhnik* (Moscow), April 11, 1940, as cited in *ibid.*, 60.

57. See Korolevskij, *Métropolit*, esp. chap. 7; and [Fr.] Ivan Hryn'okh, *Sluha Bozhyi Andrei—blahovisnyk iednosty* (Munich, 1961).

58. See Korolevskij, *Métropolit*, 197–220.

59. *Ibid.*, 363–4.

Although the metropolitan had never relinquished his special powers and they had not been annulled by the papacy, during the early years of the pontificate of Pius XI their force had been placed in doubt by several Vatican moves,<sup>60</sup> and Pius XII considered it inadvisable to confirm them. This was not made clear, however, in the Vatican's reply, which was sent to L'viv with Fr. Kladochnyi on November 27, 1939. Instead, it listed the powers granted to all Catholic bishops under Soviet rule and made provision for the renewal of their ordinary powers in the event of a prolonged break in contacts with the Vatican. The letter concluded simply that "there does not seem to be any need at the moment for other ordinary or extraordinary powers."<sup>61</sup> Sheptyts'kyi interpreted the Vatican's vague response as meaning that his special powers had been left intact, if not expanded.<sup>62</sup>

Without waiting for papal confirmation of his special powers, on October 9, 1939, Sheptyts'kyi established four new Greek Catholic exarchates for the Soviet Union. He appointed Bishop Charnets'kyi the exarch for Volhynia, Hegumen Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi (the metropolitan's brother and superior of the Studite Order) the exarch for Russia and Siberia (to succeed the late Exarch Fedorov),<sup>63</sup> and Fr. Iosyf Slipyi the exarch for "Great" Ukraine (that is, Ukraine east of the pre-1939 Polish-Soviet border). He also temporarily entrusted Bishop Charnets'kyi with the exarchate of Belarus; it was assigned to Bishop Anton Nemantsevich on September 17, 1940.<sup>64</sup>

The exarchs' first synod was convened by Sheptyts'kyi and held in L'viv

60. Ibid. See also Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali, *Oriente Cattolico: Cenni storici e statistiche*, 4th ed. (Vatican City, 1974), 65–6. In 1925 the Vatican established a Pontifical Commission for Russia under Msgr. Michel d'Herbigny, SJ. In April 1930 the commission was given authority over all affairs "pertaining to Russians" in the USSR and abroad. Four years later, however, matters relating to Uniate believers in Russia were transferred from the commission to the Congregation for Oriental Churches. Sheptyts'kyi's request, which arrived in Rome in November 1939, was considered at length by the congregation.

61. *Actes et documents*, 3, pt. 1, doc. 52, pp. 134–5.

62. See Korolevskij, *Métropolitaine*, 365.

63. Fedorov was born in 1879 and ordained in 1911. Appointed the exarch for Russia by Sheptyts'kyi in late May 1917, he was arrested by the Bolsheviks in March 1923 and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. He died in exile on March 7, 1935. See Deacon Vasili, ChSV, *Leonid Fedorov: Zhizn' i deiatel'nost'* (Rome, 1966).

64. See the exarchs' letter to Tisserant (January 1941) in Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, doc. 191, 294–5.

on September 18–19, 1940. It produced a lengthy series of resolutions concerning future church-unification activities in the USSR, and elected Bishop Charnets'kyi the senior exarch (*protos*).<sup>65</sup> On September 26, however, the metropolitan received a letter dated May 30 from the Vatican secretary of state, Aloisius Cardinal Maglione. The letter stated that Pius XII had annulled Sheptyts'kyi's special powers and replaced them with a narrower authority relating only to his church's internal affairs and its clergy's rights.<sup>66</sup> The metropolitan communicated the pope's decision to the exarchs at a meeting on October 12, stating that the Vatican's decision had deprived him of power to accept their resignations. He left it up to the exarchs to react according to their own consciences to the Vatican's refusal to sanction unification efforts in the east.<sup>67</sup> The exarchs met again on January 2, 1941; their decision was communicated to Cardinal Tisserant: "Until a new decision [is taken] by the Holy See, we, faithful servants of God, will continue to adhere to our obligations with respect to the unification of churches within the indicated exarchates according to the rules of the Synod of Exarchs (September 18–19, 1940), as far as the situation in Soviet Russia will allow."<sup>68</sup>

In conditions most inhospitable to unification work, the exarchs held their second synod in May 1941.<sup>69</sup> By that time their activities were in effect restricted to planning for the future, to preparing appropriate guidelines and literature for pastoral and catechismal work among the Orthodox and non-believers, and to training candidates for missionary work in the east. The conflict with the Vatican over Sheptyts'kyi's authority outside Galicia remained unresolved until after the Soviet withdrawal from Western Ukraine. Only then, on November 22, 1941, did Pius XII finally confirm the appointments of the exarchs and subordinate them to Sheptyts'kyi as a delegate of the Holy See.<sup>70</sup>

Initially, church-unification activities had to be restricted to Galicia because of the Soviet ban on Greek Catholic expansion to the east. The large number

65. Korolevskij, *Métropolitaine*, 365.

66. Ibid., 367; Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, 296.

67. Korolevskij, *Métropolitaine*, 367–9.

68. Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, 296–7.

69. Ibid., doc. 192, 300; Korolevskij, *Métropolitaine*, 365–7.

70. Tisserant was evidently instrumental in reversing the Holy See's position on the metropolitan's activities outside Galicia. See *Actes et documents*, 3, pt. 1, doc. 375, n. 1.

of Ukrainian “easterners” (*skhidniaky*) dispatched by the Soviet authorities to Western Ukraine were the obvious target of the Greek Catholic proselytizing efforts, which were facilitated by many instances of “easterners,” including Red Army soldiers, secretly seeking out Greek Catholic clergy to request baptisms, other sacraments, and religious literature and articles.<sup>71</sup> At least two priests, the Russian Fr. Novikov and the Polish-American Fr. Walter Cizek, who were eastern-rite Jesuits, temporarily managed to carry on missionary activities after volunteering in 1940 for work in the Soviet Union.<sup>72</sup>

Nonetheless, Sheptyts'kyi did not lose hope in a future mission in the east. In February 1940, he called upon the clergy to volunteer for parishes he hoped to establish in Kyïv, Odesa, Vinnytsia, Kharkiv, and Poltava: “What is required is constant readiness for any sacrifices that may be needed, or at least be useful, for the cause of our faithful, non-unified Orthodox and baptized or unbaptized atheists.”<sup>73</sup> Two months later the metropolitan announced that he would request the Soviet government to allow him and ten priests to undertake pastoral work among “those Greek Catholic believers who have been resettled beyond the eastern borders of our land.”<sup>74</sup> He called for volunteers to join him in this undertaking: “surely God will grant this grace to many of us—to preach in the churches of Great Ukraine on both banks of the Dnieper River up to the Kuban' and Caucasus, to Moscow and Tobol'sk.... Therefore we must prepare in advance for this moment, for this mission, for this great task that undoubtedly awaits us.”<sup>75</sup> The metropolitan also urged his clergy and flock to pray for the conversion of atheists and to treat Orthodox believers with brotherly love. At the same time, he relaxed church rules to allow for the administration of sacraments to the Orthodox.<sup>76</sup>

Despite his missionary idealism, Sheptyts'kyi was not blind to current

71. Nahurs'kyi, “Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi,” *Zhyttia i slovo*, no. 2 (1948), 162; *LAV*, September–October 1939–March 1940 *passim*.

72. Exarch Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi's report at the Third Synod of Exarchs, June 12, 1942, cited in Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, doc. 220, 334. See also [Fr.] Walter Cizek, *With God in Russia* (New York, 1964), 17.

73. *LAV*, February 1940, M. O. 19, 12.

74. [Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia ... z chasiv bol'shevyts'koï okupatsii*, M. O. 83, April 17, 1940, 61.

75. The metropolitan's epistle “To the Clergy,” appeared in *LAV*, March 1940, M. O. 66, 37.

76. *Ibid.*, September–October 1939 to March 1940 *passim*.

realities. “It is undoubtedly difficult to foresee,” he wrote in April 1940, “whether our church could expand throughout the entire Soviet Union.”

As long as the Soviet government recognizes the privileged status of atheism—which is the greatest and most persistent enemy not only of the Catholic and Orthodox churches but of any religion in general—supporters of the unification of churches will not be able to do more than to prepare themselves through prayer and self-improvement for the moment when Almighty God will be pleased to approve and bless this work.<sup>77</sup>

### The Archeparchial Synods

To maintain links with the clergy of his archeparchy, to expand their theological knowledge and missionary abilities, to involve them in the restructuring of ecclesiastical activities, and thereby to meet the demands of the new political situation, from the autumn of 1939 the metropolitan held conferences at his residence each Thursday. These sessions were attended by sixty to eighty priests from the L'viv area and from other centres and the countryside.<sup>78</sup> After the Soviet police raided the archeparchial offices early in 1940 and confiscated the mimeograph used to produce the monthly archeparchial newsletter, that publication was hand-copied and distributed among the clergy and faithful by the participants of the Thursday conferences.<sup>79</sup>

In February 1940 Sheptyts'kyi announced his plans to transform these weekly gatherings into a regular archeparchial synod, which had not been held since 1905.<sup>80</sup> The synod, which convened on May 2, 1940, combined weekly working sessions, to which all clergy of the archeparchy who happened to be in L'viv were invited, with several formal sessions held in St. George's Cathedral.<sup>81</sup> The gatherings dealt with such questions as church organization, cult and rite, preaching and catechization, missionary and pro-unification activities, priestly duties (especially pastoral work), rules and obligations of the dispersed monastics, and family prayer. The synod adopted thirty-one

77. [Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia ... z chasiv bol'shevyts'koi okupatsii*, M. O. 82, 60.

78. Nahurs'kyi, “Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi,” 165.

79. *Ibid.*, 26–7.

80. *LAV*, February 1940, M. O. 21, 12–13; M. O. 38, 18.

81. *Ibid.*

decrees and seventy-two rules before it adjourned on December 20, 1940.<sup>82</sup>

One of the synod's main objectives was preparing the clergy to work for unification of the Catholic and Orthodox churches. This was recognized as a "special [task] conferred by divine providence" upon the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church

because such a large part of our people belongs to the non-unified [Orthodox] church and bears all the consequences of the unfortunate discord that tore away all churches of the [Christian] east from the ecumenical church....

That historical misfortune of the Ukrainian people has brought about [the result] that the unification of churches is apparently a necessity for our people and its only salvation. A Ukrainian piety united with the ecumenical church, which separates us from [our] neighbours to the west and east, is, in our opinion—[which is] based on historical experience—the only form of religious existence that can assure for us the free development of our religious and national culture and protect us from internal dissensions and domestic, fratricidal war.<sup>83</sup>

Church-unification work, decreed the synod, is one of the "most important constituent elements of our Christian patriotism. Such Christian patriotism does not and cannot manifest itself, in our case, in politics of any kind and cannot contain any hatred towards our brethren from another people.... Our Christian patriotism [consists] in one thing alone: that our own people, the Ukrainian people, we love with Christian love more than other peoples and are prepared to give for it our life's work and life itself."<sup>84</sup> The synod instructed all clergy to "prepare themselves for work towards the unification of churches, which sooner or later will become possible."<sup>85</sup>

Despite growing police harassment, the synod continued until December 20. At its closing session, Sheptyts'kyi recounted the difficult circumstances in

82. [Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia ... z chasiv nimets'koi okupatsii*, 15–24, 64–87, 378–89; Nahurs'kyi, "Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi," 166. The synod issued a strongly worded protest against the abolition of the monasteries and convents, stating that "Being contrary to the law of God and the rights of the church, this [Soviet] resolution has no legal force and brings down upon all participants in this action, and all who are benefiting therefrom, spiritual penalties and an obligation to correct the harm done."

83. [Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia ... z chasiv nimets'koi okupatsii*, 75–6.

84. *Ibid.*, 76.

85. *Ibid.*, 79.



which its activities had taken place:

From among the main participants in the synod's activities, two of our fellow priests died as victims of the present conditions in L'viv. Four [of the synod's] closest collaborators were arrested, as were ten other synod participants. If one adds to this the extraordinary difficulties [created by the Soviet authorities] with regard to [the possibility of] travel and correspondence; the ban on [the church's] publications; light [electricity] cuts every day, sometimes lasting for many hours; the impossibility of using our archives and libraries, and hence the lack of most needed scholarly books; as well as [receiving] shocking and most painful news, one has to consider it as an unusual grace from the Almighty that we completed this task, [which is] so important for [our] [arch]eparchy's life, for our work, and for [our] people.<sup>86</sup>

To continue the work begun in 1940, Sheptyts'kyi convened a second synod in the spring of 1941. It focused on questions of Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church doctrine, worship, rite, and discipline.<sup>87</sup> Special attention was paid to the need to introduce uniformity in the rite and to purge it of Latin-rite borrowings and innovations so as to bring it closer to its Byzantino-Slavic origins and to remove one of the main barriers separating the Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches.<sup>88</sup> The outbreak of German-Soviet hostilities interrupted the work of the 1941 synod.

### **Mounting Soviet Pressure**

From the very outset of Soviet rule there had been a gradual, steady increase in governmental pressure on Galicia's Greek Catholic Church. Sheptyts'kyi had already described this predicament in a letter to the Vatican dated December 26, 1939:

From the first moment, all schools were declared state schools and forbidden to teach religion.... All monasteries [were] dispersed.... The central [Soviet] authorities pretend not to want to touch the parish landholdings, but in many

86. Ibid., 68.

87. See "Pravyla eparkhiial'noho soboru 1941 roku," in [Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia ... z chasiv nimets'koi okupatsii*, 106–17.

88. See the metropolitan's epistle "On Rites" (May 3, 1941) in *ibid.*, 149–61.

cases they encourage the people to divide up these holdings. The people, however, in the great majority of cases defend the property of the church and do not want to touch it. Thank God that the people of these regions react with great tenacity against atheist propaganda....

Thanks to the deportment of our people, the clergy can still work in all the parishes and churches. A certain number of priests, having nothing to live on and suffering from nervous depression owing to panic and the atmosphere, have left our territory and gone over to the regions occupied by the Germans. In this manner, the [arch]eparchy lost thirty odd priests;... of the four hundred parishes called filial parishes, twenty-eight are for the moment exposed to more intense attacks than others. Many of them are requesting priests, and I have granted [them] twenty-six. Monastic priests—Basilians, Redemptorists, and Studites—who are no longer occupied in the service of their monasteries are serving in the parishes, with good results for the whole region.<sup>89</sup>

The new authorities hastened to undermine the church's material base so as to erode the clergy's morale and its will to resist the state's encroachments. Extremely onerous, discriminatory taxes—averaging 10,000 rubles but sometimes reaching as high as 15,000 rubles per annum—were imposed on priests and parishes.<sup>90</sup> Rural pastors were also subjected to taxes in kind and various public-works levies. Were it not for the generosity and support of the faithful, the impoverished clergy certainly could not have paid these taxes. Some village priests whose homes had been confiscated were accommodated by parishioners, and generous farmers regularly brought their products to bishops' residences to ease the food shortage in the cities.<sup>91</sup> Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi protested directly to CP(B)U First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev against the exorbitant taxes. The metropolitan's protest reportedly resulted in

89. Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Tisserant (December 26, 1939) in *Actes et documents*, 3, pt. 1, doc. 79, 171.

90. Mykhailo Khomiak, "Borot'ba Ukraïns'koï Katolyts'koï Tserkvy proty komunizmu," *Logos* 1, no. 4, (1950), 285. According to Radio Vatican (May 13–14, 1940), the Soviet tax rate for priests' residences was 4.5 rubles per sq. m., and for churches eight rubles per sq. m. Dunn, "Pre-World War II Relations," 113.

91. Khomiak, "Borot'ba," 285; Gregory Onufriw, "Communist Policy towards the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia (1939–1946)" (M.A. thesis, University of Montreal, 1961), 28.

tax reductions for some priests.<sup>92</sup>

To undermine the church's social and cultural base, the Soviet regime disseminated anti-religious propaganda. Though it was introduced cautiously and indirectly at first, the atheist indoctrination campaign in time became increasingly blunt and vulgar, using—as in the “old” Soviet Union—insults and intimidation instead of persuasion. Orchestrated by the Party *agitprop* apparatus, the campaign relied primarily on public lectures and discussions by Communist activists in the schools, Communist youth organizations, the Red Army, and the mass media. Special “lecturers’ groups” were dispatched to Western Ukraine by the Central Council of the so-called Union of the Militant Godless to train “local antireligious cadres.”<sup>93</sup>

The main target of the antireligious propaganda was the school system. There the key role was assigned to the atheist indoctrination (“retraining”) of teachers, their mastering of the “methodology of antireligious work,” the incorporation of atheist themes in lectures and class assignments in the senior grades, stocking school libraries with “Godless” literature, and counteracting low school attendance on holy days. In contrast to the imported Soviet teachers, with few exceptions the native Galician teachers evaded or even openly sabotaged their antireligious “assignments,” while parents strongly resisted the atheist indoctrination of their children.<sup>94</sup>

The Soviet authorities did not abolish Sunday as a day of rest in Western Ukraine (in contrast to the “old” Soviet Union, where it was reinstated as such only in 1940), but they made religious holidays (including Christmas) obligatory working days. New Year's Day, with “New Year's trees” and

92. Fr. Iuliiian Dzerovych, “Martyrolohiia ukrains'koho dukhovenstva pid panuvanniam bol'shevykiv,” in Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraina*, 142. On another occasion, the metropolitan sent a letter to the authorities in Moscow protesting against the local officials' refusal to allow priests to visit ill or dying believers in the nationalized hospitals. *Ibid.*

93. Akademiia nauk BSSR, Institut filosofii i prava, *Nauchnyi ateizm i ateisticheskoe vospitanie: Respublikanskii mezhvedomstvennyi sbornik nauchnykh rabot*, issue 1 (Minsk, 1983), 125–6. According to N. S. Timasheff's *Religion in Soviet Russia, 1917–1942* (London, 1944), 130, the head of the Union of the Militant Godless announced in February 1940 that no Union cells would be formed in the newly annexed territories.

94. See the report on antireligious work in L'viv oblast's schools (April 30, 1941) sent by the head of the oblast department of public education, Zharchenko, to the deputy people's commissar of education of the Ukrainian SSR, Lober, in DALO, *fond* 163, *opys* 1, fols. 83–6.

“Grandpa Frosts” distributing gifts, replaced Christmas as the major winter holiday. Antireligious indoctrination, however, proved more effective in insulating the numerous civilian and military personnel sent to Galicia from religious influence, than in “converting” local believers to atheism. In practice, Soviet attacks on religion may have provoked the very opposite effect to the one intended. According to a contemporary account, “Never were the [Galician] churches so full as during Bolshevik rule. People sought in prayers strength and consolation.... Long lines formed in front of confessional booths every Sunday and holy day; in them one could see not only older and middle-aged people, but also youth. People who had not been to confession for years were now seeking it.... All this suggested that people began to respect and value religious culture as a great treasure precisely at a time when it found itself in mortal danger.”<sup>95</sup>

There was no respite from the many psychological, economic, and administrative pressures levelled against the Greek Catholic clergy to induce them to renounce their faith or, at the very least, leave their parishes for better-paying secular jobs. Very few clergymen, however, succumbed to these pressures. Of the nearly five hundred priests in Stanyslaviv eparchy, for example, only three had left the church by June 1941.<sup>96</sup>

The Soviet authorities also carefully monitored the activities of the episcopate and clergy, probing for weaknesses in the church’s internal defences and, in particular, its suspected links with the nationalist underground and anti-Soviet groups abroad. Constant secret police surveillance was instituted.<sup>97</sup> As early as the autumn of 1939, the Communist writer Vladimir Beliaev was dispatched to L’viv “in order to acquaint himself with the machinations of the Greek Catholic Church headed by Metropolitan Andrei Count Sheptyts’kyi.”<sup>98</sup> Later the authorities entrusted the rector of L’viv University, Bychenko, with the confidential task of compiling documentary evidence of the church’s “harmful activity.”<sup>99</sup>

Soviet efforts were also aimed at sowing dissension within the ranks of the

95. “Bolshevyts’ka relihiina polityka,” 126.

96. See Bishop Khomyshyn’s letter (August 6, 1941) to Nuncio Rotta in Budapest, in *Actes de documents*, 3, pt. 1, doc. 289, p. 424.

97. Stepan Biliak, “V sitiakh NKVD,” in Rudnyts’ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraina*, 415–16.

98. *Mystetstvo* (Kyiv), 1960, no. 1, 20, cited in Borys Berest, *Istoriia ukrains’koho kina* (New York, 1962), 165.

99. Khomiak, “Borot’ba,” *Logos* 2, no. 1 (1951), 61. Bychenko acquainted Sheptyts’kyi with his report and with the Soviet plans to liquidate the church.

Greek Catholic hierarchy. In Stanyslaviv, for example, unsuccessful attempts were made to persuade Bishops Khomyshyn and Liatyshevs'kyi to challenge Sheptyts'kyi's jurisdiction over the nearby ancient see of Halych.<sup>100</sup> Intense pressure was also put on a prominent L'viv priest, Havryil Kostel'nyk, the leading Greek Catholic critic of the Vatican's Latinization policies and chief spokesman for the "Easternizers" tendency within the church. Kostel'nyk was pressured to organize, with the regime's support, a "national" Greek Catholic Church that would be separate from Rome and would divide the faithful by focussing on the long-painful question of the Vatican's policies vis-à-vis the Greek Catholics.<sup>101</sup> Despite the arrest of his youngest son in September 1940 and efforts thereby to blackmail Kostel'nyk, he refused to co-operate.<sup>102</sup>

In the meantime, the NKVD continued to collect incriminating evidence against Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and the bishops. Through intimidating interviews, blackmail, arrests, and physical and psychological terror, the police attempted to force clergy and laymen who had access to the bishops to become informers. Thus, in L'viv a prominent local lawyer, politician, and former deputy of the Polish Diet, Stepan Biliak, agreed after several months of imprisonment to report on the activities of the metropolitan and his closest collaborators. His information was supposed to support the police's efforts to establish that the church had links with foreign powers. This unlikely NKVD collaborator, however, resolved his own crisis of conscience by supplying his persecutors with meaningless "data," but only after he received the bishops' approval to release them.<sup>103</sup> Another case was that of the superior of the Studite convent in L'viv, Iosyfa (Olena Viter). She was arrested in June 1940

100. Ibid., *Logos* 1, no. 2 (1950), 105. Halych, though close to Stanyslaviv, was incorporated into L'viv archeparchy, and the archbishop of L'viv has borne the title of metropolitan of Halych, i.e., Galicia, ever since.

101. Ibid., *Logos* 1, no. 4 (1950), 285–6; "Bolshevyts'ka relihiina polityka," 123; *First Victims of Communism: A White Book on the Religious Persecution in Ukraine* (Rome, 1953), 28–9.

102. Interview with Fr. Kostel'nyk's son Irynei, London, February 18, 1980. For another account of Kostel'nyk's nightly "conversations" with an NKVD "religious specialist," see Yaroslav Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic: The Ukraine after World War II* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1964), 99–100. Kostel'nyk's son Bohdan was arrested together with a large group of Ukrainian gymnasium students on charges of belonging to a youth affiliate of the OUN. He was evidently executed by the NKVD just before the Soviet withdrawal from L'viv, as were thousands of other political prisoners.

103. See Biliak, "V sitiakh NKVD," 415–16.

and subjected to forty-seven interrogations at NKVD headquarters during the summer. Her interrogators demanded that she “confess” that Sheptyts'kyi was a member of the OUN underground and that she was bringing him weapons.<sup>104</sup>

Beginning in 1940, the police stepped up the arrests of clergy and laymen. By the early summer of 1941 (before the NKVD fled well in advance of the German invasion), in L'viv archeparchy alone eleven or twelve priests had been murdered or were missing; thirty-three had been imprisoned and/or deported to the east (this fate also befell twenty priests in Peremyshl' eparchy); and some 200,000 lay persons had been deported.<sup>105</sup> Recalling those months, Bishop Khomyshyn wrote in August 1941:

I am still suffocating with terror and despair.... In my eparchy, eight priests were imprisoned and deported; three were killed. The same fate would have befallen many other priests ... at the time of the Bolsheviks' retreat had they [the priests] not fled to the forests or disguised themselves and hidden in private homes.... I and my auxiliary bishop awaited imprisonment and deportation every night. Because the Communists did not dare do this, immediately before their retreat they attempted to kill us in a more treacherous fashion, namely, with a powerful poison that they gave to my servant with orders to mix it into our food. This servant of mine had been coerced by threats to report to the Communists all my movements throughout [their] occupation. But this faithful and honest servant of mine answered cautiously and prudently all [their] inquiries. He did not carry out their nefarious order, but [instead] handed me the poison, which I have kept as a souvenir.<sup>106</sup>

Just before the Soviet withdrawal from Galicia in 1941, thousands of prisoners were massacred in the NKVD prisons in L'viv, Stanyslaviv, Sambir, Stryi, Zolochiv, Zhovkva, Komarno, Peremyshliany, Buz'k, Chortkiv, Nadvirna, Dobromyl', and elsewhere.<sup>107</sup> Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's closest collaborators (including Archbishop Slipyi, Bishop Budka, and Hegumen

104. See Abbess Iosyfa (Olena) Viter, “47 dopytiv materi ihumeni,” in Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, 399–403.

105. See Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Rotta in Budapest (November 7, 1941) in *Actes et documents*, 3, pt. 1, doc. 324, p. 491.

106. Khomyshyn's letter to Rotta, 424.

107. For an account (incomplete) of the victims of the NKVD terror in June 1941, see Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, 465–92.

Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi) and other inhabitants and visitors at the metropolitan's palace and adjoining capitular residence did not suffer that fate, although they were lined up against a wall and threatened by retreating Soviet troops.<sup>108</sup>

Summing up his church's tribulations during the twenty-two months of Soviet occupation, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi wrote in August 1941:

It is quite certain that under the Bolsheviks all of us were as if sentenced to death; they [the Bolsheviks] did not conceal their desire to ruin and suppress Christianity, [to erase] its last traces. They advanced slowly so as not to prompt too great an opposition from the entire population. They also feared public opinion in Europe, which they probably supposed was better informed about what was happening among us than was [the case] in reality. They did not feel themselves altogether at home; this is perhaps one of the reasons why they treated us with a caution that was greater than we could have hoped.<sup>109</sup>

There is little doubt that the relatively cautious Soviet policy toward the Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine was dictated by the uncertain international situation at the time and the strategic, exposed location of this newly annexed territory, as well as by the strong popular base and internal cohesiveness of the church, whose head was a renowned figure who enjoyed the unique loyalty of both the clergy and population of Galicia as a whole. Stalin apparently considered the costs of a massive, head-on attack on the church to be too high at a time when his highest priority was postponing war with the Third Reich.

### **Plans for the Uniates' "Reunion" with the Russian Orthodox Church**

While trying to bring the Greek Catholic Church to submission or, at least, to split its ranks, the Soviet authorities endorsed (or, more likely, initiated) the plans of the Russian Orthodox Church to undertake "reunion" activities in solidly Uniate Galicia.<sup>110</sup> The first indication of Soviet plans for such a

108. See Slipyi's account in Senytsia, *Svityl'nyk istyny*, 1: 199.

109. Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Rotta (August 30, 1941), in *Actes et documents*, 3, pt. 1, doc. 297, p. 437.

110. According to *Voskresnoe chtenie* (Warsaw), in addition to L'viv, Orthodox congregations in Galicia were located in Przemyśl, Kolomyia, and two or three

“reunion” was the transfer, in December 1939, of Kremianets' raion from Orthodox Volhynia oblast to Galicia's Ternopil' oblast.<sup>111</sup> The only apparent reason for this change was the establishment within Galicia of an Orthodox enclave with a bishop in Kremianets' and with the nearby Pochaïv Lavra, which had served before 1917 as the main base from which Russian Orthodox missionaries and anti-Ukrainian propaganda were sent to this then Austrian-ruled part of Ukraine.

Over the years of Stalinist antireligious terror, the Moscow patriarchate had been reduced to four active bishops (compared with 130 bishops in 1914<sup>112</sup>) none of them in Ukraine, and perhaps as few as one hundred functioning churches in the entire USSR by September 1939<sup>113</sup> (compared with a 1914 total of 54,174 churches and 25,593 chapels<sup>114</sup>). The moribund patriarchate was given a new lease on life with the Soviet annexation of Western Ukraine, Western Belarus, Bessarabia, and the Baltic states. The Kremlin's desire to Sovietize the Orthodox churches in the annexed territories—i.e., to establish effective political control over the local Orthodox eparchies and their numerous parishes, monasteries, and vigorous religious life—coincided with the never abandoned aspirations of the Russian Orthodox Church to recover its jurisdiction over the Orthodox inhabitants of the territories lost by the Russian Empire after 1917. Naturally, the Soviet authorities encouraged and

villages. Cited in *Nyva*, June–July 1934, 245–6. The 1931 Polish census listed about 11,800 Orthodox in the three Galician voivodeships. See *Concise Statistical Yearbook of Poland*, 24.

111. The transfer of Kremianets' county from Volhynia to Galicia was provided for by the Oblast Boundaries Act adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on December 4, 1939. In January 1940 the transferred territory was subdivided into four smaller raions (Kremianets', Pochaïv, Shums'k, and Vyshnivets') of Ternopil' oblast. See P. V. Voloboi, *Ternopil'ska oblast': Heohrafichnyi narys* (Kyïv, 1959), 6; and S. P. Nechai et al, eds., *Istoriia mist i sil Ukraïns'koi RSR: Ternopil'ska oblast'* (Kyïv, 1973), 298, 375, 387, 587. In 1931 Kremianets' county had an Orthodox population of 194,517, which comprised eighty percent of all the inhabitants. V. K., “Viroispovidnyi ta natsional'nyi sklad naselennia pivnichno-skhidnykh zemel Pol'shchi,” *Tserkva i narid* (Kremianets'), November 15, 1936, 740.

112. The 1940 figure was supplied by Archbishop Oleksii (Hromads'kyi) after his June 1940 visit to the Moscow patriarch. Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 4, pt. 2, 196. The 1914 figure is cited in John S. Curtiss, *The Russian Church and the Soviet State, 1917–1950* (Boston, 1953), 9–10.

113. Nikita Struve, *Christians in Contemporary Russia* (New York, 1967), 57.

114. *Vsepoddaneishii otchet Ober-prokurora Sviateishago Sinoda*, 133.



assisted the “loyal” Moscow patriarchate in imposing its authority over the “reunited” eparchies. While still prohibited from taking any initiative to revive its ruined eparchies within the pre-1939 Soviet boundaries, the patriarchate was allowed to appoint exarchs for the newly annexed western territories and to redraw the eparchial boundaries and ordain new bishops there, easing out those hierarchs who refused to submit to Moscow.<sup>115</sup>

On October 17, 1939, the Moscow patriarchate named Archbishop Panteleimon (Rozhnovskii) of Hrodna the exarch for the western oblasts of Ukraine and Belarus and assigned him the task of bringing the Orthodox episcopate in those oblasts under the jurisdiction of Moscow. Panteleimon acted in this capacity until July 1940. In the spring of 1940 Metropolitan Sergii (Voskresenskii), “chancellor” (*upravliaiushchii delami*) of the patriarchate, visited the former Polish-held territories to persuade the bishops there to “return” to the “mother church.”<sup>116</sup> In mid-1940 a new patriarchal exarch for the western oblasts of Ukraine and Belarus, Archbishop Nikolai (Iarushevich), took over the direction of Volhynia eparchy.<sup>117</sup>

On October 28, 1940, the patriarchate decreed the establishment of the eparchy of Ternopil' and Halych covering all of Galicia; the centre of the new eparchy was Orthodox Kremianets' raion, where the Pochaïv Lavra was located. The former archbishop of Volhynia, Oleksii (Hromads'kyi) of Kremianets', was placed in charge of the new eparchy and given the task of “converting the Uniates to Orthodoxy.”<sup>118</sup> The archbishop was not enthusiastic or optimistic about his mission; he admitted in August 1941, after the

115. In particular Archbishop Aleksandr (Inozemtsev) of Pinsk. Bishop Polikarp (Sikors'kyi) of Luts'k, although he participated in the consecration of a patriarchate-appointed bishop, Veniamin Novyts'kyi, in Luts'k on June 15, 1941, refused to submit a written declaration accepting the patriarchate's jurisdiction and to come to Moscow as requested by the patriarchal *locum tenens*, Metropolitan Sergii (Stragorodskii). See Aleksandr's letter to Metropolitan Dionisii (Valedinskii) of Warsaw (August 5, 1941), Papers of Metropolitan Aleksandr [Inozemtsev], file 5, docs. 93–7, Museum-Archive of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A., South Bound Brook, N.J. (hereafter MAUOC); and Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 4, pt. 2, 198–9.

116. See Archbishop Panteleimon's letter to Archbishop Aleksandr (December 29, 1939); and decree 417 of the Moscow patriarchate (July 24, 1940), Papers of Metropolitan Aleksandr, file 1, docs. 21, 53.

117. Decree 583 of the Moscow patriarchate (October 28, 1940), Papers of Metropolitan Aleksandr, file 1, doc. 50.

118. Archbishop Oleksii's letter (August 1941) to one of the Orthodox bishops in the Generalgouvernement, cited in Khomiak, “Borot'ba,” *Logos* 2, no. 1, 62.

Soviet withdrawal from Western Ukraine, that he had “written to Metropolitan Sergii (Voskresenskii) that the year-old Bolshevik rule [there] has evoked such a hatred of Moscow that one would have to forget for a long time about an Orthodox mission in Galicia.”<sup>119</sup>

To investigate the prospects for success an Orthodox mission in Galicia would have, Metropolitan Nikolai visited L'viv on February 22 and 23, 1941. In all likelihood he discussed such prospects with the local Soviet authorities. Before his visit Nikolai reported to the patriarchal *locum tenens*, Metropolitan Sergii (Stragorodskii), that

After the establishment of the Soviet-German boundary on the territory of former Poland, in our part of Galicia there remained nine parishes<sup>120</sup> in the oblasts of L'viv, Stanislav [the new, Soviet name for Stanyslaviv], Drohobych, and Ternopil'. There are grounds for the continuation now of the apostolic cause of the further reunion of the Uniates with the Orthodox Church, because there are Uniate parishes that are already expressing their religious sentiments in this direction. For the further success of the Orthodox mission among the Uniates, it would be extremely beneficial, in my opinion, to establish in Ternopil' eparchy a see for a vicar bishop to be known as the bishop of L'viv, who would reside in L'viv purposely for the Galician Orthodox parishes. This was the request presented to me also by representatives of the L'viv Orthodox parish during my visit there on February 22 and 23; they also pointed out that the presence of an Orthodox bishop in L'viv—this citadel of the Union [of Brest]—would be very valuable for the prestige of the Orthodox Church.<sup>121</sup>

In his report, Nikolai proposed that a prominent Galician Russophile, Archimandrite Panteleimon (Rudyk) of the Pochaïv Lavra, be appointed bishop of L'viv, where he had served from 1925 to 1932 as pastor of the local Orthodox parish and since 1926 as director of the Orthodox mission in Galicia.<sup>122</sup>

119. Oleksii's letter was apparently addressed to Metropolitan Sergii (Voskresenskii). Cited in Khomiak, “Borot'ba,” 62.

120. According to official Soviet documents, only three Orthodox parishes had parish priests in 1939. DALO, *fond* R-1332 (CAROC Plenipotentiary for L'viv Oblast), *opys* 1, *sprava* 1, fols. 2–11.

121. Decree 167a of the Moscow patriarchate (March 28, 1941), Papers of Prof. I. Vlasovs'kyi, file 142, MAUOC.

122. *Ibid.*

On March 26, 1941, the patriarchate decreed that Panteleimon be appointed bishop of L'viv and “assigned, under the general direction of the exarch [Nikolai], to assume direct care of the Orthodox parishes of Galicia, which are returning to the bosom of the church [away] from the union with Rome.”<sup>123</sup> Late in April, Panteleimon was ordained in Moscow by the patriarchal *locum tenens*, who was assisted by all but two bishops of the Russian church.<sup>124</sup> For the time being he also remained archimandrite of the Pochaïv Lavra, which was to serve as his temporary residence until L'viv eparchy could provide him with an adequate material base.<sup>125</sup> On June 2, however, the patriarchate relieved Panteleimon of his monastic post and ordered him to settle in “his cathedral city” of L'viv, “for the good of the cause requires ... that he should fully devote his attention and resources to the care of [L'viv] eparchy.”<sup>126</sup>

The outbreak of the German-Soviet War on June 22, 1941, prevented Panteleimon's move to L'viv and the realization of the Kremlin-sponsored patriarchate's “reunion” plans. The decimated Russian Orthodox Church within the “old” Soviet borders was simply too weak to undertake a successful conversion campaign in Galicia, while the Orthodox episcopate and clergy in Volhynia had shown little enthusiasm for this task. Whatever fate the Soviet regime was preparing for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, it had to await the outcome of the deadly confrontation between it and another totalitarian superpower that would engulf all of Ukraine.

123. Ibid.

124. Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 4, part 2, 197. Absent from that ceremony were Archbishop Aleksandr and Bishop Polikarp.

125. Decree 167a.

126. Decree 508 (June 2, 1941), Papers of Metropolitan Aleksandr, file 1, doc. 65.

## CHAPTER THREE

# *The Soviet Reoccupation of Western Ukraine and the Search for a Modus Vivendi*

### **The Approach of the Red Army**

The debacle the Germans suffered at Stalingrad and their subsequent rout brought the Soviet armies to the easternmost districts of Galicia by early spring 1944. The Soviet capture of L'viv and the rest of Western Ukraine was imminent. The sense of approaching doom most Western Ukrainians felt was expressed by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in a letter he wrote to Cardinal Tisserant on March 22, 1944.

The Bolshevik army is approaching L'viv. It is probable, almost certain, that they will occupy the city, possibly even in eight or nine days.<sup>1</sup>

This news has filled our faithful with fear. All the members of the intelligentsia who, during these last few years, co-operated with the Germans, even in the most involuntary manner, are convinced that they are exposed to certain death. They are leaving the city or country to go to the farthest corners of old Poland, which is threatened less than Galicia....

Priests too have been affected by the widespread panic. In thirty of the villages occupied by the Bolsheviks, twenty-four priests have left their posts. They explain that this happened because of [German] orders to leave the village [and] the physical impossibility of remaining, or finally they argue that they were threatened by certain death. The Bolshevik army has not harmed those priests who did not leave their villages; but in those villages that were deserted by their pastors, the Bolsheviks have been ruining and burning the manses. These [priestly] refugees come to L'viv, and most of them ask for permission to transfer to parishes situated farther west. I am doing all that is within my power to stem this emigration of parish priests, but it is very difficult to do anything. [My] pastoral message dealing with the

1. The letter was written after the Red Army broke through the German defences and entered Galicia in March 1944. Its advance was stopped by German reinforcements, however, and resumed only in July.

duty of so-called residence<sup>2</sup> has already been held up for fifteen days ... at the printery, which is busy with work for the army.<sup>3</sup>

The elderly primate was prepared for the inevitable. Observing the breakdown of law and order in the land and the increasingly bloody confrontation between the Ukrainian and Polish undergrounds and partisan forces, Sheptyts'kyi admitted that “we are rather awaiting the moment when the Germans leave the city.... The arrival of the Bolsheviks will possibly have the beneficial effect of ending the anarchy that exists today in the entire country.”<sup>4</sup>

In the atmosphere of helplessness and fear that gripped Galicia, some Ukrainians nursed false hopes that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)<sup>5</sup> and the nationalist movements of other oppressed nations of the USSR<sup>6</sup> would

2. “The Duty of Pastors to Remain with the Parish in the Most Difficult Moments” was later reproduced in Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia ... z chasiv nimets'koi okupatsii*, 433–5. At the same time, the metropolitan granted deans and the clergy special powers “for the period of possible interruption of communication with the ordinary.” *Ibid.*, 435–40.

3. The metropolitan's letter, written in French, was dispatched with another document via a Ukrainian nationalist underground courier who, unfortunately, perished before reaching Italy (interview with Mykola Lebed', New York, December 1976). Photographs of the letter, made by underground leaders, have survived in the ZPUHVR in New York. The excerpt is quoted from them. Fragments of this letter, in Ukrainian translation, were published earlier in Hryn'okh, *Sluha Bozhyi Andrei*, 21–5.

4. The metropolitan's letter of March 22, 1944. Earlier, in September 1943, Sheptyts'kyi voiced similar concerns about the anarchy and Ukrainian-Polish “civil war” in Western Ukraine to a visiting French specialist on Ukraine, René Martel, who (under the pseudonym Dr. Frédéric) transmitted a secret report, dated September 19, 1943, on his conversations in L'viv to the German Foreign Office. Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, file R6/i79, 102–6.

5. On the UPA, see John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism, 1939–1945*, 2d ed. (New York, 1963), 130–65; Mykola Lebed', *Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armiia* (n.p., 1946); Petro Mirchuk, *Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armiia, 1942–1952* (Munich, 1952); Lev Shankovs'kyi, “Ukrains'ka Povstancha Armiia,” in *Istoriia ukrains'koho viis'ka*, 2d, rev. ed. (Winnipeg, 1953), 668–73; and the document series *Litopys Ukrains'koi Povstans'koi Armii*, ed. Ievhen Shtendera and Petro Potichnyi, vols. 1–24, 28 (Toronto, 1976–95). For the Soviet perspective, see V. Davydenko, “Ne stanut' ahntsiamy vovky,” *Radians'ka Ukraïna* (Kyïv), November 27, 29, 30, December 1, 2, 7, 8, 1988.

6. Cf. Mirchuk, *Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armiia*, 83; see also the “Appeal of the First Conference on the Oppressed Peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia,” *ibid.*, 73–8,

repel the Soviet offensive. Others hoped that the Soviet armies would respect the pre-1939 Soviet-Polish boundary now that Moscow was siding with the Western Allies, who were committed to Poland's independence and territorial integrity.<sup>7</sup> Some believed that on the still smoking ruins of Hitler's "New Order" the Second World War would inevitably evolve into a third world war between the Western democracies and totalitarian Soviet Russia.<sup>8</sup> Still others, including Fr. Kostel'nyk in L'viv, swore by the local stigmatic Nastia Voloshyn, who prophesied that the Bolsheviks would "never" enter L'viv.<sup>9</sup>

As the aged head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church evaluated the Galician situation in March 1944 with greater detachment and realism than most Western Ukrainians at that time, he was undoubtedly troubled by what awaited his church under the approaching Soviet reoccupation of Galicia. Over the past three years, the church had openly sided with the enemies of the Soviet system and supported the irredentist aspirations, if not all the methods, of the divided Ukrainian nationalist movement; in 1943 it had blessed implicitly the formation of a volunteer Waffen SS division, Galizien, to fight against the Soviet armies and dispatched several priests to serve as the division's chaplains.<sup>10</sup> During the three years of the Nazi occupation, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi had served as the patron and honorary president of an unofficial Ukrainian National Council and acted as the final arbiter and moral compass in Ukrainian politics.<sup>11</sup> The intertwined religious and political

which was convened by the UPA and held on November 21 and 22, 1943.

7. Despite the 1943 break between Moscow and the Polish Government-in-Exile, many Poles in Western Ukraine still expected that the victorious Soviet forces would transfer power in Galicia to the Poles.

8. This belief was widely held by both Ukrainians and Poles; their wishful thinking was further stimulated by German propaganda in the closing months of the Third Reich.

9. Hryn'okh, *Sluha Bozhyi Andrei*, 21. Voloshyn was reportedly spared from Soviet reprisals at least until the death, in September 1948, of her protector, Fr. Kostel'nyk.

10. See Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, *Roky nimets'koi okupatsii (1941–1944)* (New York, 1965), 224–41; Wolf-Dietrich Heike, *Sie wollten die Freiheit: Die Geschichte der Ukrainischen Division, 1943–1945* (Dorheim, n.d. [1973]); and Myroslav Yurkevich, "Galician Ukrainians in German Military Formations and in the German Administration," in Yury Boshyk, ed., *Ukraine during World War II: History and Its Aftermath. A Symposium* (Edmonton, 1986), 67–87.

11. On the unique role played by Sheptyts'kyi in Ukrainian life during the Nazi occupation, see Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, *Vid derzhavy do komitetu (Lito 1941 roku u L'vovi)*,

roles that the metropolitan and most of his clergy had to play were unavoidable given the situation in Western Ukraine. Soon, however, they would render the church more vulnerable to Soviet attacks.

The Greek Catholic Church never surrendered its spiritual or moral independence during the Nazi occupation. The metropolitan repeatedly protested against Nazi excesses<sup>12</sup> and sought to frustrate some of the most brutal German policies; on his instructions, 150 Jewish children were hidden in Uniate convents, and he personally saved fifteen Jews from extermination, among them Rabbi David Kahane and two sons of the chief rabbi of L'viv, Jaheskiel Lewin.<sup>13</sup>

In Galicia—which experienced less oppression than other German-occupied parts of Ukraine—most Ukrainians, having experienced Soviet rule in the years 1939–41, considered the German occupation a lesser evil than Soviet reannexation. The overwhelming majority of Western Ukrainians, including the Greek Catholic hierarchy and clergy, never considered themselves Soviet citizens and viewed the Soviet annexation of their lands in 1939 as an illegal act of force. Nor did they expect, until after Stalingrad, that the Soviet regime would survive the war, let alone return after three years. Such attitudes were bound to deepen Soviet hostility, which had already been pronounced during the years 1939–41, toward the Western Ukrainian population and its native church.

2d ed. (New York, 1970); and idem, *Roky*, 29–33.

12. Sheptyts'kyi protested to Himmler against the Germans' use of Ukrainian auxiliary police in "liquidation actions" against the Jews. See Ryszard Torzecki, "Wspomnienia z okupowanego Lwowa" (a review of David Kahane's *Diary of the Lwów Ghetto* [1978]), *Dzieje Najnowsze* (Warsaw) 19 (1987), no. 3, 146, 150. Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Tisserant of December 28, 1942, describes the Gestapo's reaction to his protest. See also his pastoral letter of November 1942 ("Ne ubyvai" [Thou Shalt Not Kill]) and the joint pastoral letter of all the Greek Catholic bishops in Western Ukraine ("Myr o Hospodi," November 21, 1943), in his *Pys'ma-poslannia ... z chasiv nimets'koi okupatsii*, 222–31, 417–25.

13. See Philip Friedman, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Nazi Occupation," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Sciences* (New York) 12 (1958–9), 290–4; Kurt Lewin, "Archbishop Andreas Szeptycky and the Jewish Community in Galicia during the Second World War," *Unitas*, Summer 1960, 137–8; idem, "Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi during the Years 1942–1944: Recollections of an Eyewitness," in Magocsi, *Morality and Religion*, 449–53; and Shimon Redlich, "Sheptyts'kyi and the Jews During World War II," *ibid.*, 145–62; and Torzecki, "Wspomnienia," 141–54.



## The Reconciliation between the Kremlin and the Russian Orthodox Church

Meanwhile, behind the front lines, momentous changes were taking place in relations between Stalin's regime and the Russian Orthodox Church. The latter seized a historical opportunity in June 1941 when the Germans invaded the USSR. On the first day of the war, Metropolitan Sergii (Stragorodskii), the patriarchal *locum tenens*, issued a proclamation calling upon all Christians to resist the German invaders.<sup>14</sup> To be sure, most of the Moscow patriarchate's bishops, clergy, and faithful who soon found themselves under German occupation did not heed his call, and many showed readiness to participate in Hitler's anti-Communist "crusade."<sup>15</sup> But Sergii's act and a succession of patriotic appeals saved the patriarchate from possible reprisals. Sergii demonstrated the church's loyalty precisely when Stalin's regime desperately needed maximum popular support at home and the best possible image in the Allied Western democracies. For these reasons, the Kremlin ordered the cessation of antireligious propaganda and the dissolution of the Union of the Militant Godless.<sup>16</sup> A number of churches and several monasteries were reopened. In 1942 the Moscow patriarchate was allowed to publish in several languages a luxuriously produced book on "the truth about religion in Russia." The book was intended to absolve the Soviet regime of charges of religious persecution, to demonstrate to the West the church's unconditional support for the Soviet war effort, and to condemn selected ecclesiastical "traitors to the church and the fatherland" in the German-occupied territories.<sup>17</sup>

14. The proclamation is reproduced in *Pravda o religii v Rossii*, ed. Nikolai [Iarushevich] et al. (Moscow, 1942), 15–17.

15. The most notable defector was the patriarchal exarch for the Baltic area, Metropolitan Sergii (Voskresenskii), who had earlier served as the patriarchate's administrator (*upravdel*) and the *locum tenens*'s intermediary with the Soviet authorities. See Wassilij Alexeev, "The Orthodox Church under German Occupation: An Unpublished Memorandum by Exarch of the Baltic Area, Metropolitan Sergii," *Eastern Churches Review* 6, no. 2 (Autumn 1974), 131–61. On the Russian Orthodox Church, see Wassilij Alexeev and Theophanis G. Stavrou, *The Great Revival: The Russian Church under the German Occupation* (Minneapolis, 1976), esp. chap. 3.

16. See L. I. Emeliakh, "Soiuz voinstvuiushchikh bezbozhnikov SSSR (SVB)," in *Kratkii nauchno-ateisticheskii slovar'*, ed. I. P. Tsamerian et al. (Moscow, 1964), 523–4.

17. "This book is, above all, a reply to the 'crusade' the fascists undertook allegedly to 'liberate' our people and our Orthodox Church from the Bolsheviks. At the same

This gradual rapprochement between the Soviet state and the Russian Orthodox Church culminated, on September 4, 1943, in the unprecedented meeting at the Kremlin of Stalin and Molotov with the three senior Russian hierarchs. The meeting was preceded earlier that day by Stalin's consultations with his security chief, Lavrentii Beria, and the Party secretary for ideology, Georgii Malenkov. At the meeting Georgii Karpov, a colonel of state security who headed the NKGB's secret department on religious affairs, briefed Stalin on the leaders of the Moscow patriarchate and their circumstances, the situation, numerical strength, and activities of the Russian Orthodox Church, and the position and political potential of the other Orthodox churches abroad. It was agreed that a new body—the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church (CAROC)—would be formed under the aegis of the Council of People's Commissars and that Karpov would assume its chairmanship without relinquishing his secret function as head of the NKGB department on religious affairs.<sup>18</sup>

time, however, the book also answers a general question: does our church consider itself persecuted by the Bolsheviks and does it ask anyone for liberation from this persecution?" Metropolitan Sergii, introduction to *Pravda o religii v Rossii*, 7. A mixture of half-truths and disinformation, the book singled out Archbishop Polikarp (Sikors'kyi) of Luts'k, attacking him for assuming the leadership of the revived Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in German-occupied Ukraine. Polikarp was suspended by the patriarchate and threatened with unfrocking for resuming his episcopal functions. *Ibid.*, 128–45.

18. [Gen.] Ivan Bilas, *Represyivno-karal'na systema v Ukraini, 1917–1953*, vol. 1, *Suspil'no-politychnyi ta istoriko-pravovyi analiz* (Kyiv, 1994), 297–306. Subsequently Molotov instructed Karpov to fill the positions of CAROC oblast plenipotentiaries exclusively with secret police officials. See GARF, *fond* 6991 (CAROC), *opis'* 1S, *delo* 1, fol. 19. Undoubtedly, this provision applied also to CARC officials in newly reconquered Ukraine and the Baltic states. It is difficult to explain why the Ukrainian writers Petro Vil'khovyi and Pavlo Khodchenko were selected as republican plenipotentiaries of the CARC and CAROC respectively, except perhaps because the greatest number of reopened Orthodox, Roman Catholic, sectarian, and Greek Catholic churches in the entire USSR was in Ukraine. The fact that they were not NKGB officers (though they had undoubtedly been co-opted by the NKGB for the duration of their offices) may have justified the appointment of the long-time GPU-NKVD-NKGB specialist on the Ukrainian churches, Karin (Danylenko), as their *de facto* superior. Karin sometimes used the title of “plenipotentiary [*referent*] for religious affairs of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars.” On Vil'khovyi (1900–1975), who served as the CARC plenipotentiary from 1945 to 1959, and Khodchenko (1880–1967), who served as the CAROC plenipotentiary from 1944 to 1950, see

Only then were the Moscow patriarchate's leaders informed by Karpov that Stalin expected them in the Kremlin. Within hours the surprised patriarchal *locum tenens*, Metropolitan Sergii (Stragorodskii), together with Metropolitans Aleksii (Simanskii) of Leningrad and Nikolai (Iarushkevich) of Kyiv, the exarch of Ukraine, were ushered into Stalin's and Molotov's presence.<sup>19</sup> During their nearly two-hour meeting, which was also attended by Karpov, Stalin approved Sergii's request for permission to convene a sobor of bishops to elect the patriarch and a synod. On Stalin's insistence, the sobor was to gather in four days, and to this end the dictator agreed to release some imprisoned bishops and supply airplanes to bring hierarchs to the sobor. Despite Stalin's offer to open immediately theological academies and seminaries, the metropolitans opted for theological courses as a preparatory stage for the re-establishment of full-fledged theological schools. The church was to supply the government with the names of imprisoned or exiled priests it wanted released to staff the churches and monasteries the government promised to reopen. Stalin approved the immediate revival of the patriarchate's journal, which had been banned in 1936. He also agreed to change Soviet legislation on religion so as to restore some of the rights of a legal person to the Russian Orthodox Church, to allow the clergy to serve as *ex officio* chairmen of the parish committees, and to have a portion of parish income reserved for the upkeep of the patriarchate. Taxes imposed on the clergy, churches, and monastic institutions were to be reduced.<sup>20</sup> A large, well-appointed building in Moscow formerly housing the German embassy was assigned to the patriarchate, along with automobiles and the privilege of buying food and other staples at state prices.<sup>21</sup>

The CAROC was formally established on September 14, 1943, to supervise the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church and to serve as a communication channel between the patriarchate and the Kremlin. A parallel Council for

"Vil'khovyi, Petro," in Struk, *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 5 (Toronto, 1984), 603, and Khodchenko's obituary in *Radians'ka Ukraïna*, January 13, 1967.

19. The metropolitans were accompanied by Archpresbyter Nikolai Kolchitskii, chancellor of the patriarchate, who happened to be Karpov's informer. Anatolii E. Levitin-Krasnov, *V poiskakh novogo grada* (Tel Aviv, 1980), 14–15, 147.

20. None of the decisions were published by the government; thus later it was easier for Khrushchev to withdraw the wartime concessions made to the church.

21. *GARF, fond 6991, opis' 1S, delo 1, fols. 1–18*. The September 4 meeting marked the beginning of both the new, privileged status of the Russian Orthodox Church in the USSR and its total dependence on the Soviet state.

the Affairs of Religious Cults (CARC), initially chaired by K. A. Zaitsev and then by a colonel of state security, Ivan V. Polianskii, was formed on May 19, 1944, for all non-Orthodox religious groups, including, for the time being, the Greek Catholics.<sup>22</sup> A number of these minority denominations also benefited, to a lesser extent, from the Kremlin's new religious policy, which varied according to their respective political utility for the regime, the extent of their identification with the values and goals of the Soviet system, and the degree to which they were able and willing to serve the state's domestic and external objectives.

The sobor of Russian bishops met in Moscow on September 8, 1943, and duly elected Metropolitan Sergii the patriarch of Moscow and all of Russia. Shortly thereafter, the first issue of the patriarchate's journal was published. But the reopening of theological schools in Moscow and Leningrad did not occur until June 1944. Orthodox bishops and priests who had survived the Soviet concentration camps and places of exile and pledged loyalty to the new patriarch were released, and subsequently many of them were reinstated by the patriarchate. At the same time, the Soviet authorities encouraged, and later compelled, the remaining members of the once regime-backed Renovationist Church to rejoin the patriarchal church.<sup>23</sup> As the Soviet armies swept westward through Ukraine, local Orthodox churchmen, including the remnants of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (which had been revived under the Germans),<sup>24</sup> were pressed back into the Russian Orthodox Church. Many priests of the Autonomous Orthodox Church who collaborated with the Germans in the occupied territories escaped Soviet reprisals, at least

22. A copy of Stalin's resolution no. 572, "On the Organization of the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults" (May 19, 1944), is preserved in the TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 887, fol. 2. The CARC was given the task "of providing liaison between the Government of the USSR and leaders of religious associations—the Armenian-Gregorian, Old Believer, [Roman] Catholic, Greek Catholic, [and] Lutheran churches, as well as the Muslim, Judaic, Buddhist, and sectarian confessions—for problems of these confessions requiring permission of the Government of the USSR." The date when Polianskii replaced Zaitsev as CARC chairman could not be established.

23. See A. A. Shishkin, *Sushchnost' i kriticheskaia otsenka "obnovlenskogo" raskola russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi* (Kazan', 1970), 335–6; and Anatolii Levitin-Krasnov and Vadim Shavrov, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkovnoi smuty*, vol. 3 (Küsnacht, 1978), 383–414.

24. On that church's revival, see Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 4, pt. 2, 199–271.

temporarily, by pledging submission to the patriarchate.<sup>25</sup>

After Patriarch Sergii's death on May 15, 1944, Metropolitan Aleksii (Simanskii) of Leningrad took over the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church as the *locum tenens* designated in Sergii's will. On February 2, 1945, the sobor convened on January 31 elected Aleksii the patriarch. Among the greetings sent to the sobor and the new patriarch was one in Ukrainian from Metropolitan Slipyi. It read: "Please accept [my] sincere thanks for the greetings extended to me [through my December 1944 delegation]. I also thank [you] for the books kindly passed on to me by Your Beatitude. [They represent] indeed a great and most attractive achievement during the period of [your term] as *locum tenens* of the patriarchal throne. May the Almighty bless and assist you in [your] scholarly activity, [which is] so beneficial for Christianity. Finally, I wish to thank you sincerely for the kindness and hospitality with which you received my delegation. With expressions of profound respect, I remain yours in Christ. Metropolitan Iosyf."<sup>26</sup> The publication of Slipyi's message (which had obviously been allowed by the Soviet censors) may have been intended to "demonstrate" the friendly relations between the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches and to lull the former into a false sense of security.

For the first time since the end of the Russian Civil War, the Russian Orthodox Church could (with prior government approval) adopt its own statute (*polozhenie*). The statute not only legitimized the church's centralized structure but also, in a departure from past Soviet regulations on religion, provided priests with a leading role in directing parish affairs in their capacity as ex officio chairmen of parish executive committees.<sup>27</sup> Later, on August 22, 1945, in a secret decree, the USSR Council of People's Commissars restored to the church the rights of a legal person, including property rights, although with some important exceptions (e.g., churches and their contents remained the property of the state).<sup>28</sup> In a similar way, it granted major tax

25. On the pro-Russian Autonomous Orthodox Church, which had more parishes in German-occupied Ukraine than the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, see Alexeev and Stavrou, *The Great Revival*.

26. *ZhMP*, 1945, no. 2, 24.

27. A. Shapovalova, "Patriarkh moskovskii i vsieia Rusi Aleksii," *ZhMP*, 1945, no. 2, 93–9; and *Polozhenie ob upravleniiu russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi*, appended to *Pravoslavnyi tserkovnyi kalendar' na 1946 god* (Moscow, 1946).

28. The decree was announced to Patriarch Aleksii in a letter dated August 28, 1945, from CAROC Chairman Karpov. For the text of the letter (unpublished in the USSR),

concessions to the church and its monasteries.<sup>29</sup>

Underlying the spectacular reversal in Soviet policy toward the Russian Orthodox Church was the Kremlin's concern about the political implications of the massive resurgence of organized religion in the Nazi-occupied territories,<sup>30</sup> as well as Stalin's recognition of the church's valuable contribution to popular morale and the war effort. Of no small importance in changing the regime's attitude was the church's expected capacity to project Soviet influence abroad. While the patriarchate's political influence on Orthodox believers in the German-occupied areas appeared to be rather negligible, once these territories were recaptured by the Red Army, the loyal and closely controlled Russian church proved to be a useful instrument in the re-Sovietization of the local Orthodox churches. As Soviet power expanded to the neighbouring countries, the Moscow patriarchate turned out to be a valuable agent in promoting the political assimilation of the native Orthodox churches and countering the influence of the Catholic Church.<sup>31</sup>

Among the first foreign churches to experience the impact of the Russian church-Soviet state alliance was the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia.

see Dietrich Löber, "Die Rechtsstellung der Kirche in der Sowjetunion," in *WGA—Die wichtigste Gesetzgebungsakte in den Länder Ost-, Südeuropas und in den ostasiatischen Volksdemokratien* (Hamburg) 7, no. 5 (October 1966), 272.

29. See two unpublished resolutions of the USSR Council of People's Commissars (from 1946, Ministers), no. 2215, "O poriadke oblozheniia dokhodov monastyrei i predpriatii pri eparkhial'nykh upravleniakh" (August 29, 1945); and no. 2584, "O poriadke oblozheniia nalogami sluzhitelei religioznykh kul'tov" (December 3, 1946). Fragments from them were published much later in a classified manual for officials, V. A. Kuroedov and A. S. Pankratov, eds., *Zakonodatel'stvo o religioznykh kul'takh (sbornik materialov i dokumentov)*, 2d ed., rev. (Moscow, 1971), 106–7. See also resolution no. 535 of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR (September 8, 1945), "Ob osvobozhdenii monastyrei ot uplaty naloga so stroenii i zemel'noi renty," in *Sobranie postanovlenii i rasporyazhenii Pravitel'stva Rossiiskoi Sovetskoi Federativnoi Sotsialisticheskoi Respubliki*, no. 7 (December 31, 1945), 84.

30. See Alexeev and Stavrou, *The Great Revival*.

31. Thus, for example, after the Soviet "liberation" of Transcarpathia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, the native Orthodox churches there were placed under the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchate, while the Orthodox churches of Romania, Bulgaria, and (until 1948) Yugoslavia became ecclesiastical satellites of the Russian Orthodox Church.

## The Soviet Reoccupation of Galicia

On July 27, 1944, after fierce battles in northeastern Galicia (during which much of the locally recruited Waffen SS Division Galizien was destroyed), Soviet armoured units entered L'viv. By the end of August nearly all of Galicia was in Soviet hands.

One of the most pressing problems the Soviet military and civilian authorities encountered in Western Ukraine was large-scale armed resistance by the nationalist UPA.<sup>32</sup> Its ranks were swollen by remnants of the Galizien division and by thousands of youths who had avoided being drafted into the Red Army. As late as the fall of 1945, the Soviet authorities estimated the UPA's strength at "close to 90,000 men."<sup>33</sup> Assisted by the underground OUN network and a sympathetic local population, UPA units disrupted the Red Army's supply lines and killed Soviet officials (especially the police and its informers), thus hindering the consolidation of Soviet power in the less accessible regions of Western Ukraine.

The mass resistance in Western Ukraine prompted the Soviet authorities to address a series of appeals to the insurgents offering them amnesty upon surrender. The first such appeal was issued on February 12, 1944,<sup>34</sup> during the February–April offensive that brought the Red Army into the eastern districts of Galicia. On September 27, 1944, the All-Union Bolshevik CC adopted a secret resolution "On Deficiencies in Political Work among the Population of the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR." It castigated the local Party organizations for failing to provide adequate ideological and propaganda support for the military and administrative measures against the UPA and OUN; and called for a total reindoctrination and political mobilization effort to be extended to every village, enterprise, and institution in order

32. Though closely linked since 1942 to the majority Bandera faction of the OUN, the UPA had by mid-1944 grown into an supra-partisan organization that had absorbed—especially into its officer corps—some followers of the UNR Government-in-Exile and a few members of the rival Mel'nyk faction of the OUN. Symbolic of the UPA's tendency to seek a broader political base was the creation, on July 11, 1944, of an underground Ukrainian parliament. Elected to head its General Secretariat was Roman Shukhevych, the UPA supreme commander (nom de guerre: Gen. Taras Chuprynka) and the leader of the Bandera faction in Ukraine. His election reflected the pre-eminent, though no longer monopolistic, role of the Bandera faction within the UPA.

33. Davydenko, "Ne stanut' ahntsiamy vovky," November 29, 1988.

34. Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic*, 127–9.



to deprive the nationalists of popular sympathy and support.<sup>35</sup> On October 7 the CP(B)U CC elaborated measures for implementing the September 27 resolution; the Party *obkoms* in Western Ukraine subsequently adopted similar resolutions.<sup>36</sup> Concern about carrying the war to a victorious end made the suppression of the UPA-OUN resistance one of the Communist regime's highest priorities.

In contrast to their 1939–41 occupation, the Soviet authorities now conspicuously displayed a more tolerant attitude towards the Greek Catholic Church and religion in general. The episcopate and clergy were not harassed; priests, deacons, theological students, precentors, and even some church wardens were exempted from military service; and the L'viv theological academy and seminary were allowed to function without interference. No antireligious propaganda was disseminated, and Red Army soldiers, even officers, could be seen attending church services. Monasteries and convents were permitted to keep the buildings they had recovered during the German occupation.<sup>37</sup>

The church, however, had been seriously weakened by large-scale emigration. Though no bishop had abandoned his see, some three hundred priests, among them very able and active young clergymen, had left their posts and headed west,<sup>38</sup> despite Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's appeals to

35. The resolution was first published decades later, in P. N. Fedoseev and K. U. Chernenko, eds. *Kommunisticheskaia partiia Sovetskogo Soiuz v rezoliutsiakh i resheniakh s"ezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsK (1898–1971)*, vol. 6, 1941–1954, 8th rev. ed. (Moscow, 1971), 124–9.

36. Ie. V. Safonova, *Ideino-vykhovna robota Komunistychnoi partii sered trudiashchyykh vyzvolenykh raioniv Ukrainy v roky Velykoi Vitchyznianoï viiny (1943–1945)* (Kyïv, 1971), 151–4.

37. *First Victims of Communism: White Book on the Religious Persecution in Ukraine* (Rome, 1953), 30–2; and interview with Cardinal Slipyi, Rome, June 4, 1964. This initial benevolence could have been also motivated by the continuing refusal of the Western Allies to recognize the 1939 Soviet annexation of Western Ukraine, which they still considered part of Poland.

38. The figure was calculated on the basis of *Shematyzm dukhovenstva Ukraïns'koï Katolyts'koï Tserkvy v Nimechchyni* (Munich, 1947) and a detailed list of the Greek Catholic clergy in Poland contained in the report "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu i v Pol'shchi," which was transmitted to Bishop Ivan Buchko in Rome, by the vicar-general of Peremyshl' eparchy, Canon Vasyl' Hrynyk. Dated March 18, 1948, Hrynyk's lengthy document (158 double-spaced, typewritten pages) arrived in Rome months later, in January 1949. A photocopy is in the library of the Ukrainian Catholic

remain with their flock. The flight westward had grown as large numbers of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, including many lay church activists, joined the retreating Germans. Meanwhile, German and UPA recruitment and subsequent Soviet mobilization of other men into the Red Army had drained the cities and villages of their male population, with the exception of those who were very young, infirm, or old. Many places were damaged in part, and some were totally ruined, in the course of the German withdrawal, the front battles, or the initial wave of pillage by Soviet soldiers.

The border agreement between the Ukrainian SSR and the Polish Committee of National Liberation of July 27, 1944, divided Peremyshl' eparchy, transferring the city of Przemyśl and some additional territory east of the San to Poland.<sup>39</sup> The new boundary separated Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi and his coadjutor, Msgr. Lakota, from some sixty-three percent of the eparchy's churches. To administer the about 700 churches and over 400 priests<sup>40</sup> remaining within the USSR, in the fall of 1944 Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi appointed two vicars-general: Fr. Mykhailo Mel'nyk of Nyzhankovychi for the southern area newly incorporated into Drohobych oblast, and Fr. Mykola Panas of Sokal' for the northern area recently added to L'viv oblast.<sup>41</sup>

After the summer 1944 Soviet offensive had driven the Germans out of Eastern Galicia, the newly installed L'viv Party *obkom* first secretary, Ivan S. Grushetskii, and the oblast soviet's executive committee chairman, M. Kozyrev, reported to Khrushchev about the religious situation in their oblast:

#### Archeprarchy in Winnipeg.

39. Subsequently the agreement between the Ukrainian SSR and the Polish Committee of National Liberation of September 9, 1944, provided for the evacuation of Ukrainians from Poland and of Poles from Ukraine. Essentially the same boundary was agreed upon by the Yalta Conference on February 11, 1945. The Soviet-Polish treaties of July 6 and August 16, 1945, finalized arrangements concerning the population exchange and the Soviet-Polish border, respectively. The latter was again readjusted by the treaty of February 15, 1951, when portions of border territory amounting to about 480 sq. km. each were exchanged between the USSR and Poland. See N. N. Rodionov et al., eds., *Sovetskii Soiuz-Narodnaia Pol'sha, 1944–1974: Dokumenty i materialy* (Moscow, 1974), 19–20, 49–50, 73–8, 90–2.

40. My calculation is based on a detailed comparison of the 1938–9 schematism of Peremyshl' eparchy with the new (1944–5) Soviet-Polish boundary, as well as on Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," and was verified against a list of Galician clergy who had "returned" to the Russian Orthodox Church by the spring of 1948, published in *Ukrains'ke zhyttia* (Toronto), May 6, 13, 20, 1948.

41. Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 28.

In the territory liberated from the German occupiers special attention deserves to be paid to the activity of the servants of [religious] cults, which they conduct through the highly developed network of *koscioty* [Roman Catholic churches], [Greek Catholic] churches, and [sectarian] prayer houses.

The centres of religious organizations are located in L'viv.

Heading the [Roman] Catholic confession is Archbishop [Bolesław] Twardowski, and the Greek Catholic Church, which embraces the eparchies of L'viv, Stanislav [Stanyslaviv], and Sianik-Peremyshl' of Catholics of the Byzantine rite, [is] headed by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi.

Both Twardowski and Sheptyts'kyi, through their representatives, pretend that they are loyal to the Soviet authorities, but at the same time Sheptyts'kyi has addressed the following questions [requests] to governing bodies:

- (1) To leave in the hospital [Narodnia Lichnytsia] he had organized already before 1939, and which was reorganized by us in 1939–40, chapels for the performance of religious services (confession by the sick, communion, etc.), and also to permit nuns-nurses (with special medical educations) to work in the hospital and wear monastic garb.
- (2) Not to conscript into the Red Army students of the [L'viv] theological seminary at the same time when, in Soviet *VUZ-y*, only students of the last two years are [exempted from military duty].
- (3) To leave in the church consistory the press (which the Germans took in 1942 from the premises of the Oblast Soviet of Toilers' Deputies' Executive Committee and gave to a monastery) for the publication of prayer books, prayers, and other materials of religious content, but by permission of the *Obllitkontrol'*.

We feel that a Soviet hospital should be governed by Soviet regulations and, therefore, that chapels should be closed down, and when a patient desires to call for a priest to hear [their] confession, to allow this [only] with the agreement of the hospital administration.

Nuns-nurses can work in the hospital, but while at work they should wear ordinary nurses' dresses and should be subject to general hospital regulations.

With regard to the conscription of theological seminary students, instructions should be given to the Military Commissariat to desist for the time being from conscripting [them], though we believe that they should be subject to the same rules as Soviet students.

The press remains to this day in the monastery. We ask your permission to take it away for the needs of the Executive Committee of the Oblast Soviet of Toilers' Deputies and the Bureau of the CP(B)U *obkom*.

The question of ecclesiastical affairs, given the presence in L'viv of centres of [Roman] Catholic and Greek Catholic eparchies, assumes great importance. This is why we are asking you to assign to L'viv oblast on a

permanent basis an official highly qualified in church affairs [to work] with the Executive Committee of the Oblast Soviet of Toilers' Deputies.<sup>42</sup>

Shortly after the Soviet capture of L'viv, Sheptyts'kyi was summoned to appear before "a plenipotentiary for religious affairs of the Ukrainian SSR Government"—Serhii Tarasovych Danylenko—who was actually an NKGB lieutenant-colonel.<sup>43</sup> Archbishop Slipyi, who went instead of the metropoli-

42. Published undated (most likely it was written in early August 1944) in "Movoiu taiemnykh dokumentiv—iak ruinuvaly nashu viru," *Ukrains'ke slovo* (Kyiv), May 19, 1994.

43. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 101. Danylenko introduced himself to Sheptyts'kyi and Slipyi as the "plenipotentiary for religious affairs of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR" in Kyiv. See Slipyi's letter to "Comrade Danylenko" (January 25, 1945), TsDIAU, *fond* 201, *opys* 1, *sprava* 125, fols. 6–7. In his June 11, 1945, letter to Malenkov, enclosing a copy of an earlier letter to Stalin, Khrushchev refers to Danylenko as "an NKVD official who introduced himself as *referent* for the affairs of [religious] confessions of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR," implying perhaps that the title was a cover for an NKGB official assigned to deal with religious groups. A photocopy of Khrushchev's letter was included in the 1992 Library of Congress exhibit "Revelations from the Russian Archives" [A.14.23]. I am grateful to the Librarian of Congress, Dr. James H. Billington, for supplying me with a photocopy of the letter.)

Danylenko (1898–1985) joined the Cheka in 1921. Shortly afterwards Danylenko—code-name Karin, which he later used publicly until 1944—infiltrated the pro-UNR partisan movement, became one of its couriers, and thus managed to visit Gen. Iurii Tiutiunyk's partisan staff in L'viv in Polish-occupied Galicia. He apparently returned to Soviet Ukraine with Tiutiunyk's instructions to Ukrainian partisan leaders. It appears that Danylenko's mission contributed to the tragic outcome of the Second Winter Campaign by Tiutiunyk's forces in November 1921, and possibly to the capture of the general in 1923 after Tiutiunyk was lured to Soviet Ukraine "to inspect partisan units." In 1923 or 1924 Karin became the plenipotentiary of the Third Group within the Cheka-GPU Secret Political Department, which co-ordinated the surveillance, infiltration, and subversion of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, in particular the "Petliurite" UAOC. He continued in this capacity until early 1930 and played a central role in the destruction of the UAOC. Transferred to other duties within the GPU-NKVD, he was arrested in 1937, but, unlike his chief, Vsevolod Balitskii, was not shot in Yezhov's purge of the old *chekisty* and was freed in October 1939.

After the German invasion of the USSR in 1941, Karin re-emerged in an NKVD school that trained Soviet secret agents, spies, and saboteurs who remained behind in the German-occupied territories. In 1942 he became the head of an NKVD operational group at the front in Ukraine. Its members maintained contact with informers and

tan, was subjected to harsh questioning about Western Ukrainian politics and the church's role during the German occupation. It became evident to Slipyi that Danylenko was privy to intelligence assembled during the past three years by Soviet agents.<sup>44</sup> Danylenko's visits with Sheptyts'kyi, supplemented by massive and largely faultless intelligence gathering, resulted in his August 30 top secret report on Sheptyts'kyi addressed to the top Soviet leadership. Implicitly advising against any action against the Greek Catholic Church as long as Sheptyts'kyi was alive, Danylenko noted:

saboteurs behind German lines and reported on developments there, including the UAOC's re-emergence. With the Soviet recapture of Kharkiv in 1943, he liquidated the UAOC centre for Left-Bank Ukraine headed by Metropolitan Teofil' (Buldovs'kyi). In 1944 Karin became Karpov's plenipotentiary for religious affairs within the Ukrainian NKVD/NKGB and the right-hand man of the state-security chief in Ukraine, Serhii R. Savchenko. That year, again as Danylenko, he was dispatched to Western Ukraine to lead an NKGB-MGB special-operations group combatting Ukrainian nationalism—i.e., not only the OUN and UPA, but also the Greek Catholic Church. Danylenko retired in 1947 with the rank of MGB colonel. He re-emerged in the 1960s as an author of anti-Greek Catholic propagandistic books, pamphlets, and articles.

See S. T. Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by i zrady (istorychna khronika)* (Kyïv, 1972), 250–3, 261–2; S. Karin, "V strane vraga," in *Osoboe zadanie*, 2d, rev. ed. (Moscow, 1977), 186–202; Iurii Dmytrenko, "Z chuzhym parolem," *Literaturna Ukraïna*, August 17, 1979; S. Karin, "'Mata' i 'Handzia,'" *Radians'ka Ukraïna*, April 6, 1980; idem, "Krakh kontrrevoliutsiinoho okhivistia," *Radians'ka Ukraïna*, July 21–9, 1982; V. Zarichnyi, "Lyshytys' chesnym do kintsia: Nevidomi storinky chekists'koï biohrafii," *Robitnycha hazeta* (Kyïv), July 29 and August 1, 1989; V. Zarechnyi and O. Lastovets, "Banderovshchina: Stranitsy istorii," *Pravda Ukrainy*, August 12, 1989; V. A. Davydenko, *Ukraïns'ka povstancha armiia: Shliakh han'by i zlochyniv* (Kyïv, 1989), 30–4; V. M. Vinhranovs'kyi and K. Iakymenko, "Polkovnyk Shovkunenko rozpovidaie," *Komunist Ukrainy*, 1990, no. 1, 73–85; Metropolitan Vasyl' Lypkivs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïns'koï Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy. Rozdil 7: Vidrodzhennia ukraïns'koï Tserkvy* (Winnipeg, 1961), 143, 147, 155, 157–8, 162–3, 167, 168; Antoni Starodworski, *Tragedja Cerkwi Prawosławnej w Z.S.R.R.* (Warsaw, 1934), 92; and TsDAVOU, *fond 5 (NKVD), opys 2, sprava 205, fols. 56–7; sprava 2198, fols. 186–281.*

44. The NKGB did not waste any time in recruiting informers among the Greek Catholic clergy and planting its agents in Sheptyts'kyi's entourage. See the highly classified report to the Ukrainian people's commissar of state security, S. R. Savchenko: "Dokladnaia zapiska ... o polozhenii uniatskoi ili greko-katolicheskoi tserkvi i deiatel'nosti dukhovenstva v period nemetskoï okkupatsii," submitted by the chief of the L'viv Oblast NKGB, Col. Voloshenko, September 17, 1944, in PLOKU, *fond 3, opis' 1, delo 71, fols. 1–22.*

The influence of Sheptyts'kyi and [his] authority among the believers and clergy of the Uniate Church in Western Ukraine are tremendous. Without exaggeration one may say that no other head of a church movement [*teche-niie*] in the USSR has such unquestionable authority and influence.

Contributing to this, to a considerable degree, are specific traditions of the Uniate Church: its firm internal discipline developed in the conditions of struggle, initially against Orthodoxy, [and] later against the Polish Roman Catholics; the almost monopoly-like position of the Uniate Church in the oblasts of Western Ukraine—Galicia; and the religiousness of the broad masses of [the population of] the cities and, especially, villages of these oblasts....

Since the reunification of the Western Ukrainian oblasts with the USSR, in conditions of distrust and fear of “the offensive of Godlessness,” the Uniates have closed their ranks, [and the factions of] Easterners and Westerners have turned silent and settled their differences....<sup>45</sup>

During subsequent visits to the metropolitan, Danylenko softened his approach but kept pressing Sheptyts'kyi and Slipyi for a formal declaration of their church's loyalty to the Soviet state. He urged them to seek governmental “recognition” of the Greek Catholic Church.<sup>46</sup>

On September 4, 1944, at the reconvened archeparchial synod (which first held meetings in April), Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi hailed the changes in the Soviet treatment of religion: “today we can conclude that Godlessness has ceased to be a banner of the struggle for the soviets.... With the change of external circumstances we await from the authorities more fatherly care for our poor people.”<sup>47</sup> Responding to Soviet pleas for help in pacifying the population, he declared at the synod that Western Ukrainians

45. “Spravka na mitropolita greko-katolicheskoi (uniatskoi) tserkvi—grafa Andreia Sheptitskogo, [by] podpolkovnik gosbezopasnosti—Karin” (endorsed by the deputy head of the Second Administration of the NKGB of the Ukrainian SSR, Capt. V. Khodin), August 30, 1944, PLOKU, *fond* 3, *opis'* 1, *delo* 71, fols. 23–32.

46. Slipyi, “Spomyny,” 101–2.

47. That same day the metropolitan addressed a letter to Khrushchev in which he pleaded for permission for the Greek Catholic metropoly to retain its only remaining printery, Studion, which was about to be nationalized. In response the CP(B)U CC secretary for propaganda instructed the L'viv *obkom* to allow the church “to publish literature necessary [for its needs] by permission of the *Obllit* [oblast censorship agency].” TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1638, fol. 139.

are experiencing a crisis that can determine the physical survival of our people. Many young people ... think that by terror, by destroying inconvenient opponents, they serve their fatherland.... On various occasions the Metropolitan Ordinariate has declared and declares now, once again, that only a legal authority may, without sin, take a human life, and only when the accused's crime has been proven, when the accused has been able to defend himself and appeal to [courts of] the second and third instances, and when the death penalty has been approved by [the courts of] all three instances.

All other death sentences are a crime and constitute revenge against the innocent. We need the authorities to take care so that they will not hold [the population] responsible instead of the guilty [individuals] who have fled, so that [the authorities] will not punish those who accidentally found themselves near those who had committed a crime.<sup>48</sup>

In October the metropolitan sent a letter to Polianskii, the CARC chairman, expressing his church's desire to "normalize relations with the Soviet government."<sup>49</sup> After receiving the approval of Molotov, Beria, and Khrushchev to do so, Polianskii invited the metropolitan to send a delegation to Moscow.<sup>50</sup> On October 16 Sheptyts'kyi informed the chairman of the L'viv Oblast Executive Committee, Kozyrev, that

I am sending my delegation to the capital with a mandate to present [my] greetings to the great marshal of the USSR, Comrade Stalin. At the same time, my plenipotentiaries have [received] instructions to conduct talks about all current ecclesiastical matters of Halych metropolity with the appropriate authorities in Kyiv and Moscow.

The delegation consists of: (1) Fr. Dr. Havryil Kostel'nyk, canon of the metropolitan ordinariate; (2) Fr. Ivan Kotiv, counsellor of the metropolitan ordinariate; and (3) Fr. Herman Budzins'kyi, a Studite hieromonk [as interpreter].

Please have passes issued to them for [travel to] Kyiv and Moscow that are valid until the end of 1944. Finally, I ask [you to grant] permission for them to travel there and back by plane and to provide them with lodgings

48. "Torzhestvenna sesiiia L'vivs'koho arkhieparchial'noho soboru, 7 veresnia 1944, Protokoly," 52–3, TsDIAU, *fond* 201, *opys* 1s, *sprava* 183). Sheptyts'kyi's admonition also addresses the NKGB's counter-terrorist measures.

49. M. Odintsov, "Uniaty," *Argumenty i fakty* (Moscow), October 7–13, 1989.

50. Ibid.



and upkeep in the capitals.<sup>51</sup>

Two days earlier Sheptyts'kyi had made another attempt to demonstrate his church's good will toward the state. In an appeal circulated to all the clergy, he wrote: "One of the church's main obligations is to help the suffering and to save them in misfortune. The current war has brought so much of this misfortune that I feel it necessary to remind the reverend fathers and the faithful about the commandment to love one's neighbour.... Each parish should make a donation of at least 500 rubles for the wounded and ill of the Red Army in this war and send it before December 1, 1944, to the metropolitan consistory, which will forward it to the Red Cross."<sup>52</sup>

### **The Death of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and the Accession of Metropolitan Slipyi**

Sometime in October 1944 Sheptyts'kyi fell ill with a grippe. Serious complications caused by the illness brought about his death in the early afternoon of November 1.<sup>53</sup> His coadjutor, Archbishop Iosyf Slipyi, immediately took over as metropolitan. In his letter to Pope Pius XII of November 19, 1944,<sup>54</sup> the new primate reported on Sheptyts'kyi's death and funeral:

With great grief, I have to inform you that Monsignor Sheptyts'kyi, archbishop and metropolitan, passed away at L'viv on November 1, at 13:15 o'clock, after receiving the Sacraments. I ordered that mourning should be observed in the metropoly from November 1 to 11 inclusive. Every day liturgies were celebrated and prayers were offered for the deceased. The

51. A copy of Sheptyts'kyi's letter was immediately sent by the L'viv Party *obkom* first secretary, Grushetskii, to Khrushchev in Kyiv with a request for instructions on this matter. A typewritten copy of the letter with Grushetskii's request is in the TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 887, fols. 40–1.

52. Vladimir Dobrychev, *V teni sviatogo Iura* (Moscow, 1971), 132; Dobrychev cites as his source a document now in TsDIAU, *fond* 201, *opis* 4-b, *sprava* 2742, fol. 6.

53. For an eyewitness account of Sheptyts'kyi's illness and death, see Fr. O[syp] K[ladochnyi], "Rozpovid' ochevydtsia pro smert' sluhy Bozhoho Andreia," *Nova zoria* (Chicago), November 6, 1977. Cf. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 102–3.

54. In an interview he gave in L'viv on August 2, 1988, Fr. Budzins'kyi, a member of Sheptyts'kyi's delegation to Moscow, told me he dispatched the metropolitan's letter from Moscow's international post office in December 1944. The letter reached Rome only on March 6, 1945. See Blet, *Actes et documents*, 889.

body of the deceased was transferred at five in the afternoon on November 2 from the metropolitan's domestic chapel to St. George's Cathedral. The burial took place on Sunday, November 5, in the cathedral. On that day I celebrated a Pontifical High Liturgy with the following concelebrants: Bishops Iosafat [Kotsylovs'kyi of Peremyshl' (eparchy)], Nykolai [Charnets'kyi of Volhynia], Nykyta [Budka, vicar-general of L'viv (eparchy)], and Hryhorii [Lakota, auxiliary bishop of Peremyshl' (eparchy)]; [members of the] L'viv and Przemyśl chapters of the Byzantine Slavonic rite; Fr. Vitalii [Hradiuk], the provincial of the Basilian Fathers; Fr. [Joseph] de Vocht, the vice-provincial of the Redemptorist Fathers; Fr. Klymentii [Sheptyts'kyi], the superior of the Studite Fathers; Fr. Ivan Chorniak, the rector of the [L'viv Greek Catholic] theological seminary; and other priests.<sup>55</sup>

In St. George's Cathedral, a second Mass was celebrated according to the Latin rite by the archbishop-metropolitan of the Latin rite, Bolesław Twardowski, and according to the Armenian rite by the apostolic protonotary and capitular vicar of the Armenian rite, Dionysius Kajetanowicz. The Latin rite auxiliary bishop of L'viv, Eugeniusz Baziak, was present at the funeral.

After the funeral prayers known as the "last embrace," I delivered the farewell sermon in the cathedral square because of the immense numbers of faithful [who were present]. Then, with the consent of the Soviet government, a very long funeral procession was formed; with the priests carrying the casket, [the procession] advanced with great solemnity along Mickiewicz Street, past the [old] diet building, [along the streets of] the Third of May, Legiony, Kopernik, Sapieha, and Zacharjewicz, and returned to the cathedral. About 150 priests took part in the procession [together] with 70 students of the Theological Academy, 130 seminarians, and an immense crowd of the faithful. Everything, thank God, was done in an exemplary order. After the singing of the *panakhyda* [requiem service], the body of the deceased was placed in the crypt beside the sarcophagus of Cardinal Sylvester Sembratovych. The ceremonies and the funeral procession greatly edified the people.<sup>56</sup>

55. Absent at the funeral were Bishops Khomyshyn and Liatyshevs'kyi of Stanislav, who were prevented by "difficult circumstances" from travelling to L'viv (Slipyi's letter to Anatol' Bazylevych of March 17, 1977). Telegrams announcing Sheptyts'kyi's death and the date of his funeral were not delivered to them until after the funeral. See Iaroslav Hnativ, "Ostannia put'," *Meta* (L'viv), November 22, 1992. Bishops Kotsylovs'kyi and Lakota arrived late from Przemyśl because they "could not get [government] permission in time." See Kladochnyi, "Rozpovid' ochevydtsia."

56. Slipyi's letter, written in Latin, is reproduced in full in Blet, *Actes et documents*, 889–90. It should lay to rest the still current rumours about Khrushchev's participation

The solemn enthronement of Archbishop Slipyi as metropolitan of L'viv and Halych took place on November 12. At the same time, Hegumen Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi was installed as archimandrite of the Studite order.<sup>57</sup> The Latin[-rite] auxiliary bishop of L'viv, Eugeniusz Baziak, represented the local Roman Catholic archdiocese at the reception following the installation.<sup>58</sup>

Having received from the L'viv Party and NKGB reports on Sheptyts'kyi's death and funeral, Khrushchev wrote to Stalin on November 15, 1944:

On November 1, the head of the Greek Catholic Church, Metropolitan Andrei Count Sheptyts'kyi, passed away. Before his death, Sheptyts'kyi took an openly expressed pro-Soviet line. He was preparing the dispatch of a delegation to Moscow and Kyiv to deliver greetings to the Soviet government and to you personally, and was working on an appeal to believers in which he called upon the population of the western oblasts to support the initiatives of the Soviet authorities and combat the Ukrainian-German nationalists. He directed all [his] churches to conduct collections in aid [*sredstv*] of wounded Red Army soldiers.

Recently the metropolitan wrote a letter addressed to you. He discussed the text of this letter with the clergy. According to our information, the composition and discussion of this letter provoked major disagreements. Sheptyts'kyi himself was [trying to] persuade his entourage that the Soviet regime [*vlast'*] is strong and that therefore one must move closer to it and support it in every way. The most reactionary churchmen began to spread rumours that, allegedly, the metropolitan was very old [and] ill, and therefore that one must not seriously accept his reasonings about the Bolsheviks and the Soviet regime.

He [the late metropolitan] left the letter addressed to you with his brother, Hegumen Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi.<sup>59</sup> I feel that [his] leaving the letter with

in the funeral bearing a wreath from Stalin, as mentioned in Walter Kolarz, *Religion in the Soviet Union* (London, 1966), 231; and repeated in Hansjakob Stehle, *Eastern Politics of the Vatican, 1917–1979* (Athens, Ohio, 1981), 244.

57. Korolevskij, *Métropolitaine André*, 835.

58. Ibid. The Latin-rite archbishop of L'viv, Twardowski, had fallen ill and died the same month.

59. There may be some element of truth in Khrushchev's report of controversy over the text of Sheptyts'kyi's (and the clergy's) greetings to Stalin. The archive of the

his brother is an indication of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's distrust of his entourage. Apparently, he feared that they might destroy it [the letter] or substitute [another text for it]. His brother, Hegumen Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi, was closest to the metropolitan and shared his views in recent times. According to our data, Hegumen Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi intends to send that letter to you with the delegation of the Greek Catholic Church that is preparing for a visit to Moscow.

The interment of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi took place in St. George's Cathedral on November 5. About 5,000 people walked in the funeral procession through the city; among them were many young people, secondary school pupils, [university] students, and some 200 clergymen. Thirty-one wreaths were placed at Sheptyts'kyi's bier, mostly from young people, secondary-school pupils. There were wreaths also from scientific workers [and] artists from L'viv, with appropriate dedications....

After the death of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, his coadjutor, Archbishop Iosyf Slipyi, was appointed head of the Greek Catholic Church with the rank of metropolitan. The appointment of Iosyf Slipyi was provided for in a papal bull issued already at the end of 1939....

Verbally the new metropolitan, Iosyf Slipyi, has expressed his sympathy for the Soviet regime and declared that he would like the [latter] to support the Greek Catholic Church.

Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi does not enjoy, so far, sufficient authority among the bishops and clergy of the Greek Catholic Church. Part of the clergy is dissatisfied with his appointment [and] considers him a person of weak will, incapable of leading this church. In this connection, a covert struggle for influence has begun within the Greek Catholic Church.<sup>60</sup>

Greek Catholic Consistory, TsDIAU, *fond* 201, *opys* 4b, *sprava* 2762, fols. 1–2, contains an undated, four-page “Uryvok chernetky zvernennia hreko-katolyts'koho dukhovenstva Iosyfovi Vyssarionovychevi Stalinu, nachal'nomu vozhd'ovi i velykomu marshalovi neperemozhnoi Chervonoï Armii, pryvit i poklin.” It is impossible to determine which of the two drafts therein was actually sent to Stalin; it may well have been another draft not preserved in the archive.

60. A copy of Khrushchev's three-page letter to Stalin has been preserved in the TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 24, *sprava* 1060, fols. 1–3. It seems that Khrushchev's informants misjudged both Sheptyts'kyi and his successor and exaggerated the differences within the church. Khrushchev's letter was directly based on a report (dated November 13) he had received from NKGB Commissar Savchenko, to whom it had been transmitted via telephone by Danylenko. The letter omits such details in Savchenko's report as the attendance of “up to 20,000 Ukrainian believers” at St.

### The Futile Search for a Modus Vivendi

The Soviet authorities seemingly reacted to the change at the helm of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with benevolent neutrality. *Pravda*, the Soviet Party's principal daily, reported briefly in its November 4 issue about Sheptyts'kyi's death and the accession of Slipyi. The church leadership interpreted this brief report as official recognition of the new metropolitan.<sup>61</sup> Danylenko had come unofficially to L'viv for Sheptyts'kyi's funeral<sup>62</sup> and subsequently visited Metropolitan Slipyi to compliment him on the exemplary order of the funeral procession.<sup>63</sup> On his next visit, he insisted that Slipyi proceed with Sheptyts'kyi's plans to send a delegation to Moscow in order to "normalize" the Greek Catholic Church's relations with the Soviet state.<sup>64</sup> According to Soviet sources, sometime after his accession in November Metropolitan Slipyi addressed a letter to Stalin expressing his appreciation of the authorities' "benevolent attitude" toward the funeral.<sup>65</sup>

Similar pressure to assist the regime in ending nationalist armed resistance was applied on the Stanislav ordinary, Bishop Khomyshyn. On October 13 Khomyshyn issued a pastoral in which he condemned the ongoing "arbitrary killings":

George's Cathedral. Savchenko's two-page report is in the TsDAHOU, *fond 1, opys 24, sprava 1060, fols. 4–5.*

61. Interview with Cardinal Slipyi, Rome, February 22, 1976.

62. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 104. Danylenko was accompanied by an NKGB unit that marched alongside the funeral procession. It had the dual task of protecting him and the chief of the L'viv oblast NKGB administration, M. Voronin, and intervening against any anti-Soviet acts that might occur during the funeral. Hence the reference to "an honorary company of the Soviet military" at Sheptyts'kyi's funeral in Edward Prus's highly misleading *Władysław Świątojurski: Rzecz o arcybiskupie Andrzeju Szeptyckim (1865–1944)* (Warsaw, 1985), 297. For a precise description of the funeral by the NKGB (which put its forces on high alert for its duration), see the highly classified special report by Voronin to Grushetskii (November 5, 1944), PLOKU, *fond 3, opis' 1, delo 71, fols. 112–14.*

63. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 104.

64. Ibid. According to Slipyi, the "Kyiv plenipotentiary" (Danylenko) insisted that Fr. Kostel'nyk be included in the delegation since he had been chosen by the late metropolitan.

65. Klym Dmytruk, *Svastyka na sutanakh* (Kyiv, 1973), 322–3; Vladimir Dobrychev, *V teni sviatogo Iura* (Moscow, 1971), 133.

Without proof of guilt, without trial, unknown people of different nationalities are killing in various localities defenceless men, old people, and even women and children.... The place of ... divine virtue has been taken by hatred ... [which] has its root in national hatred. Every hatred is a destructive force that begets the most abominable sins, including the sin of the insidious assassination of innocent people, which cries out to God for revenge and is not only a crime and shame unworthy of a criminal, but also a black stain on the entire people among whom such crimes are committed, although the people themselves, as such, are not accessories to these crimes. Therefore, as a bishop and pastor of the souls entrusted to me by Christ, I raise my voice for the second time<sup>66</sup> in order, out of pastoral solicitude and fear about the future of our Christian people, to call, with special emphasis, the attention of our faithful to these criminal misdeeds, to condemn them, and to brand them in the sharpest possible manner. I ask all believers to recall the fundamental truth of the Christian faith—that God is the just judge who punishes every crime. Whoever consciously violates the commandment to love one's neighbour joins the ranks of enemies of the Christian church and exposes himself also to divine punishment in this world and must sooner or later perish in vain....

And today we observe with our own eyes this punishment by God of peoples in this world war that is already in its sixth year and has brought humankind a sea of sufferings. Should we then, with new crimes, add oil to the [fire of] divine wrath?...

Let them [those who violate the commandment to love God and one's neighbour] know also that only by returning to the path of fulfilling in life God's commandments, first of all the commandment of love, and through penance can they implore [God] and avoid personal punishment, but also earn the grace of shortening the war and sufferings and [achieving] true peace, which only Christ the Saviour can grant to individuals and entire peoples.<sup>67</sup>

66. I could not find the text of Khomyshyn's first pastoral letter on the same subject. It might have been written before the Soviet reconquest of Galicia.

67. "Vsechesnomu dukhovenstvu i virnym, myr u Hospodi." A copy of Khomyshyn's pastoral was attached to a note sent by the Stanislav *obkom* secretary, M. V. Slon', to a secretary of the CP(B)U CC, Dem'ian S. Korotchenko. The note was undated, but its deposit in the Special Section of the CP(B)U CC Archive was dated December 15, 1944. "Sekretariu TsK KP(b)U tov. D. S. Korotchenko—sekretar' obkoma KP(b)U M. Slon'," TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 887, fols. 30–2. Nowhere in his letter does Khomyshyn name the UPA or OUN.

The new metropolitan, Slipyi, too found himself under mounting Soviet pressure to demonstrate his church's loyalty to the regime by collaborating in its propaganda and anti-partisan campaigns. The authorities requested that the Greek Catholics follow the Orthodox in offering prayers in their churches for the victory of the Red Army.<sup>68</sup> Early in November 1944 Slipyi was visited by members of the Extraordinary State Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes—a body that, despite its quasi-judicial designation, was essentially a war-propaganda vehicle.<sup>69</sup> They requested that the metropolitan, as a “living witness,” endorse with his signature the commission's account of Nazi crimes in L'viv, but Slipyi politely declined to do so.<sup>70</sup>

As another gesture of the church's goodwill, Slipyi informed the chairman of the L'viv *oblvkonkom*, Kozyrev, that “an ecclesiastical-civic group attached to my administration is being established; its aim is to carry on, under my leadership, exclusively Christian charity activities, specifically, organizing and offering material and moral assistance to wounded and sick soldiers and other citizens of the USSR who have suffered from the war.” Such parish groups would be based in L'viv at St. George's Cathedral and elsewhere at local churches, where they would be headed by parish priests. Their members would collect donations and clothing and visit hospitals, where they would read, under the supervision of the hospital director, books and newspapers to the patients and write letters for them; if patients so requested priests would perform their pastoral functions there. Kozyrev referred Slipyi's offer to the CARC Plenipotentiary Vil'khovyi. Vil'khovyi turned it down.<sup>71</sup>

68. *First Victims*, 32.

69. E.g., among the commission's principal “documents” was fabricated evidence that the Katyn' murder of Polish officers taken prisoner by the Red Army in 1939 had been perpetrated by the Germans.

70. V. Bieliaiev [Beliaev] and M. Rudnyts'kyi, *Pid chuzhymy praporamy* (Kyiv, 1958), 203–4. Beliaev accompanied the commission members during their visit with Slipyi. The commission stayed in L'viv from November 1 to 6, 1944. See *L'vivshchyna u Velykii Vitchyzniansii viini (1941–1945): Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (L'viv, 1968), 140–55.

71. Slipyi's offer appears in an unpublished collection of CARC and CAROC documents preserved at the GARF in Moscow, assembled by Gen. Ivan Bilas (hereafter referred to as the Bilas Collection), doc. 5. References to Slipyi's offer appear also in Vil'khovyi's classified annual report for 1945, “Sekretno. Informatsionnyi otchet o rabote upolnomochennogo Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri SNK SSSR po Ukrainskoi SSR za 1945 god, January 19, 1945,” TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1640, fol. 165. Slipyi's offer contravened the Soviet legal prohibition of



On November 23 Slipyi issued his first pastoral to the clergy and faithful. Its intent was to reassure the authorities of the Greek Catholic Church's loyalty and to encourage the UPA and OUN to end their armed resistance to the Red Army and state security forces so as to put an end to the ruthless Soviet reprisals against the Western Ukrainian population.

After the liberation of Western Ukraine and [its] reunion with [Soviet] Ukraine thanks to [the efforts of] the heroic, invincible Red Army, already the late metropolitan [Sheptyts'kyi] expressed our joy and gratitude on his and the clergy's behalf, underlining thereby hope for the possibility of church work in the Soviet Union. Our Greek Catholic Church does not interfere in political affairs, and in accord with Christ's will instructs the faithful to carry out state laws that agree with divine [laws].

Regretfully, however, there have been incidents among our people that, through our fault, may lead its fate in a wrong direction and, God forbid, dig a grave [for our people]. Therefore, urged by the clergy and many faithful, we turn to you with an ardent word of warning. In our villages, already devastated by war, horrible conditions exist. Various [nationalist] armed groups-units frequently pass by, luring into their ranks peaceful inhabitants under the guise of patriotic and civic slogans, calling for resistance to the state authority, and thereby bring upon the innocent punitive [Soviet] expeditions and repressions. Against this background, killings have become everyday occurrences. It is obvious that this has caused great harm to the church and the Christian way of life, as has every public disregard for divine law and Christian morals. True, not a few of them [resistance members] are guided by patriotism, their love of [their] people. But this is a wrongly understood love, which places worldly good and one's own "ego" above God and considers assassination a permissible means to achieve one's immediate end....

Let our patriotism be a love for our people, [be] prepared for any sacrifice, but let it not be a wrongly understood nationalism that bases love of the fatherland on hatred and on the killing of those who do not belong to their party and do not accept their views. A man who sheds innocent blood, even of one's enemy, [one's] political opponent, is the same as a murderer who kills to rob. Divine law condemns him, and the church anathemizes him.... From experience we have become convinced that the misguided love of the

charitable activities by religious organizations and may have been interpreted by the authorities as a cover for spreading religious propaganda (also banned by law) among the wounded and ill of the Red Army.

fatherland that guides the activities of some nationalist groups has [culminated in] the result that thousands of young people have perished and perished in vain, and have been lost to the Ukrainian people. They [the young]—the hope for a better future—instead of positive work and achievements, have brought instead great harm to the people and the church.<sup>72</sup>

In the meantime, Slipyi proceeded to fill the vacancies in the archeparchial chapter. He paid official visits to all the churches in L'viv and hoped eventually to visit all the parishes in his archeparchy.<sup>73</sup> At the archeparchial synod, which resumed its sessions after the installation of the new metropolitan,<sup>74</sup> the question of the church's *modus vivendi* with the Soviet state undoubtedly preoccupied the Greek Catholic leaders. Plans for the visit of Slipyi's delegation to Moscow were finalized and Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi was added to the original delegation. Two documents to be carried by the delegation were drafted—a letter to Stalin and a memorandum to the CARC Chairman Polianskii, dated November 23, 1944.<sup>75</sup>

In mid-December 1944 Slipyi dispatched his delegation to Moscow to discuss "normalization" of the church's status in the USSR. The delegation was headed by Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi, and included Fr. Havryil Kostel'nyk, Fr. Ivan Kotiv (Slipyi's secretary and go-between with the

72. "Dukhovenstvu i virnym, myr u Hospodi i blahoslovennia" (typescript), preserved at the TsDIAU, *fond* 408, *opys* 1, *sprava* 50, fols. 19–20. The pastoral has also been referred to by its closing admonition, "Thou shalt not kill." It is possible that the pastoral, dated the same day as Slipyi's memorandum to Polianskii, was not made public before the return of the metropolitan's delegation to Moscow, where it was made known to Polianskii on December 22, 1944. Neither the UPA nor OUN was explicitly named. According to the chief anti-Uniate propagandist, Iaroslav Halan, Slipyi's pastoral was not circulated by his chancery. See Ia. Galan [Halan], *S krestom ili s nozhom: Pamflety* (Moscow, 1962), 101.

73. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 105.

74. Ibid.

75. There is a cryptic, barely legible, handwritten note from Kostel'nyk to Slipyi dated December 5, 1944, urging him immediately to amend a document (either Slipyi's pastoral of November 23 [which had not yet been made public] or his letter to Stalin) by referring directly to the UPA and attacking the Germans. "This will not draw us directly into politics.... Without *this there is no sense for us* to depart, because our trip, at least to Kyiv, will be purposeless." TsDIAU, *fond* 201, *opys* 1t, *sprava* 1124, fols. 32–3.

authorities), and Fr. Herman (Hryhorii) Budzins'kyi, a Studite, as an interpreter.<sup>76</sup> According to Budzins'kyi, the delegation travelled by train to Moscow via Kyiv, where it was met and provided with hotel accommodation by the republican plenipotentiary of the CARC.<sup>77</sup> In Moscow the delegation was met by a representative of Polianskii's council and by NKGB "chaperons" and taken to a hotel. The visit to the CARC was set for December 22; in the meantime the delegation paid a courtesy visit to the administration of the Moscow patriarchate and was warmly received by the *locum tenens*, Metropolitan Aleksii (Simanskii). He responded to Slipyi's greetings by presenting the group's spokesman, Archimandrite Klymentii, with a 1943–4 set of *Zhurnal Moskovskoi patriarkhii* as a gift for the metropolitan and by inviting the delegates to his Sunday service at the patriarchal cathedral.<sup>78</sup> While in Moscow, Klymentii managed, with great difficulty, to meet with the American embassy's Catholic chaplain, the Assumptionist Fr. Leopold Braun; he briefed him on the church's petition and sought his advice.<sup>79</sup>

When Polianskii received the delegation on December 22, he was presented two documents—Slipyi's letter to Stalin and a memorandum to the USSR Council of People's Commissars.<sup>80</sup> Polianskii reported to Stalin and Molotov that

76. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 106. Slipyi, unlike his predecessor, may not have trusted Kostel'nyk to head his delegation.

77. Interview with Fr. H. Budzins'kyi, L'viv, August 2, 1988.

78. Ibid. See also Slipyi's telegram of thanks to Metropolitan Aleksii, *ZhMP*, 1945, no. 2, 24.

79. By then Fr. Braun had become a target of police harassment for his attempts at ministering to Moscow's Catholic faithful. Dennis J. Dunn, *The Catholic Church and the Soviet Government* (New York, 1977), 134–5. After the NKGB "chaperon" refused to let the delegation visit Braun at the embassy, Klymentii managed to pass on his visiting card and his Moscow address to Braun, who came to see the archimandrite at his hotel (apparently on Sunday, when the rest of the delegation attended the service at the patriarchal cathedral). Braun commented on Slipyi's memorandum that "at least one metropolitan has presented the proper demands of the Catholic Church to the Bolshevik state." Slipyi, "Spomyny," 106–7. It is likely that Braun passed on the content of Slipyi's memorandum to the Vatican.

80. M. Odintsov, "Khozhdenie po mukam, 1939–1954 gody," *Nauka i religii*, 1990, no. 8, 20. I found no copy of Slipyi's letter to Stalin among the metropolitan consistory's papers at the TsDIAU during my research there in September 1990 and again in August 1991. A five-page, typed copy in Russian of the memorandum to Polianskii (according to Odintsov, it was addressed to the USSR Council of People's Commissars—possibly not the final version), "Predsedateliu Soveta po delam

during the audience [with Polianskii] the leader of the delegation, Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi, expressed greetings and gratitude to the Soviet government, the Red Army, and its commander-in-chief, Comrade Stalin. [He] declared that at present the Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine is not threatened any more by the dangerous fate [*opasnost'*] that had been prepared for it by the Germans, and that the delegation has [as its] aim, on the one hand, to point out the common dangers that, in connection with the victories of the Red Army, have forever been eliminated for the church, and, on the other hand, [to point out] some of the minor problems [*melochi*] existing in the church's life at present, which require correction either today or in the immediate future.<sup>81</sup>

The delegation, according to M. Odintsov, "acquainted the council with the appeal of Metropolitan Iosyf [Slipyi] to the clergy and faithful of November 23, 1944, which, in particular, contained an appeal to the Banderites to return from the wrong road. On behalf of the clergy and believers, the delegation presented 100,000 rubles for the Red Cross."<sup>82</sup>

In the petition presented to Polianskii on Slipyi's behalf, the metropolitan urged the government to "respect within the USSR those rights of the Greek Catholic Church, including the property and means the church always enjoyed in the western oblasts of Ukraine until the war of 1939." Invoking the provisions of Poland's 1925 concordat with the Vatican, Slipyi requested that the Soviet government grant the Greek Catholic Church such rights as

The enjoyment of full freedom, the independent exercise of its authority and jurisdiction, the free administration of its affairs and property; the church's free communication with the Apostolic See ... the freedom of bishops, in the exercise of their duties, to communicate with their clergy and to issue pastoral letters;

religioznykh kul'tov pri SNK SSSR t. Polianskomu Ivanu Vasil'evichu, Moskva," is in the TsDIAU, *fond* 201, *opys* 1t, *sprava* 125, fols. 1–5.

81. Odintsov, "Uniaty."

82. Ibid., A receipt from the Frunze raion branch of the State Bank, dated December 25, 1945, is preserved in the TsDIAU, *fond* 408, *opys* 1, *sprava* 51, fol. 1. It reads: "Received from Metropolitan Iosyf and the clergy of the Greek Catholic Church, to be credited to the account of Red Cross, a sum of one hundred thousand rubles." Fr. Budzins'kyi apparently deposited the money. It should be noted that during the years 1941–5 the Russian Orthodox Church donated 200 million rubles to the Soviet war effort. *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk* (L'viv), May 1946, 5.

The clergy's enjoyment, in the realization of their obligations, of special legal protection—to have part of their income ... freed from court penalties;

Exemption of the clergy, monks, seminarians, and monastic novices from military duty. Freeing of the priests from civic duties incompatible with [their] clerical vocation, such as [serving] as people's assessors, members of tribunals, etc.;

Securing the inviolability of churches, chapels, cemeteries; the founding and altering of parishes, monastic orders, and their houses and institutions to depend exclusively on the ecclesiastical authority;

The appointment of archbishops and bishops by the Apostolic See. Obligatory religious instruction in elementary and secondary schools;

The utilization of ecclesiastical property not to be changed without the consent of the church authorities;

The clergy as well as ecclesiastical and monastic juridical persons and their property to be taxed at the same level as other citizens, with the exception of buildings devoted to religious services, theological seminaries, preparatory monastic houses, residences of monks and nuns, [and other] properties, the revenue of which is exclusively set aside for the purposes of religious cult, [which are] to be totally free from taxes. Residences of bishops and parish priests and their official premises to be assessed by the taxation authorities at the same rate as the residences of government employees and institutions;

Ecclesiastical and monastic juridical persons to possess the right to acquire, sell, own, and administer their movable and real property, and the right to appear before all state authorities for the defence of their civil rights;

Ecclesiastical and monastic juridical persons to have the right to establish, own, and administer cemeteries;

The ecclesiastical authority to allocate church positions, institutions, and parishes;

In the event of arrests of priests and monastics, the courts to immediately inform the appropriate bishop about the case, sending him the indictment and, eventually, a sentence with its justification;

Arrested clergymen and monastics to be treated by the authorities with proper respect.

[In line with the 1925 concordat] the bishops and seminaries to be allotted 180 ha. each of land expropriated in the past [by Austria, Russia, and Prussia], and parishes from 15 to 30 ha. of land, depending on the quality of the soil ... the state may expropriate through purchase from the episcopal and capitular parishes and theological seminaries the land in excess of the above quantity.

Proceeding from this status of the church in the western oblasts of

Ukraine based on the timeless, customary, and codified legal order, the metropolitan requests that:

1. The Greek Catholic Church within the USSR be ensured the free exercise of its ecclesiastical authority [and] religious services and the free administration, ownership, and use of its property.

2. Part of the remuneration and income of the clergy and monastics be exempted from court penalties in the same manner as that of other toilers.

3. All clergy and monastics be entitled to food-ration coupons, like other toilers and scientific workers:

4. Priests, monks, novices, seminarians, precentors, parish wardens [*starosty*], and sextons be freed from military duties.

5. Clergy and monastics be exempted from civil obligations incompatible with their vocations, such as [serving as] people's assessors, tribunal members, etc.

6. Clergy and monastics be exempted from cartage duties [*guzh-povinnostei*].

7. The inviolability of churches, chapels, and church cemeteries be ensured.

8. The church be ensured the establishment and maintenance of a theological academy, theological seminaries, monasteries [and convents], monastic novitiates, church schools, church museums, hospices, children's homes, hospitals (Narodnia Lichnytsia in L'viv<sup>83</sup>), and confessional cemeteries.

83. A model hospital founded by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and run by the church until it was taken over by the Soviet authorities. On January 19, 1945, after the delegation's visit, the authorities granted Slipyi's request to return this hospital to the church. The secret directive to this effect from Polianskii to the chairman of the L'viv *oblispolkom*, Kozyrev, dated January 19, 1945, is in the TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1638, fol. 3. The hospital was designated a "private hospital with special status." The first secretary of the L'viv Party *obkom*, Grushetskii, unsuccessfully protested on February 5, 1945, against the CARC decision. *Ibid.*, fols. 5–7. Characteristically, after the arrests of the Greek Catholic episcopate, CARC Plenipotentiary Vil'khovyi wrote to Moskalenko at the CP(B)U CC that "initially, considering certain circumstances, the Council for Affairs of Religious Cults of the USSR Council of People's Commissars [decided] to leave the above-mentioned ['Hospital of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi'] in the hands of Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi (telephone directive of January 20, 1945). Recently, I was in Moscow, and the chairman of the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults, Comrade I. V. Polianskii, told me that now the [L'viv] Oblast Department of Health can take over the Sheptyts'kyi hospital [and place it] under its jurisdiction." TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1638, fol. 2.

9. The church be admitted to [conduct] religious instruction in all elementary and secondary schools, and teachers of religion be accorded a salary equal to that of other teachers.

10. Premises for religious services, theological seminaries, preparatory monastic houses, and residences of monks and nuns be freed of all state and communal taxes ... and residences of bishops, members of chapters, and parish priests be equalized in terms of taxes with the premises of state institutions.

11. Arrested priests and monks be assured the attention due to their religious rank.

12. Clergy and monasteries to be allowed ownership and use of their real property in [the same] quantities they utilized in August 1939, in any case within the terms of the concordat.

In addition [concluded the petition], we request, in particular, that

13. Priests and students of the [Greek Catholic] theological academy and seminaries as well as [members of] their families who were deported in 1939–41 from the western oblasts of Ukraine be allowed to return home.

14. Chapels in the hospitals of Western Ukraine be left intact for the use of patients.

15. In Moscow and Kyiv one church be allotted for the use of Greek Catholics residing there, [and that it be] the right of the L'viv metropolitan to assign priests to these churches.

16. The Greek Catholic metropolity be returned its printery in L'viv ... which is indispensable for the publication of church and theological books, forms, and [*L'vivs'ki*] *arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosty*.

17. In line with the decision of the L'viv Oblast Executive committee of August 14, 1944, we ask for the return to the [L'viv] theological academy and Greek Catholic theological seminary of its building at Kopernik St., 36, so that these institutions can resume [their] normal activities.<sup>84</sup>

Members of the delegation pleaded with Polianskii (who was visibly

84. A copy of the petition addressed "To the Chairman of the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults at the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR. C[omrade] Polianskii, Ivan Vasil'evich, Moscow," dated November 23, 1944 (five double-spaced pp.), is in the TsDIAU, *fond* 201, *opys* 1t, *sprava* 125, fols. 1–5. It is possible that the document is the first draft of the metropolitan's petition or the text that Archimandrite Sheptyts'kyi used to present the church's desiderata to Polianskii. References to this document in anti-Uniate publications appear to confirm the cited version as the actual petition from Slipyi.



dissatisfied with the scope of Slipyi's requests)<sup>85</sup> to bear in mind that "Western Ukraine has been living for three hundred years a life different from Eastern [i.e., Right- and Left-Bank] Ukraine and that, as a result, it has different customs ... life, culture, and religion, and therefore one should introduce changes cautiously."<sup>86</sup>

At a second meeting, on December 27, the delegation was told by Polianskii, who had consulted in advance with Molotov and Khrushchev, that "in the eyes of Soviet law all religions are equal and all religious organizations [must] act within the framework of the legislation on cults existing in the country. Therefore, no exceptions will be made for the Greek Catholic Church, and its requests—insofar as they are not contrary to law—will be satisfied."<sup>87</sup> When the delegation asked, "Will the Uniate church be assured the free celebration of religious services within the USSR?," Polianskii replied, "Yes."<sup>88</sup> The government's response to specific requests in Slipyi's petition was to be communicated in due course.<sup>89</sup>

Before their departure from Moscow, the delegates were unexpectedly invited to the Soviet General Staff headquarters, where it was made clear to them that the government's attitude toward the Greek Catholic Church would depend on the church's position on the Soviet struggle against the UPA; specifically, the church was requested to help persuade Ukrainian nationalists to emerge from hiding and lay down their arms in return for the government's amnesty,<sup>90</sup> as proclaimed in the latest Soviet appeal to the population of Western Ukraine.

Like the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Church, which had been subjected to

85. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 106.

86. Odintsov, "Khozhdenie po mukam," 20.

87. Implicit in Polianskii's statement was the government's rejection of nearly all of Slipyi's requests, as they collided with the existing law on cults (which, it must be recalled, did not codify the special privileges extended by Stalin to the Russian Orthodox Church) and went far beyond even the most favoured status enjoyed in Soviet church policy by the Moscow patriarchate. From Slipyi's memoirs it appears that this was not evident at the time to the leadership of the Greek Catholic Church, "protected," as it were, by the continuing strength of the UPA and OUN resistance to the occupation regime.

88. Odintsov, "Uniaty."

89. Interview with Fr. Budzins'kyi.

90. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 107. The Communist authorities might have dismissed Slipyi's November 23 appeal as inadequate.

similar pressures by the Soviet regime,<sup>91</sup> the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church faced an agonizing dilemma: it could either join the authorities in their struggle against Ukrainian nationalism, thus sacrificing the church's identity and its historical commitment to Ukrainian national aspirations in return for the uncertain prospect of "normalization" of its status under Stalin's regime; or it could face certain Soviet persecution in return for the continued trust and loyalty of its intensely nationalistic flock.

Despite the ostensibly new Soviet policy of toleration of the Greek Catholic Church, individual arrests of its clergy were being carried out. As early as the end of August 1944, a prominent convert (in 1930) from Orthodoxy, Fr. Petro Tabins'kyi of Nove Selo, Bibrka raion, L'viv oblast, was arrested by the NKGB. A respected theologian and former rector of the Orthodox seminary in Kremianets' in Volhynia, he was subsequently a professor at the L'viv Greek Catholic Theological Academy. While the NKGB charges against Tabins'kyi were based on his alleged anti-Soviet and pro-nationalist activities during the 1941–4 German occupation (charges that could readily be levelled against nearly all of the Greek Catholic bishops and clergy), as the most prominent convert from Orthodoxy he was certainly the wrong "role model" for other priests if the regime intended to replace Greek Catholicism with Russian Orthodoxy.<sup>92</sup>

Significantly, in December 1944 the Ternopil' newspaper *Vil'ne zhyttia* became the first Soviet newspaper in Galicia to indirectly attack the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. It published a letter allegedly written by a Greek Catholic pastor who "confessed" to his involvement in nationalist activities and accused the Ukrainian nationalists of "selling their souls to the German fascists" and becoming "servants of German imperialism." The author of the letter asked the regime "to forgive him because he is ending all nationalist

91. In Lithuania, since the Soviet government could not subdue the underground by force of arms and since the guerrillas there refused to accept the amnesty offered to them on February 10, 1945, "the [Roman Catholic] bishops were asked to issue appeals to the underground fighters that endorsed [the] government[']s offer of amnesty and that demanded, in the name of the faith, to surrender to the authorities." V. Stanley Vardys, *The Catholic Church, Dissent and Nationality in Soviet Lithuania* (Boulder, Colo., 1978), 71. Only one diocesan administrator succumbed to the Soviet pressure, while the bishops either issued pastorals reminding the believers of God's commandment, "thou shalt not kill," or refused to co-operate. As a result, all bishops but one were arrested in the years 1945–7; one of the imprisoned hierarchs died in captivity. *Ibid.*, 71–7.

92. "Dokladnaia zapiska ... o polozhenii uniatskoi ili greko-katolicheskoi tserkvi."

activities,” and called upon “all OUNites to follow his example and to put an end to the struggle against the Ukrainian people and their Soviet government.”<sup>93</sup> On January 6, 1945, Soviet Ukraine’s foreign-affairs minister, Dmytro Manuils'kyi, cited this letter at length in his speech on “Ukrainian-German Nationalists in the Service of Fascist Germany” delivered in Khrushchev’s presence at a conference of Ukrainian teachers in L'viv.<sup>94</sup> Manuils'kyi referred to the repentant priest as an example that “even the old sympathizers of the Ukrainian-German nationalists are increasingly recognizing the hopelessness and doom of the shameful cause” of Ukrainian nationalism.

In early January 1945 the Soviet media began attacking the Vatican, alleging that Pius XII’s most recent Christmas message was pro-German and anti-Communist.<sup>95</sup> More ominously, the anti-papal campaign was joined in early February by the newly elected patriarch of Moscow, Aleksii.<sup>96</sup>

Waiting in vain for Polianskii’s reply to his memorandum, on January 25, 1945, Metropolitan Slipyi sent a letter to Danylenko repeating his request that Greek Catholic priests be allowed to minister on demand to those Uniate believers who had been resettled or migrated to industrial areas in the east.<sup>97</sup>

Earlier, on the night of January 3–4, 1945, the NKGB arrested the Roman Catholic bishop of Luts'k, Adolf Piotr Szelażek, and three of his priests.<sup>98</sup> About two months later, in response to Archbishop Eugeniusz Baziak’s request for help, Metropolitan Slipyi sent a telegram to Stalin pleading for Szelażek’s release.<sup>99</sup>

93. Cited in Dmytro Manuïl'skyi, *Ukrains'ko-nimets'ki natsionalisty na sluzhbi u fashysts'koi Nimechchyny* (Kyïv, 1945), 21.

94. The inter-oblast conference of teacher activists of Western Ukraine was held in L'viv on January 5 through 9, 1945. It was the latest in a series of intelligentsia and peasant conferences convened in the western oblasts in pursuance of the CP(B)U CC resolution of October 7, 1944, “On Measures to Carry Out the A-UCP(B) CC Resolution ‘On the Shortcomings in Political Work among the Population of the Western Oblasts of the U[krainian]SSR’ of September 27, 1944.” The meetings were held to explain to the population the Party’s anti-nationalist appeal and to mobilize mass support for the struggle against the UPA guerrillas and OUN underground. Safonova, *Ideino-vykhovna robota*, 25, 155–63.

95. *Izvestiia*, February 3 and March 10, 1945; *ZhMP*, 1945, no. 4, 7–9, 19–21.

96. Stehle, *Eastern Politics of the Vatican*, 246.

97. TsDIAU, *fond 201, opys 1, sprava 125*, fol. 6.

98. Stehle, *Eastern Politics of the Vatican*, 245.

99. Slipyi, “Spomyny,” 109.

Long pressed by the authorities into the role of an intermediary with the UPA, the church spokesmen finally persuaded the UPA Supreme Command to send its representatives to a clandestine meeting arranged by Archimandrite Sheptyts'kyi.<sup>100</sup> Underlining the Soviet perception of a linkage between the UPA-OUN and the Greek Catholic Church was the fact that Col. Karin (Danylenko) was chosen by Ukraine's NKGB chief, Serhii R. Savchenko, to serve as the senior Soviet spokesman at this unprecedented meeting. Karin was accompanied by Maj. Oleksandr O. Khoroshun. The five-hour meeting took place on the night of February 28-March 1 in a secluded area in Berezhany raion.<sup>101</sup> The UPA High Command was represented by its chief of staff, Dmytro Maievs'kyi ("Taras"), and its main political *referent*, Iakiv Busel ("Halyna)."<sup>102</sup> The Soviet representatives offered "on behalf of the Soviet Ukrainian Government" to receive "with honours" and spare from reprisals the UPA's officers and men in return for their "surfacing" (*uiavnen-  
nia*) and orderly, unconditional surrender of arms. They "guaranteed" that UPA personnel would be able to resume normal lives, jobs, or studies and would have freedom of movement and the choice of where to live. The UPA representatives, not unexpectedly, declined to respond to the Soviet offer, but promised to pass it on to their commander-in-chief, Gen. Roman Shukhevych ("Chuprynka"), who, in turn, would consult with the UHVR-OUN leadership abroad.<sup>103</sup>

It is not known whether the Soviet offer was an ultimatum with a deadline (one of Slipyi's inside sources revealed that the Soviets threatened to liquidate the Greek Catholic Church unless the UPA surrendered within two weeks).<sup>104</sup> The UPA High Command's subsequent non-response to the

100. Ibid., 107-8.

101. Davydenko, "Ne stanut' ahntsiamy vovky," December 2, 1988. At the meeting Karin introduced himself as "colonel of state security Andrii Vasylovych Holovko." Lev Shankovs'kyi, "Fantazii Moskvyy pro roliu Vatykanu u borot'bi UPA," *Patriiarkhat* 11, no. 3 (March 1978), 15. Both Shankovs'kyi and Danylenko (*Dorohoiu han'by i zrady*, 261) state this meeting occurred on February 27-8. The new date appears in Davydenko's much more detailed account.

102. Shankovs'kyi lists Gen. Dmytro Hrytsai-Perebyinis instead of Busel. See his "Bol'shevyky pro UPA," *Visnyk O.Ch.S.U.*, 1968, no. 6, 18.

103. Ibid.

104. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 110. The source was a "Colonel Khomiak," who volunteered in the autumn of 1944 to supply the Greek Catholic leadership with insider information concerning planned Soviet measures with regard to the church. He might

Soviet offer (which it had every reason to distrust) ended the Soviet regime's reliance on the ecclesiastical channel to bring about an end to armed nationalist resistance in Western Ukraine.

In vain, Metropolitan Slipyi appealed once more to the UPA-OUN and the Soviet authorities to negotiate a peace agreement. On March 28, 1945, he issued a pastoral "To the Clergy and Faithful" in which he raised the alarm about a recent "wave of disturbances, attacks, and assassinations," including ones of priests and monks. He called upon the population

not to allow any shedding of blood and not to offer [the Soviets] even the slightest excuse for extermination of the people.... Try also not to cause in any way any repressions and do not submit to instigations; do not let yourselves lose control [in response to] the provocations of those who would like to lure you into a dead end by [means of] various noisy, often non-Christian, nationalist slogans.... We are convinced that more than one objective can perhaps be achieved in a peaceful manner through negotiations rather than through mutual bloodletting and extermination of the people and its wealth.<sup>105</sup>

Meanwhile, the privileged status the Russian Orthodox Church had since 1943, the abandonment of antireligious propaganda, and the resulting confusion in Party ranks about the true position of the Soviet regime on religion led the CP(B)U Politburo, some time in early March 1945, to address a secret letter to the Party organizations in Ukraine explaining the tactical nature of the Kremlin's concessions to the Russian church and stressing the necessity of ideological vigilance in Party members' treatment of churchmen:

The Central Committee [of the CP(B)U] has at its disposal numerous facts attesting that some of our Party leaders do not fully understand the position of the Soviet state and Party organs on the church and religion.... Our Party and government have not changed their attitude towards religion and the church; because in the course of the [Soviet-German] Patriotic War the [Russian Orthodox] Church had changed its attitude towards the Soviet state, and because in its activities the church aims at helping our people in [its] struggle for the final rout of Hitlerite Germany and severe punishment of war criminals, therefore Soviet public opinion [and] the Soviet state accordingly evaluate this aspect of the church's activity.

have been one of the NKGB plants within the St. George entourage.

105. TsDIAU, *fond* 408, *opys* 1, *sprava* 50, fol. 1.

It is necessary to remember that millions of Slavs inhabiting the territory of Europe are still living under the strong influence of the Orthodox church[es], and if this influence is directed toward the mobilization of all forces and the unification of all Slavs for the common struggle against German militarism, such activity of the church obviously deserves approval....

In our struggle for the final rout of Hitlerite Germany and for the creation of a strong postwar organization [for the maintenance of] peace, we cannot ignore this aspect of the Orthodox churches' activities. In addition, in its everyday propaganda and appeals to Christians of the whole world, the Orthodox Church—as a counterbalance to the Roman Catholic Church—calls upon Christians to carry the cause of routing and crushing Germany and punishing war criminals to the [very] end. By the same token, the Orthodox Church acts against the Roman Catholic Church, which conducts propaganda for mild conditions of peace for fascist Germany. But we Communists must not forget for a single minute that the church's ideology contradicts our scientific Marxist-Leninist worldview, that it [religion] is profoundly reactionary and should ultimately be overcome. Therefore, in our everyday activity we should ceaselessly carry on the struggle against the idealistic and mystic ideology of the church, against its reactionary activity.

Absolutely intolerable is an indifferent attitude toward matters of religion and the church's activity on the part of some Party organizations, which is eagerly exploited by churchmen in spreading their propaganda....

The Party and Komsomol organizations must struggle against the infiltration of churchmen's influence into the ranks of our youth ... [they] should tear away from the influence of churchmen those [people] whom they [the churchmen] succeeded in capturing during the ... temporary occupation of our territory by the German fascists.

We must remember the directive of Comrade Stalin concerning vigilance and [must] pay special attention to the activities of the church. In cases when churchmen violate our Soviet legislation or when they attempt to penetrate schools, one must immediately, through the appropriate organs of Soviet power, take decisive actions to stop them.

At this time, as the war approaches its end, as the enemy is being defeated in open battle, hostile agents are attempting to intensify their influence on the ideological front [and] seeking to deliver a blow against our worldview, realizing that our struggle and our victories represent the triumph of the materialist Leninist-Stalinist worldview.<sup>106</sup>

106. "Zakrytoe pis'mo TsK KP(b)U po voprosam religii" (undated and unsigned), TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1638, fols. 28–33. The document's contents

\* \* \*

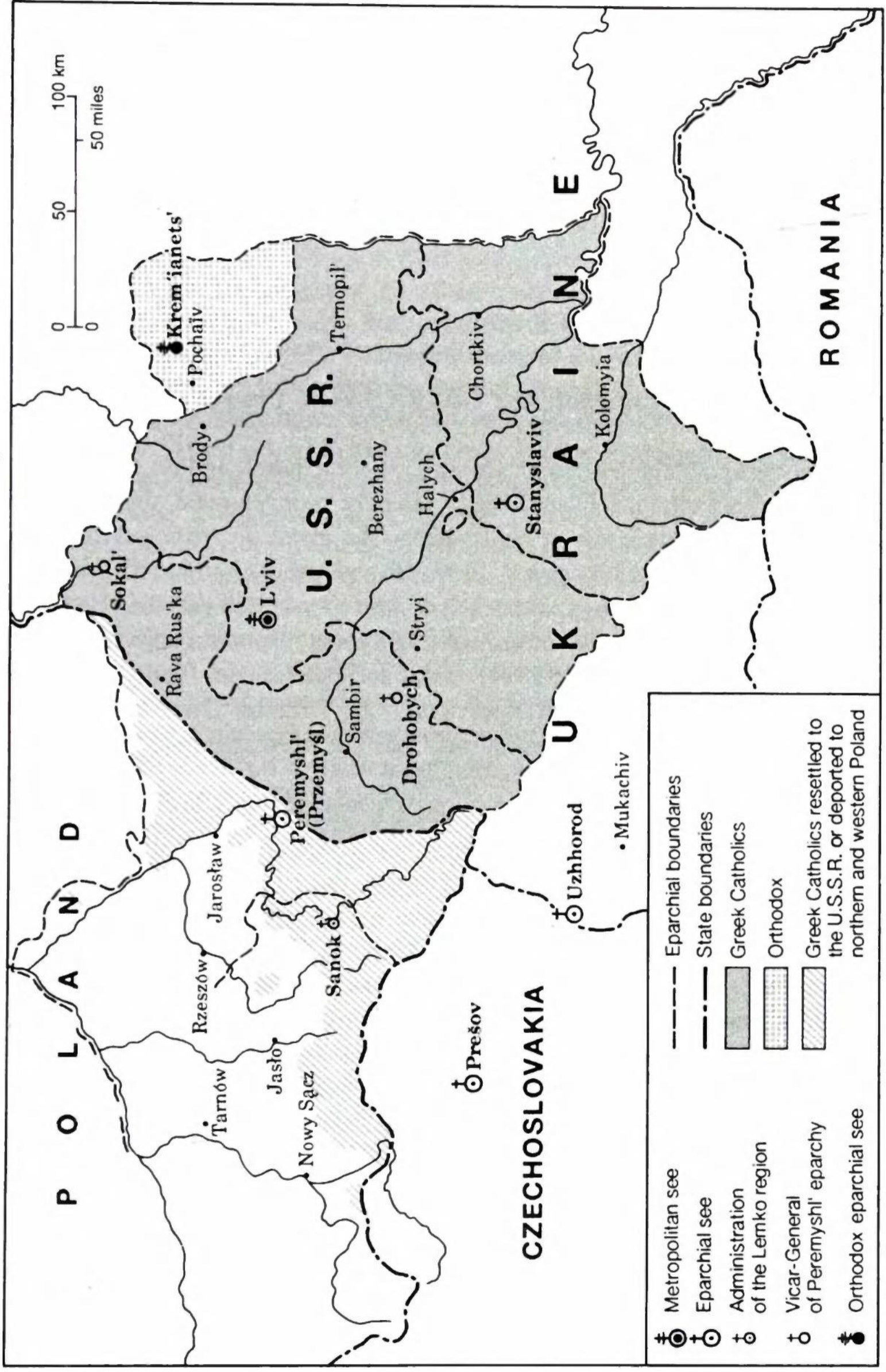
It is clear from the now available secret Party and KGB archives that Stalin's regime never contemplated a lasting *modus vivendi* with the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Instead, it viewed the latter not merely as a part of a united anti-Soviet front in Western Ukraine, but as its spiritual core. Several considerations prompted the Kremlin to delay its attack on that church. First, it wanted to lull the church into a false sense of security, giving it unrealistic hopes for a lasting *modus vivendi*, while seeking to exploit and deepen potential fissures within the church and between it and the embattled, insurgent UPA and OUN. Second, it needed to buy time until the Soviet annexation of Western Ukraine—contested by the Polish Government-in-Exile—could be consolidated through a compromise with the Western Allies, a compromise the Kremlin never meant to carry out. Distrustful of the other Allies, the Soviet leadership preferred to wait until the Red Army's sweep across East-Central Europe into the heart of Germany laid to rest both Stalin's fears of a last-minute separate peace between the Western powers and Nazi Germany and the Ukrainian underground's firm belief in an "inevitable" third world war between the West and the Soviet Union over the spoils of the Second War and over a Western-guaranteed free Poland. Until then, Stalin's government staged the elaborate deception of a "new" policy towards the Greek Catholic Church. It helped to neutralize the church's traditional defences against the combined attack of Moscow's imperialism and revived Russian Orthodox expansionism, and prevented the Greek Catholic leadership from preparing for more than half a century of illegal existence.

At the Yalta Conference of the Big Three Allied Powers (February 4–11, 1945), the Soviet Union secured momentous political-territorial gains, including Western recognition of its annexation of Western Ukraine. Thereafter Stalin could pursue his real agenda with respect to the future of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia.

suggest that it was written *after* the January–February 1945 local sobor of the Russian Orthodox Church and *before* the attack on Galicia's Greek Catholic Church began.



**Map 2 The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church before April 1945**



## CHAPTER FOUR

### *The Attack on the Church (1945–46)*

#### **The Decision to Liquidate the Greek Catholic Church**

The abolition of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and its absorption into the Russian Orthodox Church had evidently been planned since September 1939. But a variety of circumstances—the strategic, exposed location of Western Ukraine in the years 1939–41 and the weakness of the Russian Orthodox Church during that period, combined with the less than enthusiastic reaction of the recently “reunited” Volhynian Orthodox hierarchy to the prospect of expansion into Greek Catholic Galicia, and, finally, the German invasion on June 22, 1941—prevented the Kremlin from completing the historical mission of the Russian state that had been elaborated as far back as the reigns of Catherine II and Nicholas I.

The Soviet reoccupation of Western Ukraine in 1944 did not immediately create favourable conditions for the implementation of this objective mainly owing to the internationally disputed Soviet claim to Western Ukraine and the massive UPA-OUN resistance to the new regime, not to mention the continuing war with Nazi Germany. After the Yalta Conference recognized the Soviet annexation of Western Ukraine, however, with the Red Army approaching Berlin, increasingly larger forces could be redeployed against the Ukrainian armed resistance. The imminent Soviet victory over Germany removed the inhibitions that had made the Kremlin stage a show of tolerance for the Greek Catholic Church, especially after the pressure it had applied on the UPA-OUN resistance proved to be too weak to force the insurgents to surrender.

The attack on the Greek Catholic Church was now projected as part and parcel of an overall Soviet attack on Catholicism not only within the USSR, but also in the now conceded East European “satellites” and in the world at large. While at least one classified Party document suggests that the decision to proceed with the “reunion” of the church with the Moscow patriarchate was

announced to the Party *aktiv* as early as February 1945,<sup>1</sup> other top secret

1. In February 1945 the propaganda and agitation departments of the CP(B)U oblast committees, at least in Galicia, circulated to Party activists the secret “short theses” on “the basic historical characteristics of the Russian Orthodox and Western Ukrainian Greek Catholic churches,” which had obviously been prepared earlier by the Propaganda Department of the CC. While condemning all religion as “reactionary” and “antiscientific,” the “theses” underlined the “progressive” role of the Orthodox Church in uniting the Eastern Slavs into a single Russian state. During the “Great Patriotic War” the Russian Orthodox Church had sided fully with the Soviet state. In response, the government allowed it to rebuild the central structures of the Moscow patriarchate and to hold a local sobor, which elected the new patriarch, Aleksii (Simanskii). In contrast, the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia, which in the past had aided the cause of preserving Ukrainians from Polonization and Romanization, had, after the October Revolution, joined the forces of the West Ukrainian “counter-revolution” in their “struggle for the separation of Ukraine from the Orthodox East, for the creation of a so-called independent Ukraine, which would have meant the separation of Ukraine from the Soviet Union and its transfer into the hands of the capitalist West.... Rather than fighting for reunion with the Orthodox East and breaking with hated Catholicism, the Greek Catholic Church is strengthening its ties with the Roman pope. In this lies the reactionary role of the Greek Catholic Church.... The task now is to break the ideological ties with the Catholic West and to complete the union with the Orthodox East organizationally, i.e., to carry out the organizational break of the Greek Catholic Church with the Roman pope and to unite with the Eastern Orthodox ecclesiastical leadership in Moscow and Kyïv.”

The “theses” instructed Party activists that at present “the task of the Ukrainian clergy consists in taking part in the unmasking of the ... Ukrainian-German nationalist bands before the broad popular masses and thus laying to rest the deception of the popular masses by the bandits’ nationalist demagogy. The Party *aktiv* must conduct conversations with priests of the Greek Catholic Church with the aim of their ideological and organizational break with Roman Catholicism and purging the Greek Catholic Church of Catholicism, and of its ideological and organizational union with the Orthodox East.” “Sovershenno sekretno. Materialy ob osnovnykh istoricheskikh osobennostiakh pravoslavnoi russkoi i zapadno-ukrainskoi greko-katolicheskoi tserkvei (dlia orientatsii partiinogo aktiva).” TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1639, fols. 73–86. The copy in the archive was circulated in Drohobych oblast with the signature of the deputy head of its *obkom*’s propaganda department, M. Kovalev.

When an unidentified high-ranking KGB officer who took part in the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church was interviewed in 1989, he claimed that “in February 1945 Khrushchev informed Gen. Serhii R. Savchenko (the head of the Ukrainian NKGB) that Stalin had personally adopted the decision to liquidate the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the nearest future.” See Georgii Rozhnov, “Eto my, Gospodi,” *Ogonëk* (Moscow), 1989, no. 38, 7.

Soviet documents point to March 2, 1945, as the date on which Stalin and Molotov (presumably after some consultation with other Politburo members) ordered Karpov, the CAROC chairman, to draft an “instruction” on a comprehensive attack on the Catholic Church and on enhancing the Russian Orthodox Church’s role in the anti-Catholic struggle.<sup>2</sup>

On March 14, 1945, Karpov submitted a ten-page document (“Instruction No. 58”) to Stalin, Molotov, and Beria. Having read the draft, on March 16 or 17 Stalin wrote on it: “Comrade Karpov: I agree with all the measures. Stalin.”<sup>3</sup>

On April 20 Karpov wrote to Khrushchev,<sup>4</sup> citing provisions of the “instruction” that applied to Ukraine:

1. To organize in L'viv an Orthodox eparchy, placing in its charge a bishop with the title of bishop of L'viv and Ternopil', who would unite the Orthodox parishes of L'viv, Stanislav, Drohobych, and Ternopil' oblasts.
2. To offer the bishop of L'viv and Ternopil' and all Orthodox priests of the given eparchy rights to conduct missionary work.
3. To offer for the use of the eparchy as its cathedral one of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) churches in L'viv.
4. To strengthen the Pochaïv Orthodox [Lavra]<sup>5</sup> in Kremianets' [sic], Ternopil' oblast, making its hegumen a vicar of the L'viv bishop.
5. To issue in the name of the patriarch of Moscow and all Rus' and the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church a special appeal in the Ukrainian and Russian languages to the clergy and faithful of the Uniate Church and

2. GARF, *fond* 6991, *op.* 1 (a collection of documents), fols. 2-7. Cited in Bilas, *Represyyno-karal'na systema*, 1: 310–11.

3. *Ibid.*, 310. Bilas quotes a lengthy excerpt from the “instruction” (pp. 311–16). He dates Stalin’s approval March 16, 1945; Karpov’s letter to Khrushchev (see note 4), however, gives the date of March 17.

4. “Sov[ershenno] sekretno. TsK VKP(b), tovarishchu *N. S. Khrushchevu*, Moskva, Predsedatel' Soveta po delam russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi pri SNK SSSR, Karpov,” April 20, 1945.” The original four-page letter is preserved in the TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1638, fols. 97–100.

5. The Pochaïv Lavra was the major tsarist centre from which Russian Orthodoxy was promoted in Austrian-ruled Galicia during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The lavra was annexed to Ternopil' oblast with the rest of Kremianets' county (which was later divided into several raions) after the 1939 Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine. Karpov wrongly stated that the lavra was in the city of Kremianets' rather than in Pochaïv, a nearby raion centre.



to distribute it widely in the Uniate parishes.

6. To organize within the Uniate Church an initiative group that should make a declaration about a break with the Vatican and call upon the Uniate clergy to convert to Orthodoxy.
7. To organize Orthodox brotherhoods in the cities of Luts'k and L'viv, giving these brotherhoods the right to conduct missionary and charitable activities; the task of the brotherhoods should be strengthening Orthodoxy and opposing Catholicism.
8. To take steps to liquidate the autocephaly of the Polish Orthodox Church and corresponding measures to unite it in its entirety with the Moscow patriarchate.
9. To formalize the unification with the Moscow patriarchate of the Mukachiv-Prešov Orthodox eparchy (Transcarpathian Ukraine), according to their [the eparchy's population's] collectively expressed wishes and with the consent of the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church (in whose jurisdiction Mukachiv-Prešov eparchy is presently).
10. For the preparation of cadres of priests and missionaries, to open courses in Kyïv, Luts'k, L'viv,<sup>6</sup> and Odesa, modelled on the type and programme of the Moscow pastoral-theological courses.<sup>7</sup>

Karpov also informed Khrushchev about some of the measures that had been put into effect:

For the post of bishop for the L'viv-Ternopil see, an archpriest of one of Kyïv's churches, a professor, M[ykhailo (Makarii)] F. Oksiiuk, was selected; he arrived in Moscow on April 19 and introduced himself to the patriarchate and the council [CAROC]. Today, April 20, the tonsuring of Oksiiuk took place, on April 21 his [formal] appointment [*narechenie*] will follow, and, on April 22, his consecration [*khirotoniia*] and departure for L'viv.

Oksiiuk has been given the right to take with him, according to his preference and by agreement with the exarch of Ukraine, Metropolitan Ioann [Sokolov], several Ukrainian Orthodox priests for the purpose of organizing an Orthodox brotherhood and developing missionary work.

The patriarch's ukase on Oksiiuk's appointment as the bishop of L'viv and Ternopil' will provide that the Orthodox parishes in Stanislav and

6. Although they were advertised in 1946, the pastoral-theological courses in L'viv were never opened.
7. Karpov's letter to Khrushchev, fols. 97–8 (see note 4 above).

Drohobych oblasts will also be placed under his jurisdiction.

The council [CAROC] considers it desirable that the bishop of L'viv (Oksiiuk) be given in the former Uniate monastery<sup>8</sup> the chambers [*pokoï*] of the late Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, as well as accommodation for the eparchial administration and pastoral-theological courses.

The council agrees with the view of Patriarch Aleksii [Simanskii] that the L'viv bishop should be given the right to publish so-called eparchial news [*eparkhial'nye vedomosti*].<sup>9</sup>

The exarch of Ukraine, Metropolitan Ioann, received from the patriarch appropriate instructions [*ukazanie*] about the formula of receiving Uniate clergy into Orthodoxy, and it was proposed to him to issue corresponding directives to the bishops of Zhytomyr, Volhynia, and Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi.

The council is aware that within the Uniate church an initiative group is being formed consisting of [Havryil] Kostel'nyk and other clergymen, which will make a declaration about a break with the Vatican and call upon the Uniate clergy to convert [*k perekhodu*] to Orthodoxy.

A special appeal of the patriarch of Moscow to the Uniate clergy, an appeal from the initiative group, materials [to be published] in the *eparkhial'nye vedomosti* of the L'viv bishop, as well as corresponding sermons should assist the faster decomposition of the Uniate church.

The Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church at the *Sovnarkom* of the USSR requests your directives to the plenipotentiary of the council at the *Sovnarkom* of the Ukrainian SSR and the plenipotentiary of the council at the L'viv *oblispolkom* about offering necessary assistance to the exarch of Ukraine, Metropolitan Ioann, and the L'viv bishop, Oksiiuk, in carrying out the above-mentioned measures.<sup>10</sup>

Earlier, on March 17, Karpov sent a copy of the "instruction" to CARC Chairman Polianskii; in a covering letter he requested that Polianskii implement the portions of the document pertaining to the Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic churches in the USSR, as well as other global anti-Catholic

8. Ibid., fols. 99. Karpov mistakenly refers to the palace of the Greek Catholic metropolitans across from St. George's Cathedral and to the buildings flanking the cathedral on three sides that housed ordinariate offices and residences of chapter members as a "monastery."

9. Actually, a reference to the resumption of LAV.

10. Karpov's letter to Khrushchev, fols. 99–100.

measures.<sup>11</sup> On May 8, 1945, Polianskii addressed a highly classified instruction to Vil'khovyi, the CARC plenipotentiary for the Ukrainian SSR, and his counterparts in Belarus and the Baltic republics outlining the anti-Catholic measures to be taken and warning against revealing them even to clergy who might be potential collaborators.

Soviet records had not shown any change in the loyal attitude of Metropolitan Slipyi or his church to the state. Nevertheless, Polianskii justified the Soviet attack on the Greek Catholic Church: "By way of information, we are letting you know that the Greek Catholic Church, in the person of its metropolitan's administration, adopted a completely intolerable position in political terms and took the path of struggle against the Soviet authorities, actively supporting the anti-Soviet nationalist movement. In this connection measures have currently been taken aimed at the liquidation of influence by the totally Catholicized Uniate clergy and the transfer of the believers to Orthodoxy. To this end, especially in L'viv, an eparchy of the Orthodox Church has been organized."<sup>12</sup>

### The Initial Intimidation Campaign

In April 1945, after the NKGB had spent several months amassing politically compromising evidence against the leaders and clergy of the Greek Catholic Church, a vast campaign of slander and intimidation was launched in the Soviet Ukrainian mass media. The first shot was fired by the L'viv Communist writer Iaroslav Halan, a specialist in combating "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism," who became the principal mouthpiece of the regime's anti-Uniate campaign.<sup>13</sup> Under the pseudonym Volodymyr Rosovych, in early April he published a lengthy attack on the church in the L'viv daily *Vil'na Ukraina* entitled "Z khrestom chy z nozhem?" (With a Cross or a Knife?).<sup>14</sup> the article seems to be based in part on information from NKGB

11. Bilas, *Karai'no-represyvna systema*, 1: 317.

12. *Ibid.*, 317–21. The passage cited appears on 321.

13. For a critical profile of Halan, see Petro Tereshchuk, *Istoriia odnoho zradnyka (Iaroslav Halan)* (Toronto, 1962).

14. Reproduced in Iaroslav Halan, *Tvory* (Kyiv, 1960), 2: 275–87. There is a curious discrepancy between this diatribe's usually cited date of publication in *Vil'na Ukraina* (April 6, 1945) and the one found in secret Party documents (April 8). A possible explanation might be that perhaps, because of its length, Halan's piece was serialized



files.<sup>15</sup> The article was republished on April 10 by the central Kyïv daily, *Radians'ka Ukraïna*, in its special supplement for the western oblasts,<sup>16</sup> and was reproduced shortly thereafter as a separate brochure for mass distribution.<sup>17</sup> Immediately the local Party and NKGB agencies began to solicit reactions of the clergy and laity to Halan's article and to report on them to the top leadership in Kyïv and Moscow.<sup>18</sup>

In his article Halan attacked the Church Union of Brest, depicting it as a Polish and subsequently Austrian-German tool designed "to break up the unity and friendship of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples." He praised the nineteenth-century Russophile priests who had "preferred to seek liberation from the [church] union in despotic tsarist Russia."<sup>19</sup> The late Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was described as a willing, sinister instrument of the Vatican's "conspiracy" with German imperialism, which aimed to conquer and Latinize the European East; Sheptyts'kyi was depicted as having plotted "a deadly blow against the Orthodox Church" in the hope of becoming "the Uniate exarch of entire Ukraine and all Russia."<sup>20</sup> With the defeat of the Central Powers, wrote Halan, the metropolitan allied himself with the Ukrainian nationalists and German fascism, consolidating "reactionary elements under the slogan of

in three consecutive issues of that paper (April 6–8). It was also broadcast by the L'viv radio station on April 9. See "Sekretariu TsK KP(b)U tov. Khrushchevu, N. S. 'O nastroeniakh sredi mestnogo naseleniia v sviazi s opublikovaniem stat'i V. Rosovicha pod nazvaniem 'S krestom ili s nozhom', 13. IV. 1945 g., g. L'vov,'" PLOKU, *fond* 3, *opis'* 1, *delo* 212, fols. 29–35.

15. Some of the information about developments within the archeparchial consistory and chapters may have come from interrogations of insiders by the NKVD, which apparently helped Halan to compose this first open attack on the church.

16. Safonova, *Ideino-vykhovna robota*, 122n.

17. Halan, *Tvory*, 2: 490.

18. See the reports "Informatsiia pro reahuvannia naselennia oblasti na statiu Rosovycha 'Z khrestom chy z nozhem'" (April 12, 1945), sent to Khrushchev by L'viv *obkom* First Secretary Grushetskii, and "Nachal'niku upravleniia propagandy TsK VKP(b) tovarishchu Aleksandrovu, G. F." (May 19, 1945), by L'viv *obkom* Propaganda Secretary I. Mazepa, in PLOKU, *fond* 3, *opis'* 1, *delo* 212, fols. 41, 50–1.

19. Halan, *Tvory*, 2: 276.

20. *Ibid.*, 277–9. Halan's myopic view of the church union and Sheptyts'kyi echoes almost entirely the extreme tsarist anti-Uniate propaganda of 1914–16 issued from the Pochaïv Lavra and by Metropolitan Evlogii of Volhynia.

anti-Soviet intervention” around the Uniate banner.<sup>21</sup>

After the Soviet “liberation” of Western Ukraine in 1939, Halan charged, Sheptyts'kyi reacted to the “tolerant [church] policy of the Soviet authorities” with protests and covert anti-Soviet propaganda, “sinking deeper and deeper into the mire of treason.”<sup>22</sup> Halan attacked Sheptyts'kyi for his alleged collaboration with the Nazi occupation authorities and the OUN and especially for the church’s support for the Division Galizien. He concluded:

In Galicia, in contrast to the Orthodox clergy of Ukraine and Russia, whose overwhelming majority loyally served their peoples in the sacred war against the German occupiers,<sup>23</sup> all the activity of many Uniate clergymen during the German occupation represents a long chain of treason against the Ukrainian people and faithful service to its enemies.<sup>24</sup>

History had placed the Uniate clergy before the fateful question: *Quo vadis?*

Our Soviet state has inserted into its fundamental law inviolable and unbreakable words about the freedom of conscience. It does not interfere with one’s religious conviction. But one cannot look on calmly when the servants of the Uniate church exploit this freedom of religion in order to engage in criminal activities against the Ukrainian people, in the interests of fascist Germany in the past [and] today for the glory and benefit of the Anglo-Saxon imperialists.<sup>25</sup> Before the servants of the gods of the swastika

21. Ibid., 280.

22. Ibid., 281–2. Halan’s charges contradict the official Soviet documents on the subject.

23. Ibid., 285. Here, in line with the current official version, Halan clearly distorted the Russian Orthodox Church’s record *under the German occupation*; with very few exceptions, the Orthodox churchmen welcomed the German “liberation” because they thought the Germans would allow them to rebuild the Orthodox church life that had existed within the pre-1939 Soviet borders. Because Stalin had nearly totally suppressed the Orthodox Church, it showed less capacity to withstand German pressure and control than did the Greek Catholic Church. It was only later, after Khrushchev’s partial reversal of Stalin’s policy towards the Russian Orthodox Church, that the latter came under attack in some Soviet publications for its collaboration with the Germans in the occupied territories in 1941–3. See O. I. Bevza, *Rozkryttia reaktsiinoi suti relihii v protsesi vyvchennia istorii* (Kyïv, 1977), 69–71.

24. Halan, *Tvory*, 2: 283.

25. Here Halan introduced, probably for the first time, a new theme that became prominent during the cold war: the Uniates and Ukrainian nationalists had found a

and the trident there lies [only] one road—the road of treason against the people, the road of crimes, murders, monstrous frauds, lies, and deceit. This road will inevitably bring catastrophe upon them. The people are merciless towards their mortal enemies regardless of the clothes they wear.... Those enemies of the Ukrainian people dressed in Uniate cassocks are organizers of the Ukrainian nationalist bands and agents of international reaction.... They are guilty of many crimes that were and continue to be perpetrated against the population of the western oblasts of Ukraine by the Ukrainian-German nationalists. The bloody activity of these criminals must be stopped decisively.<sup>26</sup>

Significantly, Halan's article failed to call for a "reunion" of the Uniates with the "patriotic" Russian Orthodox Church. Before long, as "reunion" plans were brought into the open, "Volodymyr Rosovych" produced an expanded and amended version of his first pamphlet, entitled *Shcho take uniia?* (What is the [Church] Union?).<sup>27</sup> The second pamphlet was apparently designed to present in even more sinister colours the history of the Greek Catholic Church while, at the same time, "correcting" the embarrassing record of the tsarist suppression of the Greek Catholics and their forcible "reunion" with the Russian Orthodox Church under Nicholas I and Alexander II.<sup>28</sup> While the "demise" of their church was declared "inevitable," the Greek Catholics' "return" to the Orthodox Church was now offered as the only path to salvation:

Thanks to the Soviet government, thanks to Stalin's constitution, the offspring of those who once fought and suffered for the Orthodox faith have today an unlimited possibility to return to the faith of the ancestors.... Papal Rome and its Uniate-Jesuit henchmen have written themselves into our

"new master"—the "Anglo-American imperialists," allies and protectors of the Vatican.

26. Halan, *Tvory*, 2: 286.

27. The pamphlet was first published separately by *Vil'na Ukraïna* between the end of May and early July 1945, probably so as to coincide with the surfacing of the Initiative Group. Its second edition, which appeared in 1947, is reproduced in full in Halan, *Tvory*, 2: 288–330.

28. *Ibid.*, 315–16. The violent 1875 "conversion" of the Greek Catholics of the Chełm region, the last stronghold of the church union in the Russian Empire, was, in Halan's lyrical terms, "the light of truth [that] gradually dispersed the Uniate darkness." *Ibid.*, 316.

people's book of genesis with bloody letters. By savage terror and deceit they had forced our ancestors to accept an alien and hateful faith that served the interests of enemies of our people. This faith was the Union [Greek Catholicism]. We have witnessed the demise of the enemies of the Ukrainian people. The same fate also awaits, *inevitably awaits*, the creation of these enemies—the Union.<sup>29</sup>

Halan's pamphlets—several more appeared over the next three years<sup>30</sup>—pursued two main themes: equating the Greek Catholic Church with treason, fascism and Ukrainian nationalism; and blackening the image of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, the most popular and revered figure in recent Galician history. Lacking in credibility or persuasion, Halan's insulting and intimidating charges were designed rather to spread panic and a sense of helplessness and fear in the ranks of the Greek Catholic clergy.

Meanwhile, on March 1 the CAROC instructed its plenipotentiaries in Western Ukraine to undertake an inventory of all churches and monasteries (and convents) and the re-registration of congregations and the clergy, to be completed by May 1, 1945.<sup>31</sup>

On April 5, 1945, Republican CARC Plenipotentiary Vil'khovyi reported to Polianskii that L'viv eparchy had 1,084 priests, 94 students in its theologi-

29. Ibid., 330.

30. See in particular, his *Prysmerek chuzhykh bohiv* (September 1948), repr. in *ibid.*, 340–62, which contains a stronger invective against Metropolitans Sheptyts'kyi and Slipyi while extolling the “uncorrupted part of the Uniate clergy” led by Kostel'nyk's Initiative Group. Later his vicious attack on Catholicism as a “fascist form of Christianity” appeared: “Isshedshie iz mraka,” *Sovetskoe Zakarpattia*, August 25, 1948; repr. in *ibid.*, 354–63. It was followed by the pamphlet *Hodi!*, which was published in Transcarpathia in 1948 under the pseudonym Ihor Semeniuk; repr. in *ibid.*, 383–417. The latter two pieces were written during the reunion campaign in Transcarpathia. Halan's militant, polemical style and blending of fact with fiction was thenceforth imitated by many Soviet anti-Uniate writers, including Vladimir Beliaev, Serhii Karin (Danylenko), Iurii Mel'nychuk, Klym Dmytruk (identified in the first issue [September 1970] of the *samvydav Ukraïns'kyi visnyk* [Paris and Baltimore, 1971] as Maj. Hal's'kyi, a KGB “expert” on the Uniate and nationalist problems), Taras Myhal', A. Shysh, N. Vozniak, Iu. M. Hryhor'iev, and others. See the yearbooks *Post imeni Iaroslava Halana* (L'viv, 1974–mid-1980s), which published articles emulating Halan's anti-Uniate and antinationalist polemics.

31. See Khodchenko's instruction to the CAROC plenipotentiary in L'viv oblast (March 12, 1945), DALO, *fond* R-1332, *opys* 1, *sprava* 2, fol. 3.

cal academy, 94 seminarians, 230 students in its minor seminary, 17 pupils in the Redemptorist school in Zboïska, 13 monasteries, 13 convents, and an additional 34 religious houses of the Sisters Servants.<sup>32</sup> According to another report by Vil'khovyi, there were 2,290 Greek Catholic churches in Western Ukraine (excluding Transcarpathia): 658 in Drohobych oblast, 567 in Stanislav oblast, 522 in L'viv oblast, 539 in Ternopil' oblast, and two in each of Volhynia and Chernivtsi oblasts.<sup>33</sup>

On June 27 Vil'khovyi reported to Khrushchev that 2,325 active Greek Catholic congregations had been identified in the Western Ukrainian oblasts; there were 2,402 “servants of the cult”—21 deans, 1,694 priests, 368 deacons, and 319 precentors.<sup>34</sup>

In line with the CAROC instruction of March 1 to put increasing pressure on the clergy, the authorities began applying the provisions of Soviet religious legislation that had hitherto been held in abeyance in Galicia. Church buildings were declared to be state property, and local congregations were required to form “groups of twenty”<sup>35</sup> before they could obtain official

32. Bilas collection, doc. 5.

33. Ibid., doc. 13.

34. “Sekretno. Tov. Khrushchevu, N. S. Informatsionnyi otchet o rabote upolnomochennogo Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov ... po Ukrainskoi SSR, za mai-iiun' mesiatsy 1945 g,” TsDAHOU, *fond 1, opys 23, sprava 1639*, fols. 12–16. On the top left of the report's front page appears a “resolution” by Khrushchev addressed to Dmytro Manuil's'kyi, Kostiantyn Lytvyn, and Serhii Savchenko (Ukraine's people's commissar for foreign affairs, the CP(B)U CC propaganda secretary, and the Ukrainian NKGB chief respectively): “I ask you to study the material and to draft our measures for the acceleration of our work [on the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church]” (dated July 26, 1945). The report, which covered all religious denominations in the republic, listed thirty-nine “closed” Greek Catholic churches and noted that the registration of religious congregations had fallen behind in L'viv and Stanislav oblasts, where there were no CAROC plenipotentiaries (fol. 5). Vil'khovyi's statistics appear incomplete, especially on the number of precentors, and omit the monastic clergy.

35. Soviet legislation required that there be a minimum of twenty believers (in good standing) to register as a regular religious congregation, to lease a church building from the government, or to elect, subject to the authorities' veto, executive and auditing committees. In an important concession (withdrawn in 1961), in 1945 the Russian Orthodox Church was allowed to make priests ex officio chairmen of the parish executive committees; this was a departure from legislation introduced in 1929, which expressly prohibited the clergy's membership in such committees. See the instruction of the Presidium Secretariat of the All-Ukrainian CEC of June 23, 1932, “Pro poriadok orhanizatsii, diial'nosti, zvitnosti i likvidatsii relihiinykh hromad i pro

“registration” (i.e., a government licence to carry on parish activities) and secure a state lease for the use of a nationalized house of worship. The provisions also obligated the groups of twenty to maintain an updated inventory of all “cult property” and to open churches for periodic government inspection. Most importantly—and this explains the timing of these measures—priests were required to apply for registration to the oblast CAROC plenipotentiary; priests lacking a government permit (*spravka*) were to be barred by the groups of twenty from performing any sacerdotal functions in the leased churches.<sup>36</sup> The new laws allowed the Soviet authorities to manipulate at will the mechanisms of leases and registrations, to convert Greek Catholic priests to Orthodoxy, to purge the church of actual and potential opponents of the regime, and to impose Soviet control and guidance upon the clergy and believers.

### The Arrests of the Church Leaders

The appearance of Halan’s “With a Cross or a Knife?” was interpreted by Metropolitan Slipyi as a portent of the Soviet assault on the Greek Catholic Church. St. George’s Cathedral, the metropolitan’s palace, and the adjoining buildings were visibly under police surveillance,<sup>37</sup> and it soon became

systemu obliku adminorhanamy skladu relhromad ta sluzhyteliv kul'tu,” repr. in part in Lytvyn and Pshenychnyi, *Zakonodavstvo pro relihiini kul'ty*, 107–22; and “Polozhenie ob upravlenii Russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi, priniato Pomestnym soborom Russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi 31 ianvaria 1945,” addendum to [Moscow patriarchate], *Pravoslavnyi tserkovnyi kalendar' na 1946 god* (Moscow, 1945).

36. The key provision states: “we will not permit the performance of religious rites by any servant of a religious cult who has not been registered by the [oblast] plenipotentiary of the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults.” A copy of a model contract dated April 1945, which was distributed to parishes in Drohobych oblast, is in the AZPUHVR, doc. C3-3.

37. Interview with Fr. Iosyf Kladochnyi, Toronto, June 10, 1980. “Rosovych’s” vicious attack on the church evoked a debate within Slipyi’s entourage as to whether the violation of CARC Chairman Polianskii’s solemn promise to the metropolitan’s delegation in Moscow in December 1945 was a local Party initiative or an indication of a fundamental change in the Kremlin’s church policy. A conference of leading clergymen was planned for Thursday, April 12, to decide on the further course of action. In the meantime, Slipyi’s secretary, Fr. Ivan Kotiv, was dispatched on April 10 to seek lawyers’ advice with regard to possible legal action against *Vil'na Ukraina*

obvious that the arrests of the Uniate leaders were only a matter of days or perhaps hours away. Fearing the worst, Slipyi summoned Bishops Budka and Charnets'kyi, Archimandrite Sheptyts'kyi, and the Redemptorist vice-provincial, Joseph de Vocht,<sup>38</sup> and nominated them administrators of L'viv archeparchy in the event that he would be prevented from carrying on his duties.<sup>39</sup>

On the morning of April 11, police guard posts were set up around the St. George's complex to seal off its residents and to prevent the removal of documents and valuables.<sup>40</sup> That evening a large group of NKGB officers entered the metropolitan's residence. Slipyi was shown a procurator's arrest warrant<sup>41</sup> and, after being subjected to a body search, was driven to the NKGB prison on Łacki Street. Next morning he was taken under escort by train to the central NKGB prison in Kyïv on Korolenko Street.<sup>42</sup> Bishops Budka and Charnets'kyi<sup>43</sup> and a number of senior L'viv priests were also arrested on April 11, and the bishops were also transported to Kyïv. For three days, April 12–14, the entire St. George's complex—the palace, the residences of the clergy, the cathedral with its crypts, the archeparchial and cathedral

(which, incidentally, offered to publish a rebuttal to Halan's charges). See "Informatsiia 'O nastroeniakh sredi mestnogo naseleniia v sviazi s opublikovaniem stat'i V. Rosovicha v gazete "Vil'na Ukraïna" 8 aprelia 1945 g. pod nazvaniem "S krestom ili s nozhom"'" (undated), sent by the head of the L'viv *obkom*'s Organizational-Instructional Department, I. Bohorodchenko, to the Party CC Secretariats in Moscow (Comrade Shamberg) and Kyïv (Comrade Zlenko), PLOKU, *fond 3, opis' 1, delo 212*, fols. 43, 48, 49. Col. Karin (Danylenko) was involved in monitoring the impact of Halan's pamphlet on the clergy. One day after its publication he visited the St. George's Cathedral complex with NKGB Lt. Col. K. S. Mazin and Halan to observe its residents' reaction. Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by*, 313–14.

38. A Belgian citizen, he was deported to Belgium in December 1948. APSS, vol. 29, files 13–15.

39. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 109.

40. Ibid.

41. Slipyi's arrest was sanctioned by the Ukrainian NKGB chief, Savchenko, and carried out under the command of the chief of the Fourth Department of the NKGB's Second Administration in Kyïv, Voloshyn. ASBU, f. 68069.

42. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 111.

43. Charnets'kyi was arrested at the Redemptorist monastery in L'viv. Stefan-Iosyf [Bakhtalovs'kyi], ed., *Nykolai Charnets'kyi, ChNI: Iepyskop-ispovidnyk* (Yorkton, Sask., 1980).



parish offices, and adjoining buildings—were thoroughly searched.<sup>44</sup> The police confiscated the archives of the metropoly and the library of the late Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. By April 21, 1945, the NKGB had arrested thirty-three persons in L'viv oblast: the metropolitan, two bishops, twenty priests, two deacons, three seminarians, and five laymen.<sup>45</sup> At the same time, the theological academy and seminary and the precentors' school were raided and searched by the NKGB and effectively closed. The police detained 159 students and delivered them to the local military—draft office.<sup>46</sup>

In Stanislav, on April 11, the NKGB arrested the seventy-eight-year-old Bishop Khomyshyn and his auxiliary, Ivan Liatyshevs'kyi; they were taken to a L'viv prison and from there to Kyïv.<sup>47</sup> Jailed on that same day was the rector of the eparchial seminary, Fr. Avksentii Boichuk; he was kept in the Stanislav prison and subjected to repeated beatings by NKGB interrogators.<sup>48</sup>

After the imprisonment of Metropolitan Slipyi and the bishops, several canons met to elect Fr. Omelian Gorchyns'kyi, the pastor of St. George's Cathedral, the capitular vicar. The authorities retaliated within a week by arresting all members of the chapter, including Gorchyns'kyi. After interrogation all of them were released except Gorchyns'kyi.<sup>49</sup> According to one report, the canons then secretly elected the metropoly's chancellor, Fr. Mykola Galiant, the new capitular vicar.<sup>50</sup>

In Stanislav eparchy the position of vicar was assumed in May 1945 by the

44. ASBU, f. 68069. During the search the NKGB discovered several OUN underground members claiming to be precentor school students, but not having any documents. PLOKU, *fond 3, opis' 1, delo 212*, fols. 60–1.

45. "Moskva, TsK VKP(b)—t. Shambergu; Kyïv, TsK KP(b)U—t. Zlenko. INFORMATSIIA o rezul'tatakh provedeniia operatsii po arrestam anti-sovetskogo dukhovenstva greko-katolicheskoi tserkvi i reagirovaniu dukhovenstva i naseleniia L'vovskoi oblasti na arresty" (April 24, 1945), signed by Bohorodchenko, PLOKU, *fond 3, opis' 1, delo 212*, fols. 52–66.

46. Ibid., fol. 62. At the office, 120 students were drafted into the Red Army.

47. Fr. Petro Mel'nychuk, *Vladyka Hryhorii Khomyshyn: Patriot-misionar-muchenyk* (Rome and Philadelphia, 1979), 294, 361–2. Very little information is available about developments in Stanislav eparchy in the years 1944–6.

48. Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 24.

49. Ibid., 12.

50. Interview with Fr. Kladochnyi, June 20 and 27, 1980.

Basilian hegumen, Hryhorii Volodymyr Balahurak.<sup>51</sup> Assisted by the Redemptorist hegumen, Roman Bakhtalovs'kyi, he was able to perform his functions secretly and even maintain a clandestine contact with Rome until their subsequent arrest.<sup>52</sup>

In the Soviet-annexed part of Peremyshl' eparchy, the NKGB arrested the vicar-general for Drohobych oblast, Fr. Mykhailo Mel'nyk, who reportedly gave in after torture in a NKGB prison and joined the Initiative Group.<sup>53</sup> His counterpart in L'viv oblast, Fr. Mykola Panas, was arrested in Sokal' and also tortured in prison; he was reportedly released after suffering a mental breakdown.<sup>54</sup>

On the Polish side of the new Soviet-Polish border, Bishops Kotsylovs'kyi and Lakota were left alone for the time being. But as Polish pressure mounted to force the ethnic Ukrainian borderland population to be "repatriated" eastward, on September 21, 1945, Polish authorities arrested the two bishops and Canon Vasyl' Hrynyk and tried to "persuade" them to sign up for repatriation to the USSR. After spending two months in a Rzeszów prison, they were handed over to the NKGB, which on January 16 shipped them across the border. They were released by the Soviet police on January 24, 1946 and allowed to return to Przemyśl.<sup>55</sup> After months of harassment by the

51. *Vasyliians'kyi visnyk* (Rome), 1965, no. 3, 33–5. According to the Basilian protoarchimandrite, Fr. Isydor Patrylo of Rome, Hegumen Balahurak was secretly consecrated a bishop by Bishop Khomyshyn before the latter's arrest in April 1945. Interview with Protoarchimandrite Patrylo, Ottawa, September 5, 1995. Cf. A. Z. Shysh, "Antynarodna diialnist' uniats'koï tserkvy," in I. T. Pidoplichko et al., eds., *Pytannia ateizmu: Zbirnyk* (Kyiv, 1958), 173.

52. Shysh, op. cit.

53. See PLOKU, *fond 3, opis' 1, delo 230*, ark. fol. (78) 19. On Mel'nyk's capitulation after torture, see Fr. Ivan Hryn'okh, "Znyshchennia Ukraïns'koï Katolyts'koï Tserkvy rosiis'ko-bol'shevyts'kym rezhymom," *Bohosloviia* (Rome) 44 (1980): 30–1.

54. Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 28. According to an obituary in *Pravoslavnyi visnyk*, 1959, no. 3, 95–6, Panas accepted the "reunion" only in 1948 and was subsequently assigned to a rural parish in L'viv oblast.

55. Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 15–16, 87–91. It is impossible to determine whether their release from quasi-detention at the Mostys'ka railway station resulted from a change in Soviet policy or was a response to protests by local Ukrainians lodged with the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw or to an unco-ordinated, premature initiative by the Polish authorities, who were eager to speed up the de-Ukrainianization of the Przemyśl region. Hrynyk reported that NKGB interrogators in Rzeszów and Mostys'ka

Polish Communist authorities and chauvinists in the Polish Roman Catholic Church, Kotsylovs'kyi, Lakota, and three senior priests were arrested on June 26, 1946, and taken to L'viv. From there the two bishops were taken to an MGB prison in Kyiv.<sup>56</sup>

Earlier, on June 15, 1945, in Berlin, the Soviet secret police jailed Msgr. Petro Verhun, the apostolic visitator for Ukrainian Catholics in Germany;<sup>57</sup> he, too, was transported to the Kyiv NKGB prison. There he and the imprisoned bishops were submitted to endless interrogations. Cardinal Slipyi later recalled:

I was taken to interrogations day and night so that I was literally falling off my feet and had to be supported when led to the investigating judge.... My investigation was conducted by Horiun, later the KGB chief in L'viv, a man terribly rude and a simpleton.... After several days, when I was already totally exhausted by interrogations, I was led to several colonels, who began terrorizing me—they gave me to sign a statement that I had renounced the pope, and for this they [said they] would give me Kyiv [Orthodox] metropolity.... But I resolutely declined. Further attacks began, but they led nowhere because I was already fainting from weakness.<sup>58</sup>

### **The Intervention of the Moscow Patriarchate**

On the eve of the bishops' arrests, on April 10, Stalin and Molotov held a well-publicized meeting with Patriarch Aleksii and Metropolitan Nikolai (Iarushevich) of Krutitsy; they were accompanied by CAROC Chairman Karpov and Protopresbyter Nikolai F. Kol'chitskii, the chancellor of the Moscow patriarchate. Although published accounts of this second and last known meeting between Stalin and the Russian church leaders do not contain any reference to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the timing of the

probed the bishop's and his "views on the recognition of Patriarch Aleksii and the cooperation of the church with the state, which—in their opinion—should consist of the complete obedience and subordination of the church to the state" (p. 90).

56. Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 16.

57. See the obituary "O. Prelat d-r Verhun," *Khrystyians'kyi holos* (Munich), March 24, 1957.

58. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 112.

meeting could not have been accidental.<sup>59</sup>

On April 20, 1945, after the arrests of the Greek Catholic episcopate, the patriarchal Holy Synod appointed a widowed Kyivan priest, Mykhailo Fedorovych Oksiiuk, the Orthodox bishop for Galicia.<sup>60</sup> He was consecrated in Moscow on April 22 as Bishop Makarii of L'viv and Ternopil'. The new bishop arrived in L'viv on April 27, after consultations in Kyiv, and settled in the parish residence of the only local Orthodox church, St. George's.<sup>61</sup> Makarii's prime tasks were evidently to assist Kostel'nyk's Initiative Group in its "reunion" campaign and to serve as a link between the group and the Moscow patriarchate. Makarii was soon joined in L'viv by his brother, Iosyf Oksiiuk, a learned theologian and former archbishop of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, whose release from a forced-labour camp had been arranged by Karin in response to Makarii's plea to have his brother

59. The meeting was ostensibly requested by Aleksii in order to thank Stalin for the state's assistance in convening the local sobor two months earlier and to brief him on the activities, initiatives, and plans of the Russian Orthodox Church. *ZhMP*, 1945, no. 5, 3, 25–6; cf. *Izvestiia*, April 11, 1945.

60. A native of Podlachia, Oksiiuk (1884–1961) graduated in 1911 from the Kyiv Theological Academy, where he became a professor. From 1918 through 1922 he also lectured in Byzantology at Kyiv University. After the academy was shut down in 1922, Oksiiuk taught languages and history at Kyiv secondary schools and worked as a researcher at the Library of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. He was purged in 1933 and spent the next years working "in agriculture." Only during the German occupation of Kyiv was Oksiiuk able to resume his work at the Library. He was ordained in the wartime Autonomous Church in 1942 and served in a parish in Kyiv's Podil district. He was selected for the new Orthodox L'viv see on the recommendation of Exarch Ioann (Sokolov), because, among other things, his Ukrainian was flawless and he could speak with a "Galician accent." There is no doubt that Oksiiuk enjoyed the confidence of Soviet security agencies, and he was likely recommended by the top NKGB expert on religion in Ukraine, Danylenko. See S. Khruts'kyi, "Vladyka Makarii, arkhiepyskop l'vivs'kyi i ternopil's'kyi," *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk*, 1946, no. 4, 5–7.

61. I. Fedorovych [Iosyf Oksiiuk], "L'vivs'ka pravoslavna ieparkhiia (Do desiatyrichchia vidnovlennia ieparkhii)," *Pravoslavnyi visnyk*, 1955, no. 9–10, 309–10. See also Iu. Fedoryshyn, "Proshchannia l'vivs'koï pastvy z vysokopreosviashchennym Makariem, arkhiepyskopom l'vivs'kym i ternopil's'kym," *Pravoslavnyi visnyk*, 1952, no. 1, 20–1; and I. Myroniuk, "Svityl'nyk pravoslaviia: Svitlii pam'iaty blazhennishoho mytropolyta varshavs'koho i vsiiei Pol'shchi Kyr Makariia," *Pravoslavnyi visnyk*, 1961, no. 3, 67–77.

appointed the eparchial secretary.<sup>62</sup>

In late April an undated missive “To the Pastors and Faithful of the Greek Catholic Church, Residents of the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR,” bearing the signature of Patriarch Aleksii, was circulated in Galicia. It accused the late Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and the Vatican of pro-Nazi sympathies:

what were you [Greek Catholics] called [to do] by the late Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi and his closest collaborators? They called upon you to accept Hitler's yoke; they taught you to bow your heads before him. And where are you now being led by the Vatican, which in the pope's Christmas and New Year's messages called upon you to be kindly disposed to all bearers of fascism, to have compassion for Hitler, that greatest of all criminals ever known in history?

Now that “Divine Providence had reunited the Russian land within its ancient frontiers,” the patriarch called upon the faithful of Galician Rus' to

Break, tear apart your bonds with the Vatican, which leads you into darkness, into spiritual perdition, on account of its religious errors and now wants to arm you against all of freedom-loving humankind, wants you to turn your back on the whole world. Hasten to return to the embraces of our own mother—the Russian Orthodox Church!<sup>63</sup>

62. Iosyf Oksiiuk (1894–1991) was a leading figure in the Ukrainian church movement after the 1917 revolution and was consecrated an archbishop of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) in 1922. He survived the UAOC's “self-dissolution” that had been engineered by the GPU and orchestrated by Karin in 1929–30, and he briefly (until 1931) served a bishop in the reconstituted Ukrainian Orthodox Church (UOC). In 1933 Oksiiuk repudiated the UOC and his episcopal rank and priesthood. This did not save him from repression, however: in 1935 he was arrested and sent to a concentration camp in the Arctic Kolyma region. After Kostel'nyk's assassination, Oksiiuk became the de facto editor of *Pravoslavnyi visnyk* and wrote numerous polemical articles against the Greek Catholic Church. See Serhii Bilokin', “Zhyv poruch z namy...” *Literaturna Ukraina*, June 27, 1991.

63. Aleksii's message, Karpov secretly informed Khrushchev in late April 1945, was “agreed upon with Comrade Molotov on March 19,” i.e., four weeks *before* the arrest of the Greek Catholic episcopate. Karpov does not mention who was seeking Molotov's approval of the text; most likely it was Karpov himself, who made arrangements to have 10,000 copies of it printed as a leaflet and sent by the Moscow patriarchate to L'viv for use by Bishop Makarii. TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1638, fol. 34. The authorship of Aleksii's undated message remains uncertain. It was

On June 24, 1945, Bishop Makarii issued a pastoral to Galicia's Greek Catholics calling upon them to return to the "ancestral Orthodox faith."<sup>64</sup>

On December 4, 1945, in connection with his unpublicized meeting with Frs. Kostel'nyk, Antonii Pel'vets'kyi, and Mel'nyk of the Initiative Group,<sup>65</sup> the patriarchal exarch of Ukraine, Ioann (Sokolov), delivered a similar message:

The Uniates, in the person of their prominent representatives, turned out to be faithful servants of the Vatican, which has always pursued a line of uncompromising hostility towards our Orthodox Church.... It was agreeable to Divine Providence that victory in the Great Patriotic War should go not to fascism, which was "dear" to the Vatican, but to the Soviet land. Our Orthodox Church is jubilant that the once forcibly separated lands of Galicia, [in] Western Ukraine, have again been reunited with Soviet Ukraine and [that] as a result the population [of these lands] has obtained the possibility freely to confess its ancestral Orthodox faith and not the [Church] Union that was imposed by the papist Vatican.<sup>66</sup>

### The Emergence of the Initiative Group

As Karpov ordered in his memorandum, immediately after the arrests of the episcopate the NKGB proceeded to set up the "spontaneous" "Initiative Group of the Greek Catholic Church for Reunion with the Orthodox Church, with

not published (unlike Exarch Ioann's December 1945 message) in *ZhMP* or in *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk*. Even more significantly, it was not included in Aleksii's *Slova, rechi, poslaniia, obrashcheniia, doklady, stat'i*, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1948, 1954, 1958). A copy of the leaflet is preserved in the TsDAHOU, *fond 1, opys 23, sprava 1638*, fol. 35 (both sides).

64. TsDAHOU, *fond 1, opys 23, sprava 1638*, fols. 9–11. A decision to have 5,000 copies of Makarii's pastoral and the appeal of the Initiative Group published as leaflets was adopted *four days earlier* by the L'viv Party *obkom* (fol. 115).

65. Serhii Khruts'kyi, "Sobor povorotu do viry bat'kiv," *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk*, 1946, no. 2–3, 11.

66. Published in full in *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk*, 1946, no. 1, 9–12. In January Khodchenko sent 550 copies of Ioann's message to Vyshnevs'kyi, the CAROC plenipotentiary in L'viv, for distribution among the Greek Catholic clergy. DALO, *fond R-1332, opis' 1, sprava 3*, fol. 9.

headquarters in L'viv."<sup>67</sup> The task was most likely entrusted to Serhii Karin (Danylenko).<sup>68</sup> As a first step, Fr. Havryil Kostel'nyk was installed by the NKGB in late April 1945 as the administrator of L'viv archeparchy.

The choice of Kostel'nyk to head the Initiative Group was not accidental. A popular priest and respected theologian, he was generally recognized as the leader of the *vostochnyky* (Easternizers) faction among the Greek Catholic clergy.<sup>69</sup> Already during the first Soviet occupation of Galicia he had been subjected to intense pressure and blackmail to lead an “away-from-Rome” movement.<sup>70</sup> As long as his patron and unquestioned authority figure, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, had been alive, Kostel'nyk refused to submit to Soviet pressure. But with the accession of Archbishop Slipyi, against whom he nursed grievances dating back at least to his removal from the L'viv Greek Catholic Theological Academy in 1930, Kostel'nyk might have become more vulnerable to pressure, which was again exerted upon him after the arrests of the episcopate. His “nationalist” past, which had been thoroughly recorded by the security agencies after the Soviet recapture of Galicia,<sup>71</sup> as was the fact that two of his sons had volunteered for the Division Galizien, could have led the NKGB to threaten him with severe reprisals for his “anti-Soviet activities.”<sup>72</sup> Moreover, in the spring of 1945 he apparently believed that his two sons in the division had been killed in action.<sup>73</sup>

67. See p. 101 above. Initially the Initiative Group avoided referring to the church with which it was to merge the Greek Catholics as “Russian.”

68. See Khrushchev's letter to Stalin (June 14, 1945) informing him that documents prepared by the Initiative Group were handed over to Danylenko. RTsKhIDNI, *fond* 17, *opis'* 125, *delo* 313, fols. 28–30.

69. Korolevskij, *Métropolitane*, 393–4. For a well-informed sketch of Kostel'nyk and his views, see Hryn'okh, “Znyshchennia Ukraïns'koï Katolyts'koï Tserkvy,” 29–30.

70. See chapter two, p. 51.

71. See PLOKU, *fond* 3, *opis'* 1, *delo* 71, fol. 11; TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1638, fols. 12–13.

72. Kostel'nyk participated in the June 30, 1941, meeting in L'viv at which representatives of the OUN Bandera faction proclaimed the creation of a Ukrainian state. Soon after they were suppressed by the Germans. Kostel'nyk joined the Council of Seniors formed in L'viv on July 6 and became a member of the Ukrainian National Council Presidium. See Pan'kivs'kyi, *Vid derzhavy do komitetu*, 41, 73.

73. Interview with Khrystyna Kostel'nyk-Poljak, Zagreb, March 12, 1980. Kostel'nyk's sons survived the war and ended up in the United Kingdom along with other surrendered soldiers of the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army



Some time in April, Kostel'nyk addressed a declaration to a representative of the authorities in which he stated:

I have been a Uniate and have lost the dignity of a pastor. I have been a nationalist and have lost human dignity. But this was not enough. Nationalism has orphaned me and my wife—[it] killed our three sons. We became unhappy parents.... In our land there is no family that will not be lamenting some victim of nationalism. To nationalism we say: enough of blood! To the [church] union we say: enough of shame!

... I represent those clergymen of our church who have set for themselves the objective of breaking with Rome and destroying the shameful Union of Brest. Such priests are the majority in our church. Some of them are inclined to look back “at the forest”—at the *banderivtsi*—arguing, “and what will the ‘forest people’ say?” And we know: from the forest they will threaten us; we know that various difficulties await us, extremities, even dangers—this will be taken care of by the nurslings of Rome, the pastors of the “forest men.” But we are not afraid. Our people will soon drag them out of the forest for punishment.<sup>74</sup>

Before the end of April, another member was recruited to the Initiative Group to “represent” Stanislav eparchy—Antonii Pel'vets'kyi, the pastor of Kopychyntsi and dean of Husiatyn. The Initiative Group “appointed” him “administrator of Stanislav eparchy” from May 1, 1945.<sup>75</sup> Little is known about the circumstances that led Fr. Pel'vets'kyi to join the group. From the Soviet-held part of Peremyshl' eparchy, the canonically appointed vicar-general of Drohobych oblast, Fr. Mykhailo Mel'nyk, the pastor of Nyzhankovychi, was eventually terrorized into joining the Initiative Group.<sup>76</sup> From the Chełm region, Serhii Khruts'kyi, an Orthodox teacher and former member of

transferred from a British POW camp in Rimini, Italy, in 1947. Kostel'nyk had learned of their fate by 1946.

74. Cited in Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by*, 298.

75. See I. Dmytriivs'kyi, “Vysokopreosviashchennyi Antonii, pershyi pravoslavnyi arkhiepyskop stanislavs'kyi i kolomyis'kyi,” *Pravoslavnyi visnyk*, 1957, no. 7, 212.

76. On Mel'nyk's arrest, see the article on the persecution of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the May 1945 issue of the underground UPA-OUN newspaper *Strilets'ki visti*. Cited in full in a report to the first secretary of the L'viv *obkom*, Grushetskii, by the chief of the NKGB in L'viv oblast, Lt. Gen. Voronin (August 30, 1945), PLOKU, *fond 3, opis' 1, delo 230, fol. 19*. See also note 53 above.

the Polish Sejm, was recruited as secretary of the Initiative Group. He had served as the precentor in L'viv's only Orthodox parish and had long shared Kostel'nyk's interest in spiritualism.<sup>77</sup>

Some time in late April, Kostel'nyk convened a meeting of L'viv's clergy to discuss the situation of the Greek Catholic Church since the arrests of the bishops. He informed his fellow priests that the Soviet authorities would no longer tolerate the church, and he warned the clergy of imminent Soviet repression should they refuse to join formally the Russian Orthodox Church. Apparently, however, at first none of the priests supported Kostel'nyk.<sup>78</sup>

Early in May, the first secretary of the L'viv Party *obkom*, Grushetskii, reported to Khrushchev about Kostel'nyk's reaction to the arrests of the Greek Catholic hierarchy. Kostel'nyk stated: "By the will of the Soviet authorities the Uniate Church in the USSR has been liquidated. Metropolitan Slipyi and the bishops will not return to power again. A 'Committee for the Reunion of Churches' has been created. The question has been raised about the immediate break of the Uniate Church with the Vatican and its subordination to the patriarch of Moscow and all Rus'.... I assume that such a reunion is now necessary in the interests of preserving the faith, the church, the priestly cadres, and the Ukrainian nation. However ... I feel so far very much alone in this matter."<sup>79</sup> "Nevertheless," wrote Grushetskii, "Kostel'nyk expressed his conviction that he will succeed in defending his views and will attract to his side the Uniate clergy and believers."<sup>80</sup>

In early May 1945 Republican CARC Plenipotentiary Vil'khovyi paid a visit to L'viv, ostensibly to instruct the oblast CARC plenipotentiaries in Galicia about the new policy towards the Roman Catholic Church. In his report of May 15, 1945, to Polianskii on this visit, Vil'khovyi described the situation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine's four western oblasts and focused on Kostel'nyk's personality and anti-Soviet record. It is more than likely that he met with Kostel'nyk on that occasion, and possibly

77. Khruts'kyi was in L'viv during the German occupation and joined the Ukrainian National Council there in the summer of 1941. After Kostel'nyk's assassination he was arrested; he died in Siberian exile in 1954. See Pankivs'kyi, *Vid derzhavy do komitetu*, 73.

78. Interview with Fr. Iosyf Kladochnyi, Toronto, June 20, 1980.

79. "Sekretariu TsK KP(b)U tov. Khrushchevu, N. S. O reagiruvanii naseleniia na arresty dukhovenstva uniatskoi tserkvi. Sekretar' L'vovskogo obkoma KP(b)U, Grushetskii," May 6, 1945, PLOKU, *fond 3, opis' 1, delo 212*, fol. 68.

80. *Ibid.*

also with Frs. Pel'vets'kyi and Mel'nyk. Vil'khovyi reported to Polianskii that

Following your directives, we have done the following: Our plenipotentiaries have been instructed to offer full co-operation to the plenipotentiaries of the Council for the Affairs of the R[ussian] O[rthodox] C[hurch] in [implementing] their measures [to bring about the "reunion" of the Uniates]; [Roman Catholic] pastors have been prohibited from providing services to Greek Catholic congregations lacking [their own] priests; priests of the Roman Catholic Church have been forbidden to tour parishes that do not have [their own] servants of cult; we have supported the requests of the Orthodox "twent[ies]" about the transfer to them of former [Roman Catholic] church buildings;

... if a Uniate church was built by the Orthodox, we have offered the possibility for an Orthodox "twenty" to take that church for their [own] use;

... we have offered every support to the work of the "Initiative Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church."<sup>81</sup>

Polianskii's deputy, Sadovskii, responded approvingly to Vil'khovyi's report, pointing out "the correctness of the measures carried out and planned with respect to the Greek Catholic and [Roman] Catholic churches. The work begun should be continued and actively developed along the same lines."<sup>82</sup>

The Initiative Group produced two documents dated May 28. Soon after Khrushchev wrote to Stalin for guidance as to the response the Soviet Ukrainian government should offer to the group's appeal to the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars:

When I was in Moscow, I informed you about the work done so far to break up the Uniate Church and to persuade the Uniate clergy to join the Orthodox Church. As a result of this work, some members of the Uniate clergy formed an "Initiative Group." This group has sent the Council of People's Commissars ... the following documents:

1. A letter to the Council of People's Commissars on the status of the Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine.
2. A letter from the Initiative Group to all the clergy of the Greek Catholic Church. This letter will be sent out to the clergy as soon as we approve the existence of the Initiative Group.

81. Bilas, *Represyвно-karal'na systema*, 1: 322–4.

82. *Ibid.*, 324.

When the above documents were presented to an NKVD agent who identified himself as the person responsible for religious affairs at the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Danylenko, they requested that if the steps they have taken receive approval, we not publish their "Letter to the Council of People's Commissars" before they send a second letter to all the clergy in the eparchies....

I await your instructions.

If you have any recommendations concerning the text of the Uniate documents, we will be able to insert these recommendations through our representative.

Concerning our response to the Initiative Group, do you recommend that it be signed by me or that it be signed by the person in the Council of People's Commissars ... responsible for matters concerning the Russian Orthodox Church?<sup>83</sup>

In its appeal to the Council of People's Commissars the Initiative Group painted a bleak picture: the Greek Catholic Church had been "abandoned" by Rome, which—it charged—favoured its gradual assimilation by the Roman Catholic Church and the Polonization of its faithful. Having occupied Galicia, Nazi Germany planned to destroy the Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches. In such dire circumstances, the Greek Catholic Church had no one to turn to for help; its traditional Western orientation, its fear of Soviet "revolutionary atheism," and its lack of "confidence in the solution of the nationality question in the USSR" precluded any appeals for Soviet help. The Initiative Group "frankly admit[ted] that by the end of the German occupation we [the Greek Catholics] had only fear in our hearts, and no hope. We had erred, however, in our evaluation of Soviet reality and the historical mission of the USSR." Led by the "generalissimo, the incomparable Stalin," the Red Army "saved Europe from horrible Nazi enslavement, and all the Slavic peoples from destruction." Thanks to Stalin, "all the Ukrainian lands have been reunited with the mother, and the prophesied 'united Ukraine' has arisen, a real Ukraine in fraternal union with Moscow and all Soviet peoples."<sup>84</sup>

83. Khrushchev's letter to Stalin of June 14, 1945, RTSKhIDNI, *fond 17, opis' 132, delo 7*, fols. 1, 10, 11. Stalin apparently approved Khrushchev's proposal and advised him not to sign the government's reply to the Initiative Group.

84. Cited in *Diiannia soboru hreko-katolyts'koi tserkvy u L'vovi, 8–10 bereznia 1946* (L'viv, 1946), 17.

To all clear-thinking people it is obvious that the Uniate Church, as Uniate, is a historical anachronism in the new conditions of political and national life. Now that all Ukrainians have been united into a single state organism, its church, too, must be united into one church, into its own, native church independent of [any] foreign yoke—into the Orthodox Church of our forefathers....

Unfortunately, our bishops were not able to get their bearings in the new political and ecclesiastical situation; they have been swept away by the waves of life, and we have found ourselves [to be] as if on a sinking ship.

Our church has found itself in a state of anarchy and disorder. This has had painful consequences for our ecclesiastical life; [and] this [situation] can not last any longer. Accordingly, we, the undersigned leading representatives of our three eparchies, have decided to lead our church out of this state of anarchy into a state of consolidation through transformation into an Orthodox church. We ask that our initiative be approved.

The psychology of religion is a very delicate matter, and thus one can hardly think of an immediate transformation of our Uniate Church into an Orthodox one. Time will be needed for this in order to preserve the personal honour of the priests, to persuade and re-educate the clergy, to pacify and prepare the faithful, and so on.

The Initiative Group, which already has more supporters in all our three eparchies, wishes to begin the registration of its adherents, to publish books that were written while we were still under Polish rule,<sup>85</sup> and, in general, to carry on [activities] in such a way as to cause a minimum of strife and friction (for such an action [would] be hampered if it were to have casualties) and not produce “recalcitrants.”

The action should be carried out in agreement between the state government, the Initiative Group, and the leadership of the All-Russian Orthodox Church, because only in this way can the plan achieve success.

Accordingly, we ask you to approve our Initiative Group and to recognize its right to carry out the indicated task.<sup>86</sup>

85. The reference is to Fr. Kostel'nyk's polemical pamphlet, *Ap[ostol] Petro i ryms'ki papy, abo dohmatychni osnovy papstva*, said to have been written in 1931 but revised in 1945. It was published by the Initiative Group in the summer of 1945.

86. “Do Rady Narodnykh Komisariv URSR,” in *Diiannia soboru*, 16–19. The Initiative Group's appeal of May 28 was published in *Vil'na Ukraina* only on July 6, 1945, together with Khodchenko's reply dated June 18, 1945. K. Ie. Dmytruk, “Tserkva na sluzhbi fashyzmu,” *Zhovten'* (L'viv), 1971, no. 6, 111n; idem, *Pid shtandartamy reaktsii i fashyzmu* (Kyiv, 1976), 274, 277.

The group's second document, a letter "To the Reverend Greek Catholic Clergy in the Western Oblasts of Ukraine," informed the clergy that

*with the permission of the state authorities, an Initiative Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church, based in L'viv, has been formed. Its aim is to lead our church out of the disorganization and anarchy in which it has found itself. The state authorities will recognize only the directives of our Initiative Group and will not recognize any other administrative authority within the Greek Catholic Church.*

It is self-evident that our Initiative Group maintains and will firmly maintain a position of sincere patriotism with respect to the U[krainian] SSR and the entire Soviet Union, for this is dictated by sound reason and the Ukrainian heart....

We ask the reverend fathers-deans to summon the clergy for conferences on this important matter and to read this letter to them.

[Those] priests who share our ideas should become members of the Initiative Group as soon as possible in their own interest, *for they will require our certificate.*<sup>87</sup>

In view of the difficulties in communication, priests may make a collective declaration on the spot, each [confirming] with his personal, full (including patronymic) signature, to the effect that they have joined the Initiative Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church.<sup>88</sup>

The appeal to the clergy left no doubt that from the very start the group's anti-canonical usurpation of power after the arrest of the episcopate enjoyed the full support of the Soviet authorities.

After consulting with Stalin, Khrushchev delegated the task of responding

87. Without a certificate of membership in the Initiative Group, no Greek Catholic priest could obtain a registration permit from the authorities; without the latter, under newly enforced Soviet legislation on religion, no priest could retain his parish or legally perform sacerdotal functions. After the arrests of the bishops, the authorities refused to register priests other than those who committed themselves to the "reunion" by joining the Initiative Group. It also appears that jurisdiction over the Greek Catholic Church was simultaneously transferred from the CARC to the CAROC nearly eleven months *before* the church's formal "reunion" at the "L'viv Sobor."

88. "Do vsechesnogo hreko-katolyts'koho dukhovenstva v zakhidnykh oblastiakh Ukraïny," in *Diiannia soboru*, 20–24. Emphasis added.

to the Initiative Group's letter to the government to Pavlo Khodchenko,<sup>89</sup> the republican CAROC plenipotentiary attached to the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars. Khodchenko's reply represented an unprecedented public admission of direct Soviet violation of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience and the separation of church and state:

**To Members of the Initiative Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church: Dr. Kostel'nyk, Dr. Mel'nyk, and Dr. [sic] Pel'vets'kyi.**

In accordance with instructions from the Council of People's Commissars of the U[krainian] SSR, and in reply to your declaration of 28.5.45, I am informing you that:

1. The Initiative Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church is sanctioned in its present composition *as the sole provisional organ of church administration, which is authorized to direct all affairs of the existing Greek Catholic parishes in the western oblasts of Ukraine* and to carry on the task of reuniting the above parishes with the Russian Orthodox Church.
2. The Initiative Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church has *the right to settle all legal matters concerning the administration of the Greek Catholic parishes* and their reunion with the Orthodox Church with the *Radnarkom* plenipotentiary of the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church attached to the CPC of the U[krainian] SSR, and in the oblasts, as the case may be, with the local [CAROC] plenipotentiaries.
3. *In the course of conducting an inventory of the deaneries, parishes, and monasteries of the Greek Catholic Church, the Initiative Group is to forward to the plenipotentiary for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church attached to the Radnarkom of the U[krainian] SSR the*

89. It appears that the government's reply was drafted jointly by Danylenko and Khodchenko. An earlier draft was signed first by the "referent on the affairs of confessions of the Council of People's Commissars of the U[krainian] SSR, S. Danylenko, and then by Khodchenko. Danylenko's name and fictitious government position were then crossed out. The original draft's language seems to be Danylenko's. TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1638, fol. 147. On Khodchenko (1880–1967), a Soviet Ukrainian writer and Party and government official who served as the CAROC republican plenipotentiary from 1944 through 1950, see Dmytro Hryn'ko, "Pavlo Khodchenko," *Literaturna Ukraina*, January 15, 1980.



*lists of all deans, parish priests, and superiors of monasteries who refuse to submit to the jurisdiction of the Initiative Group of the Greek Catholic Church for Reunion with the Orthodox Church.*<sup>90</sup>

While the Initiative Group's two letters and the government's reply were published in *Vil'na Ukraina* only on July 6, the group's appeal to the clergy of May 28 was published immediately in L'viv as a leaflet and distributed widely. On June 30 the CP(B)U CC secretary for propaganda and agitation, Lytvyn, informed the *obkom* propaganda secretaries in Western Ukraine that

our task is—through the plenipotentiaries for the affairs of [religious] cults attached to the executive committees of oblast and raion soviets—to offer co-operation to the [Russian] Orthodox Church in the work that it will conduct in unmasking the Greek Catholic Church and in converting [its] believers to Orthodoxy, as well as to assist representatives of the Initiative Group of the Greek Catholic Church in the work they had planned in their appeal concerning the conversion of the Uniate Church to Orthodoxy.

The Greek Catholic Church is the means of influence of the reactionary clergy, [which is] closely connected with the Roman pope and has implemented the Vatican's directives. Therefore the separation of the faithful population that has remained under the influence of the Greek Catholic Church, and its conversion to Orthodoxy, has great political and state significance.<sup>91</sup>

On August 5, 1945, Republican Plenipotentiary Vil'khovyi instructed all CARC oblast plenipotentiaries that Greek Catholic priests "should not be registered [legalized] as belonging to the Greek Catholic Church:

At present an Initiative Group for Reunion with the Orthodox [Church] was formed within the Uniate Church.... Therefore, if Greek Catholic priests approach you [for registration], you should direct them to the Initiative Group, and there, if they join it, they will be given a certificate. On the basis of this certificate they should be registered by the plenipotentiary [of the Council] for the Affairs of the [Russian] Orthodox Church. If there is none [in your oblast], you may register [them] yourself.... For those [priests] who do not want to transfer to the Orthodox [Church], the plenipotentiary for the

90. Cited in full in *Diiannia soboru*, 19–20. Emphasis added.

91. Lytvyn's letter of June 30, PLOKU, *fond 3, opis' 1, delo 230*, fols. 74–5.

affairs of the Orthodox Church or—if there is none—you should pass on to us lists with [the priests'] profiles [*kharakteristika*], i.e., what a given Uniate priest represents, what are his education, birth date, and motives, and where he is from. You should assist in every way the plenipotentiary for the affairs of the Orthodox Church. Keep us informed on this matter every month.<sup>92</sup>

The main instruments, however, for persuading the Greek Catholic clergy to join the Initiative Group were the NKGB and its network of secret agents and informers.<sup>93</sup> For conspiratorial purposes, the group's representatives were not allowed to use NKGB cars because their license plate numbers might be known to the Ukrainian underground.<sup>94</sup> In L'viv oblast formerly classified Party and NKGB documents indicate that prior to the deanery conferences with Kostel'nyk and a "representative of the republican government's Department of Cults," Ivanov,<sup>95</sup> all clergymen had "interviews" with state-security representatives. There the accumulated charges of their past "anti-Soviet" activities were enumerated, leaving them with no doubt that unless they joined Kostel'nyk's group, the charges would suffice to have them sentenced to lengthy terms in forced-labour camps and their families deported to Siberia.<sup>96</sup> The same approach was applied to priests in the other oblasts of Galicia. Even before Kostel'nyk and Ivanov began attending the deanery conferences to sign up future "converts" to Orthodoxy, protests multiplied against the forcible nature of the "reunion" and the NKGB's involvement as Orthodox "missionaries." Already in May an underground newspaper, *Strilets'ki visti*, spoke out against the persecution of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, stressing its central role in forging national consciousness among the Western Ukrainians. Dismissing the Orthodox Church as an NKGB tool, the paper charged that "there is proof that the NKVD has surreptitiously

92. DATO, *fond* R-3239, *opys* 2s, *sprava* 2, fols. 2–3.

93. A special order to this effect was issued by the USSR 'people's commissar of state security, Gen. Vsevolod N. Merkulov. PLOKU, *fond* 3, *opis'* 1, *delo* 230, fol. 21.

94. Voronin's report to Grushetskii, August 30, 1945, PLOKU, *fond* 3, *opis* 1, *delo* 230, fol. 9.

95. In fact Ivanov was member of the CAROC in Moscow and a much higher-ranking official. See the Bilas collection, doc. 19. Most likely, like Karpov, he was a senior NKGB officer dispatched to observe Kostel'nyk's meetings with the Greek Catholic clergy, to intimidate the latter by his presence, and to point out "recalcitrants" to the Soviet security organs.

96. Voronin's report to Grushetskii, fols. 11, 19–20.

placed weapons and other compromising materials in priests' [homes] so as to create a pretext for arresting them. Some arrested clerics have been compelled to sign declarations about [their] voluntary conversion to Orthodoxy.... The question arises: why are the Bolsheviks so eager to save Orthodoxy? Where then is the freedom of confession, where is the separation of church and state, and since when has the NKVD become a spiritual institution?"<sup>97</sup>

### **The Protests against the Government's Illegal Recognition of the Initiative Group**

In July, before the Soviet press published Khodchenko's letter that effectively transferred all authority over the Greek Catholic Church to the Initiative Group, the most important public protest was mounted by a group of sixty-one L'viv priests and the hegumens of all Greek Catholic monasteries in L'viv oblast. Led by Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi and Fr. Ivan Kotiv, the group addressed a collective letter "To V. M. Molotov, Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR." It expressed the views of the overwhelming majority of the Greek Catholic clergy:

As a result of the arrests of the entire episcopate of the Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine and of a large number of our priests, as well as owing to the ban on carrying on the administration of our church, the Greek Catholic clergy finds itself in a most abnormal situation. The situation has been further complicated by the emergence of an "Initiative Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church, based in L'viv." This group, headed by the Rev. Dr. Kostel'nyk (L'viv), the Rev. Dr. Mel'nyk (Drohobych) of Peremyshl' eparchy, and the Rev. Antin Pel'vets'kyi (Stanislav), issued an appeal to the reverend clergy in the western oblasts of Ukraine dated May 28, 1945, with the signatures of the above priests.

Since the appeal contains many falsehoods and distortions of generally known historical facts, we, the Greek Catholic clergy, will not reply to this appeal. In this letter we only want to express our position and voice our pleas to the Soviet government. We declare that we stand and want to continue to stand on a platform of patriotism towards the U[krainian] SSR and the entire Soviet Union and [want] to fulfil all our duties towards the state conscientiously. We do not want to interfere in so-called politics, but merely to dedicate ourselves totally to the work for the salvation of human

97. Ibid., fol. 83.

souls, including ours. We think that such work brings benefit not only to the church but to the state as well.

Our attitude towards the action of Fr. Kostel'nyk is entirely negative. We condemn his action as harmful, totally anti-ecclesiastical, and contrary to the truth proclaimed by Christ: "There shall be one flock and one pastor." It is clear, therefore, that we cannot follow a voice that calls for apostasy from the faith. The situation that has now been created may easily lead to a religious struggle, which, as we know from history, brings harm not only to the church but also to the state.

Accordingly, we ask the government to free our episcopate headed by the metropolitan [Slipyi] and, pending such release, to grant us the possibility of ordering affairs connected with our church. Thus, up to the release of the metropolitan and the bishops, the church could be governed by a canonical body, as provided by the rules of our church, which would administer the entire metropolity of L'viv and Halych.

We trust that the government will accept our request and meet us half-way, for the Stalin Constitution clearly guarantees freedom of religion and conscience to all citizens, and hence to us as well. We know for the sake of what lofty ideals the 1917 Revolution was undertaken and believe that these ideals of freedom are still alive and developing and spreading around the entire world. We do not believe that the government would want to persecute us for our faith, and we consider the entire action to date of "converting to Orthodoxy" as a misunderstanding, as a certain kind of arbitrary action by minor or senior officials.

Therefore, in the name of justice, in the light of the glorious victory of the Soviet Union, we ask that we and our people in Western Ukraine be given back that freedom in ecclesiastical matters that we have enjoyed for centuries and to which, according to Soviet law, we have a full right.<sup>98</sup>

In the meantime, after the publication of the Initiative Group's appeal to the Soviet government, the security agencies hastened to survey the reaction of various individuals to the appeal—Greek Catholic priests and monks, members of the L'viv intelligentsia, captured OUN and UPA leaders, devout commoners, and even the new Orthodox bishop of L'viv and Ternopil', Makarii (Oksiuk). Makarii, who had no hand in preparing the appeal, warned the NKGB against Kostel'nyk's "intrigues":

98. The text is cited in full as it appeared in *Svoboda sumlinnia u bol'shevykiv: Pro voz'iednannia Hreko-Katolyts'koi Tservy z Rosiis'koiu Pravoslavnoi* (n.p., 1946), 13–15. This mimeographed brochure is preserved at the MAUOC, doc. 6146.

Excessive masquerading as a faithful citizen of the Soviet Union may not only reflect negatively on the authority of Kostel'nyk, but suggest that Orthodoxy is a “Muscovite faith.”

Kostel'nyk may undermine the success of the cause of reunion. His words in the appeal ... confirm the suspicion that Kostel'nyk and his supporters have a peculiar notion of reunion, i.e., that [after reunion] the Uniate Church remain distinct from the Orthodox Church and enter into relations with it only formally, on paper, and on trifling matters (mentioning [during liturgical prayers] of the patriarch or the metropolitan of Kyïv). One can hypothesize that at the first opportunity Kostel'nyk and his “brothers” could utilize such a situation for some kind of experiment, such as *Polikarpovshchina* in [war-time] Volhynia or *Lipkovshchina* in [interwar Soviet] Ukraine [that is, the declaration of autocephaly for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church]. They might display political partisanship—[proclaim] the “independence” of Ukraine with a Nazi touch. In general one must be very cautious with Kostel'nyk so that he will not provoke any kind of intrigue.

In the report he sent in July to Khrushchev, the Ukrainian NKGB chief, Savchenko, reported that a captured local OUN leader confessed that “the OUN, in its latest instructions, ordered [its underground] not to interfere with the entry of the Greek Catholic Church into the Orthodox [Church] in order to preserve its cadres, create a single religious leadership in Kyïv, and install ‘our man’ as patriarch in Ukraine.” Savchenko added that “we are verifying this information. Measures are being taken to unmask among the Greek Catholic clergy persons who have converted to Orthodoxy with a hidden agenda [*s dvorushnicheskoi tsel'iu*].” At the same time, he cited Kostel'nyk's reaction to Makarii's June pastoral “expressed in a narrow circle of his close acquaintances”: “I am above all afraid that such characters [*typy*] as Makarii will start to introduce their ways [in Galicia]. My colleagues entirely justly declared that the Orthodox Church is conservative, lagging behind the times. It would be bad to emulate the regressives. It is necessary to have some reforms introduced in the Orthodox Church.”<sup>99</sup>

99. “Sovershenno sekretno. TsK KP(b) Ukrainy, tovarishchu Khrushchevu, N. S., Narodnyi komissar gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti USSR, Savchenko,” July (date not fully visible) 1945. As requested by Khrushchev, the report was read by all members of the CP(B)U Politburo. TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1639, fols. 32–42. *Polikarpovshchina* and *Lipkovshchina* are derogatory terms for the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church under Metropolitans *Polikarp* (Sikors'kyi) and *Vasyl'* (*Lypkivs'kyi*) respectively.

After the publication of the government's reply, a delegation of the Greek Catholic Church composed of Fr. Ivan Kotiv and Fr. Iosyf Kladochnyi paid a visit to Vil'khovyi on July 16, 1945, to ask the authorities to leave their church intact and to allow it to elect, according to its canons, a provisional leadership to direct the church during the absence of its episcopate. According to Vil'khovyi's report to Khrushchev, the two delegates stated that "On their part, the Greek Catholic clergy, while recognizing the Roman pope as head of the church, pledge completely not to interfere in political life and to remain true patriots of Soviet Ukraine." Vil'khovyi reported that Kotiv and Kladochnyi had mailed the clergy's protest to Molotov in Moscow during their visit to Kyiv and had declared that they were sending copies "to all the eparchies for [the purpose of] collecting the signatures not only of priests, but also of the devout population. They also intend to obtain signatures [supporting] their appeal from priests [who have been] resettled from Poland."

Apparently with the aim of compromising Kostel'nyk and his activity, the two priests said, according to Vil'khovyi, that

"Kostel'nyk has only four supporters in the city of L'viv, while we [have] 61." Moreover, Kostel'nyk has issued certificates from the Initiative Group to some clergy only for the purpose of not having them arrested by the NKGB. The Uniate delegates took a negative attitude towards the response sent by the plenipotentiary of CAROC, Comrade P. S. Khodchenko. Special anxiety among the Uniates ... was aroused by the third paragraph of Comrade Khodchenko's letter [requesting] that the Initiative Group pass on to the CAROC plenipotentiary the lists of all deans, priests, and hegumens of monasteries who have refused to submit to the jurisdiction of the Initiative Group. The Uniates would like to enjoy the same rights as those of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany.

At the end of the conversation, the delegates of the Uniate Church reported that they had brought packages for the arrested metropolitan and his other supporters that they had already passed on to their destination. Having heard them, we said that their actions were incorrect, illegal, and that they would receive no support from us.<sup>100</sup>

It was two months later (12–14 September) that Polianskii finally wrote to the L'viv oblast plenipotentiary of CARC a response to the letter of protest signed by Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi and sixty other Greek Catholic priests (by then many of them had been arrested by the NKGB):

100. "Sekretno. Tov. Khrushchevu. Informatsionnyi otchet upolnomochennogo Soveta ... za mai-iiun' mesiatsy 1945 g." TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1639, fols. 55–7.

The Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults ... received from the *Sovnar-kom* of the USSR a letter addressed to the vice-chairman of the CPC [Council of People's Commissars] of the USSR, V. M. Molotov, from a group of 61 priests<sup>101</sup> of the Greek Catholic Church pleading for the release of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) episcopate [that was] arrested in the spring of 1945 [and] headed by Metropolitan I. Slipyi, [and] for an end to the "persecution" of the Greek Catholic faith and to the "conversion to Orthodoxy" of the Greek Catholics. The council asks you to convey orally to this group of clergy headed by Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi and the priest Ivan Kotiv the following:

1. The leadership of the G[reek] C[atholic] C[hurch] assumed a hostile position toward the Soviet authorities, using the entire church according to their political interests.

2. The Initiative Group of the Greek Catholic Church headed by Dr. H. Kostel'nyk, which was formed after the arrests of the episcopate of the Uniate Church [and] having received permission for its existence from the CPC of the U[krainian]SSR, has carried on the work [promoting] the reunion of the GCC with the Orthodox Church.

In view of the above, the council does not find it useful to consider the questions in the above-mentioned letter raised by the group of priests of the Greek Catholic Church who had signed that letter.<sup>102</sup>

Meanwhile, as Kostel'nyk and Ivanov convened deanery conferences and extracted from the clergy signatures indicating their acceptance of the Initiative Group's authority and objectives, the NKGB was weeding out local leaders of resistance to the "reunion" campaign. One centre of resistance was uncovered in Zolochiv deanery. There Hegumen Iosafat Fedoryk of the local Basilian monastery and Fr. Stepan Fit'o were arrested for drafting a letter of protest to Khodchenko that had been read and approved by the local clergy at the deanery meeting, thus frustrating Kostel'nyk and Ivanov's aim for visiting Zolochiv. The protest stated that the Initiative Group's state-supported campaign "contradicts the Constitution [of the USSR] and ... Charter of the United Nations, which guarantee to everyone freedom of conscience and religious conviction.... [The campaign] is harmful to the Soviet Union because it wounds millions of believers ... and this means a betrayal of the

101. According to Voronin's report to Grushetskii, sixty-two priests signed the letter to Molotov, not sixty-one.

102. TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 20, *sprava* 1303, fol. 5.



faithful not only by the initiators of this action, but also the authorities who patronize it.... [T]he action is inexpedient as it punishes all believers for other people's true and untrue political actions ... and gives an opportunity to individuals who may have in fact been guilty before the state to escape their punishment by converting to Orthodoxy out of fear."<sup>103</sup>

The Zolochiv dean, Fr. Volodymyr Lys'ko, was also arrested for convening in August "an illegal meeting of the clergy of Zolochiv deanery, where it was decided to boycott the Initiative Group and to this end write [the above] appeal."<sup>104</sup>

The Basilian Order was singled out by the NKGB as the main organizer of resistance to the "reunion campaign." By November 20 security police had arrested the leading Basilians, including the Galician protohegumen Vitalii Volodymyr Hradiuk of L'viv, and, at the Zhovkva monastery, Hegumen Mykhailo Pelekh, his deputy Markiiian Savchyn, the *Misionar* columnist Havryil Kohut, the director of the Basilian publishing house Pavlo Pasika, and the monk Dmytro Kurman.<sup>105</sup>

Earlier, the NKGB had arrested the hegumen of the L'viv Basilian monastery, Ivan Chepil', and a fellow monastic priest, Mykhailo Barso.<sup>106</sup>

Another centre of opposition was pinpointed in L'viv at the metropolitan palace and chapter residences adjoining St. George's Cathedral. It was centred around Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi and included the main signatories of the protest letter to Molotov. By August the security police had arrested the capitular vicar Mykola Galiant, the former rector of the Greek Catholic Theological Academy Ivan Chorniak, the former prorector of the Greek Catholic Theological Seminary Stepan Sampara, and Fr. Volodymyr

103. "Khrushchevu, N. S. Dokladnaia zapiska po voprosam vossoedineniia uniatskoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi," September 20, 1945, PLOKU, *fond 3, opis' 1, delo 230*, fols. 91–3. Fr. Fit'o eventually recanted and served as a delegate to the 1946 "sobor."

104. "T. Grushetskomu. Kratkaia spravka o rezul'tatakh agenturno-operativnoi raboty Upravleniia NKGB L'vovskoi oblasti v sviazi s vossoedineniem uniatskoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi. Nachal'nik Upravleniia NKGB L'vovskoi oblasti Leit. General Voronin," November 22, 1945, *ibid.*, fol. 30. See also "... Tak navertaly na rosiis'ke pravoslaviie (Uryvky zi shchodennyka o. Volodymyra Lys'ka)," *Tserkovnyi visnyk* (Chicago), June 16, 1991, 7–8.

105. PLOKU, *fond 3, opis' 1, delo 230*, fol. 29.

106. "Sekretariu L'vovskogo oblastnogo komiteta KP(b) Ukrainy, tov. Grushetskomu, Dokladnaia zapiska o rabote po vossoedinenii greko-katolicheskoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi na territorii L'vovskoi oblasti, ... Leit. General Voronin," August 30, 1945, *ibid.*, fol. 15.

Figol', "who [had] attempted to set up an illegal organization of Uniate clergy whose task involved a struggle against the reunion, in particular against Dr. Kostel'nyk."<sup>107</sup> Several other priests in L'viv oblast were arrested for "actively speaking out against the reunion of the Uniate Church with the Orthodox," including Ievhenii Kostyshyn (dean of Hlyniany), Vasyl' Kulynych (dean of Rava Rus'ka), and Petro Kazanivs'kyi (acting dean of Kam'ianka Buz'ka).<sup>108</sup> By October the NKGB had also arrested the Studite monks Ivan Shestiuk (abbot of the Univ monastery) and Volodymyr Matkovs'kyi, and, in L'viv, the abbess of the Studite convent Olena Viter. All of them were accused of giving shelter and care to wounded UPA fighters.<sup>109</sup>

Thus, by the end of August the total number of arrested priests, monastics, and laymen in L'viv oblast had risen to seventy-eight.<sup>110</sup> By November 20 the number had grown to 104; it included the three Greek Catholic bishops, the Galician provincial of the Basilian Order, nine deans and vice-deans, six hegumens and abbesses, fifty-four secular priests, five monastic priests, six monks, two deacons, six theology students, and fourteen others.<sup>111</sup>

As the terror against the defenders of the Greek Catholic Church spread, the number of future "converts" to Orthodoxy increased from 96 to 255 priests, fifteen deacons, and three monks by July 29.<sup>112</sup> By mid-November, through its agents the NKGB had opened eleven Orthodox parishes in addition to the three parishes that predated the "reunion" campaign in L'viv oblast.<sup>113</sup>

107. Ibid., fols. 12–13.

108. Ibid., fol. 14.

109. "Spravka ob antisovetskoi deiatel'nosti uniatskogo dukhovenstva, sviazannogo s podpol'em OUN i bandformirovaniiami UPA. Zam. nachal'nika UNKGB L'vovskoi oblasti, polkovnik Kolomiets" (October 22, 1945), *ibid.*, fols. 23–4.

110. Ibid., fol. 15.

111. Ibid., fols. 28–9. Note that the total number should be 106, not 104. "Twelve of the arrested priests," adds the report, "were released because of operational considerations and dispatched to various raions of L'viv oblast in the capacity of priests." Ibid., fol. 29.

112. "Sekretariu TsK KP(b)U po propagande, tov. Litvinu. Sekretar' obkoma KP(b)U po propagande, [I.] Mazepa," July 29, 1945, *ibid.*, fol. 81. On July 29 the Drohobych oblast CAROC plenipotentiary, A. Sherstiuk, passed on to Fr. Kostel'nyk via his L'viv colleague, Vyshnevs'kyi, forty-one declarations of adherence to the Initiative Group collected by Fr. Mel'nyk among the clergy of his eparchy. DALO, *fond* R-1332, *opys* 1, *sprava* 3, fol. 4.

113. "T. Grushetskomy," fol. 31.

On November 20 the NKGB chief for L'viv oblast, Lt. Gen. Voronin, reported to *obkom* First Secretary Grushetskii that

In [the oblast administration of] the NKGB, materials are concentrated on all persons who are being proposed [as delegates] for the forthcoming [reunion] sobor [and contain] character references on every priest and believer. Conferences of precentors, which are continuing in L'viv oblast, help to attract to the Orthodox Church non-reunited clergy ... the precentors' conferences are taking place without the participation of the Initiative Group, [and are] under the leadership of priests who have agreed to the reunion and are our agents.

At the same time, the work (*razrabotka*) on anti-Soviet elements, mainly [those] from among the clergy that did not consent to the reunion, is being continued along with the recruitment of an apparatus of agents and informers inside the Greek Catholic Church.

Considering that the monasteries of the Greek Catholic Church have actively opposed the reunion of the [Greek Catholic and Orthodox] churches, we are planning measures to resettle the monks and nuns so that in L'viv oblast [only] one monastery should [later] be organized for each order.

The [monks in the] five Basilian monasteries are to be resettled in a monastery in the village of Krekhiv ... located far from population centres. We are planning to resettle the [monks in the] Studite monasteries in the village of Univ and to transfer there from L'viv their archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi, thus vacating the former palace of the metropolitan of the Uniate Church [in L'viv].

The [monks in the] Redemptorist monasteries [are] to be moved to a suburb of L'viv ... the village of Holos'ko-Velyke.

We are also planning analogous work with regard to the female monasteries of the Uniate Church.<sup>114</sup>

In his letter to Khrushchev of December 4 Grushetskii endorsed Voronin's resettlement proposals, citing eleven men's monasteries, ten convents, 166 monks, and 314 nuns in L'viv oblast. He complained that "Lately many monks and nuns have been organizing pilgrimages in [L'viv] oblast and, especially among the peasantry, propagating the Catholic faith and appealing [to the populace] not to reunite with the Orthodox Church. Monastic priests have been taking over parishes of the Greek Catholic Church where there are

114. Ibid., fols. 32-3.

no priests and have also been conducting analogous propaganda.”<sup>115</sup> Grushetskii urged Khrushchev to convene the “reunion sobor” a month to a month and a half before the 1946 elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet so that “priests who have converted to Orthodoxy could be used for patriotic work, in particular ... in preparations for the elections to the Supreme Soviet.”<sup>116</sup>

Given the highly centralized nature of the Soviet system and its Party and security agencies, we can safely assume that the practice of having the “reunion” campaign run by the Party and NKGB was applied in the other western oblasts as it was in L'viv oblast. The monastics in the other oblasts were also targeted as leaders of the resistance to the “reunion.” In late 1945 or early 1946 all the Basilian hegumens in Stanislav, Drohobych, and Ternopil' oblasts—Hryhorii Balahurak (Stanislav), Iosyf Luchyns'kyi (Drohobych), Makarii Rozumiiko (Dobromyl'), Pavlo Teodorovych (Buchach), Porfyrii Lutsyk (Chortkiv), and Iuliiian Man'ko (Krasnopushcha)—were imprisoned.<sup>117</sup> Also arrested were the Redemptorist hegumens Vasyl' Velychkovs'kyi (Ternopil') and Roman Bakhtalovs'kyi (Stanislav).<sup>118</sup> As in L'viv oblast, the Basilians were herded into “monastic ghettos” in Hoshiv, Lavriv, and Ulashkivtsi.<sup>119</sup> Redemptorists in the other oblasts were moved to the Zboiska monastery near L'viv. All Studites were sent to Univ,<sup>120</sup> and on January 18, 1946, the authorities took Archimandrite Sheptyts'kyi there. The empty metropolitan's palace in L'viv was now ready for the Orthodox takeover.<sup>121</sup>

115. “Sekretariu TsK KP(b) Ukrainy, tov. Khrushchevu. Sekretar' L'vovskogo obkoma KP(b)U, I. Grushetskii,” December 4, 1945, *ibid.*, fols. 94–5.

116. *Ibid.*, fol. 95 (back page).

117. Hrynyk, “Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu,” 15, 20–1, 24; Marko Dyrda, “Za chervonym murom,” *Svitlo* 9, no. 11 (June 1, 1946), 2–4. See also Velychkovs'kyi's autobiography in [Stefan-Iosyf Bakhtalovs'kyi, ed.], *Vasyl' Vsevolod Velychkovs'kyi, Ch.N.I.: Iepyskop-ispovidnyk* (Yorkton, Sask., 1975), 111–17.

118. Hrynyk, “Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu,” 24.

119. *Ibid.*

120. *Ibid.*

121. Archimandrite Sheptyts'kyi, Metropolitan Slipyi's secretary Fr. Kotiv, and Fr. Kladochnyi were evicted on January 18, and on that day the palace and St. George's Cathedral were taken over by the Initiative Group. According to Hrynyk, the NKGB arrested Kotiv and Fr. Dmytro Semchyshyn, who had succeeded Fr. Gorchyns'kyi as the pastor of the cathedral; Semchyshyn was “pulled out” of prison by Kostel'nyk in

Although a number of convents had been closed down by the authorities or requisitioned by the Red Army and several leading nuns had been arrested in 1945 or 1946, the architects of the “reunion” campaign apparently assigned low priority to female monastics because of their subordinate role in the church, their closer links to the laity at large, and their indispensable function as nurses in the hospitals, in running orphanages and old-age homes, and as highly skilled workers. It was only after the suppression of the Greek Catholic Church, in the years 1947–52, that all remaining convents in Galicia were confiscated and the nuns either deported or forced to disperse. They did, however, maintain small, clandestine communities.<sup>122</sup>

### The “Re-education” of the Clergy

Under close official guidance, the Initiative Group began an intensive propaganda campaign to persuade the clergy that it was hopeless to resist the “reunion” in view of the regime’s irrevocable decision to suppress the Greek Catholic Church. In August 1945 the group published 5,000 copies of an updated version of Kostel'nyk’s earlier anti-papal brochure that supplied historical and theological arguments against the Union of Brest.<sup>123</sup> The

return for joining the Initiative Group and was soon reinstated by Kostel'nyk as the cathedral’s “new” pastor. Hrynyk, “Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu,” 13, 27; interview with Fr. Kladochnyi, June 27, 1980.

122. Interviews at the general curias of the Basilian Sisters and Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, Rome, March 8, 1989.

123. *Ap[ostol] Petro i ryms'ki papy*. In his introduction, Kostel'nyk justified the publication of his brochure thus: “But since we, thank God, have found ourselves in [political] union with the entire Ukrainian people and [hence] within the orbit of the [Russian] Orthodox Church, we must necessarily critically analyse our Uniate point of view concerning the great controversy between the Roman and Greek churches. For should it turn out that in this controversy it was the Greek church that was right, we, the Uniates, would become like a fly on a window pane that seemingly sees an exit into the wide world; but there is no exit because of the glass barrier, and the fly perishes in vain on the window” (p. 1). Kostel'nyk concluded: “This [work] was written in order to free your conscience, which has been tied up by Rome allegedly in the name of Jesus Christ, but actually in its own interest. Recover your sight, look around the world and at history so that you will choose a normal path for the future of your church and will not waste your efforts on Roman fictions.” (p. 56). Subsequently the NKGB chief in Ukraine, Savchenko, secretly informed the CP(B)U CC propaganda secretary, Lytvyn, that Kostel'nyk had written his booklet on the

group's chief arguments were clearly political and opportunistic: the Soviet authorities could no longer tolerate the politically "compromised" Greek Catholic Church, so why expose oneself to unnecessary suffering by opposing the "reunion"? After all, after converting the clergy could still serve the faithful "in the old way," and joining the Russian Orthodox Church would improve their political and economic position. In private Kostel'nyk reportedly assured reluctant priests that they could remain Catholics at heart and that their formal conversion under duress would not expose them to canonical sanctions by the Catholic Church; conversion—he argued—would be a lesser evil than abandoning the faithful to the "Muscovite" clergy or "atheists."<sup>124</sup> Later, from January 1946, to spread its message among the clergy, the Initiative Group was granted the rare privilege of publishing a monthly journal, *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk*.<sup>125</sup>

"Recalcitrant" clergy who did not accept the arguments Kostel'nyk, Pel'vets'kyi, and Mel'nyk presented both publicly and privately were individually summoned to raion government offices. There they were asked to sign two documents: (1) a declaration that they accepted the jurisdiction of the Initiative Group, and (2) a statement that they had signed this declaration voluntarily.<sup>126</sup> Clergymen who refused to sign these documents received a final warning from the Initiative Group that its confirmation of adherence was necessary for priests to receive governmental registration as "servants of cult." If they still refused to sign, they were banned from performing their pastoral duties and expelled from their parishes. Unless they retired without agitating against the "reunion" or continuing to perform their sacerdotal functions

NKGB's request, that the NKGB had edited it, and that "praise of the late Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi [as a 'forerunner of the reunion'], who remains the great[est] authority for the Uniate clergy and believers, had to be allowed for tactical reasons." "Sekretno. Tol'ko lichno. Uvazhaemyi Konstantin Zakharovich!" February 11, 1946, TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 2847, fols. 1–2.

124. Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 3, 7–9; "Do t. zv. 'voz'iednannia' Tserkov" (a typewritten report from Drohobych area OUN leaders), November 28–30, 1946, AZPUHVR, file F3-1, 3–4.

125. *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk* was published initially as the organ of the Initiative Group, but subsequently as the "publication of the bishops of Western Ukraine, Transcarpathia, and Bukovyna under the direction of the Exarch of Entire Ukraine, the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych." In February 1948 the journal's name was changed to *Pravoslavnyi visnyk*. The journal was initially edited by Kostel'nyk; after his assassination in 1948, Iosyf Oksiiuk became the editor.

126. *First Victims of Communism*, 40–2.

secretly, or unless they went into hiding or managed to escape into Poland, sooner or later the “recalcitrant” clergy were arrested and tortured.

In Ternopil' oblast, where there were 539 Greek Catholic churches and 336 parish priests<sup>127</sup> divided between L'viv archeparchy and Stanislav eparchy, the “reunion” campaign proceeded with difficulty because of the strong presence of the OUN-UPA underground. In his annual report to Vil'khovyi the CARC plenipotentiary in Ternopil oblast, I. Chyrva, reported that by October 1, 1945, the total number of Greek Catholic pastors had declined to 315, and by December 1, to 270. Of the forty-five clergymen identified as hostile to the “reunion,” “some departed for Poland, part of them left for unknown destinations, and the rest were detained by the [security] organs because of [their] counter-revolutionary activities. Of a total of 270 Greek Catholic priests, 188 joined the Initiative Group ... by December 1; the remaining 82 pastors, despite sufficient explanatory work conducted with them, refused to become members of the Initiative Group.... After the sobor and the reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox, all priests who will not adopt Orthodoxy should be removed from the territory of the oblast.”<sup>128</sup>

A young priest from Ternopil' oblast who successfully made his way into Poland reported how the NKGB summoned priests, beginning with the older pastors. After being threatened at gunpoint, some priests broke down and signed up for the Initiative Group; “others agreed to sign while they were already at the doors of these dungeons, while still others were broken by the terrors [they were subjected to] in the cells.<sup>129</sup>... There were cases where they were crying while signing [the declaration] and their tears dissolved the ink of their signatures.”<sup>130</sup> While signing their names to the “reunion,” many clergymen declared that they did so under duress and that they would remain

127. “Sekretno. Svedenie o deistvuiushchikh i nedeistvuiushchikh molitovnykh zdaniakh (domakh) po Ternopol'skoi oblasti na 30-e aprelia 1945 goda. Upolnomochennyi Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov po Ternopol'skoi oblasti, Chirva.” DATO, *fond* R-3239, *opys* 2s, *sprava* 1. fols. 2–5; “Svedenië o sluzhiteliakh kul'tov uchtennykh po Ternopol'skoi oblasti na 30 aprelia 1945 goda (Chirva),” *ibid.*, fol. 8.

128. “Sovershenno sekretno. Upolnomochennomu Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri SNK SSSR po USSR, tov. Vil'khovomu, sekretariu Ternopol'skogo obkoma KP(b)U tov. [I. D.] Kompanets, predsedateliu ispolkoma Oblastnogo soveta deputatov trudiashchikhsia tov. Artiushenko, ot upolnomochennogo Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri SNK SSSR po Ternopol'skoi oblasti o rabote za 1945 god. Dokladnaia zapiska,” *ibid.*, *sprava* 1, fols. 40–2.

129. Hrynyk, “Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu,” 4–5.

130. *Ibid.*



faithful to the Catholic faith; some submitted their reservations in writing. A number of priests who later publicly repudiated their submission to the Initiative Group were forced once again through the police torture mill.<sup>131</sup>

Priests who did not succumb to torture were summarily tried by special tribunals. As a rule, they were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment on charges of "collaborating" with the Germans or "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists;" their property was confiscated; and their families were exiled, mostly to Siberia, the Soviet Far East, or Kazakhstan.<sup>132</sup>

In his report to the CP(B)U CC on the last quarter of 1945, CAROC Republican Plenipotentiary Khodchenko quoted from the report of Drohobych Oblast Plenipotentiary Sherstiuk: "[in Drohobych oblast] 35 priests were arrested for collaborating with the Germans, betraying the Soviet *aktiv* during the temporary German occupation, espionage, etc. This confirms, once again, that part of the Greek Catholic Church's clergy is linked to the Ukrainian-German nationalists and assists them in every possible way."<sup>133</sup> Khodchenko also cited L'viv Oblast Plenipotentiary Vyshnevs'kyi's report: "[in L'viv oblast,] of the remaining 65 [priests] who have not joined [the Initiative Group], 18 were subjected to repressions [imprisoned]. Seventeen [priests] are very aged men, 75 to 90 years old. Accordingly, 30 [priests] remain stubbornly opposed [*uporstvuiushchie*]."<sup>134</sup> As for the attitude of the UPA-OUN to the "reunion" campaign, Khodchenko reported a change: "the Ukrainian-German nationalists (Banderites), who initially took an indifferent attitude towards the activity of the Initiative Group, have at this time shown special activity in provoking and intimidating the clergy ... and, in general, terrorizing all [individuals] inclined towards ... reunion with the Russian Orthodox Church."<sup>135</sup>

By early 1946 "oral propaganda activities," in the words of one of the

131. Ibid., 5, 8–9.

132. Ievhen Prirva, "V p'iatu richnytsiu likvidatsii Ukraïns'koï Hreko-Katolyts'koï Tserkvy," *Suchasna Ukraïna* (Munich), March 13, 1951. Public repudiations of the "reunion" were demanded by the UPA-OUN underground, which threatened collaborating clergy with reprisals. See also Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 5; and Fr. Volodymyr Holyns'kyi's letter of December 29, 1945, AZPUHVR, file F6–7, 2–3.

133. "Sekretno. Informatsionnyi otchet upolnomochennogo Soveta po delam Russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi pri SNK SSSR po Ukrainskoi SSR za IV kvartal 1945 goda, 14 fevralia 1945 g., P. Khodchenko," TsDAHOU, *fond 1, opys 23, sprava 1639*, fol. 145.

134. Ibid., fol. 147.

135. Ibid., fol. 144.

Initiative Group's leaders, Fr. Pel'vets'kyi, "had been almost completed in Drohobych, L'viv, and Stanislav oblasts, [though] with some exceptions. Matters were worse in Ternopil' oblast, where, for a variety of reasons, mainly technical and communication ones, it had been very difficult to hold conferences with all the clergy."<sup>136</sup> Pel'vets'kyi admitted that the "influence of Roman education and discipline was very great" among the Greek Catholic clergy: "It was especially difficult for the aged [priests] to join our action, which is completely understandable considering their age, and also [especially difficult] for the young celibate [priests] who have just emerged from a theological school. Among the young clergy, apart from [their] Roman [Catholic] education, emotions prevailed over sound, sober reason, and this cast all [our] actions in a false light."<sup>137</sup>

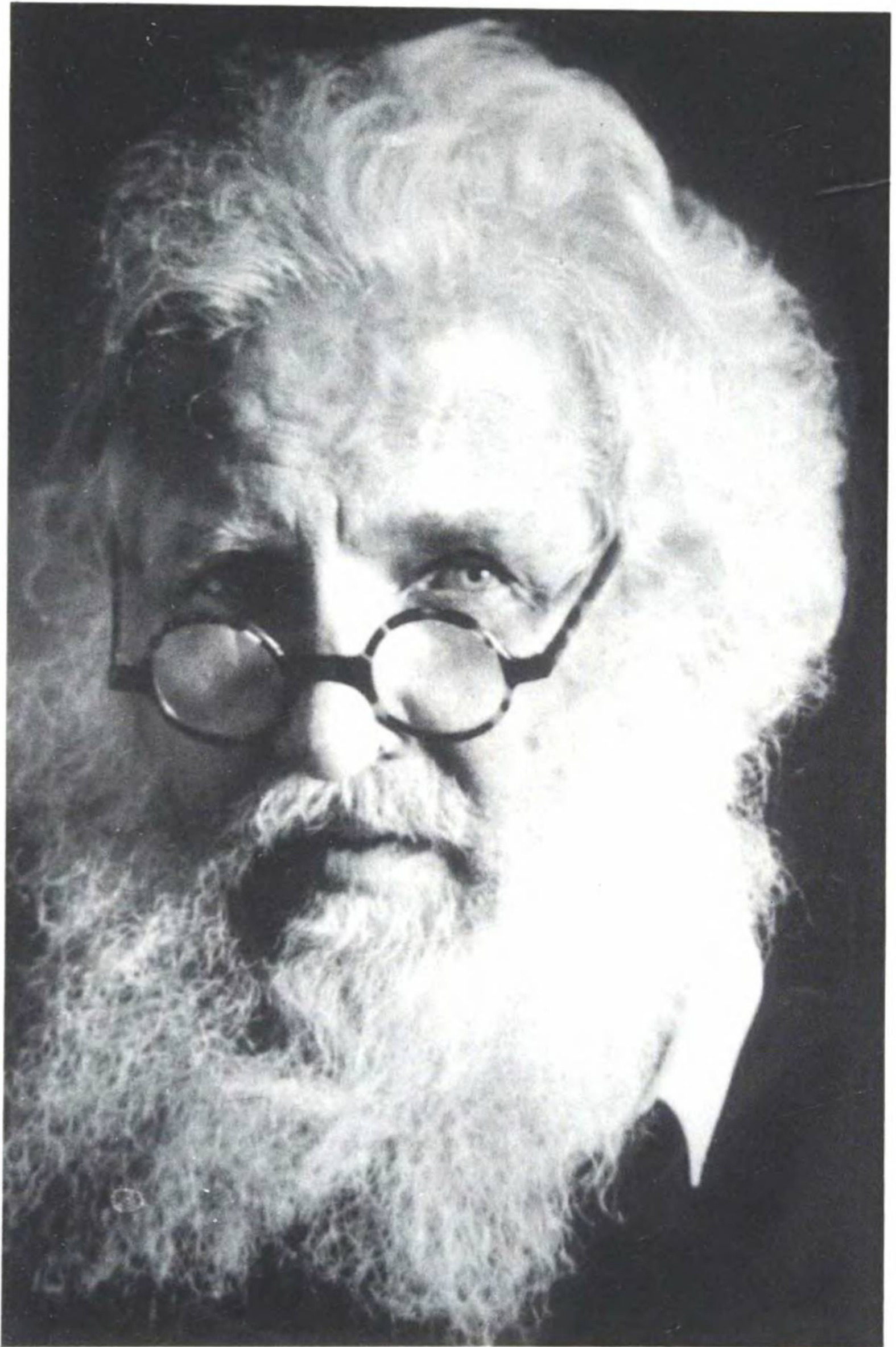
Earlier, on October 3, 1945, Fr. Kostel'nyk reported to Patriarch Aleksii that eight hundred priests had joined the Initiative Group, and he expressed hope that by the end of the year only fifty to a hundred clerics would still remain in opposition to the "reunion." He did, however, point out that fewer than fifty priests had joined the group out of conviction; the remainder had done so because "there was no other way out." "Were it not for the state's pressure, under present circumstances even those fifty priests could not have been found [who were] willing to demolish the Greek Catholic Church in order to transform it into an Orthodox one. The majority of our clergy do not believe in a better future for the church in the Soviet Union."<sup>138</sup> Therefore, cautioned Kostel'nyk, except for a few necessary changes, the Greek Catholic ritual, locally selected clergy, their dress and appearance (i.e., no beards), and the liturgical use of the Ukrainian version of Church Slavonic would have to be left intact for decades to come; the Galician episcopal sees, perhaps with the exception of L'viv, would have to be filled with former Greek Catholic priests, even more so because the clergy would remain dependent for its livelihood on its highly conservative flock, which had not been drawn in by the Initiative Group's propaganda and retained a "Uniate" consciousness. As for the forthcoming "reunion sobor,"<sup>139</sup> Kostel'nyk recommended his celibate fellow leaders of the Initiative Group, Frs. Pel'vets'kyi and Mel'nyk, as candidates for the new Orthodox bishops of Stanislav and Drohobych respectively. Orthodoxy in Galicia, reiterated Kostel'nyk, had to be "outwardly

136. *Diiannia soboru*, 62.

137. *Ibid.*

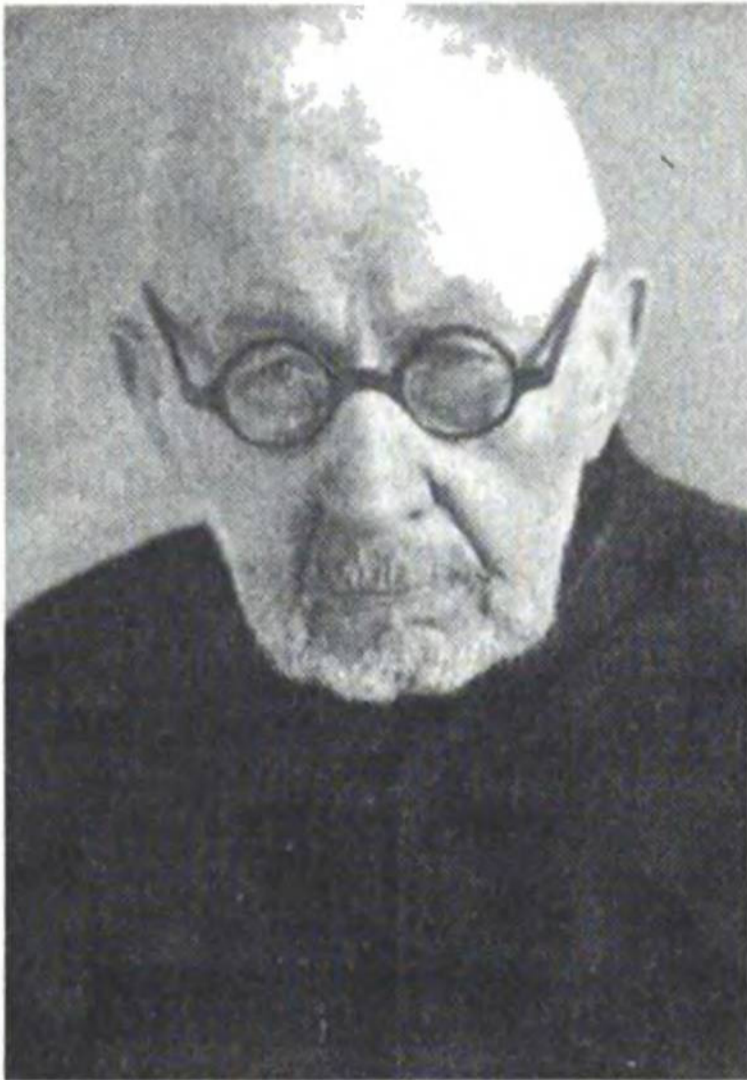
138. Bilas collection, doc. 12.

139. In his letter to the patriarch Kostel'nyk referred to a *January* sobor.



1. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi.  
Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.





2. Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv (Stanislav) ca 1945.  
*Nasha zoria* (Ivano-Frankivs'k), No. 20,  
October 1995.



3. Auxiliary Bishop Nykyta Budka of L'viv.



4. St. George's Cathedral in L'viv.





5. Bishop Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi, OSBM, of Peremyshl' eparchy.  
Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.



6. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Cathedral in Przemyśl.



7. Auxiliary Bishop Ivan Liatyshevs'kyi of Stanyslaviv eparchy (late 1930s).  
Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.



8. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Cathedral in Stanyslaviv.



9. Bishop Nykolai (Mykola) Charnets'kyi, CSsR, the apostolic visitor for Volhynia, Polissia, and Podlachia.  
Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.



10. Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi.



11. The body of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi lying in state in the chapel of the metropolitan's palace.  
Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.





12. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi's body being transferred in an open casket from his palace to St. George's Cathedral (November 2, 1944).  
Courtesy of Oksana Haiova, TsDIAU, L'viv.



13. The start of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi's funeral procession. Leaving St. George's Cathedral are Bishops Nykyta Budka (left) and Nykolai Charnets'kyi (right) and Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi (centre) (November 5, 1944).  
Courtesy of Oksana Haiova, TsDIAU, L'viv.





**14. Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi's farewell sermon in the courtyard of St. George's Cathedral.**

Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.



**15. Auxiliary Bishop Hryhorii Lakota of Peremyshl' eparchy at Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi's funeral.**

Courtesy of Oksana Haiova, TsDIAU, L'viv.





16. A group of L'viv canons at Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi's funeral. In the centre is Fr. Havryil Kostel'nyk (in dark vestments).  
Courtesy of Oksana Haiova, TsDIAU, L'viv.



17. Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi (1945).  
Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.



18. Msgr. Petro Verhun, the apostolic visitator for Ukrainian Greek Catholics in Germany.  
Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.





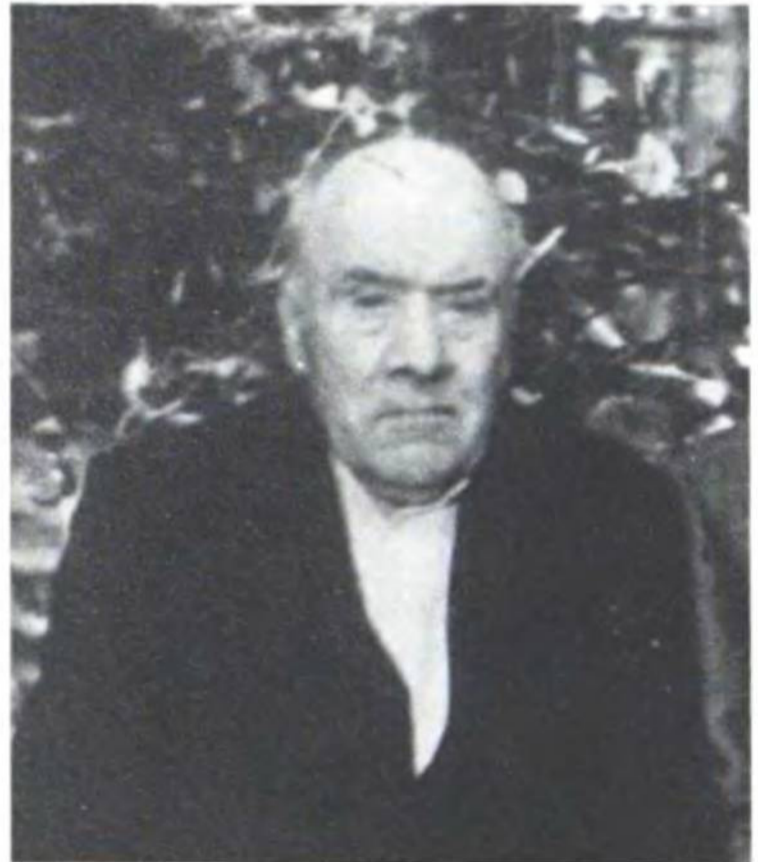
19. Fr. Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi, archimandrite of the Studite Order and the first secret administrator of L'viv archeparchy. Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.



20. Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi after his arrest on June 5, 1947. Courtesy of Petro Tsel's'kyi, TsDAK, Kyiv.



21. Fr. Joseph de Vocht, the vice-provincial of the Redemptorist Order and the last secret administrator of L'viv archeparchy. Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.



22. Fr. Vitalii Hradiuk, the protohegumen of the Basilian Order in Galicia after his return from imprisonment (1961). Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.





23. Oleksander Khira, the secret bishop of Mukachiv eparchy.  
Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.



24. Bishop Teodor Romzha of Mukachiv eparchy (1947).  
Source: A. Pekar, OSBM, *"You Shall Be Witness unto Me"*, p. 25.



25. The body of Bishop Teodor Romzha lying in state  
(November 1, 1947).  
Source: A. Pekar, OSBM, *"You Shall Be Witness unto Me"*, p. 31.





26. Fr. Mykhailo Khmel'ovs'kyi  
("Lavrivs'kyi").  
Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.



27. Fr. Mykola Muranyi, the last  
administrator of Mukachiv eparchy.  
Source: A. Pekar, OSBM, *"You Shall  
Be Witness unto Me"*, p. 55.



28. The Greek Catholic bishop's residence and cathedral in Uzhhorod.  
Source: A. Pekar, OSBM, *"You Shall Be Witness unto Me"*, p. 37.





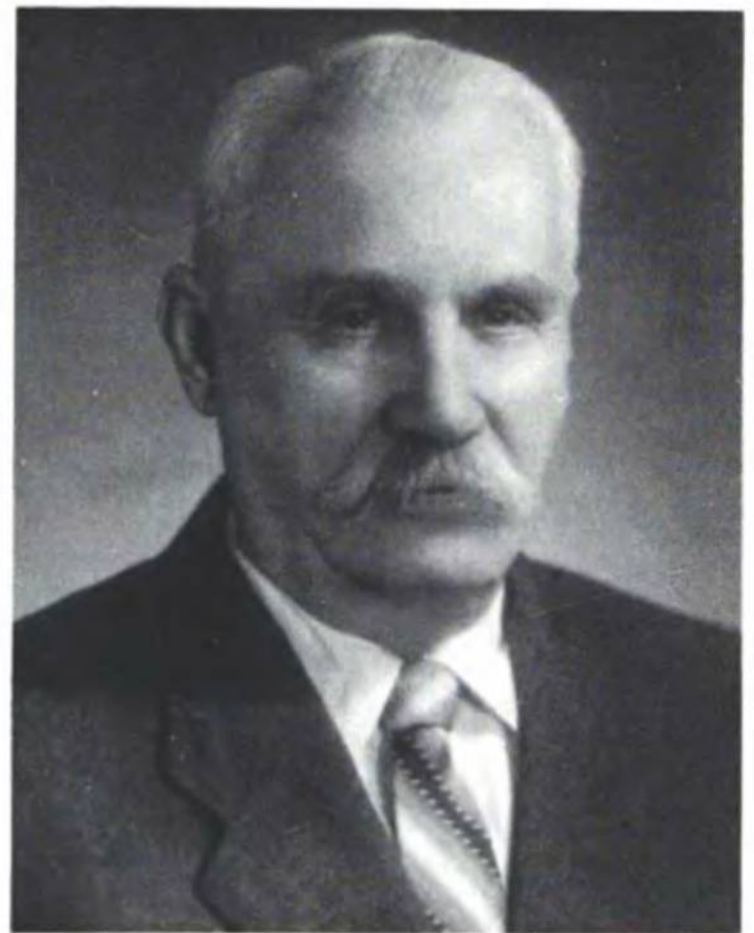
29. Mitred Archpriest Vasyl' Hrynyk (centre), the vicar-general for Greek Catholics in Poland (after 1956). Courtesy of Bishop Ivan Khoma, APSS.



30. Colonel of State Security Serhii T. Karin-Danylenko (ca. 1947).

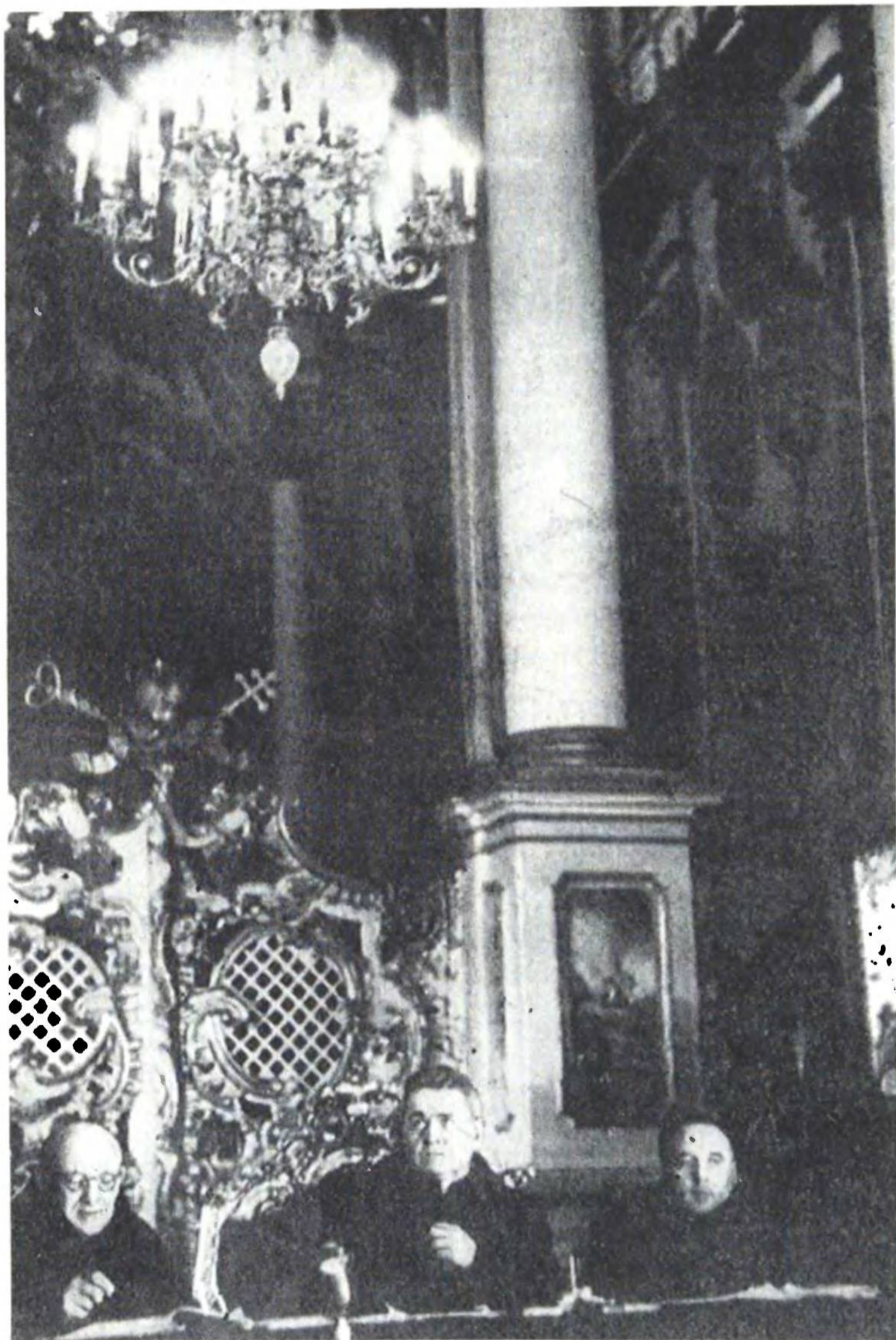


31. Petro Ia. Vil'khovyi, the CARC plenipotentiary for Ukraine (1968). Courtesy of Maryna Mukhina, TsDAK, Kyiv.



32. Pavlo S. Khodchenko, the CAROC plenipotentiary for Ukraine. Courtesy of Maryna Mukhina, TsDAK, Kyiv.





33. The leaders of the Initiative Group presiding over the opening of the L'viv "Sobor" on March 8, 1946. In the centre is Mitred Archpriest Havryil Kostel'nyk; he is flanked by the secret Orthodox bishops Antonii (Pel'vets'kyi), left, and Mykhail (Mel'nyk), right.

Source: *Diiannia Soboru hreko-katolyts'koi tserkvy u L'vovi 8–10 bereznia 1946*, p. 34.



camouflaged” to prevent a popular rebellion and return to Catholicism, for which the strongest stimulus would come from the present “martyrdom” of the Uniate Church, “because all arrests of bishops and clergy are evaluated by our society as the persecution of the Greek Catholic Church.”<sup>140</sup> Kostel'nyk urged the patriarch to allow the “reunited” celibate priests to marry despite canonical prohibitions against such marriages. This would prevent their return to Catholicism and make them into a mainstay of Orthodoxy in Galicia. He stressed that the main source of anti-“reunion” agitation were Basilian, Redemptorist, and Studite monks. In fact, “All our monastic orders, both male and female, [still] strongly support the Union [the Greek Catholic Church], and there is no hope that [their support] will diminish.”<sup>141</sup>

On December 7, 1945, Patriarch Aleksii wrote a letter to CAROC Chairman Karpov. It was an indirect response to Kostel'nyk's October request. Aleksii expressed his rejection of Kostel'nyk's proposal that celibate “reunited” priests be allowed to marry: their ordination was recognized by the Orthodox Church, and neither the Orthodox nor Catholic canons permitted the clergy to marry *after ordination*. Moreover, such a concession to the former Greek Catholic clergy “would give the Catholic Church the reason to discredit the act of receiving the Greek [Catholic]-Uniate priests into communion [with Orthodoxy] as motivated by political and not ecclesiastical considerations.” Apparently anticipating that canonical problems would arise at an “all-Ukrainian sobor,” Aleksii advised Karpov that he did not favour convening it and that the resolutions adopted by the eparchial conferences of the Galician clergy would suffice for their reunion with the Russian Orthodox Church. He urged a direct accession to Orthodoxy by individual Greek Catholic parishes and their acceptance by the Orthodox bishop of L'viv and Ternopil'.<sup>142</sup>

\* \* \*

The architects of the 1945–6 “reunion” campaign avoided involving the Greek Catholic laity, concentrating instead on the more vulnerable but crucial stratum of the clergy. Thus the “reunion” could eventually be presented to the faithful as a *fait accompli*. In any case, at the time developments within the Greek Catholic Church were overshadowed, for most Western Ukrainians, by

140. Bilas collection, doc. 12.

141. Ibid.

142. Ibid., doc. 11. As it turned out, Aleksii was overruled by the powers that be on the questions of allowing “reunited” clergy to marry and of holding a sobor.

the continuing OUN-UPA underground resistance and the massive Soviet counter-insurgency operations against it.

Beginning in mid-January 1946, virtually all the towns and villages of Western Ukraine were placed under a four-month blockade by Soviet military and NKVD/NKGB units, which were assisted by locally recruited “extermination detachments” and “self-defence” groups.<sup>143</sup> This huge pacification action, co-ordinated by the NKGB, was designed to terrorize the population at large in addition to cutting off food supplies, intelligence, and reinforcements for the UPA units, penetrating and liquidating the OUN network, and seizing the UPA’s caches of arms, medications, and other supplies.<sup>144</sup> Another, perhaps central, purpose of the blockade was to ensure that there would be maximum popular participation in the February 10 elections to the Supreme Soviet by destroying all resistance (the nationalist underground had called for a total boycott of the elections). The Soviet regime considered these

143. According to a Soviet account, there were 300 “extermination battalions” with 28,000 men (often including deserters from the UPA and “repentant” UPA-OUN members) and 2,666 local “self-defence groups” with 29,000 men in Western Ukraine in June 1945. See V. Davydenko, “Ne stanut’ ahntsiamy vovky,” *Radians’ka Ukraïna*, December 7, 1988. According to Ukrainian underground reports, two thousand to five thousand troops were garrisoned in each raion; twenty-five to a hundred soldiers, depending on the estimated strength of the local resistance network, were quartered in individual villages. See Shtendera and Potichnyi, *Litopys Ukraïns’koi Povstans’koi Armii*, vol. 9, *Ukraïns’ka Holovna Vyzvol’na Rada: Dokumenty, ofitsiini publikatsii, materiialy*, bk. 2, 1946–1948 (Toronto, 1982), 271–3.

144. *Ibid.*, 273–98. Families suspected of having connections with the nationalist underground, deemed to be potentially disloyal, or unable to prove the whereabouts of any of their missing members during the 1945 census carried out in the Western Ukrainian oblasts were subjected to full investigation. “Whenever the suspicion arose that a member of a given family was among the insurgents, the family was given an ultimatum, and, if the suspected member did not show up in the allotted time, his family was deported.” Yaroslav Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic: The Ukraine after World War II* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1964), 134. Cf. Mirchuk, *Ukraïns’ka Povstans’ka Armia*, 137–41. It has been estimated that by 1949 up to 500,000 people had been deported from Western Ukraine. See V. Holubnychyi, “Ukraine since World War II, 1945–62,” in V. Kubijovyč, ed., *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1963), 901–9. A Soviet account confirms mass deportations of families that “helped the UPA,” but offers a much lower figure of 65,906 families (203,662 individuals) deported from 1944 through 1951. See Davydenko, “Ne stanut’ ahntsiamy vovky,” *Radians’ka Ukraïna*, December 8, 1988.

first postwar elections in Western Ukraine an important test of its legitimacy.<sup>145</sup>

The blockade coincided with the final stages of the “reunion” campaign. As such, it helped to paralyse the laity’s resistance and to persuade the majority of the Greek Catholic clergy to join the Initiative Group. The stage for the “self-liquidation” of the Greek Catholic Church by “representatives” of the terrorized clergy hand-picked by the NKGB had been set.

145. Shtendera and Potichnyi, *Litopys*, 285–98.

## CHAPTER FIVE

# *The “Reunion” of the Greek Catholics with the Russian Orthodox Church: The L'viv “Sobor”*

### **Plans for the “Reunion”**

By December 1945 the Soviet authorities, the Moscow patriarchate, and the Initiative Group had agreed that the formal liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia and its absorption into the Russian Orthodox Church should not be delayed much longer.

From December 12 to 18, 1945, a meeting was held in Kyiv to assess the results of the “reunion” campaign and to draw up plans for the final stage of the incorporation of the Greek Catholics into the Russian Orthodox Church.<sup>1</sup> Taking part in the meeting were the main figures involved in the implementation of Karpov’s “instruction,” which had been approved by Stalin on March 17, 1945: CAROC Chairman Karpov and CARC Chairman Polianskii, the councils’ members Utkin and Pugo, and the plenipotentiaries of both councils for the Ukrainian SSR and for the western Ukrainian oblasts. After their conference, the representatives of the two councils received the three leading members of the Initiative Group, Kostel'nyk, Pel'vets'kyi, and Mel'nyk. Present at the meeting were the two NKGB officers assigned primary responsibility for the entire operation, Col. Karin and Capt. Bogdanov.<sup>2</sup> According to Khodchenko, the meeting considered

the question of the [extent of] preparedness for the convocation of a sobor of representatives of the Greek Catholic clergy for the purpose of approving and announcing an act of breaking away from the Vatican and of reunion with the Russian Orthodox Church.

1. Khodchenko’s “Informatsionnyi otchet” for the last quarter of 1945, TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1639, fols. 149–50.

2. An undercover NKGB officer who was assigned to the Initiative Group to oversee the selection of delegates to the “sobor”; he “preapproved” their mandates on the eve of this gathering. Rozhnov, “Eto my, Gospodi,” 7.

Subsequently Karpov and Polianskii were received by the chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers (and first secretary of the CP[B]U CC), N. S. Khrushchev, and his deputy, L[eonid] R. Korniiets', to inform them about the course of action agreed upon at the meeting.

A further task of the CAROC plenipotentiaries in the western Ukrainian oblasts "was to implement the plan adopted at the conference—preparations for the sobor to be held in the first days of March 1946."<sup>3</sup>

During their visit to Kyiv the leaders of the Initiative Group also met with the patriarchal exarch for Ukraine, Metropolitan Ioann (Sokolov), to finalize the ecclesiastical aspects of the "sobor."<sup>4</sup> It is very likely that Bishop Makarii (Oksiiuk) of L'viv and Ternopil' was present at this meeting; possibly some other Russian Orthodox Church hierarchs also attended. One unresolved issue appeared to be whether or not to accept Kostel'nyk's proposal that two celibate members of the Initiative Group, Pel'vets'kyi and Mel'nyk (still formally Greek Catholic priests), be consecrated *Orthodox* bishops *before* the "sobor," considering that the gathering was to be held as a "sobor of the Greek Catholic clergy." The question could not be resolved without Patriarch Aleksii and the Holy Synod or without the top Party and security officials, who were divided on this subject.<sup>5</sup> Exarch Ioann issued a belated pastoral

3. Khodchenko's "Informatsionnyi otchet," fol. 150.

4. Serhii Khruts'kyi, "Sobor povorotu do bat'kiv," *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk*, 1946, nos. 2–3, 11.

5. That this issue remained unresolved is attested to by Vil'khovyi's annual report for 1945. Kostel'nyk did not help by writing, on July 25, 1945, that

Long ago I became convinced that by uniting with the Orthodox Church, we, the Galician Uniates, would bring into the Orthodox Church new ferment, would bring it new concerns, but also would inspire in it a new movement, because among us tendencies have developed not only to return to the faith of our ancestors, but to transform the Orthodox Church into a most contemporary (modern) church *that would be capable of attracting into its ranks intelligentsia*, that would consequently best correspond to the new tendencies of the time, and that would again strive to restore that catholic [*sobornoe*] unity of Christian churches in the entire world that had been ruined by Rome's desire to turn Christ's church into its "private property."  
[Vil'khovyi's emphasis]

calling for the “return” of the Greek Catholics to the Russian Orthodox Church.<sup>6</sup>

The Kyiv meetings of the CAROC and CARC leaders rejected Aleksii’s preference for eparchial conferences rather than a sobor<sup>7</sup> and decided that the “sobor” had to take place no later than March 15–20, 1946, “before the start of [the spring] work in the fields”<sup>8</sup> (and after the elections in Galicia to the USSR Supreme Soviet, whose outcome was threatened by the UPA-OUN-instigated boycott and disruptions). Another consideration was synchronizing the “sobor” with the 350th anniversary of the Union of Brest.

In his annual report for 1945, Republican CARC Plenipotentiary Vil'khovyi reported that as of the end of 1945, 1,294 Greek Catholic priests (not including monastics) had been officially registered in the four Galician oblasts (379 fewer than in June<sup>9</sup>) and that by January 1946, 859 (66 percent) of them had joined the Initiative Group—270 out of 328 in Drohobych oblast, 230 out of 357 in L'viv oblast, 188 out of 270 in Ternopil' oblast, and 171 out of 339 in Stanislav oblast.<sup>10</sup> He noted that in the process of the “reunion campaign” three groups of Greek Catholic clergy could be distinguished:

The *first* group, which comprises the majority of the priests, fully recognizes the correctness of the line on the reunion....

The *second* group of Greek Catholic priests, who have not yet joined [the Initiative Group], maintains a waiting position. [How] they will act depends on what will be decided by the sobor that is being convened by the Initiative Group. Part of these priests do not believe that the sobor will take place [and] that the candidates for bishops will be nominated from among the former Uniate clergy, and think that the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church will mechanically transfer [its jurisdiction] to the Greek Catholic Church and appoint only its own [Russian] bishops [to administer it]. This group [of priests] is small in number and does not oppose the reunion.

Cited, without indicating the addressee, in “Sekretno. Informatsionnyi otchet o rabote upolnomochennogo Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri SNK SSSR po Ukrainskoi SSR za 1945 god. 19 ianvaria, 1946, Kyiv. Vil'khovyi,” TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 1640, fol. 166.

6. *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk*, 1946, no. 1, 9–12.

7. See the Bilas collection, doc. 11.

8. Khodchenko’s “Informatsionnyi otchet,” *ibid.*, fol. 165.

9. Vil'khovyi’s “Informatsionnyi otchet,” fol. 157.

10. *Ibid.*, fols. 158, 160.



The *third* group consists mainly of the [monastic] clergy from the Basilian, Redemptorist, and Studite orders. They are supported by some celibate priests and the former members [*sotrudniki*] of the chapter and ordinariate of [L'viv] metropoly.<sup>11</sup>

From the third group, which adamantly opposed the "reunion," Vil'khovyi singled out its leaders, Fr. Ivan Kotiv, Fr. Iosyf Kladochnyi, and especially the Studite archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi, who had organized the collective letter sent to Molotov protesting against the arrest of the Greek Catholic leadership. In July two of the leaders, Kotiv and Kladochnyi, had come to Vil'khovyi to request that their church be allowed "to elect [a provisional] head."

Despite Vil'khovyi's warning that the monastics were acting illegally, "they continue[d] their activities" in all four oblasts. Thus Drohobych oblast's CARC plenipotentiary reported that local monks and nuns were "*distributing an appeal that originated in L'viv.*" In the appeal they warned the faithful that "priests who have joined the Initiative Group have no divine grace" and not to go to such priests for confession.<sup>12</sup>

Vil'khovyi instructed the CARC oblast plenipotentiaries "to assist the Initiative Group in selecting desirable candidates [representatives] for the sobor." Vil'khovyi wrote to his superiors that it would be desirable

to suggest to the patriarch and the patriarchal exarch of Ukraine that they [should] nominate candidates for bishops from among the Uniate clergy and consecrate at least two bishops before the sobor.

If you consult history, [you will note] that during the liquidation of the [church] union under Tsar Nicholas I, former Uniate priests were elevated to bishops, and through their hands [i.e., with their guidance] the task of the reunion was carried out more successfully. At present there are, in our opinion, candidates for bishops within the Initiative Group: they are [its] ... members Dr. Mel'nyk, Mykhailo Ivanovych, and Dr. [sic] Pel'vets'kyi, Antin Andriiovych. These candidates have been proposed by the chairman of the Initiative Group, Dr. Kostel'nyk, Havryil Fedorovych, and it would be desirable to support him in this matter.

After the sobor makes its decision, [these] future Orthodox bishops would have to carry out "unpleasant" tasks: to displace, remove, or transfer the

11. Ibid., fols. 160–1.

12. Ibid., fol. 162.

obdurate or “undesirable” priests and select in their place those [priests] who would ensure the patriarchate’s line [would be carried out]. This task will be successfully carried out on the condition that the bishops—former Uniate priests—help the L’viv bishop Makarii, [as] they intimately [*tonko*] know the composition of the reunited clergy.<sup>13</sup>

Among the Initiative Group’s members, differences surfaced as to whether the time was ripe for holding the “sobor.” Pel’vets’kyi admitted in March 1946 that

The leaders of the Initiative Group are indeed aware that the re-education of the clergy and the people in the spirit of Orthodoxy has only begun and that it is yet far from satisfactory, because there has not yet been enough time and, for technical reasons, suitable literature could not be published; but one should keep in mind that the sobor that will decide on our return to the faith of our fathers will only be a serious beginning and not the conclusion of the great planned undertaking ... after the sobor, the contest between *pro* and *contra* will enter into a sharper phase. But this course of events would not change even if the sobor were to be postponed for another year. One should expect that the struggle would become even fiercer then.<sup>14</sup>

Pel’vets’kyi gave three principal reasons for proceeding with the convocation of the “sobor”: (1) the absence of bishops; (2) the shortage in some parishes of chrism; and (3) the absence of facilities for the training of new priests “because the Orthodox do not yet consider us as their own and the Catholics already do not recognize us [as Catholics].”<sup>15</sup>

Having concentrated so far its propaganda efforts on the parish priests (on the assumption that the faithful would follow the clergy), the Initiative Group proceeded—with the support of the authorities—to test the public’s attitude towards the “reunion” campaign by staging joint Greek Catholic-Orthodox

13. Ibid., fol. 180.

14. *Diiannia soboru*, 62.

15. Ibid. The first reason was actually the most important argument *against* holding the “sobor.” According to canon law, it could be convened and led only by Greek Catholic bishops. The real reason for holding a sobor would have been the Soviet prohibition of the Greek Catholic Church, which had been enunciated in Khodchenko’s June 18, 1945, letter to the Initiative Group. Had the Soviet authorities been willing to tolerate the church, they would have allowed the eparchial chapters to elect capitular vicars and permitted the ordination of new priests and the consecration of chrism by the still functioning Greek Catholic bishop of Mukachiv eparchy, Teodor Romzha.

celebrations of the Epiphany in L'viv's central square on January 19, 1946.<sup>16</sup> The water blessing ceremonies conducted by Fr. Kostel'nyk together with Bishop Makarii were attended by a large number of believers and were deemed a successful rehearsal for the planned "reunion."<sup>17</sup> To ensure, however, that the opponents of the "reunion" would not spoil this display of Uniate-Orthodox fraternization, a day earlier the authorities seized St. George's Cathedral and the metropolitan's palace and exiled Archimandrite Sheptyts'kyi to the Studite monastery in Univ.<sup>18</sup> The historical centre of Ukrainian Catholicism was handed over to the Initiative Group, which now moved its headquarters from Kostel'nyk's parish Church of the Transfiguration to St. George's Cathedral—the site of the planned "reunion sobor."<sup>19</sup>

As the date of the "sobor" approached, the Initiative Group mounted pressure on those parish priests who had not yet joined its ranks. Illustrative of the methods employed to break the remaining resistance to the "reunion" campaign was an ultimatum Kostel'nyk addressed on February 3 to Fr. Ievhen Dutkevych, the pastor of SS. Peter and Paul's Church in L'viv: "I inform you that unless you join the Initiative Group by the fifth of this month, from that date on you shall not be able to celebrate religious services in any church and shall, simultaneously forfeit all rights as pastor of the parish."<sup>20</sup>

On February 12, two days after the Soviet regime's "electoral victory" in Galicia, Patriarch Aleksii sent a cable to Kostel'nyk approving the convocation of the "sobor": "With the approach of the future sobor I am sending divine blessings to you and all [other] members of the Initiative Group. I wish you God's help in your final pre-sobor efforts. May the Lord bless the toiling [*trudiashchy*] sobor of the Greek Catholic Church and grant us the joy of union. With love in Christ."<sup>21</sup>

16. "Iordan u L'vovi," *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk*, January 1946, 13–17.

17. "The emphasis of the entire preparatory action was placed by the Initiative Group on work among the clergy, proceeding from a correct assumption that the people would follow the priests because the authority of our clergy among the people, thank God, is enormous. But it was worthwhile [holding so as] at least to verify the attitude to the [preparatory] action of the people themselves." *Diiannia soboru*, 25.

18. Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 13, 27. The NKGB suspected Sheptyts'kyi of being a secret bishop. Interview with Fr. Iosyf Kladochnyi, Toronto, June 10, 1980.

19. Interview with Fr. Kladochnyi.

20. The letter is in the APSS.

21. *Diiannia soboru*, 62. Aleksii's "blessings" for the Greek Catholic "sobor" violated Orthodox canons, which forbid interference in the affairs of another church.

### The Preparations for the “Sobor”

To make it appear as if the abolition of the 1596 Union of Brest and the Greek Catholics’ “return” to the Russian Orthodox Church were voluntary and canonical, Stalin’s regime turned to a precedent—the Polatsk Sobor of 1839.<sup>22</sup> Unlike in 1839, however, an indispensable canonical prerequisite was missing in 1946—the participation of the Greek Catholic bishops. Because the NKGB had failed to convince any imprisoned Greek Catholic bishop to join the “reunion” campaign, the Moscow patriarchate followed Kostel’nyk’s advice, which Vil’khovyi supported, and took the clearly uncanonical step of quietly consecrating two unmarried Initiative Group leaders, Pel’vets’kyi and Mel’nyk, the new *Orthodox* bishops of Stanislav and Drohobych eparchies respectively.<sup>23</sup> The “sobor’s” published record states that “L’viv eparchy would doubtless have had as its bishop the chairman of the Initiative Group—Fr. Dr. Kostel’nyk—if only he were not married. Remaining as the bishop of L’viv was the Most Reverend Makarii, since April 1945 the Orthodox bishop of L’viv and Ternopil’.... Some time later an auxiliary bishop will be ordained for L’viv from among “our own” [clergy].”<sup>24</sup>

22. For a detailed account of the 1839 “reunion” of the Belarusian and Ukrainian Uniates, see Wasyl Lencyk, *The Eastern Catholic Church and Czar Nicholas I* (Rome and New York, 1966). Unlike in 1946, the “re-union” of 1839 was presided over by Bishop Iosyf Semashko and two other apostate Uniate bishops. Significant similarities between the two “reunion campaigns” suggest, however, that the Soviet authorities, the Moscow patriarchate, and the Initiative Group consulted the records of the Secret Commission on Unification set up under Nicholas I to guide the conversion campaign. Even the day chosen for the official celebration of the “reunion” was the same in both 1946 and 1839—the “Sunday of Orthodoxy.”

23. Later Soviet propagandists and the Moscow patriarchate’s spokesmen used Pel’vets’kyi’s and Mel’nyk’s presence at the 1946 “sobor” for disinformation purposes, claiming that the “sobor” had been canonically valid since it had been attended by two bishops (without disclosing that Pel’vets’kyi and Mel’nyk had been consecrated *by the patriarchate* in time for the “sobor,” but only *after* they had converted to Orthodoxy). See S. Ie. Kyrychenko, “Uniats’ka tserkva: Shliakh do l’vivs’koho soboru,” in *Zakhidna Ukraïna: Pershe desiatyrichchia pislia viiny* (Kyïv, 1988), 11; and Moscow patriarchate, *The Lvov Church Council: Documents and Materials (1946–1981)* (Moscow, 1983), 186.

24. *Diiannia soboru*, 27. The group’s candidate for auxiliary bishop of L’viv was Fr. Ievhen Iuryk (1910–84), who later served as Archbishop Makarii’s chancellor. In 1950, however—apparently in connection with the mass reprisals that occurred after the assassination of Iaroslav Halan—Iuryk was imprisoned or exiled. He reappeared in the

In mid-February preparations for the "sobor" accelerated. On February 16 Fr. Kostel'nyk applied as head of the Initiative Group to the chairman of the L'viv *oblvykonkom*, M. V. Kozyrev, for permission to hold a "sobor of the clergy from all three of our Greek Catholic eparchies on the matter of reunion with the All-Russian Orthodox Church" at St. George's Cathedral from March 7 through 10, 1946, and submitted the gathering's proposed agenda and list of speakers.<sup>25</sup> On February 19 the Holy Synod nominated Frs. Pel'vets'kyi and Mel'nyk bishops, and a day later, a patriarchal decree declared that their consecrations would be held in Kyïv on February 24 and 25;<sup>26</sup> significantly, at this point both nominees were formally still Catholics.

On February 18 Kostel'nyk, Pel'vets'kyi, and Mel'nyk met in L'viv to approve the "sobor's" 221 clerical delegates—104 from L'viv archeparchy, 59 from Drohobych eparchy, and 58 from Stanislav eparchy—and 30 lay "participants."<sup>27</sup> On February 19—the day the Holy Synod nominated the new bishops—a party of thirteen Initiative Group members led by Kostel'nyk and the two episcopal candidates and including their closest and most prominent collaborators<sup>28</sup> set out for Kyïv. Upon Exarch Ioann's return from

ranks of the patriarchate's clergy only in 1955. Iuryk was consecrated the bishop of L'viv and Ternopil' in 1965, and elevated to archbishop a year later and to metropolitan in 1971. He retired in 1983 and died in 1984. Metropolitan Manuil [Lemeševskij], comp. *Die Russische Orthodoxe Bischöfe von 1893 bis 1965: Bio-Bibliographie. Bis zur Gegenwart ergänzt von P. Coelestin Patock*, pt. 5 (Erlangen, 1987), 221–2. In an interview in Rome on February 22, 1976, Bishop Myroslav Marusyn stated told me Iuryk sought the advice of Archbishop Ivan Buchko in Rome about whether to accept his episcopal nomination by the Moscow patriarchate.

25. DALO, *fond* R-1332, *opys* 1, *sprava* 4, fol. 139.

26. Dmytriïvs'kyi, "Vysokopreosviashchennyi Antonii," 213.

27. DALO, *fond* R-1332, *opys* 1, *sprava* 3, fol. 34. The proceedings of the L'viv "sobor," however, list 225 invited clerical delegates and 22 lay delegates, of whom 216 and 19 respectively took part in the gathering. The comparison of the list of thirty "lay participants" approved by the Initiative Group on February 18 with the nineteen laymen who actually participated in the "sobor" reveals considerable discrepancies, especially among those appointed to represent L'viv archeparchy. See *Diiannia soboru*, 53, 58.

28. The delegation included (in the order appearing in *Diiannia soboru*, 28) Frs. Kostel'nyk, Pel'vets'kyi, Mel'nyk, Iuryk, Iosyf Marynovych, Tymofii Marko, Ivan Kruk, Vasyl' Drelykh, Myron Krutiak, Kostiantyn Dobrians'kyi, Roman Doryk, Iurii Vanchyts'kyi, and Mykyta Pavlosiuk. No mention is made of Bishop Makarii, who most likely had been summoned to Moscow for the Holy Synod meeting and the final

Moscow on February 22, the entire delegation carried out the “reunion” ritual at the Kyïvan Caves Lavra. On February 24, at a service at St. Volodymyr’s Cathedral in Kyïv, the exarch elevated Fr. Kostel’nyk to the rank of mitred archpriest and awarded him a golden pectoral cross; then, together with Bishops Makarii of L’viv, Nestor (Heorhii M. Sydoruk) of Mukachiv,<sup>29</sup> and Varlaam (Pavlo P. Borysevych) of Luts’k,<sup>30</sup> Ioann consecrated Fr. Pel’vets’kyi Bishop Antonii of Stanislav and Kolomyia. The next day Fr. Mel’nyk was consecrated Bishop Mykhail of Drohobych and Sambir (formerly part of Peremyshl’ eparchy).<sup>31</sup> The highlights of the Initiative Group’s visit to Kyïv, including their “reception” into the Russian Orthodox Church and the consecrations of Pel’vets’kyi and Mel’nyk were recorded on a sound film by cameramen from the Kyïv Studio of Chronicle and Documentary Films.<sup>32</sup>

Meanwhile, logistic preparations for the “sobor” were in full gear. In a letter to the L’viv *oblvkonkom*’s Chairman Kozyrev (February 19), Kostel’nyk asked that four days’ supply of fine food and beverages be allotted at state prices for the 260 delegates of the “sobor,” in accordance with an enclosed calculation submitted by Karin;<sup>33</sup> it was to be paid for by the group (actually by Exarch Ioann, who underwrote all of the “sobor’s” expenses).<sup>34</sup> Simultaneously Karin asked Kozyrev to reserve hotel accommodations for 255

planning of the “reunion sobor.” He might have returned to Kyïv together with Exarch Ioann (Sokolov) on February 21 or 22.

29. Sydoruk, a Ukrainian from Poltava, had been consecrated Bishop Nestor of Uman’ (a vicar of Kyïv eparchy) in October 1945. Ten days later he was appointed the bishop of Uzhhorod and Mukachiv. Manuil [Lemeševskij], *Die Russische Orthodoxe Bischöfe*, pt. 5, 50. He was assigned the task of converting the Greek Catholics in recently annexed Transcarpathia.

30. Borysevych, a native of the Chelm region, had served since 1922 as a priest in western Volhynia. In May 1945 he was consecrated Bishop Varlaam of Vinnytsia, but in January 1946 he was transferred to Luts’k as the bishop of Volhynia and Rivne. Manuil [Lemeševskij], *Die Russische Orthodoxe Bischöfe*, pt. 2 (1981), 36.

31. *Diiannia soboru*, 28–32.

32. *L’vivs’kyi sobor*, director R. Foshchenko, b/w, 34.24 minutes (Kyïv, 1946). The “reunion” of the Initiative Group leaders and the consecrations of Pel’vets’kyi and Mel’nyk took up more than half of the film (17.03 min.). A copy is available for viewing at the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

33. DALO, *fond* R-1332, *opys* 1, *sprava* 4, fol. 139. Danylenko’s request included ample supplies of vodka, wine, and beer.

34. *Ibid.*, fol. 103.



delegates (and any necessary medical services)<sup>35</sup> and the largest dining facilities in the city, at the Bristol Hotel.<sup>36</sup> Kozyrev allotted three buses and two cars for five days to transport the delegates from hotels and the Bristol restaurant to St. George's Cathedral and back; for that purpose he requested two tonnes of rationed gasoline from the Radnarkom vice-chairman in Kyïv.<sup>37</sup>

When the Initiative Group leaders returned to L'viv on February 26, they proceeded at once with the convocation of the "sobor." Nothing was left to chance or the unpredictable will of the rank-and-file clergy. According to the "sobor's" official record, "It was decided to invite all deans and one priest from each deanery, and some deaneries could themselves elect even more delegates from among the clergy." "Artistically printed invitations were delivered to 225 clerical delegates and 22 "lay guests"<sup>38</sup> and to the "more prominent opponents of the 'Initiative Group's' activities."<sup>39</sup> A 1976 commemorative article reproduced the text of the invitations, which were signed by Kostel'nyk, Pel'vets'kyi, and Mel'nyk<sup>40</sup>:

The headquarters [*tseñtr*] of the Initiative Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church convenes, *with the permission of the state organs*, a sobor of the representatives of the clergy from

35. Ibid., fol. 149. Accommodations were reserved at the Ievropa and Narodna (Hostynnytsia) hotels. The medical services were, no doubt, not only for the elderly and sick delegates, but also for those who might feign illness so as to absent themselves from sessions or for those who might suffer sudden health failure from the stress of participating in the fateful decisions the "sobor" had to make.

36. Ibid. The discrepancies between the totals listed for restaurant services and hotel accommodations may reflect not only the different needs of the L'viv residents, visitors, and principal security and state officials assigned to monitor the delegates and the proceedings.

37. Ibid., fol. 23.

38. *Diiannia soboru*, 32.

39. Ibid. Predictably, no "recalcitrants" showed up at the "sobor," and there is some doubt whether "more prominent" opponents of the proposed "reunion" would have received such invitations, as most of them were either imprisoned or in hiding.

40. The three signatories were still in Kyïv on the date listed in the invitation (they arrived in L'viv by train the next morning), which suggests that the invitations had been *predated* and had either been sent out at the last possible moment to keep the gathering secret or handed out to the "delegates" upon their arrival.

our three eparchies *on the occasion* [*po sluchaiu*] of the reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church.<sup>[41]</sup> *You are being appointed a delegate to this sobor as a representative of the deanery* [*blahochynnia*].<sup>[42]</sup> The sobor will meet in L'viv in the Cathedral Church of St. George [on] 7–10 March 1946. *Your presence at the sobor is obligatory*. The sobor's sessions will commence at 10:00 a.m. (Moscow Time) [on] March 8, 1946. Fathers whose travel [to L'viv] is less difficult should take with them light-coloured vestments (as well as a sticharion). Participants in the sobor are to be provided on the spot with accommodation and meals. It is necessary to arrive in L'viv already on March 7, and on the [very] same March 7 you must appear before the Credentials Commission in the archbishop's palace (the Church of St. George) *to receive credentials for the sobor and permission for [the use of the] accommodation and boarding [facilities]*. *Being appointed as sobor delegates from your deanery are* [the names of priests were listed—I. K.], with whom you should make arrangements concerning departure for L'viv for the sobor. L'viv, February 25, 1946.<sup>43</sup>

“In the postwar period it was difficult to reach L'viv because of insufficient transportation [means],” so the delegates gathered in small groups “in order to obtain [travel] documents and then all together proceeded to L'viv.”<sup>44</sup> Once in L'viv, they registered at the archbishop's palace and received their mandates and coupons for accommodation and meals in the city's best hotels.<sup>45</sup> A Soviet source states that “The organizational side of the sobor

41. Significantly, the invitation referred to a “sobor of the clergy” and not of the Greek Catholic church; in it the “reunion” is treated as if it were a *fait accompli*. Note the deliberate omission of the word “Russian,” which reappears in the official published resolutions of the “sobor.”

42. “Delegates” to the “sobor” were thus *not elected* by the clergy of their deanery, but directly appointed by the *now* Orthodox leaders of the Initiative Group.

43. Ilarion Karpiak, “30 let nazad—na l'vovskom tserkovnom sobore 1946 goda,” *ZhMP*, 1976, no. 9, 15. Emphasis added.

44. Considering the virtual blockade of the Galician countryside at the time, the delegates' travel to L'viv required the full co-operation of the authorities, who, in some cases, had to provide not only transportation, but also police protection. See also note 49 below.

45. *Diiannia soboru*, 35. Vladimir P. Beliaev, an anti-Uniate polemicist who “observed the preparations for and carrying out of the sobor,” recalled (in 1989) a different procedure for receiving the “delegates”:

was thought through to the smallest detail. Not only were the times of the sobor sessions set forth, but also the time of reception at the Bristol Hotel ... even the time for rest was indicated.... *The entrance into [the] St. George's Church [cathedral complex] was closed to outsiders for the duration of the sobor sessions.*"<sup>46</sup>

Thus, it was with meticulous care that the delegates were kept well isolated for the duration of the "sobor."<sup>47</sup> The secrecy and haste with which, admittedly, the gathering had been prepared and the sessions were held occurred not only because reluctance among the Greek Catholic clergy to take part in such an obviously uncanonical and manipulated assembly was widespread, but also because of fear that the nationalist underground might attempt to prevent delegates from attending the "sobor" and even sabotage the event.

This haste and secrecy lends plausibility to the two versions of events that circulated among the Greek Catholic opponents of the "reunion." One claimed

Responsible for the selection of delegates to the sobor and their delivery to L'viv was Colonel of State Security Bogdanov, who stayed with his officers in the George Hotel, subsequently renamed Inturist, in the very centre of L'viv. I don't recall any other occasion when my documents were so thoroughly checked as at the entrance to the hotel, and especially on entering the room where Bogdanov was officiating. Subjected to the same procedure, obviously, were also the delegates brought to the sobor. I remember that the delegates' mandates were personally issued to the clergy and laymen by Bogdanov; subsequently, in the adjoining room, they were signed by Protopresbyter Havryil Kostel'nyk and stamped with the seal of the Initiative Group he had created. I also remember that every delegate received from Bogdanov coupons for meals and 200 grams of vodka—these were hungry, postwar times.

Cited in Rozhnov, "Eto my, Gospodi," 7.

46. Karpiak, "30 let," 15; emphasis added. According to OUN sources, the "sobor" took place "under special NKGB protection," and as many secret policemen as priests attended the gathering. "Iak nyschlyly Hr.-Kat. Tserkvu v Halychyni," *Surma*, 1949, no. 4 (April 10), 6. Beliaev recalled that during the "sobor" "the square around [St. George's] Cathedral had been tightly surrounded and had literally turned blue from the caps worn by the state security men and officers. In charge of admission passes was Ovsianikov, an energetic young officer who held the rank of lieutenant or senior lieutenant [of state security]. I was left with the impression that he knew the face of every delegate." Rozhnov, "Eto my, Gospodi," 7.

47. Bilas, *Represyвно-karal'na systema*, 1: 331.

that *originally* the priests were invited to a conference of the Initiative Group adherents, and learned only on arriving in L'viv that they would be “participating” in a “sobor”;<sup>48</sup> the other version maintained that at least some delegates were “delivered” to L'viv by the police before they could go into hiding.<sup>49</sup>

It seems that the only ones in whom the “sobor” conveners had confided before the sessions began were the twenty priestly delegates, “mostly deans” (including the thirteen clerics who had been “reunited” in Kyiv on February 22), who had been invited to the “pre-sobor conference” held on March 6 in the Initiative Group’s office. That meeting “decided the entire agenda of the sobor sessions”: “The sobor was to commence its work on March 8, on Friday of the first week of Lent. *On that day the epochal resolution was to be adopted on the return to the faith of [our] fathers ... so that, two days later, on the first Sunday of Lent—‘the Sunday of Orthodoxy’—the celebration of Orthodoxy could be held.*”<sup>50</sup> While members of the Credentials Commission were busy decorating the cathedral for the “sobor,” Soviet crews set up their equipment to film the proceedings.<sup>51</sup>

48. One of the “sobor’s” key participants and speakers told me that it had been convened as a “Conference of the Initiative Group” members. According to him, the entire “reunion” campaign had been carried out by the NKGB, and the Initiative Group merely served as a façade. Interview with the late Fr. Kostiantyn Dobrians'kyi of Ternopil', Winnipeg, September 3, 1982.

49. Hrynyk, “Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu,” 11. One of the few surviving participants in the “sobor,” Fr. Omelian Ivasyk, was interviewed in Drohobych on March 12, 1993, by Dr. Borys Gudziak. Ivasyk told Gudziak that before the “sobor” he had served as the pastor in Styniava, Skole raion. When he was picked up by an MGB officer on March 7, 1946, he assumed that he would be arrested. Instead he was taken to Stryi, as were seventeen other pastors. From there they were taken by truck to L'viv and delivered to Kostel'nyk at the metropolitan’s residence. It is possible that, unlike the inner circle of the Initiative Group, the rank-and-file participants in the “sobor” had not been informed in advance that they had been appointed delegates to prevent them from going into hiding and thus avoid attending the gathering. This would explain why they were picked up by security officials and learned of their “appointment” only while they were being conveyed to L'viv or even after they had arrived there.

50. *Diiannia soboru*, 33. Emphasis added.

51. *Ibid.*, 35. “The more important moments of the sobor’s sessions were recorded on film. Later one could watch on the screens of [the cinemas in] L'viv and the raions the film about this historic sobor.” Karpiak, “30 let,” 15. The proceedings were filmed using several stationary cameras. Only 16.45 minutes, however, were included in *L'vivs'kyi sobor*. The soundtrack of this heavily edited film was doctored with

On March 1, 1946, Karpov cabled Exarch Ioann to wish him a pleasant trip to L'viv and a successful "sobor."<sup>52</sup> He also sent a telegram to L'viv oblast's CAROC plenipotentiary, Vyshnevs'kyi, and the ranking CAROC official in Moscow, Utkin, who was to be his representative in L'viv for the duration of the "sobor": "Don't expect my arrival. The responsible person [in my stead] is Utkin, who together with Khodchenko and Vyshnevs'kyi should take the necessary measures. In case of unclarities, [for] necessary directives, telephone [me]."<sup>53</sup> That same day Karpov instructed Khodchenko in Kyiv to "Facilitate Metropolitan Ioann's departure for L'viv. You must also travel there. You should not speak at the sobor. If you need directives, telephone [me]."<sup>54</sup> In another cable Karpov ordered Vyshnevs'kyi and Utkin to call him every day from March 5 through 10.<sup>55</sup>

### The Indictment of the Episcopate

If any of the delegates to the forthcoming "sobor" still harboured hopes for the survival of the Greek Catholic Church, such hopes must have been dispelled on the eve of the "sobor" by the Soviet Ukrainian Procuracy's well-timed announcement that doomed the church's imprisoned bishops. On March 1, 1946, the L'viv daily *Vil'na Ukraina* carried a summary of the indictment:

For [their] active treasonable and collaborationist activities to the benefit of the German occupiers, the [Soviet] investigation organs have arrested I. A. Slipyi, the metropolitan of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church, [and] M. A. Charnets'kyi, M. [Nykyta] M. Budka, H. L. Khomyshyn, [and] I. Iu. Liaty-

additional shouts of approval ("*slava*") to convey an enthusiasm unmatched by the expressions or gestures of the delegates other than those of the leading core of the Initiative Group sitting in the front row. By conspicuously filming the proceedings, especially the open "voting," the authorities intimidated the participants. Under such circumstances, dissent was out of the question: any protest would have been recorded and made available to the police; moreover, the participants were well aware that no number of votes opposing the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church could possibly affect the predetermined outcome of the "sobor."

52. Bilas, *Represyвно-karal'na systema*, 1: 331.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

shevs'kyi, [all of them] bishops of the Uniate church.

At the time of [their] arrest, documents were found in possession of the above mentioned persons that reveal their criminal connections with the German-fascist occupiers, in particular with the Gestapo and other German punitive and intelligence organs.

During the preliminary investigation the arrested confessed to their guilt of having conducted hostile activities [directed] against the USSR.<sup>[56]</sup>

On orders from German intelligence organs after the [1939] reunion of the western oblasts of the Ukraine with the USSR, the accused developed active anti-Soviet agitation, calling upon the clergy and faithful of the Uniate Church to resist the Soviet authorities.

To this end, beginning in July 1941, Slipyi, Budka, Charnets'kyi, Khomyshyn, and Liatyshevs'kyi, [acting] in accordance with the Gestapo [instructions], more than once called in their appeals and messages to the clergy and faithful of the Uniate Church for help for the Germans in the establishment of local organs of the [Nazi] occupation regime. [They called upon the believers] to take an active part in supplying agricultural products to the German army and in assisting the armed struggle of the German invaders against the Red Army.

The active hostile behaviour of the accused was especially clearly revealed by their participation in the formation of the SS Division Galizien for the purpose of fighting against the [Soviet] partisan movement and the Red Army.

It has been established from the documentary data and confessions of all the accused, including that of Slipyi, that in April 1943 he concluded an agreement with a German appointee, the governor of Galicia Dr. [Otto von] Wächter, concerning the creation of a special committee [responsible] for the formation of the SS Division Galizien, in accordance with which a representative of the Greek Catholic Church was included among the members of the said committee.

56. There is good reason to doubt the authenticity of the purported confessions, let alone their voluntariness. Excerpts from them (more likely the protocols of interrogations written up by NKGB/MGB investigators, who had used intimidation and violence to force the accused to sign these "records") were published (without any sources listed) by several Soviet "specialists" on "Uniate-nationalist" problems, such as S. T. Danylenko, Vladimir Dobrychev, M. Virnyi, and Klym Dmytruk. Virnyi (apparently a pseudonym) claimed to have taken part in the interrogation of the bishops. See *Voiovnnychi ateïst*, 1962, no. 1, 40. Doubts about the confessions' authenticity increase when one analyzes the phraseology of their published excerpts and discovers that they reflect the jargon of Soviet propaganda and not the traditional Galician idiom the bishops would have used.



In fulfilment of this treasonable agreement with the Germans, the accused Slipyi, Budka, and others instructed all Uniate priests to take direct part in the formation of the SS Division Galizien and sent priests to the latter as chaplains.

The criminal anti-Soviet activities of the accused have been confirmed by numerous eye-witness testimonies and by documentary data.

The case of I. A. Slipyi, M. A. Charnets'kyi, M. M. Budka, H. L. Khomyshyn, and I. Iu. Liatyshevs'kyi, accused of crimes under Articles 54–1 and 54–11 of the Criminal Code of the U[krainian] SSR<sup>57</sup>, has been concluded and is being transmitted for trial by a military tribunal.<sup>58</sup>

57. The respective articles of the criminal code ("Special Part, Chapter One: Counterrevolutionary Crimes") read at the time:

**Article 54 (1).** Any activity that is aimed at overthrowing, subverting, or weakening the rule of the workers' and peasants' soviets or workers' and peasants' governments of the USSR and Union and autonomous republics, elected by them [the soviets], on the basis of the Constitution of the USSR and constitutions of the Union republics, or any activity [aimed] at the subversion or weakening of the external security of the USSR or of the basic economic, political, and national conquests of the proletarian revolution is considered counter-revolutionary....

**Article 54 (1a):** For treason against the fatherland, i.e., for activities carried out by citizens of the USSR to the detriment of the military might of the USSR, its state independence, or integrity of its territories, such as espionage, betrayal of military or state secrets, defection to the side of the enemy, or escape or flight abroad, the punishment is the highest measure of social defense—execution [accompanied by] the confiscation of all property; or in extenuating circumstances, deprivation of freedom for a term of ten years [accompanied by] the confiscation of all property....

**Article 54 (11):** Any organizational activity aimed at the preparation or commission of the crimes foreseen in this chapter or participation in any organization created to prepare or commit one of the crimes foreseen by this chapter are punishable by the measures of social defense listed in the corresponding articles of this chapter.

*Ugolovnyi kodeks Ukrainskoi SSR* (Moscow, 1954), 17–19. For an authoritative commentary on the counter-revolutionary crimes chapter of the Soviet criminal code, see I. T. Goliakov, ed., *Ugolovnoe pravo*, 2d rev. ed. (Moscow, 1947), 161–82.

58. V. Iu. Malanchuk et al., eds., *Pravda pro uniiu: Dokumenty i materialy*, 2d rev. ed. (L'viv, 1968), 363–4.

Because virtually all Greek Catholic clergy in Western Ukraine could be indicted on such charges and prosecuted unless they “reunited” with the Russian Orthodox Church, the publication of this announcement was obviously intended to reassure the Initiative Group leaders and to paralyse any remaining opposition to the forthcoming abolition of the union with Rome.

### The “Sobor”

In the morning of Friday, March 8, 1946, after each of them had been fortified at breakfast with a hundred grams of vodka and two hundred grams of wine, the delegates were brought to the well-guarded St. George’s Cathedral to perform their parts in the meticulously scripted “reunion sobor.”<sup>59</sup> The “sobor” was opened at 10:30 a.m. with a service “On the Invocation of the Holy Spirit.” The three founders of the Initiative Group—Kostel’nyk, Pel’vets’kyi, and Mel’nyk—concelebrated the service with the participation of 216 clerical delegates<sup>60</sup> and 19 lay delegates. Then, in accordance with the decision of the pre-sobor conference, the three founders assumed the functions of the “sobor’s” presidium. Two other priests who had secretly converted to Orthodoxy—Frs. Mykyta Pavlosiuk and Iurii Vanchyts’kyi—acted as secretaries. To ensure that there would be no surprises forthcoming from the delegates, the founders dispensed with electing the presidium or submitting the “sobor’s” agenda to the delegates for approval: “Why, for what purpose, is the formal election of a presidium needed here? Perhaps at a secular meeting this could not be avoided. In the eyes of all the delegates, [however,] Fr. Dr. Kostel’nyk is not only the *administrator of the church*,<sup>[61]</sup> but the generally recognized leader of this entire church movement.”<sup>62</sup>

The preset agenda for the first day provided only for two reports. Instead of a discussion, the reports were followed by speeches (evidently prepared and

59. DALO, *fond* R-1332, *opys* 1, *sprava* 4, fol. 144.

60. Nine of the invited delegates (of the original 225) are not accounted for in the report of the Credentials Commission, which lists 216 priests and 19 laymen. *Diiannia soboru*, 53–8. The official film of the “sobor” shows a smaller number of participating priests.

61. This appears to confirm my earlier hypothesis about Kostel’nyk’s role before the Initiative Group surfaced.

62. *Diiannia soboru*, 35. Emphasis added.

cleared in advance) and by an open vote on the "reunion."<sup>63</sup>

Fr. Pel'vets'kyi gave the first, brief report, "On the Activities of the Headquarters of the Initiative Group."<sup>64</sup> Its political tone was echoed in most of the speeches delivered that day:

We were liberated by the mighty Soviet Union from German-fascist slavery, which threatened us with total destruction.... Once the national liberation of the Ukrainian people from centuries-long oppression had been accomplished, it *had* to be followed also by the ecclesiastical-religious reunification of the Ukrainian people, namely, the liquidation of the Union of Brest, a break with the Vatican, and a reunion with the Russian Orthodox Church.

Our metropolitan and bishops of the Greek Catholic Church have not understood their mission, *as can be seen from the announcement from the Procuracy of the U[krainian] SSR*. They have not justified the confidence that the church accorded them; on the contrary, they exposed the church to injury.<sup>65</sup>

"These circumstances," stated Pel'vets'kyi, "brought into being the Initiative Group" under Fr. Kostel'nyk, "the father of our reunion," who had played a "distinguished and historic role in the founding and leadership of the Initiative Group." Pel'vets'kyi hastened to add that, "for the sake of the clarity of terms [being used], one must first of all *affirm that the present sobor is a sobor of the Greek Catholic Church*<sup>66</sup> convened by the Initiative Group in order, in

63. According to Beliaev, all of the delegate's speeches were written by Fr. Pavlosiuk. Rozhnov, "Eto my, Gospodi," 7.

64. Pel'vets'kyi's report, as it appears in *Diiannia soboru*, 59–62, could not have taken more than twelve or thirteen minutes to deliver. It is likely that the "sobor's" proceedings were carefully censored before their publication. In fact, the *Diiannia soboru* does not include the text of Fr. Vanchyts'kyi's speech. Cf. Karpiak, "30 let," 15.

65. *Diiannia soboru*, 59–60. Emphasis added.

66. This is an absurd claim considering that the "sobor" had been convened not by the Greek Catholic bishops but by the Initiative Group's *already Orthodox* leaders, who had *appointed* all the delegates. The delegates did not represent anyone but themselves; they had already joined (however involuntarily) the Initiative Group, and they knew that its aim was the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church. Moreover, the vast majority of the clergy, who had refused to join the group, were not represented in any manner at the "sobor." Rather than being a sobor, the gathering was in reality a conference of the Initiative Group.

*the new conditions of our state life* when the Ukrainian people have become united, to review the decisions of the 1596 Sobor of Brest and to decide the question of our reunion with the Orthodox Church.”<sup>67</sup>

The total number of priests who had “joined the Initiative Group, i.e., submitted to its jurisdiction,” reported Pel'vets'kyi, had now reached 986, leaving only 281 “recalcitrants, whom we have been trying to persuade several times, both orally and by letters, but without success.”<sup>68</sup>

“Accordingly,” stated Pel'vets'kyi, “the work of the Initiative Group with regard to the regrouping and reorganization of the clergy in preparation for the reunion with the Orthodox Church had come to an end, and time had come for the convocation of a sobor to decide the question of the reunion with the [Russian] Orthodox Church.”<sup>69</sup>

Pel'vets'kyi's report was interrupted by the arrival of Bishop Makarii (Oksiuk) of L'viv-Ternopil', Bishop Nestor (Sydoruk) of Mukachiv, and Mitred Archpriest Kostiantyn Ruzhyts'kyi, the administrator of the Exarchate

67. *Diiannia soboru*, 61. Emphasis added.

68. Ibid. The 281 “recalcitrant” priests were, it appears, secular priests who were presumably still at large, and not monastic priests or those secular priests who had already been imprisoned or exiled to Siberia. A list Kostel'nyk submitted to the authorities in February 1946 named ninety-eight secular priests in L'viv oblast who had refused to join the Initiative Group. The list did *not* include monastic clergy or any arrested priests who were being investigated by the NKGB or had already been sentenced. DALO, *fond* R-1332, *opys* 1, *sprava* 3, fol. 35. It can be safely assumed that the total of 221 “recalcitrants” was arrived at on the basis of similarly compiled lists from all four oblasts of Galicia. Confidential Soviet documents show considerable discrepancies in the statistics the Initiative Group used. On September 1, 1945, there were 1,684 Greek Catholic priests (excluding monastic clergy), according to “Spravka o sostoianii religioznykh kul'tov na Ukraine, [by] upolnomochennyi Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR po Ukrainskoi SSR, Vil'khovyi,” October 7, 1947, TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 4556, fol. 110. If, as Pel'vets'kyi reported, 908 priests had joined the Initiative Group and only 251 remained in opposition to the “reunion,” their combined total 1,159 leaves 525 clergymen unaccounted for. Apart from a few who had died in the intervening period, retired because of old age, had been “repatriated” to Poland, or had gone underground, the latter group consisted largely of repressed (arrested or deported) “recalcitrant” clergy. By way of comparison, Khodchenko's report on the Orthodox clergy in Ukraine in mid-June 1946 lists a total of only 821 priests in Galicia—137 in L'viv oblast; 221 in Stanislav oblast; 291 in Drohobych oblast; and 172 in Ternopil' oblast. Ibid., *sprava* 2896, fol. 180.

69. *Diiannia soboru*, 61–2.

of Ukraine.<sup>70</sup> They were welcomed and introduced Fr. Kostel'nyk.<sup>71</sup>

The second, longer report was delivered by Kostel'nyk. He outlined the reasons for the reunion and, after making some sweeping historical generalizations, reiterated his now familiar thesis about the Greek Catholic Church's artificial, political genesis, its past failures, and its lost vitality. He illustrated his thesis with examples of detrimental Vatican policies vis-à-vis the church. Kostel'nyk observed that after the church had revived under Austrian rule as a national church,

it was Rome and Poland themselves that during the Second [Republic of] Poland condemned our Galician Uniate Church to liquidation.<sup>[72]</sup> And should we, even today, continue it [the church's existence]? What for? In order to cultivate eternal strife amongst our people to the delight of Rome? To perpetuate eternal strife within our Galician church? After all, it is known that the [church] union divided even our eparchies into three different churches that constantly accused each other in Rome.<sup>[73]</sup> For within the union [i.e., the Greek Catholic Church], because it was an artificial creation, an eternal struggle has been waged between factions: [to wit,] who, among the Uniates was a genuine Catholic and who [was] a hidden schismatic? Should we continue the union so that, for [purposes of] our humiliation, they [the Vatican] could [still] send us from Rome its monk-visitators who would put us on trial?<sup>[74]</sup>

70. Ruzhyts'kyi was widely considered an NKVD informer and the power behind the throne of the aged Exarch Ioann.

71. *Diiannia soboru*, 36.

72. This is a reference to the establishment in the 1920s of a "neo-union" church that proselytized among the Orthodox Ukrainians and Belarusians of interwar Poland. This so-called Catholic Church of the Eastern Byzantine Rite was subordinated to the local Latin-rite bishops and, ultimately, to the Papal Commission *Pro Russia*. It caused consternation among many Ukrainian Greek Catholic clerics, who saw the new church as Rome's repudiation of the historic mission of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church among the Eastern Slavs. Korolevskij, *Métropolit*, 248–53; for an anti-Greek Catholic Polish perspective, see Henryk Ignacy Lubieński, *Droga na Wschód Rzymu* (Warsaw, 1932), 53–130.

73. This is a reference to the direct subordination of each of the Galician eparchies to Rome and to the continuing tensions among them over questions of ritual and clerical celibacy.

74. Kostel'nyk alludes here to tensions among the Greek Catholic episcopate and the Vatican's dispatching to Galicia in 1934 of a Czech Redemptorist, Fr. Jan Hudeček,

... the union is *a declaration of religious war* against the entire Orthodox world for [the benefit of] the glory of Rome. The union is an “Initiative Group for the Reunion of the Entire Orthodox East with Papal Rome.” Should we [still] today carry on this hopeless and foolish war?

All of the historical foundations of the union have broken down! Whoever continues to this day to hold on to the union is grasping at straws!<sup>75</sup>

When Kostel'nyk had raised these issues with the clergy during the “reunion campaign,” however, they would often reply: “*From the political point of view the situation is clear: we can only go in that direction. But the dogmas, the dogmas!*”<sup>76</sup>

In the next section of his report Kostel'nyk summarized the anti-Papal arguments of his brochure<sup>77</sup> and then noted the two principal risks of the “reunion”: “Awaiting us are various difficulties, sorrows, and dangers. Our ‘forest men’ [*lisovyky*, i.e., the OUN-UPA guerrillas]—although they are themselves for Orthodoxy<sup>78</sup>—are resisting our action with threats. In our state the church is separated from the state, the church and the clergy are fully dependent on the people. And we are concerned that all changes in our church, in [its] discipline, in [its] rite, and in [its] customs should be carried out wisely and cautiously so as not to alienate the people from the church and not to extinguish their faith.”<sup>79</sup>

Kostel'nyk sought to dispel another source of opposition to “reunion” with a centralized *Russian* Orthodox Church—the fear that Ukrainian religious and national distinctiveness would thus be lost. To do so, Kostel'nyk, who in the past had never displayed Russophile tendencies, resorted to semantic manipulation<sup>80</sup> to reassure the delegates that “Should someone fear that our

as the apostolic visitator sent to investigate charges of “Byzantinism” (“Easternizing” tendencies) vs. Latinization. Cf. Korolevskij, *Métropolit*, 345–6.

75. *Diiannia soboru*, 68–9. Emphasis added.

76. *Ibid.*, 63. Emphasis added.

77. *Ap[ostol] Petro i rym's'ki papy*.

78. There is no evidence supporting this statement.

79. *Diiannia soboru*, 74.

80. Kostel'nyk argued that the name “All-Russian Church” derives from Kyïvan Rus', the common heritage of the Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Russians, and not from Russia (*Rossia*). *Ibid.*, 74–5. The problem is, however, that the Russian term “*ruskii/ruskaia*” has been used as a historical *and* ethnic designation and has



unity with the Russian Orthodox Church will result in the Russification of our Western Ukrainian church, I would point out that in our time the Orthodox Church—where there is full awareness that the church is an organization for conscience and love—cannot disagree with the national principles recognized by our state. We [are] Ukrainians and [we are] in Ukraine, and within the church no one can take this away from us.”<sup>81</sup>

After Kostel'nyk's report, a number of short prepared speeches were made,<sup>82</sup> interspersed with several obviously prearranged letters and telegrams greeting the “sobor” and endorsing the “reunion.”<sup>83</sup> The “discussion” added nothing of note to Kostel'nyk's keynote address. One speaker, Fr. Vasyl' Lesiuk, did, however, disturb the “harmony” of the gathering by introducing a motion to consider the “sobor” as a “preparatory stage” and, in view of the seriousness of the decision regarding the “reunion,” to postpone it until some future time.<sup>84</sup> After the “discussion had been exhausted,” Kostel'nyk disposed

officially been translated as meaning “Russian,” including in the Moscow patriarchate's publications.

81. *Diiannia soboru*, 75.

82. *Ibid.*, 77–117. A somewhat longer address was given by Fr. Iosyf Marynovych (dean of Dobromyl', Drohobych oblast), and short speeches were delivered by Frs. Vasyl' Drelykh (L'viv), Hryhorii Zakaliak (Stanislav), Ivan Ivan'o (Drohobych oblast), Ivan Lotochyns'kyi (Stanislav), and Mykyta Pavlosiuk (L'viv), and by the laymen Pavlo Durbak (L'viv) and Stepan Shchurko (Drohobych oblast), a secondary-school principal. Judging from the agitational nature of his speech, Shchurko was probably not a practising Greek Catholic. Two speeches—by Frs. Iu. Vanchyts'kyi and Vasyl' Lesiuk—were not included in *Diiannia soboru*. Karpiak, “30 let,” 15. That the newly ordained Orthodox bishop of Drohobych, Mykhaïl (Mel'nyk), did not make a statement at the “sobor” was a conspicuous omission.

83. The convocation of the “sobor” was not publicly announced in advance. One of the greetings sent by telegram, from the pastor and “twenty” parishioners of Dubliany near L'viv, copied Patriarch Aleksii's 1945 message to the Greek Catholic clergy and faithful almost verbatim. See *Diiannia soboru*, 40–1.

84. *Ibid.*, 42. According to a report sent to Khrushchev by the L'viv *obkom*'s propaganda secretary, Fr. Lesiuk said: “It is necessary to delay the work of the sobor. It needs to be thought through, and, depending on one's conscience, one should decide about [the “reunion”] alone.” “Sekretariu TsK KP(b)U tov. N. S. Khrushchevu. Informatsiia ‘O reagirovanii naseleniia L'vovskoi oblasti v sviazi s perekhodom s uniatskoi religii v pravoslavnuuiu i na soobshchenie Prokuratury USSR o vrazhdebnoi deiatel'nosti uniatov.’ 15 marta, 1946. I. Mazepa,” TsDAHOU, *fond 1, opys 23, sprava 2846*, fol. 44.

of Fr. Lesiuk's motion by submitting it in a distorted form for an *open vote* by the "sobor" participants: "Do the Fathers [present] consider the matter of the break with the Vatican and the reunion with the Orthodox Church pressing enough to be immediately voted upon, or do the Fathers-delegates want to continue the discussion?"<sup>85</sup> Predictably, the delegates indicated by a show of hands that they were ready to vote.<sup>86</sup>

After voicing the opinion that the "discussion" had not produced "a single argument against our reunion with the Orthodox Church,"<sup>87</sup> Kostel'nyk read a draft resolution "(1) to annul the decisions of the 1596 Union of Brest; (2) to separate from the (papal) church of Rome; (3) to return to the Orthodox faith of the forefathers; and to reunite with the All-Russian Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union."<sup>88</sup> The resolution also condemned Rome for "artificially breaking away in the eleventh century from [its] ancient, brotherly Orthodox conciliar church" and denounced the Union of Brest as a Polish imposition whose sole purpose was to Polonize and Latinize the Ukrainians. The resolution stated that

in our present situation, when, thanks to the heroic exploits and glorious victory of the Soviet Union, all Ukrainian lands have been brought together and the Ukrainian people has become the master of all its territories, it would be unwise to support Uniate tendencies further and it would be an unforgivable sin to continue within our people the hatred and fratricidal struggle whose cause in history was, and always must be, the Union [of Brest].<sup>89</sup>

Proceeding from these principles, *the sobor has decided to reject the decisions of the Brest Sobor of 1596, to liquidate the union, to break away from the Vatican, and to return to our paternal, holy Orthodox faith and the Rus' [Rus'ka] Orthodox Church.*<sup>90</sup>

85. *Diiannia soboru*, 43.

86. *Ibid.* The size of the majority vote is not mentioned. The obviously spliced scenes of the "voting" shown in the Soviet propaganda film *Their Trade Is Treason* display neither spontaneity nor unanimity among the delegates as they are being harangued by Kostel'nyk.

87. *Diiannia soboru*, 43.

88. *Ibid.*

89. This statement clearly distorts the nature of Ukrainian Orthodox-Greek Catholic relations in modern times.

90. *Ibid.*, 127–8. Emphasis added.

The draft resolution also contained an accusation that the Vatican had "completely sided with bloody Fascism [and Nazism] and acted against the Soviet Union"; the rest of it dealt with the notifications, petitions, and appeals to be composed by the "sobor," including expressions of "profound gratitude" to the Soviet leaders in Moscow and Kyiv for having liberated the Greek Catholics from "national and religious oppression."<sup>91</sup>

The resolution was submitted to the delegates for an *open vote* without discussion, and "by a spontaneous show of hands the "sobor" unanimously accepted these historical decisions."<sup>92</sup>

Only after the delegates had thus become "Orthodox" priests did Kostel'nyk reveal to the uninitiated the presence among them of two hitherto secret Orthodox bishops—Antonii (Pel'vets'kyi) and Mykhaïl (Mel'nyk). According to the published acts (*Diiannia soboru*), this revelation evoked "spontaneous" enthusiasm within the audience.<sup>93</sup> At 4:30 p.m. the first day of the "sobor" was concluded.<sup>94</sup> Six hours after it had begun, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church had officially been abolished.<sup>95</sup>

The second day of the "sobor" (March 9) was devoted to the "canonical implementation" of the "reunion" with the Russian Orthodox Church. It began with a liturgy that was concelebrated by Bishops Makarii, Nestor, Antonii, and Mykhaïl, during which Makarii presided over the rite of the "reunion" of the "sobor" participants. Ironically, the liturgy was followed by a requiem (*panakhyda*) for the late Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi as "the forerunner of Orthodoxy" in Galicia.<sup>96</sup>

91. Ibid., 128.

92. According to a later account in *ZhMP*, the vote was not unanimous. "The majority of delegates voted for the draft of the Rev. Dr. H. Kostel'nyk." Karpniak, "30 let," 16.

93. *Diiannia soboru*, 43.

94. Ibid.

95. This record is equalled only by the "Extraordinary Sobor" of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Kyiv on January 30, 1930, whose participants, aware that they were being watched by the Soviet secret police, voted to "dissolve" their own church. See *Visty VUTsVK* (Kharkiv), February 6, 1930; and Dmytro Ihnatiuk, *Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na tserkva i Soiuz vyzvolennia Ukraïny* (Kharkiv, 1930).

96. *Diiannia soboru*, 44. In view of the Soviet propaganda attacks on the late metropolitan (e.g., Halan's pamphlets), the memorial service most likely represented a temporary concession by the authorities aimed at appeasing the guilty consciences

At the sittings that followed, the delegates adopted several documents outlined in the resolution passed the previous day. The two principal documents, which were to be signed by all the delegates,<sup>97</sup> were a petition to Patriarch Aleksii and a message to Mykhailo Hrechukha, the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. The first document petitioned the patriarch “to recognize our [the “sobor’s”] resolution and to accept us into the All-Russian Orthodox Church”:

This historic moment in our church was made possible only through the great victories of the Soviet Union, which united our Ukrainian lands into a single Ukrainian state and *liberated all the historical territories of the Eastern church from oppression by the Roman church*. The Orthodox consciousness and critique of the [church] union can be expressed candidly only now, in this newly created world, in order to open the eyes of [our] blind brothers....

We also know, however, that our sobor is only the beginning of our intended task rather than its completion. *We must still overcome a variety of major obstacles in order for holy Orthodoxy to triumph in every parish of our church. Even such an artificial creation as the union has [sunk] its deep roots in the hearts of some of our people (especially among the monks and nuns) because since [their] childhood they have been blinded by the glory of the Roman church.*<sup>98</sup>

The overwhelmingly political “message of the sobor to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR” distorted the history of the great schism and the emergence of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine: to wit, after the partitions of Poland, “Russia saved our people” and the “Uniate church in Russia liquidated itself”; the victorious Soviet Union “became not only *the representative but also the liberator and defender of all the Slavic*

of the “sobor” delegates.

97. Ibid., 44–5. According to Ukrainian underground sources, 110 priests who attended the “sobor” refused to sign the “reunion” documents. See “Iak nyschchyly Hr.-Kat. Tserkvu v Halychyni.” While other sources do not confirm this information, it is possible some delegates’ initial refusal to sign the “sobor’s” resolutions might have caused the “sobor” presidium’s otherwise inexplicable delay in presenting the two petitions to the Soviet Ukrainian government and Patriarch Aleksii.

98. *Diiannia soboru*, 135–6. Emphasis added.

peoples,"<sup>99</sup> while the Vatican "supported the policies of Fascism"; and ultimately it was a process of "healthy reflection" that led the Greek Catholic Church to face reality and shed its "false consciousness" after "the course of history had uttered its mighty word." The message notified the Supreme Soviet of the "sobor's" decisions and asked it to "recognize this historic change and to take under its protection our henceforth [once] again Orthodox Church."<sup>100</sup>

The "sobor's" presidium also addressed telegrams announcing the "reunion" to Stalin,<sup>101</sup> Khrushchev,<sup>102</sup> Ecumenical Patriarch Maximos,<sup>103</sup> Patriarch Aleksii,<sup>104</sup> and Exarch Ioann.<sup>105</sup> The greetings sent to Stalin concluded with: "At this historic, epochal moment we cannot but express to you [our] feelings of tremendous gratitude for your great deed—the gathering together of the Ukrainian lands—without which it would not have been possible even to dream about the liquidation of our ecclesiastical-religious disunity."<sup>106</sup>

The "Message to the Clergy and Believers of the Greek Catholic Church in the Western Oblasts of Ukraine," however, implicitly recognized the "sobor's" lack of authority to speak for the Greek Catholic clergy and faithful other than those attending this gathering:

The sobor of the Greek Catholic *clergy*[<sup>107</sup>] convened by the Initiative Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church, which took place on March 8, 9, and 10 in the Cathedral of St. George, decided to liquidate the Brest Union of 1596, to break away from Rome, and to reunite with one Orthodox Church of our fathers. *This sobor announces this to all Greek Catholic Galician clergy and faithful and calls*

99. Ibid., 146. Emphasis added.

100. Ibid., 146–7.

101. Ibid., 141–2.

102. Ibid., 143–4.

103. Ibid., 133.

104. Ibid., 135–6.

105. Ibid., 137.

106. Ibid., 142.

107. It is significant that the gathering is identified not as a sobor of *the church*, but only as that of the clergy, thereby implicitly admitting the absence of the Greek Catholic bishops and hence that the "sobor" did not have canonical authority to decide matters concerning the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as a whole.

*upon you to follow in its steps.* Let there be no strife among our people on the occasion of the return to the faith and church of our ancestors....

As an artificial creation, the union could have flourished only under the yoke of Roman Catholic states, but in the Orthodox world it cannot live. A strong organism eliminates from itself an alien body. The Uniate zealots would say that one must give even [one's] life for the sake of divine truth.... But does Rome possess all of Christian truth and all of Christian law?... [We have had] enough of the tortures and sufferings that Rome ... has imposed upon all peoples and upon our own people!

Brothers, come to your senses!... Do not waste your efforts and those of the people for the [sake of] realizing mistaken ideas!...<sup>108</sup>

The gathering “unanimously” adopted this appeal,<sup>109</sup> and Kostel'nyk concluded the day's session with a lecture on the dogmatic and disciplinary changes resulting from the “reunion.”<sup>110</sup>

On the afternoon of the same day, Exarch Ioann was welcomed to the

108. *Diiannia soboru*, 129–32. Emphasis added.

109. *Ibid.*, 45.

110. *Ibid.* Kostel'nyk's report was not included in *Diiannia soboru*, though it (or its summary) was published as an appendix to Serhii Khruts'kyi's chronicle of the “sobor,” “Sobor povorotu do viry bat'kiv,” in the group's monthly. See H. Kostel'nyk, “Dohmatychni i dystsyplinarni zminy v zv'iazku z povorotom do Pravoslavnoi tserkvy,” *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk*, 1946, no. 2–3, 22–3. Kostel'nyk instructed the “reunited” clergy to introduce the following changes immediately: (1) replace the term “Greek Catholic” with “Orthodox” in all services and documents; (2) omit the *Filioque* clause from the Creed; (3) discontinue celebrating the Immaculate Conception and references to it in sermons; (4) adopt the Orthodox liturgical practice as to the moment at which Transubstantiation takes place; (5) omit all references to Purgatory; (6) discontinue the cult of St. Josaphat Kuntsevych, remove images of him from all churches, and replace the antiminsia containing his relics with those of other saints; (7) replace the liturgical references to the pope and Greek Catholic bishops with prayers for “our holy father Kyr Aleksii, patriarch of Moscow and all Rus', his grace Metropolitan Ioann, exarch of All Ukraine,” and for the eparchial bishop; (8) recognize that henceforth “dissolutions of [church-sanctioned] marriages” (divorces) may be granted by the eparchial authorities after the divorce has been “registered” by the appropriate state authorities; (9) adopt the Orthodox usage for administering the Eucharist; (10) recognize that in accordance with the 1945 Statute of the Russian Orthodox Church, eparchial boundaries must correspond to those of an oblast and that henceforth there will be four eparchies in Galicia: L'viv, Drohobych-Sambir, Stanislav, and Ternopil'; and (11) include prayers for the state in the Liturgy.



"sobor" by Kostel'nyk, who surrendered to him his powers as chairman. The exarch addressed the gathering in Russian and read a message from Patriarch Aleksii welcoming the "return" of the Greek Catholics into the bosom of "their mother, the holy Russian Orthodox Church."<sup>111</sup> The chancellor of the exarchate, Archpriest Ruzhyts'kyi, concluded the ceremony by which the "former Uniates" were officially accepted into the Moscow patriarchate. His Russian-language speech extolled the "reunion" as yet another victory of the "great Russian Orthodox people" over "papal pretensions," and compared it to the events of 1839, when the Uniates, "having been separated [from the Orthodox] by violence, were reunited with love."<sup>112</sup>

The third day of the "sobor"—"the feast of Orthodoxy"—began with a High Liturgy concelebrated by Exarch Ioann and the four Orthodox bishops, including Antonii (Pel'vets'kyi) and Mykhail (Mel'nyk); this was the "sobor's" first public event. During the Liturgy, Ioann presented an icon of the Theotokos from the Kyivan Caves Lavra to St. George's Cathedral to mark the "reunion."<sup>113</sup> Only then, on March 10, did L'viv's inhabitants learn of the official "self-liquidation" of the Greek Catholic Church. The festivities ended with an official dinner prepared for the "sobor" participants at the Bristol Hotel. It featured speeches and toasts in honour of the ecclesiastical and state authorities.<sup>114</sup>

Karpov's representatives kept him informed on a daily basis about the progress of the "sobor." At the end of the first day, Utkin, Khodchenko, and Vyshnevs'kyi cabled to Karpov that "The first day went well. The resolution [to break with Rome and to join the Russian Orthodox Church] was adopted

111. *Diiannia soboru*, 138–9. Bishop Makarii subsequently read out a Ukrainian translation of the patriarch's message.

112. *Diiannia soboru*, 118–26.

113. *Ibid.*, 47–50.

114. *Ibid.*, 50–1; Karpiak, "30 let," 17. The delegates signed a letter of thanks to the management and employees of the hotel for providing excellent food, drinks, and service, and requested that the letter be published in *Vil'na Ukraïna*. PLOKU, *fond* 3, *opis'* 1, *delo* 439, fols. 1–2. A minor scandal erupted, however, when it turned out that Kostel'nyk had exceeded the "sobor's" wine budget by 23,008.40 rubles. In October 1946 L'viv oblast's CAROC plenipotentiary sent the Bristol's wine bill to Khodchenko in Kyïv, who replied in November that Kostel'nyk should ask Exarch Ioann to pay for it. But Ioann refused to do so, and the bill was eventually settled by the L'viv and Ternopil' eparchial administrations. DALO, *fond* R-1332, *opys* 1, *sprava* 4, fols. 43, 44.

unanimously.”<sup>115</sup> On March 11 their telegram to Moscow read: “The second [and] third day went well. The assignment was carried out successfully.”<sup>116</sup>

Little is known about the true feelings of the delegates about what transpired at the “sobor.” The NKGB, which secretly monitored the delegates’ and guests’ conversations between meetings and during meals, reported some of what they heard. Thus, Fr. Leonid Shchyrba, the pastor of Dobriany, Shchyrets’ raion, was quoted as having said “The Soviets demand that we become Orthodox priests. If we refuse, they will arrest us, and if we agree to be Orthodox, this will [turn us] against the [OUN-UPA] partisans and rural intelligentsia. I gave my consent to convert to Orthodoxy, but it was only for the [sake of] appearance. As a matter of fact, I have decided until the [expected] war [between the Western Allies and the USSR] to move temporarily into another job. I will return home and make a declaration that I have decided to marry so that I will be released from [serving in] the church.” Another pastor, Nechai, related that “The priests were transported to the sobor in sealed railroad cars under the protection of the NKGB. When we arrived at the railway station in L’viv, we were not allowed to talk to the population, not even to relatives.” Pastor Luka Voloshyn stated to a group of delegates that “We don’t know if this is a sobor or only an operetta: the cameramen, powerful lights, the filming—[all] this is for advertising. How can they send us to Galicia an exarch [who is a] *katsap*?<sup>117</sup> That exarch cannot say a single word in Ukrainian; it is simply a scandal.”

Voloshyn’s criticism was echoed by a lay guest at the “sobor,” the L’viv Historical Museum’s employee Dudykevych, who commented that “At the sobor Kostel’nyk declared that there will not be [any] Russification of the church services and sermons. The Russian-language sermon of the metropolitan at St. George’s [Cathedral] was for the local population [like] a barrel of frigid water.”<sup>118</sup>

Three days after the “sobor,” Patriarch Aleksii sent a telegram to Fr.

115. Cited in Bilas, *Represyvno-karal'na systema*, 1: 332.

116. Ibid.

117. *Katsap* is a derogatory Ukrainian term for a Russian.

118. “Sekretariu TsK KP(b)U, tov. N. S. Khrushchevu. Informatsiia ‘O reagirovanii naseleniia,’” fols. 114–15. Note that neither Nechai nor Dudykevych are listed among the “sobor’s” participants in *Diiannia soboru*. Another high-ranking official who reported directly to Khrushchev about the “successful” outcome of the “sobor” was Lieut. Gen. of State Security Drozdetskii, Savchenko’s deputy, who very likely had been in L’viv to oversee the security aspects of the entire operation. Ibid., fols. 60–1.

Kostel'nyk expressing his "joy at the conclusion of the reunion." He offered his blessing to "all the reunited" and expressed his thanks to the three founders of the Initiative Group for their efforts.<sup>119</sup>

On March 31 the "sobor's" presidium—Fr. Kostel'nyk and Bishops Antonii (Pel'vets'kyi) and Mykhaïl (Mel'nyk)—accompanied by Fr. Ievhen Iuryk (L'viv), Fr. Isydor Lotochyns'kyi (Stanislav), and "Brother" M. Matviieiko (Drohobych),<sup>120</sup> departed for Kyïv and Moscow with the documents of the "sobor." In Kyïv they were shown a screening of the as yet unfinished *L'viv Sobor*. On April 3 CP(B)U First Secretary Khrushchev and Chairman Hrechukha of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's Presidium received the delegates. Kostel'nyk presented to them the "Sobor's Appeal to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR" and thanked the Soviet Ukrainian government "for the great help and care they had given to this great cause of ours [the "reunion"] and, especially, to the organization of the sobor."<sup>121</sup> Two days later the delegation arrived in Moscow. There Kostel'nyk presented Patriarch Aleksii with the "sobor's" petition asking for "acceptance into the bosom of [our] mother, the Russian Orthodox Church." Later, during a service at the patriarchal cathedral on Sunday, April 7, Aleksii elevated Makarii (Oksiiuk) to the rank of archbishop and awarded Kostel'nyk with the rare rank of protopresbyter—the highest distinction married clergy could obtain within the Orthodox Church—in recognition of his leading role in bringing about the "reunion of the Uniates." The delegation was also received by CAROC Chairman Karpov. During a filmed ceremony, Kostel'nyk presented to Karpov

119. *Diiannia soboru*, 51.

120. Matviieiko was a former Basilian monk whom Bishop Mykhaïl (who had taken over the Basilian monastery in Drohobych as his residence) had selected as his aide.

121. Uchasnyk, "Poïzdka prezydii l'vivs'koho soboru do Kyieva i do Moskvy," *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk*, 1946, no. 4, 7–8. For a more detailed account of the delegation's meetings with Khrushchev and Hrechukha, see "Sekretno. Informatsionnyi otchet upolnomochennogo Soveta po delam russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR po Ukrainskoi SSR za pervyi kvartal 1946 goda, P. Khodchenko" (undated), TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 2845, fols. 29–30. Khodchenko was present at both meetings. As usual, the MGB monitored the delegates' reflections after these meetings; they reported that nothing but "enthusiastic" impressions were uttered in the delegates' hotel rooms. "Sovershenno sekretno. TsK KP(b)Ukrainy, tovarishchu Khrushchevu, N. S. [From] Ministr gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti Ukrainskoi SSR, Savchenko. 6 apreliia, 1946, g. Kyïv," with an enclosed report on the subject signed by "Nachal'nik 2 upravleniia MGB USSR, Medvedev," *ibid.*, *sprava* 2840, fols. 66–9.

the documents of the "sobor."<sup>122</sup>

On April 9, a day before the delegation left Moscow, TASS interviewed Kostel'nyk; the interview was to be published as a refutation of Western charges that the Soviets had forcibly suppressed the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia. As reported in *Zhurnal Moskovskoi patriarkhii*, Kostel'nyk reassured the TASS interviewer of the perfectly "voluntary" nature of the "reunion" with the Moscow patriarchate. When asked whether any clergy had been arrested before the "sobor," Kostel'nyk replied:

Assertions by the Catholic press that before the sobor there were mass arrests of the clergy of the Greek Catholic Church do not correspond to reality. In April 1945, that is, eleven months before the sobor, when there was still no Initiative Group, Slipyi, I. A., the metropolitan of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church, [and] Charnets'kyi, N. A., Budka, N. N., Khomyshyn, H. L. [and] Liatyshevs'kyi, I. Iu.—bishops of the Uniate Church—and several priests were indeed arrested.

As is evident from the announcement of the USSR Procurator's office published in the newspaper *L'vovskaia pravda* on March 1, 1946, the above-mentioned persons were arrested in April 1945 as citizens of the USSR for their treasonous activity and for assisting the German occupiers, and their indictment has been forwarded to a military tribunal.

Before the sobor and afterwards there were no arrests of the clergy of the Greek Catholic Church.<sup>123</sup>

In the meantime, the NKGB surveyed the reactions of the Western Ukrainian clergy and laity to the "reunion." In his March 30, 1946, report on the subject to Khrushchev, the L'viv *obkom's* first secretary, Grushetskii, described Kostel'nyk's vanity and self-confident post-"sobor" mood:

Kostel'nyk ... believes that he performed an enormous task and that now his name has been firmly recorded in the history of the church for many centuries. He says: "I am utilizing now my influence over Bishop Makarii, [and] am urging him to open up a theological seminary in L'viv." Kostel'nyk considers Bishop Makarii a "holy fool," a dull-witted [*nedalekii*] and limited

122. Uchasnyk, "Poizdka prezydii," 9–11.

123. "Interv'iu, dannoe korrespondentu TASS chlenami prezidiuma Sobora Greko-katolicheskoi (uniatskoi) tserkvi protopresviterom Kostel'nikom i episkopami Antoniem i Mikhailom 9 apreliia 1946 g.," *ZhMP*, 1946, no. 4, 35–6. Kostel'nyk's denial was a manifest lie.

man. "My function," declares Kostel'nyk, "is now to influence through Makarii the legal status of the clergy and the church." The Initiative Group is I, and I remain I. I am, thank God, obeyed by Makarii and am listened to by ministers of [religious] cults. Accordingly, I will continue to lead.<sup>124</sup>

### The Question of the "Sobor's" Canonical Validity

Without the publication, later in 1946, of the "sobor's" official proceedings it would have been difficult to assess its canonicity.<sup>125</sup> Thankfully, the editor of the proceedings (Kostel'nyk) and the chronicler of the Initiative Group and the "sobor" (Khruts'kyi)—whether unwittingly or deliberately—succeeded in publishing evidential materials that have served as the basis for condemning the "sobor" and the entire "reunion" operation as a gross violation of Catholic and Orthodox canon law and a manifest abuse of Soviet constitutional and statutory norms governing the status of religious communities in the USSR.

The Moscow patriarchate and Soviet government repeatedly asserted that

124. PLOKU, *fond 3, opis' 1, delo 439* (Utkin and Shvarev report), fol. 15.

125. In their introduction to *Diiannia soboru*, the editors thus justified its publication: "It is obvious that the proceedings of a sobor of such historical significance cannot and should not remain so secret that even their trace would disappear. [This is the case even] more so because hostile propaganda has been disseminating a gamut of unworthy fabrications about the sobor. Therefore, let the world know about the course, deliberations, resolutions, and celebrations of our sobor. Everything here in the book we present exactly as it happened in fact" (p. 13). *Diiannia soboru* was approved by both the republican and L'viv oblast's censors. Initially its pressrun was to be 10,000 copies. DALO, *fond R-1330, opys 1, sprava 4*, fol. 36. Subsequently a decision was made to publish 9,000 copies, including 1,000 in hardcover printed on better paper, presumably for distribution to visiting foreign ecclesiastical dignitaries and abroad. *Ibid.*, fols. 46, 50.

Kostel'nyk's TASS interview and the subsequent hasty publication of *Diiannia soboru* were responses to the overwhelming condemnation by the world's mass media of the "sobor" and the arrests of the Greek Catholic episcopate and clergy that preceded it. Karpov ordered Utkin (the chief CAROC observer at the "sobor") and Shvarev (a senior CAROC inspector) to monitor from Moscow the reactions of the Vatican, the Catholic Church in the West and the foreign press and radio on the "sobor's" break with Rome and the merger of the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches. Their report was circulated among the authorities in Moscow, Kyiv, and Western Ukraine. PLOKU, *fond 3, opis' 1, delo 349*, fol. 26.

the Greek Catholic Church “ceased to exist” as a result of a “unanimous” decision by the “fully canonical” “sobor of the Greek Catholic Church” in 1946. This argument was based on the unsubstantiated claim that the 216 priests attending this gathering represented the *overwhelming majority* (78 percent) of all the Greek Catholic clergy in Galicia (i.e., 997 priests out of 1,267 who had *voluntarily* “joined the Initiative Group”)<sup>126</sup> and that they *voluntarily* voted to break away from Rome and to “return” to the Russian Orthodox Church.<sup>127</sup>

In the light of the available evidence, neither of these assertions appears to be correct. As has been pointed out by at least two Ukrainian Catholic writers

126. *Diiannia soboru*, 61. The list of the 216 priestly delegates appears in the report of the Credentials Commission (pp. 53–8). A general list of all “converts” was published in *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk* in 1947. By then it contained the names of 1,106 priests and five deacons. The list was republished under the title “Povorot hreko-katolyts'kykh sviashchennykiv do pravoslaviia” in the pro-Soviet weekly *Ukrains'ke zhyttia* (Toronto), May 6, 13, 20, 1948.

127. Cf. a report by Metropolitan Filaret (Denysenko) of Kyiv, the patriarchal exarch of Ukraine, in *Pomestnyi sobor Russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi, 30 maia–2 iiunia 1971 goda: Dokumenty, materialy, khronika* (Moscow, 1982), 171–2; Filaret’s address at the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the “reunion” in L’viv on May 15, 1976, in *ZhMP*, 1976, no. 9, 9–10; Ia. Halan, “Prysmerek chuzhykh bohiv,” in his *Tvory*, 2: 382; “Hreko-katolyts'ka tserkva,” in *Ukrains'ka radians'ka entsyklopediia*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1960), 425; Lytvyn and Pshenychnyi, *Zakonodavstvo pro relihiini kul'ty*, 249; Danylenko, *Uniaty*, 182–3; N. Kozachishin and A. Biskup, “Bezslavnyi konets Brestskoi unii,” *Nauka i religiia*, 1976, no. 6, 45; and Press Agency Karpaty, “Kinets Brests'koï unii,” *Visti z Ukrainy*, 1976, no. 13 (918). The last two articles are good examples of how the official history of the “reunion” had been rewritten. For a more extensive official Soviet version, see Dmytruk, *Pid shtandartamy*, 280–7. A more recent example is *L'viv'skyi tserkovnyi sobor: Dokumenty i materialy, 1946–1981* (Kyiv, 1984). It does not contain most of the embarrassing documents and passages that had been included in *Diiannia soboru*, including the Initiative Group’s appeal to the Soviet government and Khodchenko’s even more compromising letter of June 18, 1945, which on behalf of the government conferred upon this NKGB-selected group the authority to usurp the powers of the arrested bishops and to incorporate the Greek Catholic Church into the Russian Orthodox Church. See Ivan Hvat’s review in *Suchasnist'*, January 1985, 111–8; and the speeches by Filaret, Metropolitan Nykodym (Rusnak) of L’viv, and Archbishop Makarii (Svystun) at the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the “sobor” (May 17, 1986), in *Pravoslavnyi visnyk*, 1986, no. 7–8, 30–43.



on the subject—Frs. Ivan Hryn'okh<sup>128</sup> and Atanasii Velykyi<sup>129</sup>—and subsequently confirmed by Fr. Hryhorii Budzins'kyi, the most outspoken victim of the “reunion,”<sup>130</sup> the canonical illegitimacy of the “sobor” is evident from the facts admitted even by organizers of this gathering. (1) The “sobor” was secretly convened not by the legitimate church authorities (i.e., the Greek Catholic hierarchy), but by a group of clerics who were neither appointed by bishops nor freely chosen by the clergy. Instead they received their authority from the Soviet government (formally, through Khodchenko’s letter of June 18), which thus violated the Soviet constitutional separation of church and state.<sup>131</sup> (2) The Initiative Group leaders who convened the “sobor” and presided over its proceedings were no longer members of the Greek Catholic Church, having secretly joined the Russian Orthodox Church before this gathering. (3) Delegates to the “sobor” were not elected by the clergy but instead were arbitrarily appointed by the then Orthodox leaders of the Initiative Group. Moreover, all of the delegates had previously joined the Initiative Group, thus committing themselves before the “sobor” to the “reunion” with the Russian Orthodox Church. (4) No Greek Catholic bishops participated in the “sobor.” Instead it was attended and directed by secret Orthodox bishops and priests, who masqueraded as Greek Catholic priests until after the gathering “voted” to break away from Rome and join the Moscow patriarchate. (5) Arbitrarily appointed lay delegates and representa-

128. Hryn'okh, “Znyshchennia Ukraïns'koi Katolyts'koi Tserkvy,” 3–72.

129. A. H. Velykyi, OSBM, “Zamitky na marhinesi ‘Diianii’ t. zv. l'vivs'koho soboru 1946 roku,” in his *Svitla i tini Ukraïns'koi istorii: Prychynky do istorii Ukraïns'koi tserkovnoi dumky* (Rome, 1969), 94–133.

130. Hryhorii Antonovych Budzins'kyi, “Lyst to Heneral'noho prokurora SRSR [25 bereznia] 1966 roku,” in Osyp Zinkevych and Rev. Taras R. Lonchyna, eds., *Martyrolohiia Ukraïns'kykh Tserkov*, vol. 2, *Ukraïns'ka Katolyts'ka Tserkva: Dokumenty, materiialy, khrystyians'kyi samvydav Ukraïny* (Toronto and Baltimore, 1985), 501–7.

131. See Articles 123–4 of the 1936 Constitution of the USSR, in V. A. Kuroedov and A. S. Pankratov, eds. *Zakonodatel'stvo o religioznykh kul'takh (sbornik materialov i dokumentov)*, 2d ed. (Moscow, 1971), 76; Article 104 of the 1937 Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, in K. Z. Lytvyn and A. I. Pshenychnyi, comps. *Zakonodavstvo pro relihiini kul'ty*, 89; and the Decree on the Separation of the Church from the State and of the School from the Church [in the Ukrainian SSR], January 22, 1919, Articles 1–3, in O. I. Ievsieiev et al., eds., *Kul'turne budivnytstvo v Ukraïns'kii RSR: Vazhlyvishi rishennia Komunistychnoi partii i Radians'koho uriadu 1917–1959 rr.*, vol. 1, *1917–cherven' 1941* (Kyiv, 1959), 28–9.

tives of the Russian Orthodox Church also participated in the “sobor.” (6) The Soviet authorities filmed the delegates as they voted by a show of hands, thereby intimidating them and preventing a free expression of their will.

Neither the Catholic nor the Orthodox canon recognizes “sobors” convened and directed *by bishops of another church*.<sup>132</sup> Nor has the Moscow patriarchate ever recognized as legal intervention into its own affairs by another Orthodox Church, let alone the Catholic Church. Such intervention was also prohibited by Soviet law.<sup>133</sup>

In light of the above facts, one can only conclude that the L'viv “Sobor” was *not* a legitimate sobor of the Greek Catholic Church. Consequently it did not have authority to decide on the questions of the church’s union with Rome or its “reunion” with the Russian Orthodox Church. At best, it should be seen as a meeting of selected members of the Initiative Group convened and directed by the Orthodox leaders of this group. As such, this gathering could speak only for the clergy present (assuming that the participants were free to express their true views, which they were not), and not for the entire Greek Catholic Church of Galicia, least of all for priests who had refused to join the Initiative Group or to recognize its jurisdiction.

As for the Soviet government, it had no legal basis for recognizing the clearly uncanonical Initiative Group as the “sole provisional church-administrative organ,” for transferring the Greek Catholic Church under the jurisdiction of a government agency (CAROC) or for ordering the Initiative Group to report to the authorities all those clerics who had refused to recognize the group’s jurisdiction.<sup>134</sup> By recognizing and enforcing the “sobor’s” resolutions, the government blatantly violated Soviet constitutional and statutory norms concerning the relationship between the state and religious associations. The Soviet regime’s blanket denunciation from April 1945 of the *entire* Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as being a criminal, “treasonable,” and “anti-Soviet” organization was equally arbitrary and

132. Thus, e.g., the Moscow patriarchate has never recognized the canonical validity of the 1923 and 1925 local sobors of the Russian Orthodox Church convened by the church’s Renovationist faction with the Soviet state’s permission and support, even though the sobors were attended by some canonically ordained Orthodox bishops.

133. See Article 115 of the Soviet Ukrainian Criminal Code. *Ugolovnyi kodeks*, 43.

134. See Khodchenko’s letter of June 18, 1945, written “on instructions from the Council of Ministers of the U[krainian] SSR,” in *Diiannia soboru*, 19–20.

discriminatory.<sup>135</sup> This denunciation was therefore anti-constitutional if not unprecedented,<sup>136</sup> even if the authorities were able to prove that the church's leaders or individual priests had committed anti-Soviet acts. The government's condemnation of the entire church subjected the Greek Catholic clergy, including the delegates to the L'viv "Sobor," to psychological duress. Indeed, they knew they could expect severe reprisals if they failed to dissociate themselves from such an "anti-Soviet" church.

### **An Initiative Group Leader on the "Reunion": An Unofficial Account**

Additional light on the circumstances of the "reunion" and the motives guiding Fr. Kostel'nyk and his collaborators is shed by an OUN-UPA underground report "Concerning the So-called Reunion of Churches" dated November 28–30, 1946.<sup>137</sup> The document was received after several clandestine meetings in Drohobych between OUN-UPA representatives and a "reunited" priest using the pseudonym Otets' Ikona (Fr. Icon), who was probably either Bishop Mykhail (Mel'nyk)<sup>138</sup> or his trusted associate. The

135. For the most extensive compendium of Soviet charges against the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church—a mixture of fact, fantasy, and deliberate disinformation—see P. L. Yarotsky [Iarots'kyi] et al., *Uniate Church: Forcible Establishment and Natural Failure* (Kyïv, 1983). It should be noted that during the Second World War both the Russian Orthodox Church abroad under Metropolitans Afanasii and Serafim (Ladde) and the pro-Moscow patriarchate Orthodox Church in the German-occupied territories (including Metropolitan Sergii [Voskresenskii], the patriarchal exarch for the Baltic states who defected to the Germans) co-operated closely with the German authorities; yet the returning Soviet authorities did not charge the Russian Orthodox Church with collective responsibility for "collaboration with the enemy." See Dimitry Pospelovsky, *The Russian Church under the Soviet Regime, 1917–1982*, vol. 1 (Crestwood, N.Y., 1984), 195–6, 221–48.

136. In 1937 and 1938 similar blanket accusations of being "counter-revolutionaries," "wreckers," "saboteurs," and "enemies of the people" were levelled against all "churchmen" and "sectarians" in the USSR as the Soviet police wiped out nearly all institutional religion.

137. "Do t. zv. 'voz'iednannia' Tserkov," (9 typewritten pages, carbon copy), AZPUHVR, file F3-1.

138. According to Fr. Ivan Hryn'okh (letter of March 19, 1976), representatives of the nationalist underground, including Otets' Kadylo (the pseudonym of an UPA chaplain), met with Mel'nyk on several occasions after he had joined the Initiative Group. The

meetings took place after UPA-OUN leaders in Drohobych oblast issued an ultimatum in July 1946 to the “reunited” priests to repudiate publicly their apostasy or suffer unspecified “executive measures.” Otets' Ikona failed to persuade the representatives about the wisdom of the “reunion” or to have them pay a visit to an Otets' Avtor,<sup>139</sup> who—he argued—could better explain the Initiative Group’s motives. Subsequently Otets' Ikona relayed to his underground contacts an undated handwritten “letter to the Ukrainian insurgents” from Otets' Avtor. The letter was copied verbatim in the OUN-UPA report. After describing the beginning of the Soviet persecution of the Greek Catholic Church, the letter continued:

The situation in the eparchies was lamentable. Many priests fled westward with the Germans. During the war many died, there were almost no ordinations, and then [came] the arrests of the church hierarchy and over one hundred priests. The point was reached where, in Ternopil' and Stanislav oblasts, there were only two or three priests [left] in some deaneries. There was no one to carry out pastoral duties, while the people demanded priests....

The Soviet authorities attempted to eliminate the hostile Vatican’s influence on the Galician clergy and therefore wanted to find some means of separating them from the jurisdiction of Rome. The only way was to introduce Orthodoxy into Galicia. Two factors have been involved in the introduction of Orthodoxy into Galicia, and each factor has understood the latter in its own way. The first factor [is] the administrative authorities....<sup>[140]</sup>

They view [the introduction of] Orthodoxy [as meaning] separation from a

statistics on Drohobych-Sambir eparchy’s “converts” and “recalcitrants” passed on by Otets' Ikona most likely came from Mel'nyk or his trusted intermediary.

139. According to the then head of the ZPUHVR, Mykola Lebed', a separate note from the Drohobych OUN leadership (which could not be located in the AZPUHVR) identified Kostel'nyk as Otets' Avtor (Fr. Author, a pseudonym chosen by the local OUN spokesman to protect his source). This code name fits Kostel'nyk, a prolific writer, much more than Mel'nyk, as does Otets' Ikona’s reference to Otets' Avtor as a “professor of theology” (though Mel'nyk, too, taught at a theological seminary, in Przemyśl). Textual analysis of Otets' Avtor’s letter to the Ukrainian insurgents points to Kostel'nyk’s authorship: the letter repeats a number of arguments he reportedly used during the “reunion” campaign, and the letter’s style and the figures of speech therein resemble Kostel'nyk’s.

140. “Do t. zv. ‘voz’iednannia’ Tserkov,” 2. The reference is to the overwhelmingly political motives behind the “reunion.”

hostile Rome that had organized crusades against the S[oviet] U[nion]. The second factor—[and] *a very weak one*—[is] the Orthodox Church, and it views Orthodoxy vis-à-vis its relationship to the juridical primacy of the Pope....<sup>[141]</sup>

To introduce Orthodoxy without [giving the population time for] preparation was undesirable; therefore one had to devise something that would serve as an introduction. This became [the function of] the "Initiative Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox [Church]" that emerged in L'viv in May 1945. Dr. H. Kostel'nyk, Antin Pel'vets'kyi, and Mykhailo Mel'nyk became members of the group. By what "ways" they found themselves there, only they alone know.

With the creation of the group, priests began joining it. Their accession took different forms: they were summoned before the raion [authorities]. There they were "persuaded" about the benefits of joining, [and] occasionally other factors<sup>[142]</sup> helped in this work.

Priests were confronted with the dilemma of either joining the Initiative Group and [thus] remaining with their faithful, or exposing themselves to persecution [by not joining] and thereby depriving their faithful of pastoral care. Ninety percent of the priests chose the first alternative. When the Initiative Group membership reached the majority mark [by recruiting] more than 1,000 members [of the eparchial clergy<sup>143</sup>], the L'viv Sobor was held in early March 1946.

The sobor's proceedings and all speeches [delivered there] are to be published as a separate book. Just as everything in the Sov[iet] Union takes place voluntarily and with 100 percent [success] ([state] loan [subscriptions], elections, and the [peasants'] delivery of [agricultural] quotas), so too the sobor took place "voluntarily" and with 100 percent success.

Why did the majority of the priests choose the first alternative? Before the arrival of the R[ed] A[rmy], the majority of the clergy had decided to remain at their posts at any price. When it came now to choosing between two evils, common sense suggested that the lesser evil should be chosen. The priest's position requires him to stay with his faithful even if it has to be under the cover of Orthodoxy, and this is the lesser evil. It is the greater evil

141. Ibid. Like other eyewitnesses of the "reunion" campaign, Otets' Avtor claims that the Russian Orthodox Church played a secondary role in it.

142. Most likely the secret police.

143. The actual total reported at the "sobor" was 986 "reunited" priests. *Diiannia soboru*, 61.

to abandon one's parish and to assume a secular position (become a teacher, [or] a bookkeeper, or enrol for further studies) at a time when the people need a priest; the priest is possibly the only person in the village before whom they can reveal their hearts, express their sorrows, and from whom they can receive consolation. Had the priests resisted, by now the majority of them would have already been in [internal] exile, [for a priest] to be sentenced it suffices [that he has been known] to deliver a sermon with a slight tinge of national [feeling], to have blessed a grave or a cross,<sup>[144]</sup> to have served on a commission for the delivery of [farm] quotas during the German occupation, to have served [then] as a trustee, etc. How would our villages have looked without any priests?... How would the villages look if [from the] east Orthodox priests were to come [instead]? Yet they have come to L'viv eparchy, and people, feeling the need for religion, are going to them. But do they trust them? No!!!...

And what has been the stand taken by the faithful? The believers are informed about everything and they understand the situation of the priests, [that is,] with the exception of a few dozen<sup>[145]</sup> who care less about God than about a certain priest [who refused to "reunite"], whom they adore. The believers trust the clergy who belong to the Initiative Group just as they did in the past and *will never be disappointed by them*. No changes have been introduced in the Liturgy.<sup>[146]</sup> There is an order not to mention the pope; this, however, had been foreseen by Metropolitan Iosyf [Slipyi], who in his

144. "Do t. zv. 'voz'iednannia' Tserkov," 3. The author is referring here to the "graves of heroes" and commemorative crosses that were solemnly consecrated after the 1941 retreat of the Soviets, especially at sites where the NKVD had massacred Ukrainian prisoners in 1941.

145. Ibid., 4. Here the author means a few dozen parishes rather than believers, but he has grossly deflated the number of parishes that opposed the "reunion" after the authorities removed their pastors. According to a secret report CAROC Chairman Karpov sent to the CPU CC on August 6, 1956, 231 Uniate parishes in the five western oblasts (including Transcarpathia) were not allowed to register and had their churches closed down because the parishioners refused to accept Orthodoxy. "Sekretno. Sovet po delam russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR, [to] TsK KP Ukrainy, 'Informatsiia o tserkovnoi obstanovke v zapadnykh oblastiakh USSR,' [signed] Karpov," TsDAHOU, *fond 1, opys 24, sprava 6243*, fol. 203.

146. "Do t. zv. 'voz'iednannia' Tserkov," 4. Except in a few churches in L'viv, the Greek Catholic rite remained unchanged for years owing to the resistance of the clergy and the faithful.



pamphlet<sup>147</sup>] wrote that a time may come when one would not need to mention the pope out loud.... All of the functions carried out by the priests who joined the Initiative Group are valid. Concerning the anathema allegedly pronounced upon them by the Apostolic See, one should say the following: one is anathemized for some act that is done consciously and voluntarily. When an act is involuntary and is committed under coercion and [because of] violence, it is not subject to anathema. This is clear. So far Rome has adopted a wait-and-see attitude on this matter.<sup>148</sup>

Otets' Avtor's letter confirms that the Soviet regime was behind the "reunion" operation, that "conversion to Orthodoxy was involuntary, and that the arguments used to rationalize the clergy's submission to Soviet pressure were predominantly pastoral. Otets' Ikona added to the letter some comments he had heard from Otets' Avtor":

We are experiencing a ruin that is unprecedented in our history. The Poles, the Germans, and subsequently Moscow have attempted to destroy our people at any price. The only counterweight still left was the clergy. Remembering [the saying about] the "peasant and the priest"<sup>149</sup>—that [same] "priest" thanks to whom our people was not denationalized—the Initiative Group was that [last] means of salvation....

[Our aim was] to save the church and the people from ruin. How would it have looked if there were no clergy left? There could have come unforeseen developments ... churches could have been taxed, or [the Russian church] could have sent its own, ad hoc priests.<sup>150</sup>

147. Ibid. The reference is most likely to a typewritten brochure by a Fr. I. S., "Holovni pravyla suchasnoho dushpastyrstva" (said to have been written in 1940 by Archbishop Slipyi), which was circulated secretly among the Greek Catholic clergy in Galicia during the first Soviet occupation. Cf. Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by*, 162.

148. "Do t. zv. 'voz'iednannia' Tserkov," 4. Although he condemned the persecution of the Greek Catholic Church, the pope did not anathemize Kostel'nyk or any other Initiative Group member.

149. Ibid., 5. The reference is to the saying that (until the early nineteenth century) Galician Ruthenian society consisted of *khlop i pop* (the peasant and the priest), and that it was the latter who fostered the peasantry's sense of having a distinct nationality and contributed decisively to Galicia's national reawakening.

150. Ibid., 6. The reference is to the hastily ordained Russian Orthodox priests who had been sent to Galicia; many of them had no theological education.

Otets' Avtor denied that Initiative Group membership made priests “agents of the NKVD.” But he showed no sympathy for priests who had refused to join the Initiative Group or had left the priesthood.<sup>151</sup> Nevertheless, Otets' Ikona assured the Ukrainian insurgents that “your ideology agrees with ours. Every priest would gladly welcome the realization of your dreams,” and in the meantime the clergy had offered the UPA “material and moral assistance.”<sup>152</sup>

Whether fear, pragmatism, or both drove Kostel'nyk and his Initiative Group associates, one thing is certain: by opting for what they considered to be the lesser evil, they made it possible for the Soviet regime to carry through a charade—the “voluntary” dissolution of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia and the “reunion” of the majority of its clergy with the Russian Orthodox Church. Nevertheless, the group was determined to ensure that the “reunited” Galician church would, as a minimum, retain its national characteristics and maintain, as much as possible, a continuity with its past. The future would show how successful they were in saving what could be saved in the face of the massive Soviet efforts to integrate the Galician “Piedmont” into the Soviet Russian empire.

151. *Ibid.*, 3. In the latter category were many priests who had been “repatriated” from postwar Poland.

152. *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER SIX

# *The Aftermath of the “Reunion” in Galicia*

### **The Recalcitrant Pastors and Monastics after the “Sobor”**

After the L'viv “Sobor,” where 986 adherents of the Initiative Group “converted” to Orthodoxy, 281 “recalcitrant” Greek Catholic pastors<sup>1</sup> reportedly still remained at large. They were now outside the law, because the authorities—in violation of the Soviet constitutional separation of church and state—had accepted the resolution adopted by the “sobor” as legally binding. From the perspective of the Soviet courts, henceforth the Greek Catholic Church no longer existed. Therefore every Greek Catholic priest who continued to perform his duties was now breaking the law and could be criminally prosecuted and punished as a minister of a banned religious group.<sup>2</sup>

The 281 “recalcitrants” that Bishop Antonii (Pel'vets'kyi) reported on at the “sobor” did not include the Greek Catholic priests who had been imprisoned or deported before March 1946; nor those pastors who, when faced with committing apostasy, had chosen to withdraw from the priesthood or, as did many older clergy, formally retire from their pastoral duties; nor the monastic priests still at large, the great majority of whom had remained loyal to the Catholic Church. All of these priests were targeted by the now Orthodox ecclesiastical authorities, CARC and CAROC officials, and other Soviet agencies, particularly the MGB, with the aim of swaying them to convert to Orthodoxy in return for legal, well-paid pastoral positions in “registered” parishes. The ultimate fate the “recalcitrants” confronted was being arrested on political charges, long and harsh incarceration, and the deportation of members of their immediate families to Soviet Asia. Consequently it is no wonder that the number of “converted” priests in the three eparchies of

1. *Diiannia soboru*, 61.

2. See Fr. Budzins'kyi, “Lyst to Heneral'noho prokurora SRSR,” 501–7.

Galicia increased to 1,075 by the end of 1947.<sup>3</sup> In L'viv oblast the number of "recalcitrant" pastors remaining at large shrank from ninety-eight in February 1946<sup>4</sup> to forty-eight by early September 1946.<sup>5</sup>

On September 7, 1946, L'viv oblast's CARC plenipotentiary, P. Kucheria-vyi, wrote to his superiors that

by September 1, 1946, 48 parish priests in [L'viv] oblast who had stubbornly resisted the reunion with Orthodoxy still remain faithful to the pope.... These priests serve at the moment on the [oblast's] periphery; in L'viv there are no more functioning Greek Catholic churches.... In my opinion, the time has come in L'viv oblast to stop talking with the Uniate clergy, as [only] some four tens [forty] of them remain, and it is necessary to permit taking more decisive measures against them.

As of January 1, 1946, there were in L'viv oblast eleven monasteries with 166 monks, and thirty convents with 776 nuns.... At the present time, as of July 1, 1946, three monasteries and eight convents remain, with 137 monks and 682 nuns respectively. Already in March, by order of the *oblispolkom*, the monks and nuns were resettled in one monastery [or convent] for each order ... but a number of nuns in L'viv were not dismissed from their jobs by the directors and administrators of hospitals, clinics, and artels. Declarations arrived from managers of enterprises in which they asked [permission] to leave the nuns at [their] enterprises, while declarations were received from nuns that they were renouncing [their] monasticism [i.e., their vows] and monastic garb and were transferring to secular jobs....

The Redemptorist monks ("Belgians") are concentrated in a single monastery in Holos'ko-Velyke, where forty-nine persons are residing; they are engaged in the cultivation of land, gardening, and the restoration of the monastery building.

The Studite monks, fifty-eight in all, are concentrated in the Univ monastery, where Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi presently resides. The monks are engaged in agriculture.... They have fully fulfilled their delivery [quotas] and have paid [their] taxes for 1946.

The Basilian monks, who number thirty-three, are concentrated in the Krekhiv monastery in Zhovkva raion [and] are engaged in agriculture. Nearly

3. *Ukrains'ke zhyttia* (Toronto), May 6, 13, 20, 1948. Not included in the total are seven priests who died in 1946 and 1947.

4. DALO, *fond* R-1332, *opys* 1, *sprava* 3, fols. 35-8.

5. PLOKU, *fond* 3, *opis'* 1, *delo* 439, fol. 70.

all the monks and Uniate priests have been carrying on their agitational activities among the population. For example, [as a result] many Ukrainians, both in the towns and in the raions of the oblast, can be observed attending [Roman Catholic] churches and not the Orthodox ones.

... from the village of Holos'ko[-Velyke], where the Redemptorists are located, a delegation of Ukrainian believers visited me to request that a [Uniate] church be opened there and a Greek Catholic priest be allowed to serve [them].<sup>6</sup>

Kucheriavyi proposed that the monks' and nuns' living space per person be reduced, that their land and garden allotments be cut, and that they be forced to fulfil their state deliveries and pay their taxes promptly. He also proposed that the monastic superiors be removed from the current monastic "ghettos."<sup>7</sup> Kucheriavyi concluded that "of the Greek Catholic-Uniate monasteries, in which almost two hundred monks are residing, almost none will join Orthodoxy, and this means that we will not be able to finish [do away] fully with the [church] union. It is necessary to restrict to a minimum their religious activity and economic base, and consequently they will themselves repudiate their "profession" and switch to a state-run [*gosudarstvennaia*], socially beneficial job, as the nuns are already doing."<sup>8</sup>

The situation in Ternopil' oblast was more complicated than elsewhere in Galicia: the oblast contained the territory of former Kremianets' county of Volhynia and its compact Orthodox population. The latter was served by 150 "old Orthodox" parishes, nearly as many "old Orthodox" pastors, and a traditional bastion of Russian Orthodoxy—the Pochaïv Laura. Within the original, postwar borders of Ternopil' oblast were parts of the L'viv and Stanislav Greek Catholic eparchies, containing a total of 539 parishes (as of June 1, 1945) served by 315 pastors (as of October 1, 1945).<sup>9</sup> By December 1, 1945, there were only 270 pastors: forty-five others, who had opposed the

6. Ibid., fols. 70–2.

7. Ibid., fols. 72–3.

8. Ibid., fols. 81–2.

9. Earlier, in a secret report (presumably for his superiors in Moscow), the local CARC plenipotentiary, Chirva, listed 336 active Greek Catholic priests and nineteen deacons in Ternopil' oblast as of April 30, 1945. "Sekretno. Svedenie o sluzhiteliakh kul'tov po Ternopol'skoi oblasti na 30 apreliia 1945 goda," [undated], [by] upolnomochennyi Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri SNK SSSR po Ternopol'skoi oblasti (Chirva)." DATO, *fond R-3239, opys 2s, sprava 1, fol. 8.*

“reunion,” had either escaped to Poland with the Polish repatriates, had been arrested for “counter-revolutionary” activities by the NKGB, or had gone into hiding. Of the 270 priests remaining, 188 had joined the Initiative Group by December 1. Eighty-two others, “despite being subjected to sufficient explanatory work,” had refused to join; most of them, reported the oblast’s CARC plenipotentiary, I. A. Chirva, had “motivated their refusal by the fear of [reprisals from] the bands of the Ukrainian-German [OUN-UPA] nationalists,” while the others had refused because of their oath to remain faithful to the Catholic Church. Chirva recommended that after the “reunion sobor,” all priests who still refused to accept Orthodoxy should be “removed from the oblast’s territory.”<sup>10</sup> He stated that nearly all of the Greek Catholic monks and nuns (who, for the time being, had been left alone but would soon be forced into “concentration” monasteries and convents), were hostile to the “reunion.”<sup>11</sup>

According to an underground report, as of September 1, 1946, only sixty Greek Catholic parish priests who had refused to accept Orthodoxy were still at large in L'viv and Ternopil' oblasts.<sup>12</sup>

In Stanislav oblast, 171 of the 339 Greek Catholic priests had been “persuaded” to join the Initiative Group by December 1, 1945. By February 15, 1946, however, 223 had joined the group. Of the seventy-six “recalcitrants” still at large on the latter date, some eventually “converted” to Orthodoxy for appearances’ sake to remain with their parishioners, while others (led by Fr. Zynovii Kysilevs'kyi, the former dean of Bohorodchany, though deprived of their parishes, continued to serve the faithful as itinerant clandestine priests; in some cases they received aid from sympathetic fellow clergymen who had “reunited” with the Russian Orthodox Church. The

10. “Upolnomochennomu Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri SNK SSSR na U[krainskuiu]SSR tov. Vil'khovomu, sekretariu Ternopol'skogo obkoma KP(b)U tov. [I. D.] Kompanets, predsedateliu ispolkoma Ternopol'skogo oblastnogo soveta deputatov trudiashchikhsia tov. Artiushenko—sovershenno sekretno—ot upolnomochennogo Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri SNK SSSR po Ternopol'skoi oblasti, o rabote za 1945 god. DOKLADNAIA ZAPISKA [undated, but written evidently in December 1945 or early January 1946], Chortkiv [which served at the time as the oblast centre after the nearly total destruction of Ternopil'],” DATO, *fond* R-3239, *opys* 2s, *sprava* 1, fols. 40–2.

11. *Ibid.*

12. “Halychyna-Volyn',” OUN report, late 1946, AZPUHVR.



clandestine priests were assisted by a handful of Basilian hieromonks.<sup>13</sup> As for Drohobych eparchy, there were only fourteen "recalcitrants" there by October 1946.<sup>14</sup>

One by one, the Greek Catholic monasteries and convents—the remaining islands of Ukrainian Catholicism in Galicia—were closed down by the authorities. On March 12, 1946, the CARC deputy republican plenipotentiary, Popov, reported to his superiors in Moscow that as of March 1947 there were still twelve men's and twelve women's Greek Catholic monastic institutions in the three Galician oblasts, with a total of 415 monks and 214 nuns.<sup>15</sup> Of these, the Basilians had nine monasteries (104 monks), and seven convents (126 nuns); the Studites had two monasteries (fifty-three monks) and one convent (twenty-five sisters); and the Redemptorists had been left with one "concentration" monastery, in Holos'ko-Velyke near L'viv (forty-four monks). Four other female congregations had one convent each: the Sisters Servants (thirty-five nuns); the "Belgian" Sisters of Mercy of St. Vincent de Paul (eleven); the Sisters of St. Josaphat (nine); and the Sisters of the Holy Family (eight). Three of the monasteries (twenty-three monks) and six convents (104 nuns), were in the Stanislav oblast. Three other monasteries (110 monks) and two convents (fifty nuns) were in L'viv oblast. In Drohobych oblast only two convents remained—one in Drohobych, with thirty (probably Basilian) nuns, and another in Sambir, with fifteen Sisters Servants. In line with the policy of "concentrating" the monastics in a single monastery or convent per order in each oblast, Popov recommended closing the Basilian monastery in the village of Pohonia (Stanislav oblast) and transferring its three monks to the Hoshiv monastery (Stanislav oblast); closing the Studite monastery in Dora (Stanislav oblast) and moving its four monks to the Univ monastery (L'viv oblast); and closing the large Basilian convent in Pidmykhailivtsi (Stanislav oblast) and sending its fourteen nuns to the "concentration" convent in Slovita

13. This information comes from Dr. Petro Arsenych and Zenovii Fedunkiv's notes based on materials in the DAI-FO.

14. "Do t. zv. 'voz'iednannia Tserkov.'"

15. Not including Ternopil' oblast, because the local CARC plenipotentiary there sent Popov useless general information about "26 different groups of monastics with a combined total of 117 persons." "Zamestiteliu predsedatelia Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR, tov. Sadovskomu, Iu. V., g. Moskva. Dokladnaia zapiska 'O deistvuiushchikh na Ukraine monastyriakh po sostoianiiu na 1.III.1947 goda,' [dated] 12.III.1947, [from] zam. upolnomochennogo Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR po Ukrainskoi SSR, Popov," TsDAVOU, *fond* 4648, *opys* 2, *sprava* 35, fols. 77–83. See table 2.

**Table 2**  
**Surviving Greek Catholic Monasteries, Convents, and**  
**Monastics in Galicia (March 1947)<sup>1</sup>**

	Monasteries	Monastics <sup>2</sup>
Basilians	9	104
Studites	2	53 <sup>3</sup>
Redemptorists	1	44
<hr/>		
Total	12	301 <sup>4</sup>
	Convents	Nuns
Basilian Sisters	7	126
Sisters Servants	1	35 <sup>5</sup>
Studite Sisters	1	25
Sisters of Mercy of St. Vincent de Paul <sup>6</sup>	1	11
Sisters of St. Josaphat	1	9
Sisters of the Holy Family	1	8
<hr/>		
Total	12	214

Source: "Zamestiteliu predsedatelia Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR, tov. Sadovskomu, Iu. V., g. Moskva. 'Dokladnaia zapiska o deistvuiushchikh na Ukraine monastyriakh po sostoianiiu na 1.III.1947 goda, [dated] 12.III.1947,' [from] Zam. uopolnomochennogo Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov... po Ukrainskoi SSR, Petrov." TsDAVO, *fond* 4648, *opys* 2, *sprava* 35, fols. 77–83.

1. Excluding Ternopil' oblast, whose CARC plenipotentiary submitted a confusing report listing 117 monks in the oblast.
2. No distinction was made in the source between hieromonks and brothers.
3. An incomplete total, considering that eighty-one Studites were listed in a 1949 report.
4. There is a discrepancy between this figure and the total number of monks (415) reported in the source.
5. The number of Sisters Servants and their religious houses was in fact much larger.
6. Also known as the Belgian Sisters.

(L'viv oblast). Popov also urged that "outside persons having no relationship to the monasteries or convents should be prohibited from residing there."<sup>16</sup> Almost a year later, in his report for the last quarter of 1947, CARC Plenipotentiary Vil'khovyi raised the issue of closing the Basilian monastery in Hoshiv and moving its eight monastic missionaries to a different location where they could be more effectively monitored and controlled by the authorities: "It suffices to look at the territorial distribution of 'splinters' of the Uniate church ([in] Bolekhiv, Vyhoda, and Dolyna raions) to conclude that around the Hoshiv monastery we have a non-coincidental concentration of recalcitrant Uniate clergy and their *aktiv* of believers."<sup>17</sup>

Although they arrested the most active Greek Catholic monastics for continuing to serve the "recalcitrant" Uniate faithful, the Soviet authorities procrastinated with the final liquidation of the remaining monasteries and convents. They delayed most likely because they feared large-scale resistance by the believers, especially in remote areas where the UPA and OUN were still active. By 1949 only in Ternopil' and Drohobych oblasts had all Greek Catholic monastic institutions been suppressed.<sup>18</sup>

On September 29, 1949, after the forcible "reunion" of Mukachiv eparchy in Transcarpathia had also been achieved, Vil'khovyi wrote to Khrushchev:

By today the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church, [together] with all its administrative-ecclesiastical organs, has completely terminated its existence on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, with the exception of a few Greek Catholic monasteries and convents located in the following oblasts: L'viv—three, Stanislav—six, and Transcarpathia—two.

The monks and separate groups of nuns in the above monastic institutions are the carriers of reactionary and nationalist sentiments around whom are concentrated transient elements comprised of the most orthodox Uniates, who take a hostile attitude to all measures of the Soviet government. Among the most typical monasteries ... one can name the Greek Catholic monastery in

16. Ibid.

17. "Sovershenno sekretno. Informatsionnyi otchet o rabote upolnomochennogo po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR po Ukrainskoi SSR za oktiabr'-dekabr' 1947 goda, P. Vil'khovyi, 2 fevralia 1948, g. Kyiv," TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 5069, fols. 28–9.

18. "Sekretariu TsK KP(b)U, tov. Khrushchevu, N.S., upolnomochennyi Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR po Ukrainskoi SSR, P. Vil'khovyi, 29 sentiabria 1949 g.," TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 24, *sprava* 783, fols. 267–8.

the village of Mizhir'ia ([formerly] Univ) in Peremyshliany raion, which consists of eighty-one monks, including twenty-seven monastic priests, who belong to the category of the most active Uniates and are members of the Belgian order of Redemptorists headed by Protohegumen de Vocht, [a Belgian citizen] recently expelled from the USSR.

A second nest in which the reactionary-nationalist clergy is concentrated is the Greek Catholic (Uniate) monastery of the Basilian order located in Hoshiv, Bolekhiv raion, Stanislav oblast, in which fourteen monks, including seven priests, have permanently resided.

The majority of the nuns in the [Greek Catholic] convents have essentially ceased to lead an isolated monastic life, have removed their monastic garb, and have taken up work in hospitals, artisans' artels, or agriculture.

In connection with the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church and all its administrative-ecclesiastical organs, we consider it politically expedient and fully opportune to raise the question about the liquidation of all [remaining] Greek Catholic monasteries [and convents and] completing it during the first half of 1950.<sup>19</sup>

Vil'khovyi proposed a number of measures to this end, including confiscating and secularizing monastic facilities; dispersing monastics by placing the aged and severely ill in invalids' homes; returning those who were able to work to their birthplaces or localities where their families resided or resettling them where they could be monitored by the security organs; and conscripting the youngest monks into the army. Vil'khovyi recommended that monks and nuns wishing to take up secular jobs should be permitted to do so but should be barred from working in cultural and educational institutions and schools.<sup>20</sup>

Khrushchev apparently approved Vil'khovyi's proposals, and over the next few months the authorities closed the remaining monasteries and convents. The last monastery to be shut down (on March 27, 1950), was the Basilian monastery at Hoshiv, which used to attract large numbers of worshippers from the surrounding countryside. Its monks were arrested and taken to a prison in Stanislav, where they were subsequently sentenced to lengthy terms in labour camps.<sup>21</sup>

From 1945 through 1950 eighty-nine hieromonks and nineteen brothers of

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., fol. 268.

21. "R-n Bolekhivs'kyi. Zvit [OUN] za pershyi kvartal 1950 r." (April 28, 1950), AZPUHVR, file C31-9; *Tserkovnyi visnyk* (Chicago), February 2, 1992, 4.

the Galician province of the Basilian order were persecuted by the Soviet state. Forty-one of the priests and nine brothers were arrested and sentenced to terms in prisons and labour camps ranging up to twenty-five years plus five years' exile. Two priests died in the camps; seven (including Bishop Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi) died in prison before sentencing; five priests and four brothers were deported to Siberia; and three priests and one brother were imprisoned but released without trial. Only three hieromonks defected from the order.<sup>22</sup>

The Sisters Servants' provincial home in Stanislav (which had a clandestine novitiate) was closed down in 1949, but the last Basilian Sisters' convent (in Sukhovolia) remained open until 1952. For several years the centre of the Sisters Servants was in L'viv; smaller clandestine homes were in Berezhany, Zhovkva, Truskavets', Stryi, Sambir, Turka, and Zhydachiv.<sup>23</sup>

After the outlawing of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the remnants of the secular and monastic clergy who had not been incarcerated maintained a clandestine "catacomb church" in Galicia and among the huge diaspora of Galician exiles in Soviet Asia. It included not only clergymen who had escaped arrest by going underground and serving as UPA chaplains, but also priests who had ostensibly left the church and taken regular jobs and even a few who, under duress, had "reunited" with the Russian Orthodox Church but later repudiated Orthodoxy. The church was secretly administered on behalf of the imprisoned episcopate on the territory of L'viv archeparchy by Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi and, after his arrest on June 5, 1947,<sup>24</sup> the Redemptorist vice-provincial Joseph de Vocht. Before his deportation to Belgium in December 1948, Fr. de Vocht delegated his functions to another Redemptorist, Fr. Ivan Ziatek. Soon after Ziatek was arrested and tortured; he was sentenced in 1950 and died in a Siberian camp in 1956.<sup>25</sup>

22. *Narys istorii Vasyliians'koho chynu Sviatoho Iosafata* (Rome, 1992), 606–14. Fr. Dem'ian Bohun, OSBM, "Vasyliians'kyi chyn v pidpilli," *Kalendar "Svitla" na Bozhyi 1996 rik* (Toronto), 119–37.

23. "Sestry, iaki byly na Sybiri (vyvezeni v 1950-ykh rokakh)," sent to the author on January 17, 1995, by the General Curia of the Sisters Servants in Rome via Msgr. (now Bishop) Ivan Khoma (Choma). The list names twenty-five sisters deported to Siberia and three imprisoned in L'viv. See also Atanasii Velykyi, OSBM, ed., *Narys istorii Zhromadzhennia SS. Sluzhebnyts' P.N.D.M.* (Rome, 1968), 437.

24. Zinkevych and Lonchyna, *Martyrolohiia*, 153.

25. APSS, vol. 29, files 13–15. During his interrogation at the NKGB prison in Kyiv, Bishop Charnets'kyi revealed the names of the administrators designated by Metropolitan Slipyi. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 116. In place of Fr. de Vocht, in 1950 the Redemptorists who had eluded repression elected Fr. Fylymon Kurchaba as their

In the meantime another priest had claimed the title of “head of the underground Greek Catholic Church.” In an “Appeal of Warring Ukraine to the Entire Ukrainian Emigration” sent to the West in October 1949 by leaders of the Ukrainian resistance movement, this title appeared alongside the signature of “Fr. Professor Mykola Lavrivs'kyi.” This was the pseudonym of Fr. Mykola Khmel'ovs'kyi (1880–1963), the last rector of the Greek Catholic Minor Seminary in L'viv and a member of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council. Khmel'ovs'kyi was captured by the MGB on March 31, 1950. After a lengthy investigation, he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.<sup>26</sup>

Several waves of arrests and deportations targeted many Greek Catholic nuns. Among the victims was the founder and superior of the Basilian convent in Pidmykhailivtsi, Mother Monika (Teodorovych-Polians'ka). She was arrested in 1947, accused of aiding the “catacomb church,” and sentenced to ten years in Siberian prison camps. Recognized as a true “confessor of the faith,” she died on December 25, 1951, in the Markova camp in Siberia. Ever since, her grave there has been venerated by local believers. Other Basilian nuns were also repressed. Mother Vira (Slobodian), the superior of a Basilian convent in L'viv, was condemned to ten years' imprisonment for “helping the underground.” Mother Anna (Smiel's'ka) of the same convent was sentenced in 1947 to twenty-five years' forced labour but amnestied under Khrushchev after serving eight years; after her release, however, she was not allowed to reside anywhere in Galicia. Sister Andreia (Dul') of the same convent was incarcerated in Siberia for “helping the underground.” A well-known stigmatic, Sister Miriam (Nastia Voloshyn) from the same convent—a long-time protégé of Fr. Kostel'nyk—was also deported to Siberia and spent ten

provincial superior for Galicia. “Pomer Vladyka Fylymon Kurchaba,” *Tserkovnyi visnyk* (Chicago), December 3, 1995, 7.

26. Lavrivs'kyi's real identity was confirmed in 1992 by Roman Shukhevych's successor, the last UPA commander-in-chief and head of the UHVR, Vasyl' Kuk (“Colonel Koval”), in the obituary “Holova Hreko-Katolyts'koï pidpil'noï Tserkvy, chlen Ukraïns'koï holovnoï vyzvol'noï rady-UHVR, otets' kanonik prof. Mykola Khmel'ovs'kyi—M. Lavrivs'kyi” (5 pp.), a copy of which was supplied to the author by Msgr. Khoma, who confirmed Kuk's information. It could not be established from the late Archbishop Major Slipyi's archive if Slipyi had given Fr. Khmel'ovs'kyi any authorization before he was arrested. Later, however, after Khmel'ovs'kyi had been amnestied in 1954, Slipyi nominated him one of the three priests who were to guide collegially the reinvigorated “catacomb church.” Slipyi, “Spomyny,” 152. For the text of the October 9, 1949, appeal, see *Zvernennia voiiuichoï Ukraïny do vsiiei ukraïns'koï emigratsii* (Toronto, 1953).



years there. From another Basilian convent in L'viv, Mother Venedykta (Kakhnykevych) was also accused of helping the underground and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in Siberia, where she perished; neither the date nor place of her death have been ascertained. The superior of the same convent, Mother Marta (Lesniak) was arrested together with several sisters; she spent a year in the MGB investigatory prison in L'viv and was exiled for five years to Siberia. Another nun from the same monastery, Mother Markiiana (Pilus) was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for "helping prisoners," i.e., sending them food parcels and corresponding with them. In Stanislav, the MGB arrested the superior of the local Basilian convent, Mother Iosyfa (Isopenko) and shipped her to a Siberian prison in 1948. She was amnestied in 1956 and returned to Stanislav; in the 1960s she was appointed the provincial of the Basilian Sisters in Galicia.<sup>27</sup>

In 1950 many nuns were arrested. Among them were twenty-eight Sisters Servants, twenty-five of whom were exiled to Siberia and the Far East and where they pursued missionary work during their spare time.<sup>28</sup> The surviving small, clandestine communities of nuns served as an essential link between the displaced, underground priests and the believers. They helped to safeguard the Host in between the priests' infrequent visits, distributed Communion to the most needy, and helped with the religious education of children.<sup>29</sup>

### **The Fate of the Arrested Episcopate and Clergy**

The arrested bishops, leading clergymen, and monastics were brought to the NKGB/MGB prisons in Kyiv and kept in isolation from one another. For over a year they were subjected to numerous protracted, seemingly endless interrogations by teams of rotating investigators; their purpose was to get the prisoners to confess to a predetermined set of "counter-revolutionary crimes" and to testify against the other bishops and priests. A variety of means were used to try to break the prisoners: deprivation of sleep, rest, and food, verbal abuse,

27. "Ispovidnytsi: Sestry Chynu Sv. Vasyliia Velykoho," August 6, 1988, a mimeographed six-page list of the Basilian Sisters in Galicia, Transcarpathia, and the Prešov region. A copy was presented to the author in March 1989 at the order's General Curia in Rome.

28. Velykyi, *Narys istorii Zhromadzhenia SS. Sluzhebnyts'*, 439–40.

29. Interviews at the general curias of the Basilian Sisters and Sisters Servants, Rome, March 8, 1989.

and threats of torture.<sup>30</sup> In some cases they were also beaten. Their psychological and physical torture was occasionally alternated with offers of freedom and even restoration to their episcopal office or parish if they condemned the Vatican and “returned” to the Russian Orthodox Church. Similar and sometimes worse treatment was inflicted on the “unco-operative” rank-and-file clergy and monastics interrogated by the MGB in Western Ukrainian prisons.<sup>31</sup>

Priests, monks, and believers who still remained in Galicia tried to locate the arrested bishops and priests and to help them. In the autumn of 1945 Archimandrite Sheptyts'kyi dispatched Frs. Iosyf Kladochnyi and Ivan Kotiv to Kyïv. The two priests and the Basilian sister Onysyma (Shushkevych) took with them food, clothing, and other essentials for the imprisoned bishops. After imploring, without success, Exarch Ioann to intervene on behalf of the prisoners or at least arrange for the delivery of material aid for them from Galicia, eventually they managed to find two Orthodox nuns at the Holy Trinity Convent who agreed to transmit parcels to the imprisoned bishops and priests.<sup>32</sup> More such trips to Kyïv were made by priests and nuns from L'viv, Stanislav, Ternopil', and other centres in Galicia.

On May 29, 1946, Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi, Bishops Nykolai Charnets'kyi and Nykyta Budka, and the apostolic visitator for the Ukrainians in Germany, Msgr. Petro Verhun, were brought before the MVD Military Tribunal in Kyïv chaired by Lt. Col. Indychenko. Their closed trial lasted until June 3. The hierarchs were found guilty of “treason of the fatherland” under articles 54–1a and 54–11 of the Soviet Ukrainian Criminal Code, while Msgr. Verhun was tried under articles 54–2 and 54–11. Slipyi was sentenced to eight years in forced-labour camps and the confiscation of his property. Verhun was also sentenced to eight years, even though he was a German citizen who had never resided within a Soviet jurisdiction until the Red Army took Berlin. Bishops Charnets'kyi and Budka each received five years. All of the accused were deprived of all rights for three years.<sup>33</sup> At the trial the military procurator reportedly protested that the sentences were too mild.<sup>34</sup>

30. Slipyi, “Spomyny,” 111–24.

31. Hrynyk, “Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu,” 8–10.

32. Interview with Fr. Iosyf Kladochnyi, Toronto, June 17, 1980; Slipyi, “Spomyny,” 114, 123; Iosyf Andriiovych Kladochnyi, “Avtobiohrafiiia,” in Iaroslav Lial'ka et al., eds., *Litopys neskorenoi Ukraïny: Dokumenty, maerialy, spohady*, vol. 1 (L'viv, 1993), doc. 309, p. 516.

33. ASBU, 68069 FP, *sprava* 148372: Slipyi, Iosyf Ivanovych, fols. 255–6.

34. Slipyi, “Spomyny,” 126.

Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn did not survive his (reportedly very brutal) investigation by the NKGB in Kyïv. He died there in the Lukianivka Prison's infirmary on December 28, 1945, at the age of seventy-eight.<sup>35</sup> Auxiliary Bishop Ivan Liatyshevs'kyi was sentenced to five years; his sentence was subsequently extended for several years.<sup>36</sup>

Bishop Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi was brought to Kyïv, where he was subjected to a long series of interrogations. He was reportedly tried *in camera*, but died on November 17, 1947, before he could be sent away to serve his sentence.<sup>37</sup> Before he died Kotsylovs'kyi was transferred to the Chabaïvka-Vita camp near Kyïv. He was attended there during his last days by Greek Catholic nuns from Western Ukraine, who arranged to have him buried in a cemetery near Kyïv.<sup>38</sup> Kotsylovs'kyi's auxiliary, Bishop Lakota, was sentenced *in camera* and shipped to a forced-labour camp near Vorkuta in the Komi ASSR.<sup>39</sup> He died in a camp infirmary in Abez on November 12, 1950.<sup>40</sup>

The hierarchs were incarcerated in forced-labour camps holding both political prisoners and common criminals. In September 1946 Metropolitan Slipyi arrived via the Novosibirsk transit camp at the Mariinsk camp in Kemerovo oblast in western Siberia. There he found Bishop Charnets'kyi, with

35. According to information supplied in 1995 by the Ivano-Frankivs'k office of the Security Service of Ukraine (formerly the KGB). See Bohdan Vivchar, "Povremennia," *Tserkovnyi visnyk* (Chicago) 29, no. 6 (March 17, 1996), 10.

36. Ibid. Liatyshevs'kyi was released in the late spring of 1955, and in June of that year he returned to Stanislav. Despite his ruined health, he secretly resumed his episcopal functions. Before his death on November 27, 1957, he managed to consecrate his successor, Bishop Ivan Sleziuk, and to ordain a number of priests for the clandestine church in Stanislav eparchy. See [Fr.] Atanasii Pekar, OSBM, *Ispovidnyky viry nashoi suchasnosti: Prychynok do martyrolohii Ukraïns'koi Katolyts'koi Tserkvy pid sovitamy* (Toronto and Rome, 1982), 86–9; and my "Ukraïns'ka Hreko-Katolyts'ka Tserkva v katakombakh (1946–1989)," in Iaroslav Hrytsak and Borys Gudziak, eds., *Kovcheh: Zbirnyk statei z tserkovnoi istorii* (L'viv, 1993), 130.

37. *Narys istorii Vasyl'ians'koho chynu*, 610. I could not establish the details of Kotsylovs'kyi's sentence.

38. "Iak pomer Kyr Iosafat (Kotsylovs'kyi)?" *Ukraïns'ki visti* (Edmonton), March 18, 1957.

39. Pekar, *Ispovidnyky*, 84–5. According to Zinkevych and Lonchyna, *Martyrolohiia*, 105, Bishop Lakota was sentenced to ten years; but they do not name the source of this information, and it could not be confirmed from documents available to me.

40. Pekar, *Ispovidnyky*, 85.

whom he was to share several years of captivity.<sup>41</sup> In February 1947 Slipyi was transferred to the Boimy camp in Kemerovo oblast. In the autumn of 1947 he was moved via the Kirov transit prison to the Inta camp in the Pechora camp complex of the Komi ASSR.<sup>42</sup> In August 1948 he was transferred to Camp no. 23 (later 385/10) of the Dubrovlag complex in Temnikov raion of the Mordovian ASSR. Among the 2,000 or so inmates of this camp he found numerous Ukrainian prisoners.<sup>43</sup> Except for several months of incarceration in a Kyiv prison in 1950, Metropolitan Slipyi remained in the Dubrovlag until after the end of his sentence in April 1953.<sup>44</sup> Before his term ended, he was told that after his release he would be exiled to an invalids' home in Siberia.<sup>45</sup> Bishop Charnets'kyi shared the metropolitan's fate at the Temnikov camp; shortly before his sentence was to expire in 1950, he was resentenced to another ten years.<sup>46</sup>

Bishop Budka ended up in a camp near Karaganda in Kazakhstan, where he died on October 1, 1949, at the age of seventy-two.<sup>47</sup> After one and a half years in the Lukianivka Prison, Bishop Liatyshevs'kyi was shipped to a forced-labour camp near Merke and then to a camp at Chulak-Tau, Dzhambul oblast, Kazakhstan.<sup>48</sup> Msgr. Verhun, who was imprisoned along with Bishop Charnets'kyi and Metropolitan Slipyi at Boimy and Inta, was eventually exiled to the Angarskii settlement in Boguchani raion, Krasnoiarsk krai. He died there at the age of sixty-six on February 7, 1957, having waited in vain for Soviet permission to return to Germany.<sup>49</sup>

Several hundred Greek Catholic priests and monks who would not

41. Slipyi, "Spomyny," 128–34.

42. Ibid., 141–4.

43. Ibid., 144.

44. Ibid., 149–53.

45. Ibid., 157. On the metropolitan's subsequent fate, see Msgr. Ivan Khoma, *Druhyi period katorhy Patriiarkha Iosyfa* (Rome, 1993); idem, *Iosyf Slipyi: Otets' ta ispovidnyk ukrains'koi muchenyts'koi Tserkvy* (Rome, 1992); and my "Ukrains'ka Hreko-Katolyts'ka Tserkva v katakombakh," 123–64.

46. Ibid., 145. Bishop Charnets'kyi was amnestied in 1956 and returned to L'viv. He died there on April 2, 1959.

47. Pekar, *Ispovidnyky*, 82.

48. Ibid., 87–8. He was released in 1955 and returned to Stanislav. He died there on November 27, 1957.

49. Ibid., 76–8.

"convert" to Orthodoxy joined the many thousands of their West Ukrainian compatriots in the places of their imprisonment and exile, where they provided spiritual care and consolation.<sup>50</sup> Among them were Canon Omelian Gorchyns'kyi (elected the vicar capitular in April 1945), who was sent to the Pot'ma camps in Mordovia and died there on July 27, 1954;<sup>51</sup> Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi, who was arrested on June 5, 1947, and reportedly died in Vladimir Prison on May 1, 1958 at the age of eighty-nine;<sup>52</sup> the provincial of the Basilian Order Vitalii Hradiuk, who, after serving his sentence at Inta in the Komi ASSR, was deported to Krasnoiarsk krai;<sup>53</sup> and the Basilian hegumen Hryhorii Balahurak, who was tried in Stanislav for "organizing an underground episcopate" and died in exile in Cheliabinsk on October 2, 1965.<sup>54</sup>

Some clerics survived their captivity. Fr. Avksentii Boichuk, the rector of the Stanislav Greek Catholic Theological Seminary, was imprisoned for fifteen months in Stanislav and Kyiv and was then sentenced to ten years in the Vorkuta camps in the Komi ASSR. In the camps he displayed considerable organizational talent in building the "catacomb church" among the Ukrainian Catholic prisoners.<sup>55</sup>

A fellow-prisoner at Vorkuta was the Redemptorist hegumen of Ternopil' (and from 1963 a clandestine bishop) Vasylii Velychkovs'kyi, who left for posterity the only detailed account by a cleric of his arrest, trial, and imprisonment published abroad.<sup>56</sup> Velychkovs'kyi was arrested in 1945 after turning down the NKGB ultimatum to "either become Orthodox at once and return home, or stand trial." He was sent to prisons in Chortkiv and then

50. For the total number of sentenced Greek Catholic clergy in the years 1945–50 reported to the CPU CC in a secret 1956 CAROC report, see chapter eight.

51. "Spysok iepyskopiv i sviashchenykyv—zhertv relihiinoho peresliduvannia," *Svoboda* (Jersey City), March 4, 1970.

52. Lesia Kyrychuk, "Kazymyr Sheptyts'kyi—malodoslidzhena zasluzhena postat' v zhytti UKTs," *Tserkovnyi visnyk* (Chicago), December 17, 1995, 13. According to Zinkevych and Lonchyna, *Martyrolohiia*, 153, Sheptyts'kyi died in 1958.

53. Hradiuk was allowed to return to L'viv in 1954 and died there on August 30, 1961. Fr. Dem'ian Bohun, OSBM, "Vasyliiany skhidnykh provintsii zamordovani, uv'iazneni, zaslani (1941–1988)," in *Narys istorii Vasyliians'koho chynu*, 608.

54. *Ibid.*, 606.

55. Zinkevych and Lonchyna, *Martyrolohiia*, 111.

56. Fr. Stefan-Iosyf Bakhtalovs'kyi, CSsR, ed., *Vasyl' Vsevolod Velychkovs'kyi, ChNI: Iepyskop-isповidnyk* (Yorkton, Sask., 1975), 111–24.

Kyiv, where he was sentenced to death in 1947 for alleged “anti-Soviet agitation.”<sup>57</sup> After three months in death row, where he received food packages passed on through Orthodox nuns,<sup>58</sup> his death sentence was commuted to ten years. Velychkovs'kyi was transported via transit prisons in Kharkiv and Kirov to a camp in Kirov oblast, where he spent two years. From there he was moved to the Vorkuta camps, where he served the rest of his term (except for a brief stint in Vladimir Prison after the 1953 Vorkuta Uprising). He was allowed to return to L'viv in 1955.<sup>59</sup> Throughout his imprisonment, Velychkovs'kyi secretly carried on his priestly and missionary activities. Like many other imprisoned clergymen, he was protected by his fellow Ukrainian inmates and received care parcels from relatives, nuns, and the faithful “on the outside.”<sup>60</sup>

### The “Reunited” Clergy and the Ukrainian Underground

The publication of the “L'viv Sobor's” telegram to Stalin in *Pravda* on March 17, 1946, apparently signified official recognition of the “reunion” and the “abolition” of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia. Makarii (Oksiiuk), now an archbishop, moved into the former residence of the Greek Catholic metropolitans adjacent to St. George's Cathedral.<sup>61</sup> Fr. Ievhen Iuryk, the local candidate for vicar bishop of L'viv, was installed as the chancellor of the new Orthodox archeparchy, while Kostel'nyk assumed the post of dean (*blahochynnyi*) of the L'viv clergy.<sup>62</sup> In Stanislav and Drohobych respectively, Pel'vets'kyi and Mel'nyk were formally enthroned as the Orthodox

57. Ibid., 114.

58. Ibid., 116.

59. Ibid., 120–1. Velychkovs'kyi was nominated to succeed the late Bishop Charnets'kyi. He was secretly consecrated in Moscow by Metropolitan Slipyi on February 4, 1963 (the day that Slipyi departed for Rome), and assumed the spiritual care of L'viv archeparchy as Slipyi's exarch. He was rearrested in 1969 and incarcerated in the Komunars'k Prison in the Donbas for three years. In 1972 he was deported to Yugoslavia. After a stay in Rome, he emigrated to Canada and died in Winnipeg on June 30, 1973. Ibid., 21–44.

60. Ibid.

61. *Ieparkhial'nyi visnyk*, 1946, no. 5, 20–1.

62. Ibid., 1947, no. 1, 30; 1948, no. 1, 32.



bishops.<sup>63</sup> The authorities then increased the pressure on the recalcitrant clergy that were still at large to recognize the "sobor's" decisions and accept the jurisdiction of the new bishops.

Surprisingly, the "reunion" campaign did not encounter any serious challenge from the beleaguered Ukrainian resistance until after the "L'viv Sobor." Only in the summer of 1946<sup>64</sup> did the OUN issue an ultimatum to the "reunited" clergy to renounce publicly their apostasy or face "executive measures," which were widely understood to mean physical retribution and even execution.<sup>65</sup> The OUN directive was reportedly delivered in writing to every priest who had signed up for the "reunion."<sup>66</sup> While some pastors complied with this demand, others asserted that their "conversion" had occurred under duress and was therefore invalid; the more pragmatic clergy saw a *pro forma* "reunion" as a preferable alternative to the total elimination of the parish clergy in Galicia.<sup>67</sup> Many clerics refused to renounce the "reunion," fearing Soviet reprisals, and a few even sought protection from the Soviet police.<sup>68</sup>

On September 20, 1948, Fr. Kostel'nyk was assassinated. Both the Soviet authorities and the Russian Orthodox Church accused the Ukrainian nationalists and "Vatican agents" of committing the act and proclaimed Kostel'nyk a "martyr for the reunion," turning him into a symbol of the

63. Ibid., 1946, no. 5, 32.

64. "Zhydachivshchyna: Kharakterystyka terenu na tli richnoho ohliadu podii [za] 1946 r. 31 hrudnia 1946," 21 pp., AZPUHVR, file C5-2.

65. Ibid. This does not mean that the Ukrainian underground did not encourage some priests who co-operated with the UPA-OUN to "convert" in order to continue offering their assistance and intelligence. The MGB always assumed this was the case.

66. Ibid.

67. "Do t. zv. 'voz'iednannia Tserkov'," 3-4.

68. According to the speech of Metropolitan (now Patriarch) Filaret (Denysenko) of Kyiv at the 1971 local sobor of the Russian Orthodox Church, thirty "reunited" priests were liquidated by the Ukrainian underground in L'viv oblast alone. To these highly suspect "statistics" Filaret added Fr. Kostel'nyk and Bishops Mykhail (Mel'nyk) and Antonii (Pel'vets'kyi) as allegedly having been assassinated by "enemies of the church reunion." *Pomestnyi sobor*, 171-2. Fr. Kostel'nyk and Bishop Mykhail were apparently assassinated by the MGB in 1948 and 1955 respectively, while Bishop Antonii died of a heart attack in 1957. See Manuil [Lemeševskij], *Die Russische Orthodoxe Bischöfe*, pt. 1 (1979), 301; pt. 4 (1986), 392-3. See also n. 70 below.

struggle against the “*ouno-uniaty*” (OUNite-Uniates).<sup>69</sup> Evidence provided by the murdered priest’s family suggests, however, that the Soviet secret police was responsible for the murder.

According to Fr. Kostel'nyk’s widow, he became disillusioned and embittered after the “sobor” by the continued Soviet repression of the clergy and by the failure of the authorities to honour their promise to open an Orthodox seminary in L'viv.<sup>70</sup> Kostel'nyk complained openly about this to the authorities and was repeatedly warned by them not to speak his mind. A short time before his assassination, the security men who had protected him since the beginning of the “reunion” campaign were withdrawn. On September 20, 1948, after he had celebrated the morning Liturgy at the Church of the Transfiguration, Kostel'nyk was shot twice in the back of the head while he was walking home. As the assassin fled, he was gunned down from a waiting escape car;<sup>71</sup> his identity was never revealed. Kostel'nyk was given a state funeral. His widow received a lifetime pension and was allowed to keep the family apartment until her death in the early 1980s.

On October 24, 1949, members of the OUN underground in L'viv killed the chief Soviet anti-Greek Catholic propagandist, Iaroslav Halan. It took the NKGB until June 1951 to uncover and arrest the assassins using a locally recruited agent who had infiltrated the underground. During a major show trial presided over by the procurator general of the Ukrainian SSR, Roman

69. *ZhMP*, 1948, no. 10, 9–10.

70. Interview with Kostel'nyk’s daughter, Khrystyna Kostel'nyk-Poljak, Zagreb, March 12, 1980. Fr. Kostel'nyk travelled to Moscow to protest unsuccessfully that the promised Orthodox theological seminary had not been opened in L'viv. According to Fr. Kladochnyi, one possible reason for the security police’s decision to eliminate Kostel'nyk was an OUN plan to bring him surreptitiously to the West. Interview with Fr. Kladochnyi, Ottawa, August 9–11, 1980. The OUN plan is also mentioned by Klym Dmytruk in his “Z khrestom i tryzubom,” *Vitchyzna*, 1979, no. 3, 188.

71. Interview with Khrystyna Kostel'nyk-Poljak. The Soviet police tried unsuccessfully to convince Mrs. Kostel'nyk to “identify” the corpse of the assassin, who was dressed in a Waffen SS jacket of the Division Galizien, as that of her son Irynei, who had volunteered in 1943 for this division. Later the corpse disappeared from the morgue. Soviet propagandists claimed that the assassin was an OUN member called Pan'kiv. The OUN never accepted responsibility for Kostel'nyk’s murder. See Lev Shankovs'kyi, “Bil'shovyky pro UPA (z serii: Vorozhi svidchennia pro UPA).” *Visnyk O.Ch.S.U.*, November 1968, 22-4. Bilas suggests that both Kostel'nyk and, later, Halan were murdered by former OUN-UPA members who had been captured and recruited as assassins by the MGB. See his *Represyvno-karal'na systema*, 2: 461n.

Rudenko, Kostel'nyk's and Halan's assassinations were both presented as being inspired by the Vatican. A "reunited" priest, Denys Lukashevych, the father of one of the killers, was singled out as "one of the main organizers" of both assassinations. The assassins—Mykhailo Stakhur and Ilarii Lukashevych—were sentenced to death, and Fr. Lukashevych received a sentence of twenty-five years. Hundreds of Ukrainian university students and members of the intelligentsia, especially in Galicia, were arrested and sentenced during the crackdown that followed Halan's assassination.<sup>72</sup>

### **The Outlawing of the Greek Catholic Church in Poland**

The banning of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia was followed by its interdiction in the remaining one-third of Peremyshl' eparchy and the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region that were part of postwar Poland. At the end of the war, at least 650,000 to 700,000 Ukrainians, most of them Greek Catholics, found themselves under Polish rule. They were served by Bishops Kotsylovs'kyi and Lakota and 200 to 250 priests, including about one dozen refugees from L'viv and Stanislav eparchies.<sup>73</sup>

Poland's new Communist authorities, in co-operation with the USSR, sought to "solve" its Ukrainian minority problem, including the existence of the Greek Catholic Church there, by encouraging and later forcing the indigenous Ukrainians to "repatriate" to the Soviet Ukraine in exchange for the more numerous Poles on Soviet territory. Because most of the Ukrainians refused to abandon their ancestral lands, the Poles used force to expel them. This, in turn, provoked armed resistance by local UPA units, which were reinforced by units that had retreated from Soviet-held territory. Despite their resistance, however, from October 15, 1944, through August 2, 1946, about 482,000 Ukrainians, most of them Greek Catholics, were forcibly resettled in

72. Shankovs'kyi, "Bil'shovyky pro UPA," *Visnyk O.Ch.S.U.*, December 1968, 12-13; Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by*, 315-17. The MGB agent who discovered Halan's assassins was Bohdan Stashyns'kyi. He was later sent to Munich to murder the OUN leaders Lev Rebet (in 1957) and Stepan Bandera (in 1959). Stashyns'kyi defected to West Germany in 1962 and surrendered there to the police. At his trial he supplied proof of his involvement in the two murders and testified that both had been carried out on orders from the respective heads of the KGB, Aleksandr Shelepin and Vladimir Semichastnyi.

73. Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 106-14.

the USSR.<sup>74</sup>

Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi, who had repeatedly refused to leave his see, was imprisoned by the Polish police in September 1945 for refusing to issue a pastoral calling on his clergy and faithful to leave for the USSR.<sup>75</sup> He was handed over to the Soviet border authorities in mid-January 1946, but the latter released him eight days later. In late May 1946 Kotsylovs'kyi and Bishop Lakota attended the plenary session of Poland's episcopate at Częstochowa. A month later, however, on June 25, 1946, Kotsylovs'kyi was forcibly removed by the Polish authorities from his residence and imprisoned by the MGB in L'viv and then Kyiv. A day later the same fate befell Lakota and four senior priests.<sup>76</sup> Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic clergy expatriated from Western Ukraine seized the Ukrainian Greek Catholic cathedral in Przemyśl, and the authorities confiscated the episcopal residence and other church property, including the eparchy's historical treasures, archives, and library.<sup>77</sup> Neither Cardinal August Hlond nor any other Polish hierarch protested against the violence done to the Ukrainian bishops and clergy.<sup>78</sup>

Some time after Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi's death near Kyiv on December 17, 1947, while awaiting his trial, the Holy See named Cardinal Hlond the apostolic delegate for the Greek Catholics in Poland. On April 1, 1947, Hlond appointed Canon Vasyl' Hrynyk, a senior member of the Przemyśl chapter, his vicar-general for the Greek Catholics. Hrynyk carried out this function under

74. Ievhen Misylo, "Hreko-Katolyts'ka Tserkva v Pol'shchi (1944–1947)," *Varshavs'ki ukraïnoznavchi zapysky* (Warsaw), no. 1 (1989), 210. To convince the Ukrainians to "repatriate," from March through May alone the Polish underground—the Home Army and the Freedom and Independence partisans—attacked four Ukrainian villages and murdered over a thousand of their inhabitants. In these and subsequent attacks, twenty-four Greek Catholic and Orthodox priests were murdered. At the same time, a number of Ukrainians managed to be "repatriated" to Poland with the 788,000 ethnic Poles resettled from Soviet Ukraine. Eugeniusz Misiło [Ievhen Misylo], ed. *Akcja "Wisla": Dokumenty* (Warsaw, 1993), 13.

75. Misiło, *Akcja "Wisla"*, 15.

76. Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 15–17. For another description of the Polish-Soviet seizure and deportation of Kotsylovs'kyi and Lakota, see Sister Vasyliia (Syvch), "Ostanni dni ukraïns'koho Peremyshlia, 1944–1947," in *Na Khrystovii nyvi: Spomyny* (New York, 1978), 189–92.

77. Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 58–9, 151–3.

78. *Ibid.*, 44–5.

extremely difficult circumstances for the next thirty years.<sup>79</sup>

On June 18, 1947, the Polish government, in co-operation with the USSR and Czechoslovakia, launched Operation Wisła, which was aimed at the final suppression of the Ukrainian armed resistance through massive military and police search-and-destroy actions, ethnic cleansing of the southeastern borderlands where the UPA and OUN were active (and even where they were not), and the summary deportation of most of the indigenous Ukrainians there to the territories "recovered" from Germany in northern and western Poland.<sup>80</sup> By August 1947, 138,742 mostly Greek Catholic Ukrainians had been forcibly transferred to the new territories, where they were dispersed in small groups in villages largely populated by hostile Polish expatriates from Ukraine.<sup>81</sup> Another 3,873 Ukrainians, including twenty-two Greek Catholic and five Orthodox priests, were incarcerated in the Jaworzno concentration camp in Silesia from May 1947 through March 1949.<sup>82</sup> A few Ukrainian clergymen and nuns were imprisoned elsewhere.<sup>83</sup> Among the internees were fourteen Greek Catholic priests, sixteen Sisters Servants, and two Basilian Sisters who had fled from Soviet and Polish persecution in Western Ukraine and its borderlands to the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Greek Catholic eparchy of Prešov in Slovakia. There they had been welcomed with open arms by Bishop Pavlo Goidych. After the Communist coup in Prague, however, they were rounded up by the police and accused of helping UPA units trying to break

79. Ibid., 43–4. Initially Hrynyk was appointed vicar-general for the Polish part of Peremyshl' eparchy, while Fr. Andrii Zlupko became vicar-general for the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region. After the forcible removal of the Ukrainians from southeastern Poland and their dispersal in the former German (now western Polish) territories, Hrynyk could not effectively carry out his responsibilities and was imprisoned by the Poles from 1954 until after the Polish October in 1956. He died in Przemyśl on May 31, 1977.

80. See Myroslav Trukhan, "Aktsiia Visla," *Vidnova*, no. 3 (summer–autumn 1985), 53–62; and especially Misilo, *Akcja "Wisla."*

81. Misilo, *Akcja "Wisla,"* 405–26.

82. Ibid., doc. 69, n. 1; Ievhen Misylo, "Ukrainci v tsentral'nomu tabori pratsi v Iavozhni, 1947–1949," *Nasha meta* (Toronto), November 25, 1985. During the war Jaworzno housed part of the Auschwitz concentration camp complex, from June 15, 1944. Virtually all members of the postwar Ukrainian intelligentsia in Poland were imprisoned at Jaworzno, and 162 perished there from 1947 through 1949. The data on twenty-four Ukrainian Catholic clergymen in the camp are in Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 115–21.

83. Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 122–7; Pekar, *Ispovidnyky*, 253–4.

through to the American occupation zones of Germany and Austria by way of Czechoslovakia. In mid-1948 the Czechoslovak government extradited the priests and nuns to Poland. The nuns were held for fifteen months in a prison in Sosnowiec, while the priests were most likely incarcerated in the Jaworzno camp.<sup>84</sup> Most of the eighty Greek Catholic priests who were not imprisoned were dispersed across Poland; they continued their priestly functions as bi-ritual or Latin-rite chaplains in convents or as assistant parish priests, usually at the price of being separated from their wives and children. With one exception (Fr. Myroslav Ripets'kyi), they could not openly minister in their native rite to Ukrainian Catholics in postwar Poland for almost a decade.<sup>85</sup>

Largely isolated from their pastors, the Greek Catholics in postwar Poland were subjected to conflicting pressures: on the one hand, to Latinization and Polonization fostered by the Polish Catholic Church, and, on the other, to conversion to Orthodoxy within the Moscow-controlled Polish Orthodox Church.<sup>86</sup> In the meantime the property of Greek Catholic priests, most of which had already been seized by the local authorities, was retroactively nationalized by a government decree on September 5, 1947.<sup>87</sup> The seizure of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church's property was "legalized" retroactively on September 28, 1949, by an amendment to the 1947 decree, under the pretext that the property belonged to "juridical persons" whose "existence and activities [had] lost their purpose as a result of the resettlement of their

84. Pekar, *Ispovidnyky*, 237–8.

85. Ibid., 84–114. Cf. O. P. Kh., "Dolia Ukraïns'koï Hreko-Katolyts'koï Tserkvy v Pol'shchi," *Nasha meta*, May 11, 1957. Fr. Ripets'kyi was deported in 1947 with some of his parishioners to Chrzanowo, Suwałki voivodeship, in northeastern Poland. There he organized a Greek Catholic chapel and celebrated liturgical services in the Ukrainian rite until his death in 1974. "Ripetsky, Myroslav," in Struk, *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, 4 (1993): 376.

86. The latter church was headed from 1951 through 1959 by Metropolitan Makarii (Oksiuk), who earlier had presided over the "reunion" of Galicia's and Transcarpathia's Greek Catholics. Makarii's transfer to the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church posed a canonical problem that was resolved in a rather unusual way. In April 1951 the church's synod of bishops decided that it had "no worthy candidate" for the post of metropolitan of Warsaw and all Poland: accordingly, the synod asked the Moscow patriarchate to appoint such a candidate, and Moscow "released" Makarii, who was installed as head of the Polish church on July 8, 1951. A. A. Bogolepov, *Tserkov' pod vlast'iu kommunizma* (Munich, 1958), 165–6.

87. *Dziennik ustaw*, 1947, no. 59, 318.



members in the USSR."<sup>88</sup> This was the only published decree that indirectly "de-legalized" the church in Communist Poland; it was cited in texts in Polish law governing religion as the basis for the "non-existence" of the Greek Catholic Church and "non-recognition" of the Greek Catholic rite.<sup>89</sup>

There is no doubt that the suppression of the Greek Catholic Church in Poland was a measure co-ordinated with and demanded by the dominant Soviet state. But it was also motivated by the hostility toward Ukrainians that the Polish Communist regime and a significant part of both Polish society and the Polish Catholic Church shared. Just as the deportation of the Ukrainian Catholic bishops from Przemyśl followed the L'viv "Sobor," so too the 1949 decree closely followed the abolition of the last Greek Catholic entity in the USSR—Mukachiv eparchy in Transcarpathia. The Polish government apparently accepted the official Soviet claim that the Greek Catholic Church had "ceased to exist" in the Galician metropol, even though neither the part of Peremyshl' eparchy that remained in Poland nor the Apostolic Administration for the Lemko Region were represented at the "L'viv Sobor". Being mindful of the powerful Polish Catholic Church, however, the Polish government did not go beyond facilitating the "conversion" propaganda of the Polish Orthodox Church among the dispersed Ukrainian Catholics. It stopped short of staging a formal "reunion," for it would have evoked memories of the tsarist persecution of the Uniates in the Chełm region in the 1870s.

Although it clearly favoured the Latinization and Polonization of the Ukrainian Greek Catholics,<sup>90</sup> the Polish Catholic Church offered an institutional haven to individual Greek Catholic clergymen. As a rule, however, it made them assume the functions of Roman Catholic clergy.<sup>91</sup> Because no new candidates for the Greek Catholic priesthood were being admitted to Polish theological schools, it was expected that the current generation of Greek Catholic clergy would be the last.

In his March 1948 report to Bishop Ivan Buchko in Rome, Vicar-General Vasyl' Hrynyk stated that 111 Greek Catholic priests were left in Poland—fifty-three from Peremyshl' eparchy, thirty-seven from the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region, and fourteen monastics (thirteen of them Basilians)—as well as four seminarians, three Basilian brothers, and 112 nuns (including fifty Josephite Sisters and forty-nine Sisters Servants). He

88. Ibid., 1949, no. 53, 404.

89. Michał Pietrzak, *Prawo wyznaniowe* (Warsaw, 1978), 113–14.

90. Cf. Dominik Morawski, "Korespondencja z Rzymu," *Kultura*, May 1973, 51.

91. Hrynyk, "Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu," 84–114. Cf. O. P. Kh., "Dolia."

underestimated the size of the dispersed Ukrainian Catholic flock in Poland as numbering from 80,000 to 100,000 individuals and pessimistically forecast that “deprived of intelligentsia and clergy of their own, [they] shall very quickly submit to this [Polish assimilation] process.”<sup>92</sup>

92. Hrynyk, “Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu,” 29–30, 154. Hrynyk, like more recent sources from Poland, notes that the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs (which oversaw religious groups and national minorities in Communist Poland), had facilitated the Orthodox conversion efforts among the Greek Catholics to the extent that it allowed the Orthodox clergy to capitalize on the Ukrainian Catholics’ frustration and bitterness brought about by the intolerance and chauvinism of the local Polish Catholic clergy.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

# *The Liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in Transcarpathia*

### **The Different Situation in Soviet-Annexed Transcarpathia**

The Soviet campaign for the “reunion” of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church also extended into Mukachiv (Mukacheve) eparchy in Transcarpathia after it had been occupied by Soviet armies in late October 1944. There were, however, important differences between the situations in Transcarpathia and Galicia. These differences complicated and delayed the realization of Soviet plans for the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in this least developed and long isolated Ukrainian borderland.

One difference was the status of the newly occupied territory. Unlike Galicia, which the Kremlin treated as a “recovered” Soviet territory, Transcarpathia had been an integral part of interwar Czechoslovakia. On November 26, 1944, however, a congress of “national committees” in Mukachiv voted to “reunite Transcarpathian Ukraine with its great mother, Soviet Ukraine” and to secede from Czechoslovakia, and on June 29, 1945, Transcarpathia was formally ceded to the USSR in a Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty.<sup>1</sup> An even more important contrast with Galicia was the relative weakness of Ukrainian nationalism in Transcarpathia—though a Ukrainian national movement appeared to be challenging the old “Ruthenian” orientation

1. Vasyl Markus, *L'incorporation de l'Ukraine subcarpathique à l'Ukraine soviétique, 1944–1945* (Louvain, 1956). The territory in question had been known under various names: Hungarian Rus' under Hungarian rule; Subcarpathian Rus' after it was annexed by Czechoslovakia; Carpatho-Ukraine during the brief period of its autonomy and independence of 1938–9 and again in 1944, after it was occupied by the Red Army; and Transcarpathian Ukraine (Transcarpathia oblast) after it became part of Soviet Ukraine. See also R. N., “Holhota unii v Karpats'kii Ukraïni: Trylitnia diial'nist' ostann'oho iepyskopa, Dr. Teodora Romzhi,” *Zhyttia i slovo* (Innsbruck), no. 3–4 (1948–9), 329; and Vasyl' Markus', *Nyshchennia Hreko-Katolyts'koï Tserkvy v Mukachivs'kii eparkhii v 1945–1950 rr.* (Paris, 1982), 7–8.

there—and the absence of any significant, indigenous nationalist resistance.<sup>2</sup>

Hungarian Rus' was not part of Kyïv metropoly when the latter entered into a union with Rome at the Brest Sobor of 1596. Instead, the Greek Catholic Church in Transcarpathia originated with the Union of Uzhhorod of 1646, when sixty-three local Orthodox priests joined the Catholic Church through an agreement with the Roman Catholic bishop of Eger rather than through a direct union with Rome. The agreement safeguarded the Greek Catholics' Byzantine-Slavonic rite, provided for the selection of their own bishop, subject only to papal confirmation, and equalized their clergy's status with that of Roman Catholic priests. By the 1720s support for the union had spread to the Maramureș region (now in northwestern Romania). Because the Hungarian hierarchy opposed exempting the Greek Catholics from its jurisdiction, however, it was not until 1771 that, under pressure from Empress Maria Theresa, the Vatican finally created Mukachiv eparchy as an entity independent of the bishop of Eger. At the empress's request, in 1775 Bishop Andrii Bachyns'kyi transferred the episcopal see from Mukachiv to Uzhhorod. Maria Theresa donated the former Jesuit monastery and church there to the eparchy to serve as the bishop's residence and cathedral, and the former Drugeths' castle became the Uniate seminary. Nevertheless, the Hungarian authorities and the Roman Catholic Church continued to insist that Mukachiv eparchy be subordinated to the archbishop-metropolitan of Esztergom, the primate of Hungary; and they effectively blocked Vienna's plans to establish a Greek Catholic metropoly of Uzhhorod that would embrace both Transcarpathia and Galicia. Thus Mukachiv eparchy remained apart from the restored Halych metropoly.<sup>3</sup> Although the Greek Catholic Church had historically been the

2. See Paul R. Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848–1948* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); and a critical assessment of this book by Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Carpatho-Ukraine: A People in Search of Their Identity," in his *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History* (Edmonton, 1987), 353–73.

3. Fr. Oleksander Baran, *Iepyskop Andrei Bachyns'kyi i tserkovne vidrodzhennia na Zakarpatti* (Yorkton, Sask., 1963). On the history of the Greek Catholic Church in Transcarpathia, see [Rev.] Aug[ustyn] Vološin [Voloshyn], "Řecko-katolická církev v Podkarpatské Rusi," in Josef Chmelař et al., eds. *Podkarpatská Rus: Obraz pomeru prirodnych, hospodárskych, politických, cirkevních, jazykových a osvetových* (Prague, 1923), 99–113; and Julius Kubinyi, *The History of Prjašiv Eparchy* (Rome, 1970), 53–63. Cf. Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, 184–9. According to a recently published study, Mukachiv eparchy remained part of Esztergom metropoly until the Soviet annexation of Transcarpathia (except for the brief period of Carpatho-Ukraine's autonomy and independence of 1938–9, when the Holy See had subordinated the eparchy directly to

most important national institution in Transcarpathia, the Soviet authorities could hardly accuse it (as they did the church in Galicia) of being an ally of the Ukrainian nationalists.

Unlike in Galicia, in Transcarpathia there was a prolonged and bitter grass-roots struggle within the Greek Catholic Church during the first quarter of the twentieth century that led a number of its members to convert to Orthodoxy. Opposition to the status quo was manifested primarily by a movement of protest against the Magyarization and Latinization of the Greek Catholic Church and against the socio-economic privileges of the Greek Catholic clergy. The formation of a rival Orthodox Church was facilitated by the initial anti-Catholic orientation of the Czechoslovak government and the post-1919 influx into Transcarpathia of Russian White émigrés, who joined the local Russophiles in promoting a “return to the ancestral faith.” The religious struggle had subsided by 1930, the year when the last prewar Czechoslovak census enumerated 112,034 Orthodox believers and 359,201 Greek Catholics in Subcarpathian Rus'.<sup>4</sup> Although the mass abandonment of the Greek Catholic Church in Transcarpathia caused much pain, it also had a salutary effect, leaving its clergy and faithful more united and disciplined and less vulnerable to anti-Vatican propaganda than their brethren in Galicia.

Just before the Soviet occupation of Transcarpathia, Msgr. Teodor Romzha was consecrated the titular bishop of Appia on September 24, 1944, at the age of thirty-three. Soon after Romzha took over from Bishop Nykolai Dudash of Hajdúdorog (who remained in Hungary) the function of apostolic administrator of Mukachiv eparchy.<sup>5</sup> In 1944 Mukachiv eparchy had 461,555 faithful, 281 parishes with 459 churches and chapels, 354 eparchial and 13 monastic

Rome). Prešov eparchy was part of Esztergom metropoly until 1937. Fr. Ihor Monchak, *Samoupravna Kyivs'ka Tserkva* (L'viv, 1994), 24–5.

4. Basil Boysak, *The Fate of the Holy Union in Carpatho-Ukraine* (Toronto and New York, 1963), 170–210. In 1941, out of the total population of Transcarpathia (667,561), 412,901 (61.9 percent) were Greek Catholics, 114,659 (17.2 percent) were Orthodox, and 39,818 (0.6 percent) were Roman Catholics. “Istoricheskaia spravka direktora Zakarpatskogo oblastnogo gosudarstvennogo arkhiva Boiko, predostavlennaiia 30 iiula 1947 goda upolnomochennomu Soveta po delam russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi pri SM SSSR po Zakarpatskoi oblasti Rommeru.” Cited in Bilas, *Represyвно-karal'na systema*, 2: 681.

5. Pekar, *Ispovidnyky*, 195. Romzha was born on April 14, 1911, in Velykyi Bychkiv, Transcarpathia. After studying in Rome, he was ordained in 1936 and served as a pastor in Berezove and a priest and professor at the Uzhhorod Greek Catholic Theological Seminary.

priests, 85 seminarians, and 5 Basilian monasteries with 35 monks and 3 convents with 50 nuns. Only four priests fled from the eparchy before the arrival of the Red Army.<sup>6</sup>

### **The First Measures against the Greek Catholics**

The Soviet-installed National Council of Transcarpathian Ukraine, which was dominated by local Communists and Russophiles, exhibited increasingly hostile attitude toward the Greek Catholic Church because the church refused to be politically manipulated by the council and the military occupation authorities. In contrast, the authorities favourably treated the minority Orthodox Church, which, while still being formally under the jurisdiction of the Serbian Orthodox Church, had established direct contacts with the Moscow patriarchate in early December 1944. During the winter of 1944–5, the authorities helped the local Orthodox Church to seize nineteen Greek Catholic churches and parish homes. In the spring of 1945 the National Council adopted decrees on the “freedom to change [one’s] religion” and the redistribution of ecclesiastical property. According to the latter, in localities where Greek Catholics constituted no more than one-third of the population, all of their parish property, including the church building, was to be transferred to the Orthodox majority; where more than one-third of the population was Greek Catholic, their property was to be proportionally divided between them and the Orthodox.<sup>7</sup> Thus some sixty Greek Catholic parishes were liquidated and a number of pastors were deprived of their posts. Ten priests were arrested (some were later released after Bishop Romzha intervened), and one of them was executed.<sup>8</sup>

The news of the arrests of the Ukrainian Catholic bishops and clergy in Galicia and of the government’s arbitrary transfer of control over the now leaderless church there to Kostel’nyk’s Initiative Group profoundly disturbed Bishop Romzha and his clergy, but did not weaken their determination to

6. *Annuario Pontificio per l’Anno 1945* (Vatican City, 1945), 217. Alexander Punyko, *Bishop Theodore G. Romzha and Soviet Occupation (1944–1947)* (New York, 1967), 20. Punyko served as a vicar-general under Bishop Romzha, on whose advice he escaped to the West in 1947.

7. Dmytro Bukovych, *Pavutyinnia omany* (Uzhhorod, 1974), 126; R. N., “Holhota unii,” 334.

8. Punyko, *Bishop Romzha*, 25–6.



protect Mukachiv eparchy from a similar fate. Despite Soviet attempts to isolate and intimidate the bishop, he frequently visited parishes, preaching and calling on the people to persevere in their faith. By the fall of 1947 he had visited nearly all the parishes in his eparchy. Expecting the worst, in late 1945 Romzha secretly consecrated Msgr. Oleksander Khira as his successor.<sup>9</sup>

In June 1945 a treaty ceded Transcarpathia to the USSR, and in October 1945 the Moscow patriarch consecrated Heorhii Sydoruk (a native of eastern Ukraine) Bishop Nestor of Uman' (the vicar of Kyiv metropol) and the administrator of the Orthodox eparchy of Mukachiv and Prešov.<sup>10</sup> Upon his arrival in Transcarpathia, Nestor reportedly instructed local Orthodox clergy to seize the Greek Catholic Church's property in their parishes and to undertake, with the authorities' support, the establishment of Orthodox congregations in localities where till then only Greek Catholic parishes had existed. This piecemeal "reunion" campaign in the countryside provoked numerous confrontations during the winter of 1945–6. With the help of the authorities, seventy-three Greek Catholic churches were seized. Despite open police intimidation, however, none of the dispossessed Greek Catholic priests accepted the "conversion." Indeed, in defiance, they organized nineteen new Greek Catholic parishes.<sup>11</sup>

After the L'viv "Sobor" of March 1946, Soviet authorities in Transcarpathia attempted to extend the "liquidation" of the Union of Brest to Mukachiv eparchy, although it was never part of L'viv-Halych metropol and was not represented at the "sobor." The MGB summoned priests and monks individually, demanding they declare their adherence to the Russian Orthodox Church.

9. Khira was born on January 17, 1897, in Vil'khovytsi, Tiachiv district. He studied theology in Budapest (1915–20) and was ordained on December 29, 1920. After serving in two parishes, he was a chaplain and later a professor at the Uzhhorod Greek Catholic Theological Seminary and its rector (1934–9). A Ukrainophile activist and organizer of religious retreats for teachers in Transcarpathia, he was removed as rector after the Hungarian invasion of Carpatho-Ukraine in March 1939, but continued to serve as a member of the chapter and canon at the Uzhhorod Cathedral. In 1943 Khira was awarded the title of papal prelate. Pekar, *Ispovidnyky*, 217. Bishop Khira died in Soviet exile in Karaganda on May 26, 1983, at the age of eighty-six. See [Fr. Atanasii Pekar, OSBM,] "Smert' vladyky movchaznoi Tserkvy," *Ukrains'ki visti* (Edmonton), August 10, 1983.

10. *ZhMP*, 1945, no. 10, 31.

11. [Fr.] Athanasius B. Pekar, "Liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in Carpatho-Ukraine," *Ameryka* (Philadelphia), September 30, 1976; Punyko, *Bishop Romzha*, 52.

The CAROC deputy plenipotentiary in Kyiv, G. Katunin, was dispatched to Transcarpathia to review the situation there, to assess the prospects for a speedy “reunion” of the Greek Catholic Mukachiv eparchy with the Russian Orthodox Church, and to propose appropriate measures for achieving this end. In his report to Khodchenko, Katunin noted how different the Transcarpathia’s ecclesiastical and ethnic make-up was from Galicia’s. As of May 20, 1946, there were 152 Orthodox parishes in the most remote and poorest areas of the oblast. They were served by 141 priests, of whom only three had a postsecondary theological education and twenty-four had a secondary education. The remaining 114 Orthodox priests had no theological training, and fifty-nine of them had completed only grade four of elementary school.<sup>12</sup> In contrast, the Greek Catholic Church had 399 well-endowed parishes with 320 well-to-do priests, of whom 93 percent had a postsecondary theological education. In terms of ethnic self-identification, the Greek Catholic clergy consisted of 130 Ruthenians (Rusyns), eighty-six Ukrainians, seventeen Hungarians, twelve Slovaks and two Romanians, reflecting Transcarpathia’s multiethnic composition. The Orthodox had four impoverished Orthodox monasteries and three convents with poorly educated monastics; the Greek Catholic’s had five Basilian monasteries and three convents with large land holdings.<sup>13</sup>

During his visit to Uzhhorod, Katunin summoned Bishop Romzha and tried to persuade him to accept the Moscow patriarchate’s jurisdiction. After failing to intimidate the bishop with accusations of his church’s past collaboration with the Hungarians and its “anti-Soviet” activities,<sup>14</sup> Katunin demanded that Romzha order his clergy to stop spreading anti-Orthodox propaganda, forbid them to visit Orthodox parishes, discontinue the “illegal” religious instruction of children in the Greek Catholic churches, and terminate instruction at the Uzhhorod Theological Seminary because it had not been officially registered as a Soviet higher educational institution.<sup>15</sup> Romzha was made to understand

12. “Sekretno. Upolnomochennomu Soveta po delam russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi pri Sovete Ministrov USSR, tov. Khodchenko, ‘Dokladnaia zapiska’ zam. upolnomochennogo Soveta po delam russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi pri Sovete Ministrov USSR, 5 iunia 1946, G. Katunin,” TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 2846, fols. 147, 149–50, 153. There were also forty-two Roman Catholic and eighty Calvinist congregations in Transcarpathia. *Ibid.*, fol. 147.

13. *Ibid.*, fols. 149, 152.

14. *Ibid.*, fols. 152–3.

15. *Ibid.*

that after the L'viv "Sobor's" dissolution of the church union with Rome, the further existence of the Greek Catholic Church was illegal in the USSR.<sup>16</sup>

Romzha ignored the official threats and continued to defend his church despite growing economic and administrative sanctions, invoking the constitutional guarantees of religious freedom. In turn, the Greek Catholic faithful responded to official harassment with massive pilgrimages to Greek Catholic shrines throughout 1946. The bishop preached to some 50,000 pilgrims at St. Nicholas's Monastery on Chernecha Mountain near Mukachiv on the feast of the Assumption in August 1946.<sup>17</sup>

### The Authorities Resort to Violence

Having failed to attract a single "convert" from among the Transcarpathian clergy, in the spring of 1947 the authorities resorted to force. On March 24, 1947, Soviet troops and police forcibly removed the Basilian monks from St. Nicholas's Monastery and handed it over to the Russian Orthodox Church; the Basilians were confined to their smallest monastery, at Imstycheve.<sup>18</sup> In response, in May Bishop Romzha dispatched his vicar general, Fr. Oleksander Punyko, to Moscow to present to CARC a memorandum in which the bishop and his clergy protested against the persecution of their church. The memorandum frustrated the plans for a "reunion" gathering at St. Nicholas's Monastery during the August 1947 Assumption pilgrimage, for which Bishop Nestor had brought in several Orthodox bishops, including Makarii (Oksiiuk) of L'viv, as well as Fr. Kostel'nyk and a representative of Exarch Ioann from Kyiv. Instead most of the thousands of pilgrims avoided the confiscated monastery and gathered for a Liturgy celebrated by the Greek Catholic clergy in nearby Mukachiv.<sup>19</sup>

Possibly in response to Bishop Romzha's memorandum, in the summer of 1947 CAROC dispatched two representatives, Sokolov and Ivanov, to Transcarpathia to assess the situation there and to determine what measures were needed for the absorption of the Greek Catholics by the Russian

16. Punyko, *Bishop Romzha*, 47–9.

17. Markus', *Nyshchennia Hreko-Katolyts'koi Tserkvy*, 17, 19.

18. Ibid., 19; Punyko, *Bishop Romzha*, 5–6; 51–3; Pekar, *Ispovidnyky*, 190–3.

19. Ibid.

Orthodox Church.<sup>20</sup> Sokolov and Ivanov approved the Transcarpathia oblast authorities' decision to take over the Basilian monastery in Mukachiv and their proposal to hand over Bishop Romzha's cathedral and residence in Uzhhorod to Bishop Nestor. While in Transcarpathia, Ivanov and Sokolov officially received Bishop Romzha, who was accompanied by Canon Khira and the eparchial chancellor, Fr. Mykola Muranyi. During their meeting, the Bishop "pleaded for placing [the Uniate Church] ... within the framework of the law, which, as he declared, they recognize and will carry out, [and] requested that parishes of the Uniate Church be registered and the Orthodox Church be prohibited from confiscating from them [their] church buildings (by August 1, 1947, 69 churches had been confiscated)... 'We fully want to be loyal citizens of the USSR' ... wrote Bishop Romzha in his declaration of July 31, 1947."<sup>21</sup> "But this declaration about loyalty"—reported Ivanov to Moscow—"is false (Jesuitical) and has not been supported by any practical acts."<sup>22</sup>

On the basis of Ivanov's recommendation, Karpov and Polianskii approved a "Plan of Measures for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church of Transcarpathia Oblast of the U[krainian]SSR with the Russian Orthodox Church." The document sanctioned the transfer of the Greek Catholic cathedral and bishop's residence in Uzhhorod to the Orthodox and proposed that the Orthodox eparchial administration establish for missionary purposes a "Transcarpathian Brotherhood for the Return of Greek Catholics to the bosom of the Russian Orthodox Church," which should be reinforced with two to three "reunited priests" from L'viv eparchy. The "brotherhood" would perform functions analogous to Kostel'nyk's Initiative Group in Galicia; because of the nearly uniform refusal of Transcarpathia's Greek Catholic priests to convert to Orthodoxy, however, the "brotherhood" would have to organize its "initiative groups" among parishioners. Once twenty to thirty parishioners had signed a request for the takeover of the local Greek Catholic church, the authorities would transfer it to the Orthodox Church. Most importantly, the CAROC and CARC chairmen requested that

20. "Dokladnaia zapiska 'Ob uniatskoi i pravoslavnykh tserkviakh Zakarpatskoi oblasti Ukrainskoi SSR,'" GARF, *fond* 6991, *opis'* 1, *delo* 32, fols. 63–6. Cited in Bilas, *Represyвно-karal'na systema*, 2: 669–73. Ivanov had accompanied Kostel'nyk on his tour of the Greek Catholic deaneries in Galicia during the "reunion" campaign of 1945.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

taxation pressure be applied to the fullest extent against the servants [clergy] of the Greek Catholic Church, giving local financial organs the right to increase taxation rates owing to the fact that these servants are not registered.... All of the Greek Catholic monks (47 men), insofar as they are all Basilians, should be [removed from the remaining monasteries and] concentrated in one [place, the] Imstychiv monastery, to which the Greek Catholic monks from Mukachiv monastery were already recently transferred.

The Greek Catholic seminary in Uzhhorod with its forty students ... should be closed.... Reciprocal servicing by the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic servants of cult of each other's churches should be prohibited.... The Greek Catholic servants of cult (including members of the eparchial *kapitula*) must not be allowed to travel within the oblast without the sanction of the CARC plenipotentiary.<sup>23</sup>

To break the continuing resistance of the Greek Catholic clergy, with the approval of the highest authorities in Kyiv, the MGB staged an "accident" on October 27, 1947. Bishop Romzha was returning by coach from a village where he had dedicated a new church. A waiting military truck ran into his horse-drawn coach. MGB agents who were following the truck closely in a car attacked and critically wounded the bishop and his coachman with iron bars. When other clergymen accompanying Romzha raised the alarm, the assailants attacked them as well, but were scared off by an approaching post office truck. The truck's occupants picked up the victims of the "accident" and drove them to a Mukachiv hospital, where Romzha underwent an emergency operation. After the operation, however, the MGB brought in a "nurse" who, after the hospital staff attending the bishop were ordered to leave his room, injected Romzha with a deadly poison on the night of November 1, 1947.<sup>24</sup> A Greek Catholic nun who had hidden nearby witness-

23. "Plan meropriatii po vossoedineniiu greko-katolicheskoi (uniatskoi) tserkvi Zakarpatskoi oblasti USSR s pravoslavnoi tserkov'iu. Predsedatel' Soveta po delam russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR, Karpov, [and] predsedatel' Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR, Polianskii." GARF, *fond* 6991, *opis'* 1, *delo* 32, fols. 67–70. Cited in Bilas, *Represyvnno-karal'na systema*, 2: 673–7.

24. Punyko, *Bishop Romzha*, 59n. According to Pavel Sudoplatov, the former head of the Special Tasks Directorate of the NKGB/MGB who carried out or organized political assassinations at home and abroad, "Archbishop" (sic) Romzha's murder was sanctioned personally by Khrushchev but was "badly handled" by Gen. Savchenko and his team. It was under Sudoplatov's supervision that an MGB "nurse" finished off

sed the bishop's death agony. She immediately informed church officials in Transcarpathia and Bishop Pavlo Goidych in Prešov about the murder.<sup>25</sup>

The news of Romzha's murder spread throughout Transcarpathia and Galicia. It outraged not only the Greek Catholics, but also enough Orthodox faithful to prompt three Orthodox bishops—Antonii (Pel'vets'kyi) of Stanislav, Mykhail (Mel'nyk) of Drohobych, and Nestor (Sydoruk) of Mukachiv—to send an unprecedented letter of protest against the MGB-organized assassination to Khrushchev in January 1948.<sup>26</sup>

After Romzha was killed, the members of the eparchial chapter elected his chancellor, Fr. Muranyi, the capitular vicar-administrator of Mukachiv eparchy.<sup>27</sup>

### The Forcible “Reunion” of Mukachiv Eparchy

By killing Romzha, the MGB removed the main obstacle to the suppression of the Greek Catholic church in Transcarpathia, and the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 removed any reason for procrastinating further. Thereafter the authorities intensified the “administrative measures” they used to impose Orthodoxy including physical coercion, despite the strong protests of the Greek Catholics.

In his report for the last quarter of 1947, Vil'khovyi did not mention Romzha's murder, but he did complain about the “gross violations” of law that Transcarpathia oblast's government committed while trying to “convert” the indigenous local Greek Catholics to Orthodoxy. He cited a complaint twenty witnesses from the village of Kolochava-Laz, Volove [now Mizhhir'ia] raion, addressed to Khrushchev:

Romzha. Pavel Sudoplatov and Anatolii Sudoplatov, with Jerrold and Leona P. Schechter, *Special Tasks: The Memoirs of an Unwanted Witness—a Soviet Spymaster* (New York, 1994), 252–3. While Sudoplatov's memoirs are replete with errors and some clearly fictitious data, his account of Romzha's murder has been confirmed by a Basilian sister, Teofila, who worked at the hospital where Romzha was poisoned. See her 1990 article, “Iak pomer Iepyskop Romzha,” in Lial'ka et al., *Litopys neskorenoi Ukraïny*, 1: 353–9.

25. Pekar, *Ispovidnyky*, 196–7.

26. A copy of the letter is preserved in the TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 5069, fols. 85–6. The bishops ascribed Romzha's assassination to the MGB.

27. Pekar, *Ispovidnyky*, 220.



The Orthodox took away from us our church though they have in their possession another Orthodox church. They seized it illegally. We represent 580 believers, and we, Greek Catholics, [request that] our church be returned [to us].

The closing of our church proceeded as follows: representatives of the circle arrived in the company of state security officials [and] summoned the fighters [*boitsov*] of a search-and-destroy [*istrebitel'nyi*] battalion and the police, [who] used violence to enter the church and beat up the Greek Catholic population with [rifle] butts and kicks.

According to Vil'khovyi, the events in Kolochava were “not an exception” in Transcarpathia oblast, where

some oblast leaders seek to accelerate the liquidation of the Uniate Church with the participation of the police. It appears that some leading officials [*rabotniki*] hold the erroneous opinion that the Orthodox Church should occupy a special, privileged position in comparison with other religious cults. In this connection, it is [absolutely] necessary to explain that for the Soviet state and the Communist Party all religious cults represent the same [thing], *i.e., we tolerate them. We register those who are more progressive, more loyal; with them the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults and the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church are establishing appropriate relations with the aim of regulating the religious movement[s].*<sup>28</sup>

Apparently dissatisfied with Bishop Nestor's performance, on June 3, 1948, the Moscow patriarchate appointed Archbishop Makarii (Oksiiuk) of L'viv the eparch of Mukachiv as well.<sup>29</sup> A number of Makarii's fellow collaborators in the suppression of the Union of Brest in Galicia, including Fr. Kostel'nyk, were recruited to help with the final assault on the last remaining Greek Catholic eparchy in Ukraine. Iaroslav Halan was sent there to spearhead the anti-Catholic propaganda offensive. The by then familiar rationale for the suppression of the Greek Catholic Church was reaffirmed in Makarii's first pastoral to the Orthodox *and* Greek Catholic clergy and faithful, which was read during his enthronement at St. Nicholas's Monastery on June 27, 1948:

28. “Sov[ershenno] sekretno. Informatsionnyi otchet o rabote upolnomochennogo Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR po Ukrainskoi SSR za oktiabr'–dekabr' 1947 goda. 2 fevralia 1948 g., g. Kyiv, P. Vil'khovyi,” TsDAHOU, *fond 1, opys 23, sprava 5069, fols. 20–3*. Emphasis added.

29. *Pravoslavnyi visnyk*, no. 6, 1948, 188.

“when the Lord ... by His Grace has brought our Transcarpathia into unity with the entire Ukrainian people in a single Ukrainian Soviet state and with the fraternal Great Russian people in our glorious fatherland [the USSR], it would not be proper for us to oppose the spiritual and ecclesiastical unity of the Transcarpathian population with [our] entire Orthodox native [*ridnym*] people.”<sup>30</sup>

From October 1 through 15, 1948, CARC Plenipotentiary Vil'khovyi visited Transcarpathia “to study the question of accelerating the liquidation of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church.”<sup>31</sup> He was of the opinion that “If in 1946–7 this measure was considered premature, by now this question has already sufficiently matured that it has become necessary to resolve it in the next year or two.” Vil'khovyi listed the objectives in Transcarpathia already agreed upon:

To relocate all [Uniate] monasteries to one [site].

To study the question of merging the [Uniate] convents.

To facilitate preparatory work for the transfer to the Orthodox of the Uniate churches in Mukachiv and the so-called brick church [in Uzhhorod], as well as the residence of the Greek Catholic Church's chapter and the [bishop's] cathedral.

For the strengthening of the leadership of the Orthodox clergy and of the organization of missionary work among the Greek Catholic clergy and believers ... it was planned to dispatch Archbishop Makarii [of L'viv] to Transcarpathia in the capacity of eparch of the Orthodox Church [there]. At the same time, in order to intensify missionary work and to occupy the vacant Uniate parishes, a group of 10 to 15 Orthodox priests from among the former Uniates should be dispatched to Transcarpathia oblast and placed at the disposal of Archbishop Makarii.<sup>32</sup>

Vil'khovyi urged that the already planned “revelatory” anti-Uniate articles should be published in the local press. He accused Makarii and Exarch Ioann

30. Ibid., 165.

31. See his eighteen-page report, “Sov[ershenn]o sekretno. Predsedateliu Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR, tov. Polianskomu, I. V. Kopia: sekretariu TsK KP(b)U, tov. Khrushchevu, N. S.; zamestiteliu predsedatelia Soveta Ministrov USSR, tov. Kornitsu, L. R.; ministru gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti USSR, tov. Savchenko, S. R. DOKLADNAIA ZAPISKA. Upolnomochennyi Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR po Ukrainskoi SSR, P. Vil'khovyi, 11.XI.[19]48 god,” TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 5069, fol. 314.

32. Ibid., fol. 315.

of procrastination and indecisiveness, and the local media and authorities of indifference to the “reunion” cause.<sup>33</sup>

Vil'khovyi referred to at least one “success”—the first potential “convert” from Greek Catholicism. The clergyman in question, Fr. Irynei Kondratovych, had a colourful biography, including membership (after his ordination!) in Béla Kun's Hungarian Communist party, participation in Kun's short-lived government, and links with the Czechoslovak Communists. Kondratovych had wavered, however: he was reluctant to organize the pro-“reunion” priests unless the two Greek Catholic leaders who had succeeded Bishop Romzha—Prelate Khira (a secret bishop) and Capitular Vicar Muranyi—were “removed.”<sup>34</sup> The latter two had, in fact, visited Vil'khovyi, requesting that the illegally confiscated rectories and churches be returned to the Greek Catholics and inquiring whether the authorities would “register” the Greek Catholic Church. Vil'khovyi rejected their request and confirmed that “the Greek Catholic Church, which takes a hostile attitude toward the Soviet regime,” “will not be registered” (legalized).<sup>35</sup>

After reading Vil'khovyi's report, Republican CAROC Plenipotentiary Khodchenko told him that it would not be worthwhile advancing new proposals regarding Transcarpathia because CAROC Chairman Karpov would be coming to Kyiv on December 10, 1948, to inform all the oblast plenipotentiaries about the “new guidelines on the Russian Orthodox Church and [other religious] cults,” at which time “proposals will be elaborated on the acceleration of the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in Transcarpathia oblast.”<sup>36</sup>

Working closely with Makarii, the Soviet authorities unleashed the same police methods against the recalcitrant Greek Catholic clergy, including psychological and physical terror, that they had tested and found to be

33. Ibid., fols. 315–16.

34. Ibid., fols. 316–18.

35. Ibid., fols. 324–5. Khira and Muranyi were accompanied by the eparchial chancellor, Fr. Ivan Semedii.

36. The information appears in a handwritten note (dated November 15, 1948) addressed to the CP(B)U CC propaganda secretary, [K. Z.] Lytvyn, and signed by the second secretary of the CC, L. Mel'nikov. Ibid., fols. 313 and 313a. We can only speculate as to what the “new guidelines” Karpov was bringing were: most likely they reflected the Kremlin's decision to tighten ideological controls and to end further concessions to the Moscow patriarchate with the exception of its annexation of the Greek Catholic Church in Transcarpathia. We may also assume, however, that with the outbreak of the cold war, the new Soviet strategy vis-à-vis the Catholic Church became much more ruthless.

successful during the “reunion” campaign in Galicia. Priests who were broken in the MGB prisons were brought at night to Makarii to sign declarations of “voluntary” conversion to Orthodoxy. Those who could not be broken were taken to the central MGB prison in Kyiv to be tried in camera. Among the “recalcitrants” was Bishop Khira, who was arrested on February 1, 1949. He was sentenced in Kyiv to twenty-five years of imprisonment and internal exile.<sup>37</sup>

On February 16, 1949, the police surrounded the Greek Catholic episcopal cathedral and residence in Uzhhorod and demanded that Capitular Vicar Muranyi surrender the buildings to the Russian Orthodox Church. When Muranyi refused to do so he was arrested; after fifty-seven hours of “persuasion” at police headquarters, he signed a document transferring the cathedral and the eparchial administration building to the Orthodox.<sup>38</sup> “For this reason,” he was forced to write, “the further functioning of the Greek Catholic eparchial administration has ceased, and my activity as capitular vicar has ended. The chapter has also ended its existence.”<sup>39</sup> On February 22 Makarii took possession of the Uzhhorod cathedral. Fr. Muranyi endured 117 seemingly endless nightly torture sessions at the MGB prison, but still refused to join the Russian Orthodox Church. Finally, still unbroken, he was sentenced on June 26 to the maximum term of incarceration, twenty-five years.<sup>40</sup>

After they obtained Fr. Muranyi’s signature on February 19, the authorities

37. [Pekar], “Smert' vладыky movchaznoï Tserkvy.” See also n. 9 above. Khira was first taken to the MVD prison in L'viv and then to Kyiv, where he was tried for “betrayal of the fatherland.” He served his sentence in coal-mining labour camps near Irkutsk and in Kemerovo and Omsk oblasts in Siberia, and then in a camp near Karaganda, Kazakhstan. Khira was amnestied in September 1956 and returned to his native village in Transcarpathia, where he secretly resumed his archpastoral activities. Consequently he was rearrested and sentenced in January 1957 to five years in a forced-labour camp near Karaganda. After his release he was not allowed to return to Transcarpathia, and he settled in Karaganda. There he ministered to other Greek Catholic exiles and ordained a number of clandestine priests and consecrated at least one bishop (Iosafat Fedoryk, OSBM) before he died on May 26, 1983. See [Fr.] Athanasius Pekar, OSBM, *“You Shall Be Witness unto Me”*: Contribution to the Martyrology of the Byzantine Catholic Church in Subcarpathian Ruthenia (Pittsburgh, 1985), 41–7.

38. Pekar, “Liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church.”

39. Cited in M. M. Boldyzhar, *Uniatstvo: Pravda istorii ta vyhadky fal'syfikatoriv* (L'viv, 1988), 102.

40. Pekar, *Ispovidnyky*, 220.

stepped up the closing of the remaining Greek Catholic churches, expelling and subsequently arresting those parish priests who would not accept Orthodoxy. The “reunion” campaign in Transcarpathia culminated on August 28, 1949, at the Liturgy celebrating Assumption at St. Nicholas’s Monastery’s Church on Chernecha Mountain. There Fr. Kondratovych, the first of the Transcarpathian “converts,” read out the repudiation of the church union with Rome: “[As of] today in Carpatho-Ukraine the church union of the [Trans]carpathian clergy with Rome is terminated. The union was an anti-national act and historical proof of foreign violence upon the will and conscience of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian-Carpathian people. Now and forever we are Orthodox children of our holy mother, the Russian Orthodox Church.”<sup>41</sup>

Thus, in contrast to Galicia, the authorities dispensed in Transcarpathia with a staged “sobor,” most likely because of the magnitude of resistance they encountered among the local Greek Catholic clergy.

According to a detailed report on the fate of the Greek Catholic clergy in Mukachiv eparchy compiled in 1991 by its current ordinary, Bishop Ivan Semedii, and by Fr. Iurii Sabov, out of 315 priests who remained in the eparchy, 140 “converted” to Orthodoxy under duress. Eventually more than half of the “converts” repented and returned to the Greek Catholic Church. One hundred and seventy-five remained faithful to their church, and most of them were sentenced to twenty-five years’ incarceration under articles 54.4 and 54.10.2 of the criminal code.<sup>42</sup> Ninety-three priests perished in the Soviet prisons and forced-labour camps, and nineteen remained in exile.<sup>43</sup> Some priests managed to elude the police and continued to serve the faithful secretly. Among them was the young secret bishop Petro Oros,<sup>44</sup> who eluded arrest until 1953; he was executed on his way to prison at the age of thirty-six by a militiaman.<sup>45</sup> Several other clandestine priests were killed by the police during the years after the suppression of Mukachiv eparchy.<sup>46</sup> None of the Basilians

41. Boysak, *The Fate of the Holy Union*, 217–18.

42. See Ministerstvo iustitsii Ukrainskoi SSR, *Ugolovnyi kodeks Ukrainskoi SSR* (Moscow, 1954), 17–19. Cf. chap. 5, n. 57 above.

43. “Spysok represovanykh u 1944–52 rr. hreko-katolyts'kykh sviashchenykyv Mukachivs'koï ieparkhii, skladyeni iepyskopom Ivanom Semediiem ta sviashchenykom Iuriiem Sabovym,” in Lial'ka et al., *Litopys neskorenoi Ukraïny*, 1: doc. 241. pp. 337–9.

44. Ibid., 338.

45. Pekar, “*You Shall Be Witness unto Me*,” 63–84, 87–97.

46. “Spysok represovanykh,” 338–9.

in Transcarpathia defected to the Orthodox Church; eight of them were sentenced to twenty-five years in forced-labour camps.<sup>47</sup> Beginning in 1955, sixty-eight priests were amnestied and returned to Transcarpathia from the prisons, camps, and exile. The bolder ones among them resurrected a “catacomb” Greek Catholic Church under Fr. Muranyi. They were guided from afar, from Karaganda, by the exiled Bishop Khira.<sup>48</sup>

47. *Narys istorii Vasyl'ians'koho chynu*, 614–15.

48. “Spysok represovanykh,” 338–9; Pekar, *Ispovidnyky*, 215–22.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### *Epilogue*

On September 24, 1949, CAROC Chairman Karpov wrote a secret letter to Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov, Voroshilov, and Suslov:<sup>1</sup>

The council [CAROC] reports that the government's instruction on the liquidation of the church union, i.e., of the Greek Catholic Church, has been carried out. The Uniate Church that existed in the five oblasts of the U[krainian] SSR (L'viv, Drohobych, Stanislav, Ternopil', and Transcarpathia) and was subordinated to the Roman pope was liquidated by August of this year through its reunion with the Russian Orthodox Church.

From 1946 to August 1949, 3,001 Uniate parish churches were reunited [along with] 1,242 priests, 463 deacons, and 1,018 precentors....<sup>2</sup>

During the Soviet period, the Uniate church in the above oblasts became for the Vatican a base for subversive, anti-Soviet activity in the USSR as well as for the nationalist-bandit underground, and a known obstacle to socialist construction.

The [matter] of the liquidation of the [church] union was given great attention by the Council of Ministers of the U[krainian] SSR, the CP(B)U CC, and personally by comrade N. S. Khrushchev. Major and essential measures were carried out by the organs of the MGB of the USSR.

Part of the Uniate clergy evaded the reunion but abandoned [their] pastoral activities, having found employment in secular institutions or taken

1. Khrushchev's copy of this letter is preserved together with Karpov's covering letter (October 8, 1949) in the TsDAHOU, *fond 1, opys 23, sprava 5667*, fols. 321–4.

2. There is at least one serious discrepancy between Karpov's figures and those found in other sources. Karpov lists 394 "reunited" deacons in Drohobych oblast alone (*ibid.*, fol. 322), whereas in June 1945 there were 368 deacons in all of Galicia according to CARC Plenipotentiary Vil'khovyi. See chapter 4, 108. Karpov mentions only eight "reunited" deacons in Transcarpathia oblast, which was not included in Vil'khovyi's total. Another much deflated figure in Karpov's report is the total number of "non-reunited" Greek Catholic parish churches—sixteen—in the four oblasts.

up agricultural [work]<sup>3</sup>.... Some priests in this group perform [religious] rites illegally in believers' homes and [carry on] agitation against the Orthodox Church and the reunited clergy.

Moreover, in some parishes nationalist-minded priests, despite the fact that they had reunited and stopped [saying] liturgical prayers for the Roman pope, nevertheless still do not mention [instead] the patriarch of Moscow and all Rus'.

In the five oblasts mentioned above, there are twelve Greek Catholic monasteries with 306 monastics who have stubbornly refused the reunion and continue their activities.

The council considers that, given the absence in the USSR of the episcopate and parish churches of the Greek Catholic Church, there are no justifications for the existence of [these] monasteries, and, also taking into account that these monasteries are bases for illegal ecclesiastical activities of the non-reunited clergy and that they contain reactionary elements that hide behind the Uniate Church, the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults attached to the Council of Ministers of the USSR should prepare measures for the liquidation of these monasteries.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, by August 1949 the Soviet authorities had suppressed the Greek Catholic Church in the USSR. Less than a year later they had closed all the remaining Greek Catholic monasteries and liquidated the only remaining Greek Catholic eparchy in the Soviet bloc—Prešov eparchy, which had served the Ruthenian-Ukrainian population of Czechoslovakia. The atheist Stalin regime had not only fulfilled Orthodox Moscow's old dream by destroying Catholic Rome's bridgehead in Eastern Europe. It had also pushed the East-

3. Karpov states there were eighty-eight pastors in this category. Compared with Vil'khovyi's June 1945 total of 1,715 parish priests in Galicia and the 320 pastors in Transcarpathia reported by the CAROC deputy plenipotentiary for Ukraine, Katunin, in May 1946 (see chapter 7, 212), which together add up to 2,035 Greek Catholic priests, Karpov's figure of eighty-eight "non-reunited" pastors leaves 385 parish priests unaccounted for. Later, in 1956, Karpov reported to Khrushchev that 344 Greek Catholic priests, including bishops (but not monastics), were "repressed" (i.e., arrested and sentenced) during the years 1945–50. TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 24, *sprava* 6243, fol. 204. This definition of repression may largely explain the discrepancy in Karpov's figures, given that some of the arrested bishops and priests died in Soviet prisons before they could be tried, and that some of the "retired" recalcitrant pastors had gone into hiding or managed to emigrate to Poland.

4. TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 5667, fols. 322–4.

West ecclesiastical divide hundreds of miles to the west, to the postwar boundaries of the Soviet bloc.<sup>5</sup>

### The Vatican's Reaction

Pope Pius XII responded to the Soviet persecution. In his encyclical "Orientales Omnes" of December 23, 1945, he charged that it represented a violation of the wartime Allies' commitments to respect religious freedom:

We have learned with great grief that in those [Ukrainian] territories that have recently come under the sway of [Soviet] Russia, our dear brethren and sons of the Ukrainian people are in dire straits because of their fidelity to the Apostolic See; every means is employed to take them away from the bosom of their mother, the church, and to induce them, against their will and against their known religious duty, to enter the communion of the dissidents. Thus it has been reported that the clergy of the Ukrainian [Greek Catholic] rite have complained in a letter to the civil government that ... their church has been placed in an extremely difficult position; that all of its bishops and many of its priests have been arrested; and, at the same time, that anyone should take up government of the same has been prohibited.<sup>6</sup>

Recognizing that the "reunion" with Russian Orthodoxy had occurred under duress, the pope did not excommunicate the leaders of the Initiative Group or any of the other "converts" to Orthodoxy. When the Vatican finally issued its

5. The only exceptions were Magyarized Hajdúdorog eparchy in Hungary and Križevci eparchy in Yugoslavia, which united the older "Rusin" or "Rusnak" population in Vojvodina and the more recent Ukrainian settlers in Bosnia, whose persecution by Tito's regime ended with Yugoslavia's break with the Cominform in 1948. After the improvement in Soviet-Yugoslav relations following Stalin's death, individual Greek Catholic nuns from Križevci eparchy were able to visit Ukraine and served as important contacts between the Ukrainian church leadership in Rome and the clandestine church in Ukraine. On the suppression of Prešov eparchy in 1950, see *The Tragedy of the Greek Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia* (New York, 1971); Sevastiiian S. Sabol', OSBM, *Holhota Hreko-Katolys'koi Tserkvy v Chekhoslovachchyni* (Toronto and Rome, 1978); Pekar, *Ispovidnyky*, 235–99; "Koniec Únie v Československu," *Svetlo Pravoslavia*, 1950, no. 1–2, 18–47; and A. Vedernikov, "Zrušenie Únie v Československu," *Svetlo Pravoslavia*, 1951, no. 3, 42–7.

6. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 38, no. 11 (January 23–4, 1946), 33–63.

*Decretum: Responsa ad dubia de communismo* on July 13, 1949, it had a much broader and more political application. The decree excommunicated any Catholic “who knowingly and freely defends or spreads the materialist and anti-Christian doctrine of Communism.”<sup>7</sup>

In his encyclical “*Orientalis Ecclesias*” of December 15, 1952, Pius XII spoke again of the martyrdom of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine:

In a special way, we would recall the memory of those bishops of the Oriental Rite, who were among the first in the defense of their religion to endure hardship, affliction, and outrage; who, transported to Kiev, were there tried and condemned to various punishments.... Some of these have already met a glorious death, and so, as one may hope, from the abode of heavenly blessedness which they enjoy, lovingly look down upon their sons and their companions in their unarmed struggle, and implore for them the all-powerful protection of God.<sup>8</sup>

It was not until the thaw in Vatican-Soviet relations of the early 1960s that the new pope, John XXIII, could progress from merely expressing moral support for the persecuted Ukrainian Catholics to practical steps in their favour.

In the meantime, the Vatican—through its Congregation for the Eastern Churches under Eugène Cardinal Tisserant, who had been particularly sympathetic towards the persecuted church—strengthened the eparchies of the Ukrainian Catholic Church<sup>9</sup> in the West, which had been replenished by over 130,000 postwar Greek Catholic refugees, including over two hundred priests.<sup>10</sup> Thirteen apostolic exarchates were created (most of them later became eparchies) in North and South America, Western Europe, and Australia and eventually the archeparchies of Winnipeg and Philadelphia were founded for Ukrainian Catholics in Canada and the United States respectively, along with new theological and minor seminaries.<sup>11</sup> The underlying purpose

7. Dunn, *The Catholic Church*, 171. Cf. Stehle, *Eastern Politics*, 271–2.

8. Cited in full in *First Victims of Communism*, 73–83.

9. The designation “Ukrainian Catholic” was adopted by the diasporic church after World War II to avoid confusion about its ethnic identity.

10. See Alexander Baran, “The Ukrainian Catholic Church,” in Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Yury Boshyk, and Roman Senkus, eds., *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (Edmonton, 1992), 149.

11. [Archbishop Ivan Buchko], *Ukrainci u 50-richchia isnuvannia i diial'nosti Sviashchennoi kongregatsii dlia skhidnykh Tserkov* (Munich and Rome, 1970), 24–35.

was to preserve the Ukrainian Catholic Church abroad and to prepare it for the time when it would be possible to resurrect the church in Ukraine.

For the faithful of the clandestine church in Galicia and Transcarpathia, Radio Vatican broadcast Ukrainian-language liturgies, sermons, and church-history lectures.

### **The Response of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches**

Outside the Soviet bloc, Catholic Churches around the world expressed their outrage at the suppression of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the persecution of the Roman Catholic Churches in Lithuania, Latvia, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchs, lay organizations, and mass media in the West urged their respective governments and international organizations to intervene and pressure the Kremlin to moderate the Soviet regime's policies toward the Greek Catholics in Ukraine. But with the onset of the cold war in the late 1940s—when Western governments became more attentive to such requests—the influence of the USSR's wartime allies rapidly dissipated.

The Eastern patriarchates and most Orthodox Churches either publicly welcomed the suppression of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania, or remained silent. One Ukrainian Orthodox leader in the United States, Fr. Ivan Hundiak, whose following was comprised mainly of former Greek Catholics, even confidentially approached Fr. Kostel'nyk in 1946 with a proposal to extend the "reunion" action to North America. Hundiak suggested that a pastoral be sent to the Ukrainian Catholics in the United States and Canada by "the church of Ukraine" (i.e., Kyiv metropoly or the Orthodox bishops from Galicia) assuring them, "for the good of the cause," that "in union with the Moscow patriarchate, Kyiv metropoly enjoys the same privileges it had when it was in union with the patriarchate of Constantinople."<sup>13</sup>

12. Within the Soviet bloc, one national Catholic Church—in Lithuania, whose bishops and many clerics shared the fate of their Ukrainian counterparts—consistently supported the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. After Khrushchev's amnesties it offered havens to several active Ukrainian priests, including Frs. Ivan Kotiv, Volodymyr Figol', and Volodymyr Prokopiv.

13. Hundiak's memorandum was apparently delivered to Kostel'nyk by a prominent Ukrainian-Canadian Communist, Peter Prokopchak (Prokop), who met with Kostel'nyk when he visited L'viv in 1946. In Kyiv Prokopchak was received by Khrushchev and

The only Orthodox Church that protested against the destruction of the Greek Catholic Church was the émigré Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Its sobor in Esslingen, Germany, in March 1946 condemned Moscow's action.<sup>14</sup>

### **Why the Greek Catholic Church Was Suppressed: Continuities and Contrasts with the Past**

Chapter Two described how the Kremlin was preparing for the “conversion” of the Greek Catholics to Orthodoxy as early as the first Soviet occupation of Galicia (1939–41). From the very beginning of the Soviet reoccupation of Galicia and occupation of Transcarpathia in 1944, the state security and Party apparats secretly assembled the documents and confessions needed to “prove” that the Greek Catholic Church had “collaborated” with the Nazi occupation authorities and their “allies,” the OUN and UPA, which had recruited informers and placed agents within the church. But, until at least February 1945, the new authorities remained conspicuously benevolent toward the Greek Catholic Church and thus fed the illusions that a new era in church-state relations in Western Ukraine had begun.

What, then, was the reason for the reversal in Stalin's policy in March

Khodchenko. See Khodchenko's report to Karpov of October 6, 1946, and the memoranda passed on to Kostel'nyk by Prokopchak and forwarded to Khodchenko by L'viv oblast's CAROC plenipotentiary, TsDAHOU, *fond* 4648, *opys* 1, *sprava* 19, fols. 21, 27–31, 51–60. Fr. Hundiak (1895–1984) was ordained by Bishop Budka in Canada in 1919 and served in several parishes. In 1930 he joined the Orthodox Church. In 1970 he was consecrated bishop in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A., and in 1973 he was elevated to archbishop.

14. Walter Dushnyck, *Martyrdom in Ukraine: Russia Denies Religious Freedom* (New York, 1947), 40. The Esslingen Sobor adopted the following statement:

“The Sobor of Bishops of the Autocephalous Ukrainian [Orthodox] Church has learned with sorrow that in the Western Ukraine violent pressure has been brought to bear on the Ukrainian Catholics to force them to submit to Muscovite orthodoxy.... the Sobor ... condemns this anti-Christian action intended for political ends and for the denationalization of the Ukrainians. In this hour when the Ukrainian Catholics are experiencing bitter trials and persecution, the Holy Sobor expresses to them its fraternal, sincere and cordial sympathy, and turns toward the Omnipotent Lord in fervent prayer that He may lessen their sufferings and free them from this violence.” Cited from “Orthodox Ukrainians Condemn Persecution of Ukrainian Catholics,” *America*, June 15, 1946.



1945? Was it the pope's Christmas message in December 1944, which provoked an anti-Vatican barrage from the Kremlin and the Moscow patriarchate that accused the pope of calling for reconciliation between Germany and the anti-Hitler coalition?<sup>15</sup> Or was it the inability of the Greek Catholic Church leaders to persuade the UPA-OUN resistance to accept the Soviet terms of surrender? While the pope's Christmas message could have fuelled Stalin's paranoia about Western intentions to prevent a Soviet victory over the Third Reich, after the Yalta Conference in February 1945 such fears could not be sustained. Nor was Soviet state security truly convinced that Metropolitan Slipyi and Bishop Khomyshyn could have effectively "ordered" the OUN and UPA to lay down their arms (though such an order would probably have weakened popular support for both the church and the resistance movement).

From all the evidence I have assembled, it is clear that there is *nothing* the Greek Catholic Church could have done to avert its suppression by the Kremlin.

As I pointed out in the first paragraph of this book, neither Marxist atheism nor Leninism alone were motives for the forcible incorporation of the church into the Moscow patriarchate. Instead, tsarist policies towards the Greek Catholic Church provide a fuller explanation for Stalin's actions. There are striking parallels between the tsarist treatment of the church in the Ukrainian and Belarusian territories annexed by Russia after Poland's partitions in the 1770s and Soviet policies toward the church in Galicia and Transcarpathia after those regions were annexed at the end of World War II. The common denominator was the desire to remove the religious and ecclesiastical barriers to Russification of the Ukrainians by forcing the Greek Catholics into the state-dominated Russian Orthodox Church. In this sense, any examination of the Kremlin's policy vis-à-vis the Greek Catholic Church can also be considered a case study of Soviet (Russian) nationalities policy. That this is so is illustrated by the fact that one state-security official—Serhii Karin (Danylenko)—was assigned the tasks of bringing about both the "self-liquidation" of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the years 1927–30 and the "reunion" of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Moscow patriarchate at the L'viv "Sobor" of 1946 on the one hand, and combating the pro-UNR insurgents in the 1920s and the UPA-OUN resistance in the 1940s on the other.

The long-range objective of the Soviet strategy in Galicia was to destroy the symbiotic relationship between the Greek Catholicism and intense national

15. See Stehle, *Eastern Politics*, 239–44.

consciousness of the indigenous Ukrainian population. This relationship had made the Soviet measures much less effective than the tsarist suppression of the Greek Catholic Church in the nineteenth century or the liquidation of the interwar Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and its wartime successor. In contrast to the Greek Catholic Church, neither of the autocephalous churches survived its forcible liquidation and left behind a “catacomb church” in Ukraine or in the Gulag and places of exile. In contrast to the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Eastern Europe, not one imprisoned Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop succumbed to Soviet terror and betrayed (not even for appearances’ sake) his loyalty to the Catholic Church. A recently declassified 1956 Soviet document states that 344 members of the Greek Catholic clergy, from Metropolitan Slipyi and other bishops down to rank-and-file parish priests, were “repressed” (i.e., sentenced to long terms in prison or the Gulag) in the course of the “reunion” campaigns in Galicia and Transcarpathia of 1945–50.<sup>16</sup> Many more priests were arrested and broke down when faced with a choice between “conversion” to Orthodoxy (under duress, hence meaningless in religious terms) and a guaranteed sentence for their past “counter-revolutionary” activities.<sup>17</sup> The 1956 figure does not include the many monks (except possibly hieromonks), nuns, deacons, theology students, and precentors who were arrested and either imprisoned or sent into lengthy exile in Soviet Asia along with about 100,000 UPA and OUN fighters and at least twice as many of their family members.<sup>18</sup>

The “neo-Orthodox” clergy movement was not totally exempt from Soviet terror (for example, Kostel'nyk's murder in 1948) or arrests. Those who were repressed were accused of sympathizing with the Ukrainian resistance or

16. See Karpov's classified report to the CPU CC of August 6, 1956, “Sekretno. Sovet po delam russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR, 6 avgusta 1956 g., [to] TsK KP Ukrainy, ‘Informatsiia: O tserkovnoi obstanovke v zapadnykh oblastiakh USSR.’ Karpov,” TsDAHOU, *fond 1, opys 24, sprava 6243*, fol. 204. The total number of clergy includes bishops and priests from Galicia and from Mukachiv eparchy in Transcarpathia, but it is not clear whether it includes hieromonks.

17. A figure of “over one thousand” arrested priests is cited in Metropolitan Slipyi's letter to Andrii Mel'nyk of April 19, 1963, in Cardinal Slipyi's archive. The author received a copy from Msgr. (now Bishop) Ivan Khoma of Rome.

18. According to a Soviet source, 203,662 relatives of UPA soldiers were deported in 1944 and 1945 alone. See Davydenko, “Ne stanut' ahntsiamy vovky,” *Radians'ka Ukraina*, December 8, 1988.

maintaining secret ties with the banned Greek Catholic Church.<sup>19</sup> The magnitude of Soviet repression in Western Ukraine (including Transcarpathia) in the years 1944–50 went far beyond the tsarist anti-Uniate campaigns of the 1830s and 1870s. One could say that Stalin's regime perpetrated an "ethnic ecclesicide" in order to wipe out all vestiges of Ukrainian independence in the region.

In contrast to the tsarist "reunion" campaigns, the Russian Orthodox Church played only a marginal role in the postwar assault on Greek Catholicism. The initiative came from Stalin himself in early 1945, and the implementation of the so-called Karpov Instruction he signed in mid-March of that year was entrusted to the state security organs. The NKGB and MGB acted conspiratorially through the Initiative Group, and they used the Russian Orthodox Church as a façade and subsequent scapegoat for the destruction of a sister church.<sup>20</sup>

This brings us to the second feature of Leninist-Stalinist religious policy—its totalitarian intolerance of all autonomous institutions and groups outside police-state control. By forcing the Greek Catholic clergy to sever their ties with an independent, international religious centre and by imposing their "reunion" with a Russian Orthodox Church that was controlled by the state-security organs, the Kremlin not only banned the only surviving autonomous national institution in Ukraine; it also solidified its control over the former Greek Catholic priests and, through them, sought to monitor the

19. For example, Fr. Denys Lukashevych was arrested after Iaroslav Halan's assassination in 1949; Lukashevych's son was one of the defendants accused of murdering Halan "on orders from the Vatican" (see chapter 6, p. 202). Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by*, 316. Another "neo-Orthodox" priest who was arrested (in 1950) was Fr. Ievhen Iuryk of L'viv—the Initiative Group's candidate for Makarii's auxiliary bishop. He was sentenced for undisclosed "crimes" and served several years in a concentration camp. Iuryk corresponded with Metropolitan Slipyi while the latter was confined in an elderly invalids' home in Siberia from 1953 on.

20. When the Vatican interlocutors asked during the Rome-Moscow ecumenical dialogue at the end of the Gorbachev era why the Moscow patriarchate participated in destroying the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Russian Orthodox Church representatives replied "at the end of the war, Stalin abolished the Ukrainian Catholic Church because of his political ends after victory [over Nazi Germany]. At that time, the Russian Church could say nothing; Stalin certainly did not act for the good of the Church. The Church could only note that the historical events, once with opposite ends, now pushed towards the reconstitution of the territorial, cultural and religious unity of the Slavs of the East." "Relations with the Eastern Churches," in the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity (PCPCU), *Information Service* (Rome), 1991, no. 3–4 (78), 147.

now illegal activities of the “recalcitrant” clergy, to police the lay believers, and eventually reduce all manifestations of popular religiosity within the captive Russian Orthodox Church.

### The Rewriting of History

On October 10, 1949, Khrushchev sent a report to Stalin “On the Conclusion of the Reunion of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church with the Orthodox [Church] in the Western and Transcarpathia Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR.” The report was tailored so as to present the “reunion” as an outcome of a “mass movement” among the rank-and-file clergy and faithful against the “hostile attitude” of the Greek Catholic Church’s “agents of the Vatican” “to the undertakings of the Soviet government and Party” and against their active support for the “nationalist bands.” Khrushchev’s report minimized the resistance to the “reunion” and ignored the principal role the state-security organs played in it and the widespread blackmail, coercion, and terror they used to force the Greek Catholic clergy to join the Russian Orthodox Church.<sup>21</sup>

Khrushchev’s report to Stalin illustrates the Soviet rewriting of the history of the Greek Catholic Church that began with Halan’s *Z khrestom chy nozhem* and thereafter developed into a falsification industry that employed a slew of “historians” and other “specialists” on the so-called OUN-Uniates.<sup>22</sup> The most prominent falsifiers were Serhii Danylenko (Karin)<sup>23</sup> and a fellow KGB officer, Klym Dmytruk.<sup>24</sup>

21. “Moskva, TsK VKP(b), tovarishchu Stalinu, I.V. O zavershenii vossoedineniia greko-katolicheskoi (uniatskoi) tserkvi s pravoslavnoi v zapadnykh i Zakarpatskoi oblastiakh Ukrainskoi SSR. N. Khrushchev, 10 oktiabria 1949 g.,” TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 24, *sprava* 5667, fols. 274–8.

22. For the most complete Soviet bibliography of anti-Greek Catholic publications before 1976, see L. I. Il'nyts'ka, comp., *Antinarodnaia deiatel'nost' uniatskoi tserkvi na Ukraine: Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'* (L'viv, 1976), 116 p. I am grateful to Dr. Andrii Krawchuk for supplying me with a copy.

23. See his *Dorohoiu han'by i zrady (istorychna khronika)*, 2d ed. (Kyïv, 1972) and its Russian edition, *Uniaty* (Moscow, 1972).

24. According to a Ukrainian samizdat source, “Deshcho pro svobodu sovisti,” *Ukrains'kyi visnyk*, nos. 1–2 (January–May 1970) (Paris and Baltimore, 1971), 56–63, Dmytruk’s real name was Hal's'kyi. See his *Svastyka na sutanakh* (Kyïv, 1973), *Pid shtandartamy reaktsii i fashyzmu* (1976), and *S krestom i trezubtsem* (Moscow, 1979).

The most extreme example of such falsification is a 1988 article by S. Ie. Kyrychenko.<sup>25</sup> In it the author ascribes the Union of Brest to a Polish-Vatican plot to create “a serious obstacle to the reunion of Ukraine with Russia” and to “bring about religious hostility in relations between the Ukrainians and Russians.” Subsequently, he writes, “depending on which foreign forces’ interests the union was serving,” the history of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church can be divided into four periods: 1596–1772, when it served Polish interests; 1772–1918, when it served Habsburg interests; 1918–1939, when it “served the dominant classes of bourgeois-landlord Poland”; and 1939–46, when, after “sabotaging, in co-operation with the nationalist underground ... the socialist transformations in Western Ukraine in 1939–41, the leaders of the Uniate Church and [its] numerous servants of cult chose the path of national treason and servility to the German-fascist occupiers and OUNite bandits.”

All of this ultimately discredited the Uniate church in the eyes of believers.... This could not but influence a significant part of the Uniate clergy that was dissatisfied with the activities of the leaders of the church. *Therefore, together with many believers, they raised before the Soviet authorities the question of calling the Uniate bishops headed by Metropolitan I. Slipyi to [criminal] responsibility.*<sup>26</sup> Metropolitan I. Slipyi, Bishops M. Charnets'kyi, N. Budka, H. Khomyshyn, [and] N. [sic] Liatyshevs'kyi were arrested.... *The hierarchs of the Uniate Church and a group of [its] servants of cult, monks, and nuns was brought before the courts and sentenced not for their religious convictions, but for criminal activities against the people.*<sup>27</sup>

In the spring of 1945 ... Protopresbyter Dr. Havryil Kostel'nyk declared that he would lead the struggle against the anti-social course of the new metropolitan (Slipyi). At that time *popular indignation over the Uniate collaboration with fascism assumed clearly defined organizational forms: an Initiative Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the*

25. S. Ie. Kyrychenko, “Uniats'ka tserkva: Shliakh do L'vivs'koho soboru,” in I. M. Khvorostianyi et al., eds., *Zakhidna Ukraina: Pershe desiatyrichchia pislia viiny*, preprint no. 3 (Kyiv, 1988), 3–13.

26. Meaning that arrests of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic episcopate were “demanded” by the clergy and believers of their own church(!). Emphasis added to point out the principal distortions of known facts.

27. This was a standard Soviet excuse for repressing religious leaders and activists from the very beginning of the Bolshevik regime.

*Russian Orthodox Church was formed.*<sup>28</sup> ... By the beginning of 1946, 997 Uniate priests (87 percent) had submitted written declarations *demanding the breaking of the union with the Vatican in protest against its policy of support for fascism.*<sup>29</sup> This demand was fulfilled at the L'viv Sobor of the Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church ... [which was attended] by 216 priests and 19 laymen *who were elected at the meetings of the faithful and clergy of all three eparchies.*<sup>30</sup> ... *Among the Uniates participating in the sobor were the bishop of Przemyśl [sic], Mykhail Mel'nyk, [and] the bishop of Stanislav, Antonii Pel'vets'kyi.*<sup>31</sup> ... *the L'viv Sobor took place in public,*<sup>32</sup> and it was covered by the press and newsreels.... In his report at the sobor, Bishop A. Pel'vets'kyi noted that while the Initiative Group was doing its work, it was joined by 986 of 1,267 priests practising at the time. *The others decided to await the sobor's decision.*<sup>33</sup> ...

Even after the L'viv Sobor, part of the Uniate clergy *carried on activities that were hostile to the Soviet state. Together with the OUNites, they initiated terror against the sobor's participants. In L'viv oblast OUNites killed over 30 priests—supporters of breaking the union with the Vatican. The OUNite terror claimed as victims in particular H. Kostel'nyk [and] Bishops M. Mel'nyk and A. Pel'vets'kyi, the initiators of the liquidation of the [church] union.*<sup>34</sup> ...

The decision of the 1946 L'viv Sobor about the *self-liquidation* of the union, *its approval by the masses of believers at large, [and] their rapid conversion to Orthodoxy attested to the fact that Uniatism did not enjoy the support of the popular masses [and] was inimical to the Ukrainian people.*<sup>35</sup>

28. This is clearly a fabrication, given Karpov's March 1945 "instruction."
29. The declarations were submitted under duress and expressed only adherence to the Initiative Group.
30. No such elections were held before the "sobor."
31. Pel'vets'kyi and Mel'nyk figure here as *Greek Catholic* bishops!
32. This is true only for the "sobor's" *third* day, after the "reunion" was proclaimed.
33. Pel'vets'kyi's report at the "sobor" labelled the others "opponents of the reunion."
34. Kyrychenko (like some other anti-Greek Catholic defamers) cites as his source the Kyiv Orthodox journal *Pravoslavnyi visnyk*, 1973, no. 11, 29. I checked this reference (a commemorative article about Kostel'nyk) and found no mention there of the alleged murder of Pel'vets'kyi, Mel'nyk, or thirty "reunited priests"!
35. The opposite is true. The "reunion" action targeted the parish clergy almost exclusively, and not the "popular masses."



The Russian Orthodox Church, too, engaged in the rewriting of the history of the “reunion of the Uniates” in its collection of so-called documents, *L'vivs'kyi tserkovnyi sobor, 1946–1981* (1984)<sup>36</sup> and in the numerous articles, statements, and interviews by the Moscow patriarchate’s spokesmen, in particular Metropolitan Filaret (Denysenko) of Kyïv (1966–92). An even more striking example of such falsification appeared in 1953 in the official organ of the Moscow patriarchate, *Zhurnal Moskovskoi patriarkhii*. Its author alleged that the Greek Catholic episcopate, together with the most bitter enemies of the Ukrainian people, went into hiding in 1944 in the occupation zones of the “American-British imperialists” in Germany.<sup>37</sup> The Soviet anti-Greek Catholic (as well as anti-nationalist and anti-émigré) smear campaign, which lasted for nearly half a century, was directed and coordinated by the centres of Party propaganda and MGB-KGB disinformation and “ideological counterpropaganda.”<sup>38</sup> It is an irony of history that their massive disinformation and falsification efforts can now be unmasked using hitherto secret documents from the Soviet Party and state archives.

### Another Myth about the “Reunion”

Another myth about the “reunion” was propagated by a L'viv priest, Protopresbyter Volodymyr Iarema, who, in August 1989, became the first Russian Orthodox Church pastor in Galicia to lead his parish into the reconstituted Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC).<sup>39</sup> Unlike its interwar and wartime predecessors, the new UAOC is a predominantly Galician-based church that has served as a barrier to the full restoration of the Greek Catholic Church on its historical territory. To justify the Galician roots of the new UAOC, Fr. Iarema rewrote the history of the 1945–6 “reunion” campaign.<sup>40</sup>

36. The book, which was published in several languages, omits both the Initiative Group’s appeal to the government and Khodchenko’s reply, obviously to conceal the anti-constitutional intervention of the Soviet authorities.

37. I. Shabatin, “‘Pravoslavnyi visnyk’ za 1952 god,” *ZhMP*, 1953, no. 10, 55.

38. In the 1970s a special KGB section was created to combat domestic (samizdat) and foreign writings and broadcasts engaged in “ideological subversion” of the Soviet regime.

39. In the autumn of 1993 Fr. Iarema was hastily elevated to Patriarch Dmytrii of Kyïv and Halych and the late Patriarch Mstyslav’s (Skrypnyk) successor.

40. See Volodymyr Iarema, “Pravda pro sobor 1946 roku,” *Ukrains'ka dumka* (London), April 1, 1993.

After the Bolsheviks outlawed the Greek Catholic Church, Iarema wrote in 1993, "*the Rev. Dr. Kostel'nyk organized an initiative group that was preparing a voluntary conversion of the clergy to the Orthodox Church.*" To keep non-Galician clergy away from the "reunited" church in Galicia, Kostel'nyk allegedly travelled to Moscow and signed there "*an agreement with the Moscow patriarchate*" that "*the patriarchate will not interfere in church affairs in Galicia for at least twenty-five years and that there will be a theological seminary in L'viv.*" Kostel'nyk convened deanery meetings of the Greek Catholic clergy. "*Many priests agreed to create a Ukrainian Orthodox church, but many disagreed. All would have gone well, but the NKVD [sic] was impatient with the slow progress of the reunion campaign and started to apply terror, taking the matter almost entirely into its own hands.... As a result, the [L'viv] Sobor was organized by coercion according to a NKVD scenario, delegates were brought in by force, [and] the speakers first had to submit their speeches to censors.*" Archbishop Makarii "*was later accused of sympathizing with the [church] union and exiled as a metropolitan to Warsaw because 'he had become a Uniate.'*" Immediately after Kostel'nyk was assassinated "*by a hired killer,*" the NKVD seized from his safe the "*document by which the Moscow patriarchate undertook the obligation not to interfere for twenty-five years in the matters of renewing Orthodoxy in Galicia.*"<sup>41</sup>

Thus, Fr. Iarema has turned Kostel'nyk into a martyr who died for the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. But the author of this new myth was not aware of Karpov's March 1945 "instruction" to establish the Initiative Group and Orthodox pastoral theological courses in L'viv before Kostel'nyk was recruited by the NKGB. Nor did he know that the "reunion" campaign had been assigned to the state-security organs, which were ordered to keep their involvement in it secret; that Kostel'nyk did not attend the deanery meetings alone, but in the company of a high-ranking NKGB officer, Karpov's deputy Ivanov; that there is no record of truly voluntary conversions to Orthodoxy; and that given the NKGB's strict control over the Moscow patriarchate and the Initiative Group, no agreement of the kind he mentions could have been negotiated, let alone signed in Moscow. While it is true that Kostel'nyk advised Patriarch Aleksii not to hasten with the imposition of all but the minimal necessary changes in the Galician "neo-Orthodox" ritual, in his epistolary exchange with the patriarch (which was never carried on in secrecy from the NKGB) he also admitted that the number of real supporters of the "reunion" among the Galician clergy was extremely limited, and that

41. Ibid. Emphasis has been added to highlight the distortions of fact.

it was Makarii who shared with the NKGB his suspicions that Kostel'nyk's approach might conceal an autocephalist scenario.

While the documentary evidence from the hitherto secret archives does not sustain Fr. Iarema's version, there is some basis in fact for connecting Kostel'nyk's tactics with the rise of the new Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Galicia in 1989. Among the reasons for delaying the suppression of most of the Greek Catholic peculiarities of the "neo-Orthodox" church in Galicia, Kostel'nyk cited in his letter to Aleksii (see chapter four), the strongest arguments he presented were the refusal of the unconverted Greek Catholic believers<sup>42</sup> to accept changes in the rite, the liturgical language (i.e., the replacement of the Ukrainian pronunciation of Church Slavonic with the Russian), and the traditional singing of responses in church services by the entire congregation (*samoilka*), the absence of Orthodox prayer books in Ukrainian, the difference between the Greek Catholic and Orthodox church interiors, and, above all, the believers' insistence on keeping "their own" clergy and their rejection of the replacement of native priests by any non-Galicians unfamiliar with the local religious traditions. That the total material dependence of pastors on the generosity of their flocks was written into the Soviet "law on cults" gave Galician parishioners a powerful weapon for getting their way in these respects. The ever-present danger that believers could turn to the clandestine Greek Catholic clergy for their spiritual needs if they were forced to accept the Russian Orthodox ritual magnified the believers' potential power, especially after the underground Greek Catholic Church was reinforced by priests who returned to Galicia from the Gulag and exile as a result of Khrushchev's amnesties in the mid-1950s.<sup>43</sup>

The existence of a "Ukrainian" Orthodox Church for over more than forty years in postwar Galicia made it easier to draw a significant number of former Greek Catholics and their descendants into precisely *this* kind of Orthodoxy and (as Archbishop Makarii [Oksiiuk] once feared) facilitated the defection of numerous Orthodox parishes in Galicia to the UAOC (rather than to the revived Greek Catholic Church) in 1989 and 1990.

42. The authorities concentrated their "reunion" efforts on the parish clergy in the hope that the congregations would eventually follow their pastors.

43. The Russian Orthodox Church's chief argument against the closing of its churches in Galicia during the antireligious campaign of 1959–64 was that the ecclesiastical vacuum would be filled by the "anti-Soviet" Greek Catholic Church.

### The Problem of Greek Catholic “Martyrology”

The Greek Catholic believers’ resistance to Russification and forcibly imposed Orthodoxy might have, in part, prepared the ground for the new Galician-based UAOC. But it was the courage, self-sacrifice, and suffering of the “recalcitrant” bishops, monastics, and priests (and their families), as well as the believers’ loyalty to their incarcerated or exiled pastors and willingness to see their churches closed and, if deprived of the services of the underground clergy, to sing their liturgical responses in front of their padlocked shrines, that preserved the great moral authority and popular legitimacy of the Greek Catholic Church. The repressed clergy shared the fate of nearly half a million Western Ukrainian patriots who were forcibly removed from Galicia and dispersed throughout Stalin’s Gulag archipelago, where many of them perished. Thus, this church of martyrs and confessors of the faith, with a persecuted and deprived flock, survived the “catacombs” of Galicia and Transcarpathia until its institutional resurrection and legalization in 1989–90.

To my knowledge, the first attempt at assessing the extent to which the Greek Catholic clergy in Galicia succumbed to forcible conversion was made at the request of the Vatican by the Ukrainian Basilians in Rome. Their report was submitted on January 20, 1948, most likely to Cardinal Tisserant, prefect of the Congregation for Eastern Churches. It was fundamentally flawed because of its statistical base—the pre-1945 handbooks (*shematyzmy*) of L’viv archeparchy (1944) and Peremyshl’ (1939) and Stanyslaviv (1938) eparchies, which listed a total of 2,303 priests in the Galician church province. The report’s authors failed to take into account the clergy’s wartime losses; the division of the territory of Peremyshl’ eparchy between the USSR and Poland and the involuntary population transfers there, leaving 111 Greek Catholic priests in Poland; and the unknown number of priests (especially among the Ukrainians “patriated” to Soviet Ukraine from Poland) who, in the face of the forcible “reunion” with the Orthodox Church, retired from their priestly duties. Not unexpectedly, the “converts” reported in Russian Orthodox Church sources comprise only 48 percent of the total number of Greek Catholic clergy in 1939, leaving 52 percent who had supposedly remained faithful to the Holy See.<sup>44</sup> Among them were some 250 priests who had escaped to the

44. The two-page report-cum-letter is addressed to “Eminence” and is signed by “protoconsultor general” (apparently a Ukrainian Basilian official in the Congregation for the Eastern Churches). The author received a photocopy of this letter from the late Fr. Meletii Solovii, OSBM, who identified the report as one that had been drafted for Cardinal Tisserant.

Western Allies' zones of Germany and Austria.

Another, undocumented, calculation of the losses suffered by the church appeared in an otherwise useful book, *First Victims of Communism: White Book on the Religious Persecution in Ukraine* (Rome, 1953; also published in Italian and Ukrainian). The authors—again Ukrainian Basilians in Rome—stated there was a *prewar* total of 2,950 secular clergy, 520 (sic) monastic priests, and 1,090 nuns in L'viv, Stanyslaviv, Peremyshl', Mukachiv, and Prešov eparchies, the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region, and the Apostolic Visitature of Volhynia. They speculated that by 1953, 50 percent of the secular clergy had been imprisoned (a much inflated figure), 20 percent were in hiding or refugees (the only approximately true figure), and 30 percent had been forced to convert to Orthodoxy (too low a figure, even for Galicia alone).<sup>45</sup>

The dubious estimates were reproduced in a 1985 compendium. Its authors attempted to calculate, using incomplete and sometimes unreliable Western data, the total number of repressed Greek Catholic clergy in the years 1944–50. They came up with only 112 names for Galicia, including hierarchs and monastic priests (not counting thirteen priests said to have been murdered by the NKGB/MGB during or after their arrests).<sup>46</sup>

The Vatican, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the West, and individuals who aided the Ukrainian Catholics in Soviet exile have generally tended to magnify the number of priests who resisted the forcible conversion to Orthodoxy and to exaggerate the size of the “catacomb church.”

Most importantly, given the decades-long disruption of contacts between the church in Ukraine and in the West, the well-known capacity of Soviet propaganda for falsification and slander, and the secrecy surrounding the operations of the state-security organs in the USSR, it was impossible to calculate from abroad, with any degree of precision, the number of defectors (let alone their motives) or to assess the strength of the resistance to forcible Orthodoxization. Even if the actual size of the underground church was known to church leaders in the West, such information could not be made public during the forty-three years that the Greek Catholic Church was prohibited in the USSR.

I am prepared to accept as trustworthy CAROC Chairman Karpov's figure of 344 Greek Catholic clergymen (including bishops) who were sentenced during the years 1945–50, given the strictly classified character of his report

45. *The First Victims of Communism*, 64.

46. Zinkevych and Lonchyna, *Martyrolohiia*, 44–5.

to Khrushchev and the lack of any obvious need for him to falsify this information. While Karpov, in his 1956 correspondence, also cites the number of “returnees” to each eparchy, given the fact that some of the repressed churchmen were not allowed to return to Western Ukraine or were still serving additional terms of prison or exile, it is not yet possible to determine how many clerics perished before they were sentenced, while they were in transit to camps or prisons, or while serving their sentences. Whether Karpov’s figures included the monastic clergy (it certainly excluded monastic brothers, deacons, and theology students) is still unclear. Also unknown are the total number and categories of clergymen, monks, and nuns who were exiled to remote parts of the Soviet Union and how many of them died there or remained there after they were released.

With the legalization (if not full rehabilitation) of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia and Transcarpathia, it became possible to seek answers in Ukraine to questions pertaining to the 1945–50 period by interviewing surviving clergy or their family members, taking depositions from witnesses,<sup>47</sup> and consulting now accessible archival documents, including individual case files (*spravy*) in the former NKGB-MGB-MVD-KGB Archives.<sup>48</sup>

Now that they are able to do so, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and scholars should seek to find answers to several questions: (1) How many active secular and monastic priests were there in Galicia before the start of the “reunion” campaign (i.e., are the Soviet figures now available correct)? (2) How many of them succumbed to blackmail and terror and joined the Initiative Group (i.e., are the data mentioned by Pel’vets’kyi at the 1946 “sobor” true)? (3) How many priests refused to “convert” before the “sobor” took place, and how many of them were persuaded to do so by the time Archbishop Makarii published a “complete” list of converts in 1948 (i.e., how accurate was that list)? (4) How many priests were arrested and sentenced from 1945 through 1950 (i.e., is Karpov’s 1956 figure correct)? (5) How many of them perished in the camps, prisons, or in exile, and how many returned home after Khrushchev’s amnesties? (6) How many clergymen who were not repressed continued their priestly duties illegally, or retired, or

47. An oral history project is being conducted in Ukraine by Dr. Borys Gudziak, the director of the Institute of Church History in L’viv.

48. To date only the multivolume file of Metropolitan Slipyi in the former KGB archives has been studied, by Oleksa Myshanych of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. See his *Mytropolyt Iosyf Slipyi pered “sudom” KGB (Za arkhivnymi dzherelamy)* (Kyiv, 1993).



otherwise discontinued their priestly activities?

So far, only the smallest of the “old” eparchies—Mukachiv in Transcarpathia—has produced this type of calculation.<sup>49</sup> Neither the revived L'viv archeparchy nor Ivano-Frankivs'k eparchy have issued reliable data pertaining to these questions. Meanwhile the time for answering them is rapidly running out as increasingly more former clandestine clergy pass away.

Recently the Basilian Order produced a credible “martyrology” of its hieromonks and brothers in its Galician, Transcarpathian, and other East European provinces.<sup>50</sup> It confirmed already available documentary evidence, namely, that the monastic orders manifested the greatest resistance to Orthodoxy and had the fewest defectors. Such accounts for the Redemptorist and Studite orders and most female congregations have not yet been done.<sup>51</sup> The monastics' discipline and solidarity, which came from living, worshipping, and working together, and, initially, the relative lack of Soviet interest in them—save for the hegumens and mothers superior—must have contributed to the strength of the monastics' resistance to the “reunion.”

It is clear from the account by the present bishop of Mukachiv eparchy (where only 40.3 percent of the clergy succumbed to the forcible “conversion”)<sup>52</sup> that resistance to the Soviet attack on the Greek Catholic Church was stronger there than in the larger, Galician eparchies. This was so because an Orthodox-Catholic struggle occurred earlier in Transcarpathia and a number of parishes there seceded from the Catholic Church in the first two decades of the twentieth century; there was no “Easternizing” faction among the clergy there feeding anti-Vatican criticism; and perhaps a more skilful counter-strategy was pursued there by Bishop Teodor Romzha and his secret successor, Oleksander Khira, as well as the administrator of the eparchy, Fr. Mykola Muranyi. Because of the conservatism of Transcarpathia's population

49. Bishop Semedii's and Fr. Sabov's “Spysok represovanykh u 1944–1952 rr. hreko-katolyts'kykh sviashchenykyv Mukachivs'koï ieparkhii,” in Lial'ka et al., *Litopys neskorenoi Ukraïny*, 1: doc. 241. pp. 337–9.

50. *Narys istorii Vasyliians'koho chynu*, 606–17.

51. I have obtained from the General Curia of the Basilian Sisters a list of twenty of their “confessors of the faith” (including in Poland and Prešov eparchy), dated August 6, 1988. A shorter list supplied by the General Curia of the Sisters Servants in Rome—“Sestry, iaki byly na Sybiri (vyvezeni v 1950-tykh rokakh)” —contains only twenty-nine names, including one sister who was killed in 1944 during the war and three who were imprisoned in L'viv.

52. Semedii and Sabov, “Spysok represovanykh.”

and its strong regional sense of (Ruthenian) ethnic identity, as well as the presence among its Uniate clergy and faithful of ethnic minorities, Soviet arguments about religious unity “with the rest of the Ukrainian people” or “returning to the faith of the Cossacks” made little sense there.

Still unassessed is the impact of the surviving *Roman Catholic* churches and pastors in Western Ukraine (Polish in Galicia, mostly Hungarian in Transcarpathia) on the perseverance of Greek Catholicism. The absence of a Transcarpathian equivalent to the Ukrainian-Polish ecclesiastical hostility in Galicia undoubtedly enhanced the positive influence of the surviving outposts of Catholicism in Transcarpathia. Even in Galicia, where there was a legacy of struggle against Latinization, the clergy, monastics (especially the nuns), and faithful (in particular the urban intelligentsia) of the banned church benefited from the presence of Roman Catholic churches. This did not escape the attention of the Soviet authorities, and for a while the CARC plenipotentiaries plotted a “reunion” of the Polish Roman Catholics with Orthodoxy, searching unsuccessfully for a Polish “Kostel'nyk,” or at least imposing “autocephaly” on the Roman Catholics (i.e., independence from the Vatican).<sup>53</sup>

What ultimately saved the remnants of the clandestine Greek Catholic Church from further destruction were Stalin's death in March 1953 and the subsequent changes in the Soviet leadership and policy: Khrushchev's amnesties, the curbing of secret police terror, and decreased arbitrariness in the Soviet legal system. Despite Khrushchev's “de-Stalinization” efforts, however, he pursued an antireligious campaign in which the Russian Orthodox Church was the prime target, thereby dramatically decreasing that church's attractiveness to the involuntary “converts” from Greek Catholicism. As a result of Khrushchev's amnesties and legal reforms (which largely ended the Stalinist practice of automatically resentencing political prisoners just before their terms ended), most surviving repressed Greek Catholic priests were allowed to return to Galicia and Transcarpathia during the years 1955–6.<sup>54</sup>

53. See Vil'khovyi's highly classified “Informatsionnyi otchet o rabote upolnomochennogo Soveta po delam religioznykh kul'tov pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR po Ukrainskoi SSR za aprel'–iiun' 1948 goda, g. Kyiv, 10 sentiabria 1948 g.,” TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 23, *sprava* 5069, fols. 263–6.

54. Of the 344 “repressed” priests, 264 were allowed to return to Western Ukraine by December 8, 1956, according to the new republican CAROC plenipotentiary, Korchevoi. See his secret “Soobshchenie o nastroeniakh i deiatel'nosti ne-vossoedinennogo uniatskogo dukhovenstva i vossoedinennogo s pravoslavnoi tserkov'iu dukhovenstva v zapadnykh i Zakarpatskoi oblastiakh USSR po sostoianiiu na 8

Among them were two Galician bishops—Charnets'kyi and Liatyshevs'kyi—and the secret bishop of Mukachiv, Khira. With the return of the clergy, the continuation of the “catacomb” Greek Catholic Church in Galicia and Transcarpathia and its continuous episcopal leadership were assured.

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This study does not offer a balanced treatment of all of the Greek Catholic eparchies in Galicia, because most of the available materials for it originated from or focused on L'viv archeparchy. There are two principal reasons: the extraordinary prominence of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi; and the survival and eventual release from Soviet captivity in February 1963 of his successor, Metropolitan Slipyi, who not only recorded his past in his still unpublished memoirs (1963–4), but brought with him or subsequently received from Western Ukraine a wealth of information about the “catacomb” church, especially in his archeparchy. Bishops Khomyshyn of Stanislav eparchy and Kotsylovs'kyi of Peremyshl' eparchy both died in prison in Kyiv in 1946. Whatever information from their eparchies reached Bishop Ivan Buchko in Rome has, with one important exception,<sup>55</sup> remained classified since his death in 1974. It is ironic that the relevant Vatican archives remain inaccessible at the very time when the most secret documents pertaining to the Soviet treatment of the Greek Catholic Church and its hierarchy and clergy in the former Soviet Party, state, and even NKGB-MGB-MVD-KGB archives in Ukraine have recently become accessible to scholars. This new access should have corrected the imbalance mentioned above, were it not for the similar focusing of classified Soviet reports on the centre of the Galician metropoly and the logistical difficulties I experienced in trying to see, let alone read or copy, documents from the state oblast archives in Ivano-Frankivs'k (formerly Stanislav), Ternopil', and Uzhhorod and from the former Drohobych oblast archive, which had been incorporated into the L'viv oblast archive after the abolition of Drohobych oblast in 1959. Some relevant archives still remain classified in Ukraine: the papers of Fr. Kostel'nyk and his Initiative Group, the archive of the 1946 L'viv “Sobor,” and the archives of the Russian Orthodox Church.

dekabria 1956 goda. Upolnomochennyi Soveta po delam russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR po USSR (Korchevoi), 10 dekabria 1956 goda,” TsDAHOU, *fond* 1, *opys* 24, *sprava* 4263, fol. 294.

55. Hrynyk, “Tserkva v ridnomu kraiu.”

After many years of research and several revisions of my manuscript (particularly after a wealth of now declassified Soviet archival documents became available), I conclude this study with the hope that it is a less partisan and more reliable, detailed account than was hitherto possible of the Greek Catholic Church's search for a *modus vivendi* with the Kremlin and its suppression and survival within Stalin's totalitarian empire.

## *Abbreviations and Acronyms Used in the Book*

APSS	Archivum Patriarchalis S. Sophiae
ASBU	Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine
A-UCP(B)	All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)
AZPUHVR	Archive of the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council
CARC	Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults
CAROC	Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church
CC	Central Committee
CEC	Central Executive Committee
ChNI	Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer
ChSVV	Order of St. Basil the Great
CP(B)U	Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine
CPC	Council of People's Commissars
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CPU	Communist Party of Ukraine
CSsR	Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer
<i>d.</i>	<i>delo</i> (case, matter, subject)
DAI-FO	State Archive of Ivano-Frankivs'k Oblast
DALO	State Archive of L'viv Oblast
DATO	State Archive of Ternopil' Oblast
<i>f.</i>	<i>fond</i> (holding)
GARF	State Archive of the Russian Federation
GPU	State Political Administration
LAV	<i>L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosty</i>
MAUOC	Museum-Archive of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA
MGB	Ministry of State Security
M. O.	Metropolitan Ordinariate (Office)
MVD	Ministry of Internal Affairs
NKGB	People's Commissariat of State Security
NKVD	People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs
<i>Obkom</i>	CP(B)U Oblast Committee
<i>Oblispolkom</i> or <i>Oblvykonkom</i>	Oblast Executive Committee
<i>Oblit</i> or <i>Oblitkontrol'</i>	Oblast Administration for the Affairs of Literature and Publishing Houses
<i>op.</i>	<i>opys</i> or <i>opisanie</i> (description)
OSBM	Order of St. Basil the Great
OUN	Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists
PLOKU	Party Archive of the L'viv <i>obkom</i> (Secret Section)
<i>Radnarkom</i>	Council of People's Commissars
RCP(B)	Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)

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RTsKhIDNI	Russian Centre for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Modern History
<i>Sovnarkom</i>	Council of People's Commissars
<i>spr.</i>	<i>sprava</i> (case, matter, subject)
TsDAHOU	Central State Archive of Civic Associations of Ukraine
TsDAVOU	Central State Archive of the Higher Organs of Power and Government of Ukraine
TsDIAU	Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, L'viv
UAOC	Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
UHA	Ukrainian Galician Army
UNDO	Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance
UNR	Ukrainian People's Republic
UPA	Ukrainian Insurgent Army
UVO	Ukrainian Military Organization
ZPUHVR	Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council
ZUNR	Western Ukrainian People's Republic



## *Glossary*

**Abwehr (Amt Auslandsnachrichten und Abwehr).** The Third Reich's military intelligence and counterintelligence service.

**Apostolic administrator.** A cleric, usually a titular bishop, appointed for special reasons by (and responsible to) the pope to head an eparchy or apostolic administration—a group of parishes directly subordinated to the Vatican.

**Apostolic visitor.** A church official appointed by the pope to supervise a group of parishes in special circumstances.

**Banderivtsi.** See Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

**Basilian Fathers and Sisters.** See Order of St. Basil the Great.

**Capitular vicar.** A temporary administrator of an eparchy, elected by members of the cathedral chapter when the eparchial bishop and the pope are unable to appoint a successor to the bishop and the bishop is unable to exercise his duties owing to interference by a secular power.

**Central Committee (CC).** The body elected by the Communist party congress of the USSR or a Soviet republic. The name was also often used for the permanent bodies elected by the CC—the CC's Secretariat and Politburo (Buro [Bureau] in the republics other than Ukraine).

**Chapter.** An eparchial advisory body of canons appointed for life by the eparchial bishop.

**Coadjutor.** A bishop with the right of succession to the eparchial bishop to whom he has been assigned because of special circumstances.

**Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine (CP[B]U; Ukrainian: Komunistychna partiia [bil'shovykiv] Ukraïny [KP(b)U]).** The name of the ruling Communist party in Soviet Ukraine from its first congress (1918) to the seventeenth congress (1952). Thenceforth it was called the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU).

**Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults (CARC;** Russian: Sovet po delam religioznykh kul'tov). An agency attached to the Council of People's Commissars (later Council of Ministers) of the USSR. It was established in 1944 for the purpose of maintaining liaison with and control of the non-Orthodox churches and religious groups in the Soviet Union.

**Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church (CAROC;** Russian: Sovet po delam russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi). An agency attached to the Council of People's Commissars (later Council of Ministers) of the USSR. It was established in 1943 for the purpose of maintaining liaison with and control of the Russian Orthodox Church. Both CAROC and CARC were public arms of the secret NKGB-MGB Department for Religious Affairs.

**Council of Ministers.** See Radnarkom.

**Council of People's Commissars.** See Radnarkom.

**Division Galicia.** See Waffen SS Division Galizien.

**Eparchy.** A subdivision in the Eastern churches equivalent to a diocese. It is headed by an eparchial bishop (ordinary).

**Exarch.** A personal representative of the pope or (in the Eastern churches) a patriarch. He administers a certain territory (exarchate) that eventually might become an eparchy. A Russian Orthodox "exarch of all Ukraine" was appointed by the patriarch of Moscow in 1921 after the metropolitan of Kyiv and all Ukraine emigrated. From the late 1920s the title came to be associated with the senior Russian Orthodox bishop in Ukraine: until 1934 the bishop of Kharkiv, and thereafter, with the transfer of the Soviet Ukrainian capital from Kharkiv to Kyiv, the metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych.

**Hegumen.** A superior of a monastery in the Eastern churches.

**Hieromonk.** An ordained member of a monastic order.

**Holy Synod** (Russian: Sviateishii Sinod). The governing body of the Russian Orthodox Church created by Peter I in 1721 to replace the office of the patriarch of Moscow. Its members were appointed by the tsar, and it was presided over by a government official called an *ober-prokurator*, who headed the Department (*Vedomstvo*) of the Orthodox Confession. After the February

Revolution of 1917 the *ober-prokurator* was replaced by a minister of confessions. The Holy Synod was abolished in the autumn of 1917 with the restoration of the Moscow patriarchate by the All-Russian Church Sobor and the election of a patriarch. In 1943 the Holy Synod was restored as the standing collegial governing body of bishops in the Russian Orthodox Church. It is headed by the patriarch of Moscow and consists of permanent and rotating members.

**Kapitula.** The Ukrainian term for a cathedral's chapter of canons.

**Komsomol.** The acronym (from Russian **Kommunisticheskii soiuz molodezhi**) of the Soviet Communist Youth League.

**Locum tenens** (Russian: *mestobliustitel'*). The guardian of a patriarchal see after the patriarch's death and until the local sobor elects a new patriarch. After the death of Patriarch Tikhon of Moscow in 1925, the Soviet authorities refused to allow the convocation of a local sobor of the Russian Orthodox Church and eventually facilitated the assumption of the posts of deputy *locum tenens* and, later, *locum tenens* by Metropolitan Sergii (Stragorodskii). Only in 1943 did Stalin allow a sobor of bishops to elect Sergii patriarch of Moscow and all Rus'. After Sergii's death in 1944, a *locum tenens*, Aleksii (Simanskii), was elected in early 1945 by a local sobor.

**MGB.** See NKGB.

**Mitrat.** The Ukrainian term for a mitred archpriest, a high ecclesiastical rank in the Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches reserved, as a rule, for married clergymen.

**MVD.** See NKVD.

**NKGB.** The acronym (from Russian **Narodnyi komissariat gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti**; Ukrainian: NKDB) of the People's Commissariat of State Security, the Soviet secret (in part), *political* police from April 14, 1943. On March 19, 1946, the NKGB was renamed the Ministry of State Security (MGB; Ukrainian: MDB). On March 7, 1953, after Stalin's death, the MGB was renamed the Main Administration of State Security (GUGB) of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and in March 1954 the GUGB became the Committee of State Security (KGB; Ukrainian: KDB).

**NKVD.** The acronym (from Russian *Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del*; Ukrainian: NKVS) of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, the Soviet political, secret police. In 1934 several subdivisions of this huge commissariat assumed the functions of the OGPU (1923–34; formerly the Cheka [1917–22] and GPU [1922–3]) under the name Main Administration of State Security of the NKVD, or GUGB. For half a year (February–July 20, 1941) the GUGB was called the NKGB, and in April 1943 it became an independent NKGB (see above). The NKVD was renamed the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD; Ukrainian: MVS) on March 16, 1946.

**Ober-prokuror.** See Holy Synod.

**Obkom.** The Soviet acronym (from Russian *oblastnoi komitet*) of an oblast's Party committee, which elected a bureau and a secretariat. An *obkom*'s first secretary was the highest-ranking Party official in an oblast.

**Oblispolkom** The Soviet acronym (from Russian *oblastnoi ispolnitel'nyi komitet*) of the executive committee of an oblast's Soviet of People's Deputies—i.e., its administration. It was headed by a chairman, who was the oblast's top government official but actually had less power than the *obkom*'s first secretary. An *oblispolkom* was divided into departments that were subordinated to a corresponding ministry and to the oblast's soviet.

**Obllit** or **Obllitkontrol'.** The Soviet acronym (from Russian *oblastnoe upravlenie po delam literatury i izdatel'stv*) of the so-called Oblast Administration for Matters of Literature and Publishing Houses, i.e., an oblast's censorship agency.

**Oblvykonkom.** The Ukrainian equivalent of *oblispolkom* (see above), from *oblasnyi vykonavchyi komitet*.

**Order of St. Basil the Great** (Ordinis S. Basilii Magni [OSBM]; Ukrainian: Chyn Sv. Vasyliia Velykoho [ChSVV]). A Catholic monastic order popularly known as the Basilians. It is organized into provinces that are headed by protohegumens and subordinated to the order's General Curia in Rome, which is headed by a protoarchimandrite.

**Ordinary.** See Eparchy.

**Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists** (OUN; Ukrainian: Orhanizatsiia ukrains'kykh natsionalistiv). A radical nationalist organization established through the merger of the revolutionary Ukrainian Military Organization (Ukrains'ka viis'kova orhanizatsiia [UVO]) and several other underground groups at the First Great Assembly of Ukrainian Nationalists (VZUN) in Vienna in 1929. The OUN's first leader, Col. Ievhen Konovalets', was assassinated by an NKVD agent in 1938. He was succeeded by his comrade-in-arms, Col. Andrii Mel'nyk, who was elected the leader at the Second VZUN (Rome, 1939). In 1940 the OUN split into two hostile factions: the predominantly Galicia-based "revolutionary" majority faction headed by Stepan Bandera (hence popularly called the *banderivtsi* [Banderites]) and other underground leaders in Galicia released from Polish prisons after the collapse of Poland in 1939, and a more moderate minority faction under Col. Mel'nyk (hence called the *mel'nykivtsi* [Mel'nykites]). The factional conflict continued throughout World War II in Ukraine and even among the postwar émigrés in the West.

**Radnarkom.** The Soviet acronym (from Ukrainian **Rada Narodnykh Komisariv**) of the Council of People's Commissars (government cabinet) of the Ukrainian SSR. In March 1946 the Radnarkom was renamed the Council of Ministers (Rada Ministriv).

**Raikom.** The acronym name (from Russian *raionnyi komitet*) of a raion's Party committee.

**Raiispolkom** or **raivykonkom.** The acronyms (from Russian *raionnyi ispolnitel'nyi komitet* and Ukrainian *raionnyi vykonavchyi komitet*) of the executive committee of a raion's soviet (see below), to which the rural (and equivalent) soviets in a raion were subordinated.

**Redemptorist Fathers** (Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer [CSsR]; Ukrainian: Chyn Naisviatishoho Izbavytelia [ChNI]). A Catholic monastic order. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi founded a Ukrainian branch of the order in 1913 from among Belgian Redemptorists who had converted to Greek Catholicism and had come to Galicia as missionaries.

**Referent.** An official entrusted with a specific responsibility within the Soviet government or Party.

**Renovationist Church** (Russian: *Obnovlenneskaia tserkov'*). A GPU-instigated, collaborationist, schismatic faction of the Russian Orthodox Church. From 1923 on, under close OGPU and NKVD control and with the Soviet state's assistance, it attempted to displace the "counter-revolutionary" patriarchal Russian Orthodox Church but increasingly lost official support throughout the 1930s and particularly after the patriarchal church came under the Soviet regime's control and was "rehabilitated" by Stalin in September 1943. The Renovationist Church was "self-liquidated" in 1944–5.

**Sobor.** An ecclesiastical council in the Eastern churches. A sobor of bishops is convened by a pope or a patriarch. A "local" sobor of an entire national church is also convened by a pope or a patriarch; the participants include all of the church's bishops and representatives of the clergy, monastics (sometimes also theological schools), and laity. The sobor (sometimes called a synod) of a church province or eparchy is convened by a metropolitan or eparchial bishop respectively.

**Soviet.** The name of the Soviet council of working people's (toilers') deputies at each level of the Soviet state structure (rural, town, raion, city, oblast, krai), culminating in the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics and of the USSR.

**Sovnarkom.** The acronym (from Russian *Sovet Narodnykh Komissarov*) of the Council of People's Commissars (government cabinet) of the USSR. In March 1946 the Sovnarkom was renamed the Council of Ministers.

**Studite Fathers** (Ukrainian: *Ustav Sviatoho Teodora Studyta*). An Eastern Christian monastic order named after St. Theodore Studite (759–826), who compiled the *Typikon*, a basic monastic book of rules adopted by monasteries in the Orthodox Slavic world, including the Kyïvan Caves Lavra and other monasteries in Kyïvan Rus'. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi wrote a new *Typikon*, revived the Studites as a Ukrainian Greek Catholic order at the turn of the twentieth century, and served as the first archimandrite of the order in Galicia. After he died, his brother Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi became the archimandrite. Studite Sisters were also introduced in Galicia before World War II.

**Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church** (Ukrainian: *Ukraïns'ka Avtokefal'na Pravoslavna Tserkva* [UAPT]). A schismatic Orthodox church founded in Soviet Ukraine in 1921 and suppressed by the Soviet regime in 1930. It was restored as a canonical synodic church during the German occupation of Ukraine (1941–3). After it was suppressed again by the Soviet authorities in 1943–4, it survived only in the Ukrainian diaspora in the West.



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The church has been re-established in post-Soviet Ukraine.

**Ukrainian Insurgent Army** (Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armiia [UPA]). The Ukrainian nationalist guerrilla movement that fought against both the Nazi and Soviet regimes in Ukraine in the years 1942–54. It was controlled from late 1942 by the OUN's Bandera faction. After the establishment of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) in 1944, the UPA evolved into a national armed resistance that worked closely with the OUN underground.

**Vicar-general** (in the Eastern churches: *protosyncellos*). A coadjutor (see above) or, if there is none, a senior priest that an eparchial bishop appoints to assist him in governing an eparchy. In special circumstances, the bishop can appoint a vicar-general to govern that part of his eparchy that has been separated by a newly established political border, thereby impeding the eparch's jurisdiction there.

**Viis'komat**. The acronym (from (Ukrainian *viis'kovyi komisariat*)) of a Soviet military draft (mobilization) office.

**VUZ**. The Ukrainian acronym for *vys'hchyi uchbovyi zaklad* 'institution of higher learning,' i.e., a university or postsecondary institute.

**Waffen SS Division Galizien** (Ukrainian: Dyviziia "Halychyna"). A Ukrainian volunteer military formation recruited largely in Galicia by the Germans in 1943 as one of the many non-German formations in the SS military. The division was reorganized in March 1945 as the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army. It surrendered to the British in Austria.

**Western Ukrainian People's Republic** (Ukrainian: Zakhidn'o-Ukrains'ka Narodnia Respublika [ZUNR]). A Ukrainian republic proclaimed in Galicia and Bukovyna on November 1, 1918. It merged with the Ukrainian People's Republic on January 22, 1919.

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*F. 3, op. 1, d. 212:* “Informatsii, dokladnye zapiski obkoma partii v TsK VKP(b), TsK KP(b)U o nastroeniakh mestnogo naseleniia v sviazi s opublikovaniem stat'i V. Rosovicha (Ia. A. Galana) ‘S krestom ili nozhom,’ vossoedineniem greko-katolicheskoi i russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi.” January 5–December 24, 1945.

*F. 3, op. 1, d. 230:* “Spravki, dokladnye zapiski, spetssoobshcheniia organov NKGB, NKVD v obkom partii o reagirovanii dukhovenstva na vossoedinenie greko-katolicheskoi i pravoslavnoi tserkvei, antisovetskoi deiatel'nosti sviashchennikov, bor'be s bandami ukrainskikh burzhuaznykh natsionalistov.” January 31–December 27, 1945.

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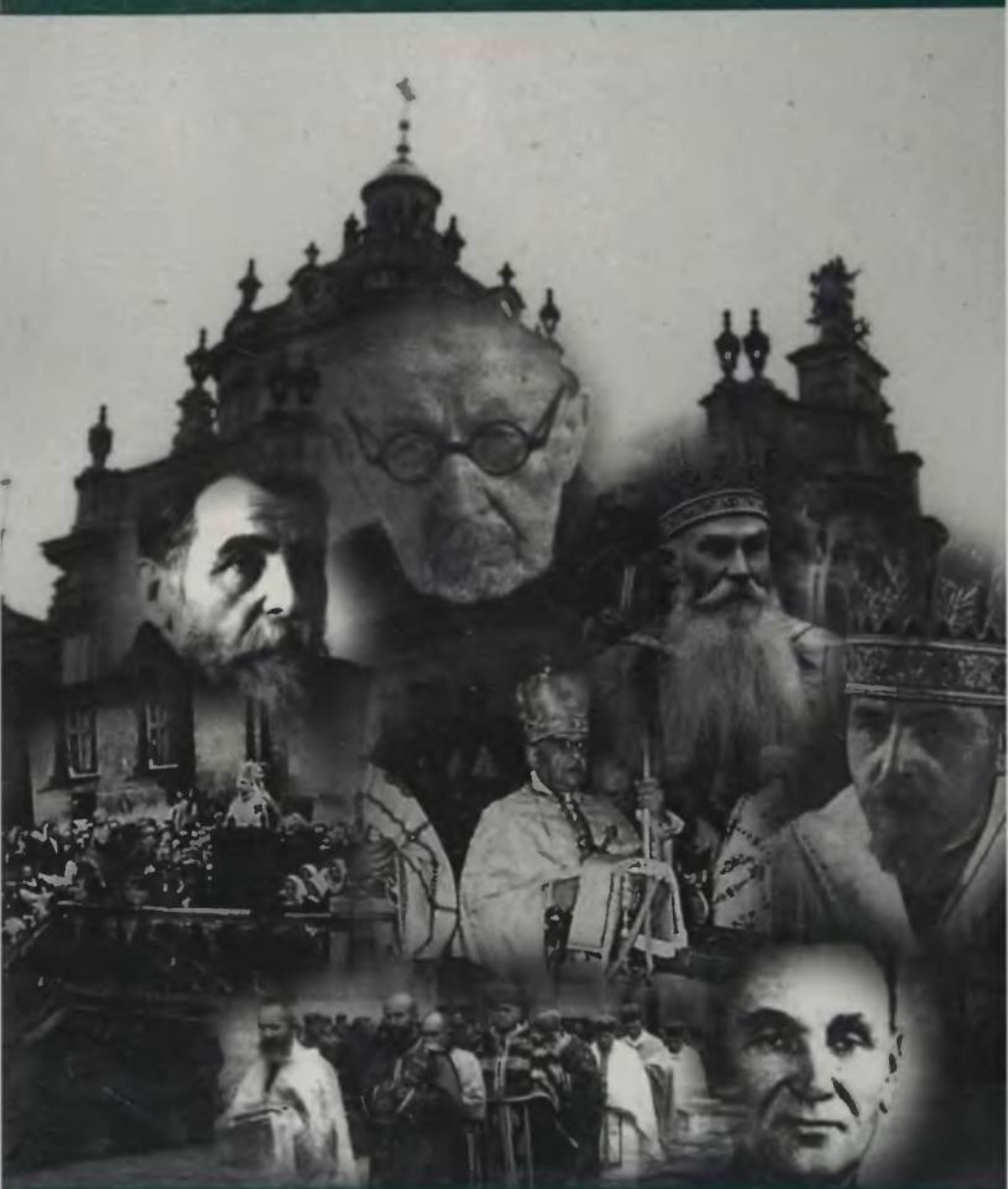
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