

# Reviews

## HISTORY OF UKRAINE

by Rev. Isidore Nahayewsky, Ph.D. (second enlarged and supplemented edition) "America" Publishing House of "Providence" Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America, Philadelphia, 1975, 368 pp. No price.

## SOVIET PERSECUTION OF RELIGION IN UKRAINE

World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Toronto, 1976, 54 pp. No price.

## THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH 1945-1975

(A Symposium held at La Salle College in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19 April 1975), edited by Miroslav Labunka and Leonid Rudnytsky, The St. Sophia Religious Association of Ukrainian Catholics Inc., Philadelphia, 1976, 162 pp. No price.

## THE SWASTIKA ON CASSOCKS

*(Svastika na sutanakh)*

by K. Ye. Dmitruk, "Izdatelstvo politicheskoi literatury", Moscow, 1976, 192 pp., 46 kop.

## BOOMERANG

by Valentyn Moroz, introduction by Paul L. Gersper, edited by Yaroslav Bihun, Smoloskyp Publishers, Baltimore-Paris-Toronto, 1974, 272 pp., \$5.75, \$3.25 (paper).

## THE UKRAINIAN HERALD ISSUE 7-8:

ETHNOCIDE OF UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR (SPRING 1974:

AN UNDERGROUND JOURNAL FROM SOVIET UKRAINE)

compiled by Maksym Sahaydak, introduction by Robert Conquest, translated from the Ukrainian and edited by Olena Saciuk and Bohdan Yasen, Smoloskyp Publishers, Baltimore-Paris-Toronto, 1976, 209 pp., \$6.95.

Dr. Nahayewsky is known chiefly as a Church historian, and the history of the Church in the Ukraine occupies a considerable part of the narrative in his book, *History of Ukraine*, which heads the above list (its first edition appeared in 1962). This book covers the prehistory of the Ukraine, the history of the Kievan State of the eighth-twelfth centuries, and brings the story right up to the early 1970s. It is richly illustrated and concludes with chronological tables and an index. Each chapter is preceded by a bibliography with the titles of Slavonic-language publications given in English only. The Soviet period is dealt with in the chapters "Ukrainian Independent State" and "Ukraine – Prisoner of Communism". These confusing titles are unfortunately symptomatic of a general weakness in the organization of the book; and, although it contains many reliable facts and figures, there are also many questionable assertions (some of which may perhaps be explained as the slips of the translator from<sup>4</sup> the original Ukrainian).

*Soviet Persecution of Religion in Ukraine* is an able survey within its limited space. Its foreword is signed "Commission on Human Rights of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians" (the Congress being an organization representing most Ukrainian groupings outside the communist lands – with the obvious exception of communists). A summary of the vicissitudes of Christianity in the Ukraine since her conversion in 988 until 1918 is followed by chapters on, firstly, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which originated in the Soviet Ukraine in 1920 and was suppressed there by arrests and deportations in the 1930s; secondly, the post-war Russian Orthodox Church in the Ukraine; thirdly, the forcible "reunion" with it of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics [Uniates] in 1946; fourthly, the details of the underground existence, and persecution, of the Uniate Church in the Ukraine after 1946 and until the present day; fifthly, religious minorities in the Ukraine (the Baptists, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Adventists, Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Judaic communities); and lastly, the Soviet authorities' varying policies towards religion, with details of existing Soviet legislation on religion, both published and secret, which contravenes the USSR's international obligations under a number of covenants. A useful select bibliography, both of Western and Soviet publications, concludes the brochure.

*The Ukrainian Catholic Church 1945–1975* consists of papers delivered at a symposium organized by the Pope St. Clement Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome (US affiliate) and the St. Sophia Religious Association. Its sponsor was the Society for the Patriarchal System in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. (Two other Symposia were held in the same series, one in July 1972 and the other in November 1974. The proceedings of the former have been published as *Archiepiscopal and Patriarchal Autonomy*, edited by T. E. Bird and Eva Piddubcheshen, 1972, and those of the latter, covering all the Eastern Churches, should also appear shortly.)

The first three papers forming session one of the Symposium, "The

Soviet Government and the Ukrainian Churches" (whose scope is thus broader than suggested by the title of the volume), are of particular interest. Dr. Vasyl Markus, Professor of Political Science at Loyola University, Chicago, analyses in his excellent and well-documented paper, "The Soviet Government and the Ukrainian Catholic Church", political motivations for, as well as methods used in, the violent suppression of the Uniate Church in the USSR. He also assesses the results of that policy with some observations on the continuously active interest in the status of the Uniates. The paper by the Rev. George Szumowski, a priest in the Autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the US and an Associate Professor at the Long Island University, entitled "The Soviet Government and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church", was read in Ukrainian, and unfortunately only a two-page summary is included in the volume. Nonetheless, various data, both familiar and not so familiar, can be gleaned: for example, the liquidation of the Uniate Church and the subordination of its parishes to the Russian Orthodox Church led to a situation whereby the latter now has 2,500 parishes in the smaller Western Ukraine, as compared with 500 parishes in the rest of the Ukraine. In their paper, "The Ukrainian Baptists: a case study in Soviet persecution and the resistance to it", the Rev. Roger Hayden (a Baptist minister at Haven Green Baptist Church, Ealing, London) and the Rev. Michael Bourdeaux draw on a wealth of material, both published and still unpublished and available in the files of Keston College. They offer a brief but lucid and comprehensive history of the Baptists\* and of the rise of the Reform Baptist movement starting in the early 1960s, followed by its brutal persecution by the Soviet authorities. The authors concentrate on the case of the movement's leader Georgi Vins, now serving, since 1974, a ten-year sentence. He was previously imprisoned for three years (1966-69) and has been ill-treated by the Soviet authorities more harshly than most of the hundreds of other Baptist prisoners. Yet his case is a typical one. The authors conclude:

The activity of Georgi Vins over the last 15 years and of those who support him both in Ukraine and other republics forms one of the most remarkable episodes in the development of a desire for religious liberty and human rights in the Soviet Union. Vins' ideals are democratic in the truest sense. The originality and bravery of what he has been doing has yet to be properly appreciated in the West, though it is already obvious that his significance far exceeds the confines both of the Evangelical Christian and Baptist Church and of Ukraine.

\* *Inter alia*, these authors point out that "Russian Baptists" is a misnomer, since "the Baptist movement in the Tsarist Empire was of specifically Ukrainian origin and did not merge with other Protestant groups from different areas of the Soviet Union until the end of the Second World War".

Apart from documentation on sources, the paper has an appendix which lists "Selected Keston College holdings of original *samizdat* from Ukrainian Baptists", 25 documents dated between July 1966 and December 1974.

Among the three papers of session two, "The Vatican and the Ukrainian Catholic Church", the one by the Rt. Rev. John J. Mowatt (who is the director of the Byzantine Centre in Fatima, Portugal, and the editor of its review *Looking East*), "The Vatican and the Silent Church", has further material on the history of the Soviet liquidation of the Uniate Church. The other two papers, as well as the one of session three ("The Ukrainian Catholic Church and Eastern Spirituality") are not directly relevant to the theme of religion under Soviet rule. The volume concludes with an 18-page bibliography on the history of Christianity in Eastern Europe and on the present religious situation in the USSR and the Ukraine, as well as with "A calendar of selected dates and events in the Ukrainian Catholic Church 1945-1975".

*The Swastika on Cassocks (Svastika na sutanakh)* is an example of the many anti-Uniate publications which proliferate in the USSR. Originally published in Ukrainian in 1973 by the Kiev Publishing House for Political Literature in 50,000 copies, the present Russian version is published by the USSR Publishing House for Political Literature in the prodigious number of 200,000 copies. According to a *samizdat* source (*Ukrainian Herald*, issue 6, March 1972), "it has now been reliably (*tochno*) established" that Klim Yevgenevich Dmitruk is the pseudonym of a "KGB Major Klimentiy [=Klim] Yevgenevich Galsky, who organized or was an accomplice in a number of grave crimes against justice" which he committed when serving in the MGB (later re-named the KGB) since 1944. During the post-Stalin period, when he served with the Lvov KGB Administration, he participated in fabricating political cases such as that of the Ukrainian National Committee and the Jurists' Case (1961) (cf. *Ferment in the Ukraine*, ed. by M. Browne, 1971). According to the *Ukrainian Herald*, he had at that time "recently" been promoted to some important position in the republican (Kiev) KGB.

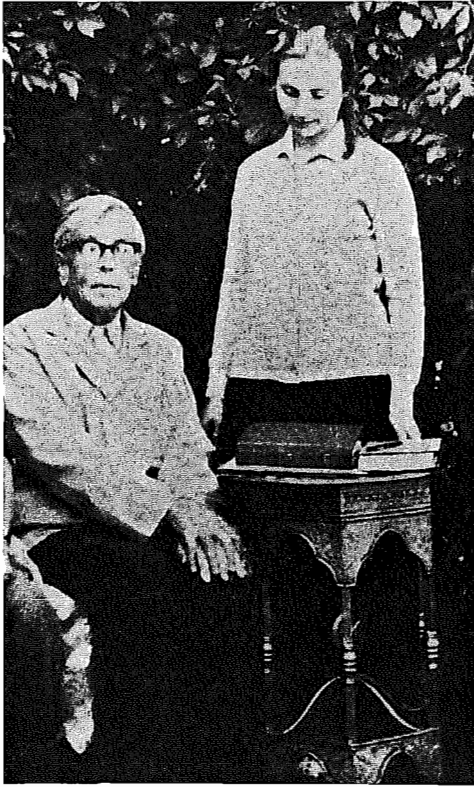
The name Klim Dmitruk has been appearing under a number of articles attacking Ukrainian nationalists and Uniates since the middle of 1971. The first book with this name on the front page was published (in Ukrainian) in late 1972 in Lvov, and was entitled *Bezbatchenky (Those without a Fatherland)*. It was subtitled "The truth about the participation of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and the church hierarchs in the preparation of fascist Germany's attack upon the USSR" and printed in an edition of 50,000 copies, an unusually high number for an author's first book. A second edition of 100,000 copies was issued in 1974. His latest work, also in Ukrainian, *Pid shtandartamy reaktsiyi i fashyzmu (Under the Banners of Reaction and Fascism)*, subtitled "The collapse of the anti-

people activity of the Uniate and Autocephalous Churches" (Kiev, 1976) is basically an extended version of *The Swastika on Cassocks* (*Svastika na sutanakh*). It was printed in 9,300 copies specially for university circles by the Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.

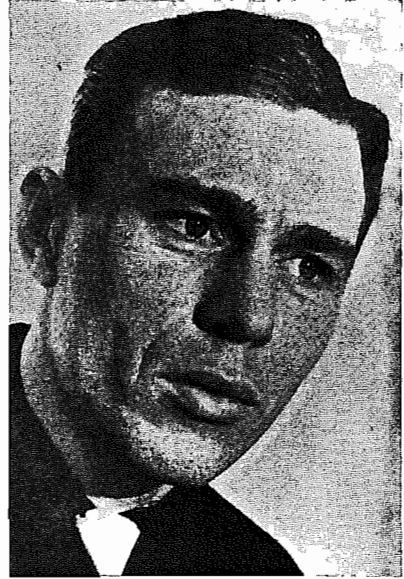
*The Swastika on Cassocks* sets about documenting the collaboration of Ukrainian nationalists and the Uniate hierarchs with the Germans on the eve of and during the last war. Its sources are both secondary (chiefly publications of similar character to itself) and primary, among them contemporary newspapers, archive material with full references to locations, and quotations from testimonies written by a number of Uniate hierarchs "after the war". Such testimonies have no source or location references whatsoever apart from the name of the writer. As a rule, the circumstances of their origin are not made clear and they are usually introduced, in a laconic fashion, according to this pattern: "One of the Metropolitan's [Sheptytsky's] followers, Bishop Charnetsky, wrote already after the end of the war: . . ." Judging from their style, they are obviously testimonies constructed within the walls of the Soviet security agencies during pre-trial interrogations of Metropolitan Josyf Slipyi, four bishops, and some other clerics arrested in April 1945. These testimonies (if authentic) present probably the greatest interest in this book. Klim Yevgenevich must occupy a high position indeed to have access to what obviously are top classified files. Here is a sample:

Prosecuted after the war for treasonous activity in the period of the fascist occupation, Slipyi admitted: "In the spring of 1940 I wrote a brochure entitled *Chief Rules of Contemporary Priesthood*. By its content it is an anti-Soviet document calling upon the priests to remain faithful to the Vatican irrespective of any grave conditions which might arise for them on the territory of the Soviet Union. The brochure was based on the Vatican's directives about pastoral activity in war time which were received by Sheptytsky after the reunion of the Western Regions of the Ukraine with the Ukrainian SSR in 1939."

Dr. Nahayewsky asserts that Metropolitan Slipyi "did not confess anything, he did not acknowledge any guilt at the secret trials . . .". So how much of such statements comprises the prisoner's own words? How much is composed by the interrogator and then perhaps copied in the prisoner's own hand, signed by him under duress, and how much is even wholly falsified? The style and vocabulary alone, as exemplified in the above quotation, show that the part played by the investigation agencies in the composition is far from insignificant. Further extracts from the Metropolitan's testimony, dated 10 January 1946, are quoted *passim* in Klim Yevgenevich's latest book, and they also abound in Soviet political officialese vocabulary and phraseology. For example, the phrase "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists" is used in the 1918 Eastern Ukrainian



*Left: Nijole Sadunaite with her father, whom she nursed until his death in 1974. She was sentenced in 1975 to three years in a labour camp (see her "Prison Thoughts", pp. 263-4).*



*Above: Yevgeny Pashnin-Speransky, author of a document (see pp. 264-6) which describes the hardships facing Russian Orthodox believers in Soviet labour camps.*



*The grave of Yury Galanskov in Mordovia. Galanskov, a Russian Orthodox believer, died at the age of 33 in the Mordovian camp complex on 2 November 1972.*



Above: Vladimir Osipov with his wife and daughter. He was sentenced to eight years in a strict regime camp in 1975. His ideas and activities are discussed in "Vladimir Osipov: Loyal Opposition?", pp. 229-34.



Valentyn Moroz, an Ukrainian historian, who was sentenced in 1970 to 14 years' imprisonment (see p. 249).

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context (*Pid shtandartamy . . .*, pp. 30, 61) and is typical Soviet officialese. It is unthinkable that the Metropolitan would have used the word "bourgeois" in this context (and hardly likely in any context); and the term "Ukrainian nationalists" is an anachronism when writing about 1918.

To what extent are the sources in general misquoted, distorted, or quoted out of their context? The primary sources quoted are mostly inaccessible for checking. But there is one example which can easily be checked. It appears in Klim Yevgenevich's latest book, and his method of quoting is well illustrated by comparing his added context with that of the original:

Considering war to be one of the most effective means of struggle against the Soviet Union, the bourgeois nationalist maniacs even proposed to the imperialist governments in the journal *Ukrayins'ky samostiynyk* in February 1972 "to drop an H-bomb on Moscow in order to obliterate it from the face of the earth",\* (*Pid shtandartamy . . .*, p. 317)

Ukrainians abroad adopt various attitudes to the Russians: some, at least verbally, are prepared to exterminate every Russian and to drop an H-bomb on Moscow in order to obliterate it from the face of the earth. Others are prepared even to fraternize with the Russians in an allegedly common struggle against "international communism". Both the one and the other are extreme positions. (*Ukrayins'ky samostiynyk*, January-February 1972, p. 8)

Valentyn Moroz, the Ukrainian dissident historian serving a 14-year sentence since 1970, whose *samizdat* works together with documentation about him are assembled in *Boomerang*, is one of the most remarkable figures in the Soviet Union's democratic movement. His works have circulated not only in Ukrainian but also in Russian *samizdat*. One of them, "A chronicle of resistance", describes a microcosm of the Ukrainian religious struggle between traditional Orthodoxy and the then comparatively recently imposed Uniate Church. The struggle takes place in a remote corner of the Ukrainian Carpathians and is centred on a timber church, itself a work of art, built by Dovbush who was a kind of mid-18th century Hutsul (Ukrainian Highlander) Robin Hood. In 1773 the church, originally Orthodox, "was reconsecrated Uniate, but this no longer had its previous meaning".

The Uniate movement had grown into the living body of Ukrainian spirituality and had become a national phenomenon.

Although this last statement, as applied to the 18th-19th centuries, could have been made by an officially accepted Soviet historian, Moroz had to pay a heavy penalty for writing it. This very sentence was singled out for attack by a certain Ya. Radchenko, whose newspaper article is also

\* This quotation appeared, in a garbled form, in *Komunist Ukrainy* (October, 1972, p. 74) from which the author obtained it, adding his own distortions.



reproduced in *Boomerang*. Moroz had served a previous prison sentence (1965–69) because of his statements about the Ukraine's self-determination and during his first imprisonment he had written "A report from the Beria Reservation", a brilliant essay on recent Soviet history and on the role of the KGB today, in which he concluded that "all its [the KGB's] activity *undermines* and *discredits*" the Soviet order.

Moroz's case is unique: in November-December 1974 (too late for inclusion in *Boomerang*) another article on his case, by Zinovia Franko, appeared in a number of Soviet Ukrainian papers, including the English-language Kiev weekly *News from Ukraine* (No. 49, 1974) in which, unlike on previous occasions, no mention whatsoever is made of any "crime" committed by Moroz. Instead it is made clear that he is serving his sentence for "his too extreme convictions" and "his individualistic stand and actions", while it is admitted that he had "his aspirations for improvements that could help our social advancement". Soviet spokesmen often stress that in the Soviet Union no one is prosecuted for his *convictions*, and yet, despite this, Moroz is still in detention.

*The Ukrainian Herald Issue 7–8*, the last book to be dealt with in this review, is a *samizdat* publication of a type different from the previous *Ukrainian Herald* issues 1–6 of January 1970–March 1972. The latter resemble the Moscow *samizdat* journal, *A Chronicle of Current Events* (those who had participated in the compilation of *The Ukrainian Herald* issues 1–5 were obviously among those arrested in the extensive round-up of Ukrainian dissidents in early 1972). Issue 7–8 consists of two articles. The longer of the two (123 pp.) is the richly documented anonymous treatise, "Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the USSR". In its fourth section, "The destruction of Ukrainian historical and cultural monuments", the Dovbush church in the village of Kosmach, about which Moroz wrote, is discussed. As in many other similar cases, the authorities refused to permit its restoration despite the experts' opinion about its artistic value. The fifth section, "The destruction of churches and persecution of believers", presents detailed facts about the period 1971–late 1973, but they refer mainly to the Lvov Region in the Western Ukraine. Moscow's Orthodox Church is shown to be, in the Ukraine, an "instrument of Russification" and special mention is made of "the persecution of [Ukrainian] Catholic believers" which is said to have been intensified. Not unlike some of the *Symposium* authors (see pp. 245–7) a year later, the treatise concludes:

We only wonder why the Vatican administration has forgotten about the Ukrainian part of its flock, which is being torn to pieces by hungry wolves. Has it [the Vatican administration] not become too deeply mired in its materialistic and opportunistic policies?

VICTOR SWOBODA