

The Role of Soviet State Security Organs in the Liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Halychyna and their Involvement in Interfering with the First Attempts of Organization of the Underground Church, 1945 – 1950

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The Ukrainian Catholic Church or more used nowadays name the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church¹ (UGCC) since Brest Union of 1596 and Uzhorod Union of 1646 belongs to the Eastern Catholic Churches, which entered the Union with Rome and recognized the leadership of the

1 The history of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church officially begins with the ratification of the Union of the Kyivan Orthodox Metropolitanate with the Apostolic See at the Synod of Brest in 1596. Geographically this new Eastern Catholic Church included ethnic Ukrainian and Belarussian territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Union of Uzhhorod joined the Mukachiv Eparchy (in the Transcarpathian region) to Rome in 1646. After the partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century most of the territories of Ukraine and Belarus, including almost all the Eastern Catholic eparchies, were annexed by the Russian Empire, except Lviv and Peremyshl. These latter were annexed by the Hapsburg Empire. All the eparchies within the Russian Empire were suppressed and “reunited” with the Russian Orthodox Church by the Russian imperial authorities in three stages: 1. in 1772 – 1775, the eparchies of Luts’k, Brest and Pinsk were abolished, 2. after the new “reunion” campaign of 1831 – 1839, the eparchies of Kyiv, Kamianets’-Podil’s’kyi, Volodymyr-Volynskyi, and Polotsk were abolished, 3. in 1875 – 1876 the Kholm Eparchy was abolished.

Roman Pontiff on the base of preserving their Byzantine liturgical rite, ecclesiastical traditions (e.g. married clergy) and rights.

In the interwar period, the Greek Catholic Church existed on different scale in Poland (Halych Metropolitanate in Halychyna, which consisted of the Lviv Archeparchy, the suffragan Eparchies of Peremyshl and Stanislaviv, and the Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region), Czechoslovakia (Prešov and Mukačevo Eparchies), Romania (Alba Julia Metropolitanate), Hungary (Eparchy of Hajdúdorog), Yugoslavia (Bačka region).² According to statistical data, by the end of the 1930s, the UGCC within Poland had one metropolitan, two bishops, four auxiliary bishops, and one apostolic administrator. They presided over 2,387 parishes with 2,352 eparchial and 143 monastic priests, a theological academy, three seminaries with 480 students (plus 46 students elsewhere), 31 monasteries and 121 convents and religious houses, with 315 monks and 932 nuns³, and nearly 3.6 million faithful, mostly ethnic Ukrainians.⁴

In this paper I would like to present only case of Halych Metropolitanate of the UGCC, where the process of its liquidation on the institutional level lasted officially from April 1945 to the middle of 1947 with the direct involvement of the Popular Commissariats of Internal Affairs and State Security of the USSR (NKVD and NKGB, since 1946 MVD and MGB⁵). In 1945 – 1950 the first attempts of the Greek Catholic clergy to create the underground church failed because of the Security organs interventions. The paper is based on recently published secret MGB documents, unpub-

2 TURII, O. (ed.): *Kovcheg. Naukovyi zbirnyk z cerkovnoii istorii*. Number (no.) 4 (Eklezialna j nacionalna identychnist greko-katolykiv Centralno-Skhidnoii Evropy). Lviv 2003, 339 pages (p.).

3 It included three male – the Order of Saint Basil the Great or Basilians (OSBM), the Studite Monks, and the eastern branch of the Order of the Most Holy Redeemer, or Redemptorists (CSsR) and eight female monastic orders and congregations – the Sisters of the Order of Saint Basil the Great, Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate (SSMI), Sisters of St. Joseph, the Spouse of the Virgin Mary or Josephites, Myrrh-bearing Sisters under the Protection of St. Mary Magdalene, Sisters of the Holy Family, Sisters of the Priest and Martyr St. Josaphat Kuntsevych or Josaphat Sisters, and Studite Sisters.

4 BOCIURKIW, B.: *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Soviet State (1939 – 1950)*. Edmonton – Toronto 1996, p. 32 – 33.

5 The People's Commissariat of the Internal Affairs USSR (NKVD) – acted from 1934. The People's Commissariat of the State Security (NKGB) was separated from NKVD for several months in 1941 and again in 1943. In March 1946 they were renewed as the Ministry of the Internal Affairs (MVD) and the Ministry of the State Security (MGB). See: *Yurydychna encyklopedia*, volume (vol.) 4, headword Narodnyi komisariat derzhavnoii bezpeky SRSR. Kyiv 2002, p. 54 – 56.

lished criminal files of the arrested prominent Greek Catholic priests from the Lviv Archeparchy, and the stories of eyewitnesses.

After the Second World War, territories on the western border, which were annexed to the Soviet Union according to the secret protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in 1939, fell again under Soviet rule. Among them was Halychyna or Western Ukraine, “liberated” by the Red Army by September 1944, with its multi-ethnic and multi-religious, but at the same time predominantly Catholic population, which practiced its faith in the framework of the Lviv Archdiocese of the Roman Catholic Church (consisting mostly of ethnic Poles) and the Halych Metropolitanate of the Greek Catholic Church (consisting mostly of ethnic Ukrainians). The Soviet government in Moscow saw in the Catholic Church in general, and in the Greek Catholic Church in particular, a representative of its ideological enemy, the Vatican, and the core basis for Ukrainian nationalism. Thus the UGCC was regarded as a direct threat to the Soviet system and was put, like in 1939 – 1941, under the supervision of the 4th section of the 2nd Department⁶ of the NKGB. In November 1944 the UGCC had a change of its leadership: in place of the deceased Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi, who cared for the church for more than 40 years and was a very famous, authoritative figure, came Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi, who didn’t have such authority as his predecessor, but tried to rule wisely and to deal with the Soviet state carefully. Moreover, the Soviet-Polish border divided Halych Metropolitanate: the western part of the Peremyshl Eparchy with both bishops and the whole Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region found themselves in Poland, and the eastern part – in the Soviet Ukraine.

To understand the situation and circumstances of the period 1945 – 1950 in Halychyna adequately, it’s necessary to keep in mind that liquidation of the UGCC was carried out during several often simultaneous processes, among them: 1. process of the repatriation of the local Polish population into Poland and the Ukrainian population from Poland to Ukraine, 2. process of sovietisation of the western Ukraine, including collectivisation of its agricultural sector (was regarded as complete in the year

6 The 2nd Department NKGB was responsible for the fight with the anti-Soviet elements and agents of foreign intelligence service inside the country. Its 4th section worked with clergy, churchmen and sectarians. See: BILAS, I.: *Represyivno-karalna systema v Ukraini 1917 – 1953. Suspilno-politychnyi ta istoryko-pravovyi analiz* [The Repressive-penalty System in Ukraine 1917 - 1953. Socially-political and Historically-juridical Analysis]. Vol. 1. Kyiv 1994, p. 122.

1950), 3. the fierce fights between the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (*Ukrainska Povstanska Armia* – UPA, which consisted in large of the members from the youth fraction of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists – OUN) armed resistance and Red Army, security forces, and 4. massive deportations of the local population into far regions of the USSR during 1944 – 1953.

First attempts of the UGCC liquidation: 1939 – 1941

Already in 1939 – 1941, the State Security started to work in favour of the liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. According to the order dated February 8, 1940 and issued by Lavrentiy Beria, the People's Commissar (*narcom*) of the NKVD, all “agent-operative work” against Catholics in the Soviet Union had to be led by the 2nd Department of the State Security on all levels (from the all-union to the republican and regional).⁷ The main line for the treatment of the UGCC was aimed on its *razlozhenie* (dissolution) and formation within its clergy the movement for organizing the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC).⁸ On the last day of 1939 lieutenant Cherpakov, the head of the 2nd Department of the NKVD in Lviv oblast, issued a new *delo* (case) under the name *Khodiachie* (“Walking”) on prominent Greek Catholic Church leaders, among whom were Metropolitan Andrey Sheptycky, two Bishops Ivan Buchko and Nykyta Budka, and four prominent Lviv canons.⁹ During 1940 – 1941 under this file were investigated 11 persons.¹⁰ In October 1944 this *delo* was revised and renewed.¹¹

The State Security in 1939 – 1941 used typical methods, such as arrests of the clergy and their family members, blackmail, duress, manipulation.

7 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC (1939 – 1946). Dokumenty radianskykh organiv derzhavnoi bezpeky* [Liquidation of the UGCC (1939 – 1946). Documents of the Soviet State Security Organs]. Vol. 1. Kyiv 2006, p. 69 – 70.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 144 – 145, 125 – 130.

9 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi u dokumentakh radianskykh organiv derzhavnoi bezpeky (1939 – 1944)* [Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi in the Soviet State Security Organs Documents]. Kyiv 2005, p. 43.

KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 67 – 68.

10 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi*, p. 186.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 345 – 360.

For example, in Lviv Archeparchy 34 Greek Catholic priests were arrested.¹² Among them was Fr. Andriy Bandera, father of Stepan Bandera, leader of the radical youth fraction split from the OUN. He was arrested in May 1941, and two months later shot in Kyiv prison.¹³ Moreover, in 1940 – 1941 on the basis of accusation in belonging to the OUN, 17 year old sons of two prominent Greek Catholic priests were arrested: in October 1940 Bohdan Ivan, son of Fr. Mykola Hryceliak, Chancellor for the part of Peremyshl Eparchy in the Soviet territory and in January 1941 Bohdan, son of Fr. Havryil Kostelnyk, philosopher and a parish priest of the Transfiguration Church in Lviv. These arrests were aimed in persuasion of the priests to collaborate with the Security organs for exchange the freedom of their sons. In case of Fr. Kostelnyk, he also received proposition to take the leadership in persuading the Greek Catholic clergy into necessity of formation of the UAOC. He even wrote a secret referral on this issue, where showed some resistance to the NKVD threat to his son and stated, that this action would be not in good time.¹⁴ Fr. Hryceliak under duress even agreed at first to collaboration with the security organs, but on the next meeting he categorically refused to keep his previous agreement. Thus the NKVD advised to prepare documentation for his arrest as well.¹⁵ Moreover, captain P. Drozdetskyi from Kyiv recommended before the closure of the Bohdan Ivan Hrytseliak *delo* to get from him a letter to his mother with harsh accusation on his father's address for abandoning him.¹⁶

The operative work regarding the UGCC was reactivated by the NKGB-MGB in Halychyna as of September 1944. It can be divided into three phases: 1. preparation phase September 1944 – March 1945, 2. liquidation phase April 1945 – June 1947, and 3. prevention phase 1945/47 – 1950.

1. Preparation phase, September 1944 – March 1945

The second arrival of the Soviets in the Halychyna seemed to be with a different attitude toward religion in general. Indeed, in September 1943

12 *Spys dukhovenstva Lvivskoi Archyieparkhii stanom na 1 sichnia 1944 roku* [List of the Lviv Archeparchy clergy by January 1, 1944]. Lviv 1944, p. 15 – 16.

13 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 155, 166 – 169, 172 – 174.

14 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 125 – 130.

15 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 147 – 148.

16 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 151.

a sort of the reconciliation between the state and Russian Orthodox Church took place in Moscow and a patriarch was elected.¹⁷ In order to deal with the religious affairs in the Soviet Union the first idea to subject them directly under the People's Commissar of the USSR State Security was rejected and in 1943 – 1944 two special new Councils as a part of the governmental structures were established: the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church (1943; CAROC) and the Council for the Affairs of the Religious Cults (1944; CARC). However, the Chairmen of both Councils were appointed security officers, experienced in the anti-religious affairs colonel Georgiy Karpov and colonel Ivan Polianskyi respectively.¹⁸ Moreover, on the occupied by the Germans territories, to which also belonged Ukraine, Viacheslav Molotov instructed Karpov to fill the personnel of CAROC oblast plenipotentiaries almost exclusively from the *chekists* (secret police officials).¹⁹ In Ukraine, two Ukrainian writers Petro Vilkhovi and Pavlo Khodchenko were appointed as republican plenipotentiaries of the CARC and CAROC, respectively. Chief of *narkom* of the State Security Ukrainian SSR (NKGB UkrSSR) commissar of the State Security of the 3rd level Sergey Savchenko was very unhappy with this fact and repeatedly asked to replace them with more appropriate substitutes.²⁰ Nevertheless, they collaborated with the NKGB and, as pointed B. Bociurkiw, their *de facto* superior was the long-time GPU²¹-NKVD-NKGB-MGB specialist on the Ukrainian churches and trusted by *narkom* Savchenko lieut.-col. Serhey Danylenko-Karin.²² Indeed both Councils remained under the close control of the NKGB-MGB up to the middle of the 1950s.²³

On October 18, 1944 the NKGB UkrSSR issued a Directive for the Executives of NKGB in western Ukrainian oblast about activating the

17 POSPELOVSKY, D.: *The Russian Church under the Soviet regime 1917 – 1982*. Vol. 1. Crestwood 1984, p. 201 – 206.

18 SHKAROVSKII, M.: *Russkaya Pravoslavnaya Cerkov pri Stalinie i Khrushchovie: gosudarstvenno-cerkovnyie otnoshenia v SSSR 1939 – 1964 godakh* [The Russian Orthodox Church under Stalin and Khrushchev: the Church-State Relations in the USSR, 1939 - 1964]. Moskva 1999, p. 202, 204 – 205. BILAS, I.: *Represyвно-karalna systema*, p. 306.

19 BILAS, I.: *Represyвно-karalna systema*, p. 305 – 306.

20 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 2, p. 43, 46 – 47.

21 The State Political Directorate.

22 BOCIURKIW, B.: *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church*, p. 67.

23 SHKAROVSKII, M.: *Russkaia Pravoslavnaiia Cerkov*, p. 202, 205.

operative work regarding the UGCC.²⁴ There was double control from the central and republican NKGB organs. For practical realization and under a close supervision, two high rank State Security officers from Kyiv, lieutenant-col. S. Danylenko-Karin (publicly used only name Danylenko) and captain Ivan Bohdanov (publicly used code-name “IVANOV”) were delegated to Lviv in 1944 – 1946. They stayed in the city of Lviv one after another and pushed ahead secret plans of the Soviet top authorities and the NKGB towards the UGCC and the UPA. Their cover status was presented in Lviv under the title of “*referent of the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious affairs of the Ukrainian Council of People’s Commissars.*”²⁵ In reality Danylenko-Karin was the chief of the NKGB UkrSSR first operative group and Bohdanov-Ivanov was chief of the 1st section of the 2nd Department of the 2nd Executive NKGB UkrSSR. In Lviv Danylenko-Karin acted very carefully in order not to uncover his real position and affiliation with the NKGB, and was quite successful in this.²⁶ Fr. Havryil Kostelnyk called him “Mr. Minister”²⁷ and his successor Bohdanov-Ivanov – “Mr. Deputy Minister.”²⁸

Lieutenant-col. Danylenko-Karin arrived to Lviv in first days of September 1944 on the direct order from *narkom* Savchenko to start realization of the approved by the NKGB USSR operative work regarding the UGCC.²⁹ His position at the beginning of his work in Lviv was the following: not to start any obvious persecutions or other actions against the UGCC while Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi has been still alive.³⁰ His primary aim was to learn about the religious situation in Halychyna from the first hand experience and to get from the hierarchs an official declaration of the UGCC loyalty to the Soviet state.

Thus the first action of Danylenko-Karin was the obligation of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi to pay him an official visit. Instead of Metro-

24 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi*, p. 360 – 363. KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 225 – 228.

25 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 218 – 219, p. 42 – 43.

26 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 43.

27 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 661.

28 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 83.

29 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 42.

30 HAIKOVSKYI, M. (ed.): *Khresnoyu dorohoju: funkcionuvannia i sproby likvidacii UGCC v umovakh SRSR u 1939 – 1941 ta 1944 – 1946 rokakh. Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* [By the Road of the Cross: Functioning and Attempts of the Liquidation of the UGCC in the USSR in 1939 – 1941, 1944 – 1946. Collection of documents and materials]. Lviv 2006, p. 94 – 99.

politan, who was very ill and quite a long time has not left his residence, went Bishop-Coadjutor Iosyf Slipyi. His Eminence Iosyf in his Memoirs left account about this meeting with plenipotentiary Danylenko, who was very harsh on him and interrogated him about activities of the UGCC during the German occupation. However, afterwards the plenipotentiary, according to directions from *narkom* Savchenko,³¹ had changed his attitude during the meetings with Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi, and later with Iosyf Slipyi to a more polite one.

It was lieutenant-colonel Danylenko-Karin, who recommended the hierarchs to seek governmental “recognition” of their church and encouraged them to form and send to Kyiv and Moscow the official church delegation.³² This was done by Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi. Four members of the Greek Catholic delegation (Archimandrite of Studites Klementiy Sheptytskyi, Fr. Havryil Kostelnyk, Fr. Ivan Kotiv, and Hieromonk Grygoriy Budzynskiy, Studite) went on the trip on December 17 – 28, 1944. The plenipotentiary Danylenko-Karin and the top NKGB officers in Kyiv and Moscow held under the close supervision the preparation activities and the travel itself, which is clearly shown in recently published secret reports about this issue.³³ It should be remembered, that travels in the wartime were very complicated and needed special permissions from the Soviet authorities. In Kyiv the Greek Catholic priests met for the first time with Ivan Bohdanov-Ivanov, captain of the NKGB UkrSSR, who was introduced to them as the “*deputy of the plenipotentiary of the CARC UkrSSR*”.³⁴ In Moscow, they had two meetings with Ivan Polianskiy, colonel of the NKGB and the chairman of the CARC. The delegates presented to him the expected from the Soviet government guaranties of the rights for the UGCC (based on the previously practised rights from the Concordat with Poland of the year 1925). On the second meeting Polianskiy gave them oral answers (partly positive, partly negative) for their demands, and assured them in the Soviet toleration and recognition of their church. The delegates had one meeting with patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) Alexiy (Symanskyi) too. Moreover, on December 26, 1944, the Greek Catholic priests were escorted to the Central building of the NKVD in

31 Danylenko-Karin often received from *narkom* Savchenko detailed instructions for the necessary way of behaviour and actions during the meetings with Greek Catholic hierarchs and priests.

32 BOCIURKIW, B.: *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church*, p. 78.

33 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 272 – 296.

34 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 275 – 277.

Moscow, where they met with three top State Security officers (Fedotov, Leontiev and Sudoplatov), who introduced themselves as generals under fictional names. Their conversation was based around the issues of the contemporary situation in Halychyna and the UGCC possible help to the Soviet authority to stop the arm resistance of the UPA in the Western Ukraine.³⁵

Plenipotentiary Danylenko-Karin during his stay in Lviv tried to create among local society and clergy an impression of the positive attitude of the Soviet authorities to the UGCC. For example, he allowed the massive public march on the streets of the city of Lviv during Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi's funeral on November 5, 1944.³⁶ Nevertheless, on February 3, 1945 he proposed a detailed plan for the liquidation of the UGCC in Halychyna and Transcarpathia. The plan was based on the well-known Russian imperial church policy of the incorporation of the Greek Catholics into the ROC through so-called "reunion". Moreover, it proposed the elevation of the Initiative Group for the Reunion with the ROC (IG) among the eparchial clergy under the leadership of Fr. Havryil Kostelnyk from Lviv.³⁷

Captain NKGB Ivan Bohdanov-Ivanov arrived from Kyiv to Lviv in July 1945 to substitute lieut.-col. Danylenko-Karin. His task was the supervision and direct participation in gathering signatures from the eparchial priests in Lviv oblast under declaration for joining the IG. For achievement of the high number of the signatures he used threats and duress. Moreover, he gathered first hands information and characteristics about the clergy in different deaneries and pointed out to the NKGB oppositional figures. The deputy of plenipotentiary Bohdanov-Ivanov stayed in Lviv up to March 1946, when culmination of the whole "reunion" campaign and his personal hard work, so-called "Lviv council", took place.

35 SLYVKA, Yu., HALAICHYK, T., LUCKYI, O. (eds.): *Kulturne zhyttia v Ukraini. Zakhidni zemli. Dokumenty i materialy* [Cultural Life in Ukraine. Western Lands. Documents and materials], vol. 2 (1953 – 1966). Lviv 1996, p. 761 – 776. KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 278 – 285.

36 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi*, p. 376 – 379, 394 – 400, 408 – 413.

37 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 353 – 358.

1.1 NKVD-NKGB plans for the liquidation of the UGCC: 1940 – 1941 and 1944 – 1945

The preliminary plan of the NKVD operative work against the UGCC, directed toward its liquidation was done already during the first encounter in 1940 – 1941. On December 24, 1940 commissar of the State Security of the 3rd rate Pavel Fedotov, the head of the 2nd Department of the NKVD USSR, outlined a general plan of actions against Greek Catholic Church in the Western Ukraine, which was approved on January 11, 1941 by Beria. The plan aimed into the organization of the church split on the basis of the internal rivals between “Easternizers” (*vostochnyky*) and “Latinizers”, formation among local laity distrust for the hierarchy, organization of the movement among the Greek Catholics for the separation from the Vatican and at the same time activation of the Orthodox “*fight for the incorporation of the Uniates into the Orthodox Church*”, as well as use of the taxation policy as a pressure tool on the clergy.³⁸ Moreover, there was even an intention to put the UGCC under the NKVD full control by gradual change of its leaders with the “reliable agents”.³⁹

These propositions were mostly repeated on February 3, 1945 in lieutenant-col. Sergei Danylenko-Karin’s plan on the NKGB’s operative activities toward the UGCC liquidation. Danylenko-Karin’s plan excluded the pre-war idea to create an independent from Vatican Ukrainian Catholic Church, but proposed instead a creation within the UGCC the Initiative Group for the reunion with the Russian Orthodox Church, which should officially lead the campaign, charge its opponents with the accuse of being “*the traitors of the Ukrainian people and Orthodoxy*”, and organize the delegation to ecclesiastical authorities in Kyiv and Moscow regarding the conditions for reunion.⁴⁰ In five days in Kyiv *narkom* Savchenko confirmed this plan, but sent it on February 10 to Moscow for the final confirmation of Vsevolod Merkulov, *narkom* of the NKGB USSR. However, the Moscow authorities have suspended final decision until March 1945. Why so?

38 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 100 – 101.

39 VOLOKITINA, T., NOSKOVA, A., MURASHKO, G.: *Moskva i Vostochnaia Evropa. Vlast i Cerkov v period obshchestvennykh transformatsii 1940 – 50 godov* [Moscow and the Eastern Europe. The Authority and the Church in the Period of the Social Transformations in the Years 1940 – 1950]. Moskva 2008, p. 379.

40 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 353 – 358.

The Yalta conference on February 4 – 11, 1945 affirmed the incorporation of the Western Ukraine into the Ukrainian SSR. Researcher Serhiy Plokyh points out that decisions of the Yalta conference became the catalyst for the final fate of the UGCC.⁴¹ March of 1945 happened to be a decisive month for the UGCC. At the very beginning of March, Joseph Stalin and Viacheslav Molotov gave Georgiy Karpov and Ivan Polianskyi instructions in order to prepare account about relations between Catholic, Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches and to propose a general plan of measures against Vatican, which should be taken not only throughout the Soviet Union and the Soviet zone of influence in the Eastern-Central Europe, but also on the level of the all Christian world. On March 13, Polianskyi submitted his report, in which he predicted, that at the close end of the war Metropolitan Slipyi and bishops might try to reestablish contacts with Vatican and to reduce all elements of Eastern rite in the UGCC in order to full assimilation with Catholicity.⁴² In two days, on March 15, Karpov's general plan regarding "fight with Vatican" was ready and given for final approval to Stalin, Molotov and Beria. The proposal included 5 parts. Its first part was fully dedicated to the measures toward the liquidation of the UGCC. The propositions from the Danylenko-Karin's plan were as well included. Next day Stalin approved and signed this plan, which became more known as the Instruction #58.⁴³

Meanwhile, Nikita Khrushchov in Kyiv tried to speed up solution of "the Uniate (Greek Catholic) problem" and to begin actions in opening the liquidation process of the UGCC as soon as possible. He ordered *narkom* Savchenko on March 8, 1945 to start realization of Danylenko-Karin's plan with the arrests of hierarchy. Next day Savchenko asked for approval of such order his Moscow's boss Merkulov. The answer from the *narkom* of the NKGB USSR with confirmation of sanction on the Greek Catholic bishops' arrests reached Savchenko in three days. Besides this, the directive also included orders for: 1. arrests of anti-soviet professors and seminarians with mobilization of the rest seminarians into Red Army under the supervision of SMERSH, 2. realization of Karin's plan⁴⁴. However, the

41 PLOKHY, S.: In the Shadow of Yalta: International Politics and the Soviet Liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church. *Logos*, 1994, no. 1 – 4, p. 59 – 76.

42 VOLOKITINA, T., NOSKOVA, A., MURASHKO, G.: *Moskva i Vostochnaia Evropa*, p. 392 – 393.

43 BILAS, I.: *Represeвно-karalna systema*, p. 310 – 312.

44 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 380 – 381.

preparation for the start of the operation took some time and all actions were postponed until the beginning of April 1945.

2. Liquidation phase: April 1945 – June 1947

The scenario was realized by the spring 1947 in the range of following events. The publication on the feast of Annunciation on April 8, 1945 of the provocative anti-uniatic article *With cross or with knife*, signed by Volodymyr Rosovych (pseudo-name of local communist writer Yaroslav Halan) became the signal for local society and the NKGB that very soon repressions would come at the UGCC. The NKGB took part in selection materials for this article.⁴⁵ It was filled with open accusations of the UGCC hierarchy in the collaboration with the Nazi occupation regime.⁴⁶ It was read on local radio, additionally published as a brochure in 20,000 copies, and the population was obliged to take part in the article's discussion at their work places. The NKGB, ideological departments of the local authorities and Communist Party almost immediately carefully gathered the reactions of people and sent reports to Kyiv and Moscow.⁴⁷

Next step was taken very soon, on the night of April 11 – 12, 1945, when the well prepared operation for arrests of the UGCC hierarchy (Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi and four bishops) and prominent priests in Lviv and Stanislaviv took place.⁴⁸ An order to start persecutions was given from Stalin to Khrushchev.⁴⁹ Besides five hierarchs on the same night 26 priests were also arrested, next day Lviv and Stanislaviv seminaries were closed and 159 seminarians were mobilized into Red Army.⁵⁰

After these events, the Orthodox Eparchy of Lviv-Ternopil, a new entity in the Moscow Patriarchate, was created according to Karpov's plan by the end of April 1945. At that time Orthodox Bishop Makariy (Ok-siuk) arrived to Lviv. He was specially selected and ordained in April for

45 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 395.

46 See: ROSOVYCH, V.: *Z Krestom chy z nozhem. Vilna Ukraina, 1945*, 8. 4., p. 5 – 6. HALAN, Ya.: *Dramatychni tvory. Khudozhnia proza. Publicystyka*. Kyiv 1983, p. 391 – 403.

47 HAIKOVSKYI, M. (ed.): *Khresnoyu dorohoiu*, p. 46 – 47, 171 – 185. KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 479 – 490.

48 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 461 – 478.

49 VOLOKITINA, T., NOSKOVA, A., MURASHKO, G.: *Moskva i Vostochnaia Evropa*, p. 394.

50 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 526 – 527.

this eparchy. He was Ukrainian speaking and the NKGB saw his role in accepting “reunited” Greek Catholic priests into the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarch.⁵¹

During spring time 1945, in some regional sections of the NKGB priests were called in and they openly heard demands to convert to the Orthodoxy. Such an obvious involvement caused a special order from V. Merkulov, *narcom* of the NKGB USSR, issued on May 31, 1945, which forbade open intrusion into religious matters and obliged NKGB officers on all levels for conspiracy of their real state of involvement in the “reunion” process.⁵² However, the Greek Catholic clergy were aware about this. For example, on June 30, 1945 *narcom* Savchenko, in his report to the chairman of the Ukrainian government, N. Khrushchev, cited the words of Archimandrite Klementiy Sheptytskyi regarding his reaction to the publication of the appeal of the IG to clergy: “*Kostelnyk should start his appeal in the following way: by the mercy of the NKGB, with the blessing of Mr. Danylenko, we, apostate Havryil Kostelnyk and so on...* ”.⁵³

During April – May 1945 col. Danylenko-Karin was searching among the Greek Catholic clergy of Stanislaviv and Peremyshl Eparchies for two priests, who would agree to represent his eparchy as a member-founder of the Initiative Group for Reunion with the Russian Orthodox Church within the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Fr. Havryil Kostelnyk from Lviv Archeparchy has been already chosen by the NKGB as the head of the IG back in 1940. He basically gave his agreement after meeting with Danylenko-Karin on April 14, two days after hierarchs’ arrests. During this meeting Fr. Kostelnyk received plan what to do and how to act. During next meetings on April 18, 21, and 26, they discussed different issues regarding formation of the IG and Danylenko-Karin obliged him to finish preparation of the IG organization and submit him a draft of the IG appeals to the Soviet government and clergy.⁵⁴ On May 14, Fr. Mykola Mel’nyk, general vicar for part of Peremyshl Eparchy on the Soviet territory agreed to become the representative of his eparchy in the IG after conversation with Danylenko-Karin in Lviv. Moreover, in his secret report to

51 SERGIYCHUK, V.: *Neskorena Cerkva. Podvyzhnyctvo greko-katolykiv v borotbi za viru i derzhavu* [The Unbowed Church. Heroism of the Greek Catholics in Struggle for Their Faith and State]. Kyiv 2001, p. 42 – 45.

52 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 764 – 766.

53 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 834 – 836.

54 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 554 – 557, 565 – 571, 601 – 604.

Savchenko Danylenko-Karin recommended Fr. Melnyk for ordination as an Orthodox Bishop.⁵⁵

The most problematic for Danylenko-Karin was search for the representative of Stanislaviv Eparchy. Fr. Antin Pelvets'kyi, dean of the Husiatyn deanery, was already a third candidate from this eparchy. He had conversation with Danylenko-Karin in Lviv on the last day of May.⁵⁶ The appeal of the IG to the Soviet government and to the Greek Catholic clergy was signed by the back date May 28, 1945, which was regarded as its establishment date. On June 18, 1945 Khodchenko, plenipotentiary CAROC UkrSSR, in the name of the Soviet government officially recognized the IG as the only official temporary representative of the UGCC to deal with.⁵⁷ During the end of July – October 1945 members of the IG in collaboration and control with the MGB pushed ahead the persuasive-gathering work of the IG among the eparchial Greek Catholic clergy.

In late July 1945 captain of NKGB Ivan Bohdanov-Ivanov transferred from Kyiv to Lviv to substitute Danylenko-Karin and to provide immediate control over the “reunion” project. He proposed to Fr. Kostelnyk detailed plan of meetings in 26 deaneries during August 4 – September 1, 1945 on the territory of Lviv oblast, which they would directed together. The result of such meeting was expected in receiving declaration for joining the IG with the signatures of present priests.⁵⁸ In the beginning, they used NKGB car for travels in districts. In September lieutenant general M. Voronin, the chief of the Lviv oblast Executive of the NKGB, forbade to do this. The reason was given the following: “*violating conspiratorial matters*”.⁵⁹

Capt. Bogdanov-Ivanov since the first deanery meeting had seen that many priests signed declaration only out of fear and “*if they receive tomorrow proposition to reunite with the Orthodox Church, they would claim their signatures back*”.⁶⁰ By the end of 1945 Fr. Kostelnyk also had to admit, that among the Greek Catholic clergy from all three eparchies it was

55 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 654 – 658.

56 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 769 – 771.

57 SERGIYCHUK, V.: *Neskorena Cerkva*, p. 67 – 68.

58 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 2, p. 94.

59 HAIKOVSKYI, M. (ed.): *Khresnoyu dorohoju*, p. 250.

60 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 2, p. 100.

hardly possible to find at least 100 supporters (about 9%) for the “reunion” with the ROC.⁶¹

Nevertheless, by December 1945 the period of “persuasion” and gathering signatures of the “reunion supporters” was regarded by the Soviet authorities as fulfilled. On December 12 – 13, 1945, high rank officials from Moscow and Kyiv (Karpov, Polianskyi, Utkin, Pugo, Vilkhovyi, Khodchenko, and the plenipotentiaries of both CAROC and CARC for the western Ukrainian oblasts) held a conference in Kyiv, dedicated to the analysis of the results of the “reunion” campaign and the discussion of possible variants and dates for the “council”.⁶² They met after the conference with three leaders of the IG. During that meeting were also present col. Danylenko-Karin and cap. Bogdanov-Ivanov.⁶³ After that Karpov and Polianskyi met with chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers N. Khrushchev and his deputy L. Korniets. In five days after this meeting *narkom Savchenko* approved “*Plan for calling all-halician council of the Greek Catholic Church for its final reunion with the Russian Orthodox Church.*”⁶⁴

On February 22 – 26, 1946, a group of the IG leaders and their close supporters arrived to Kyiv. On this visit Fr. Antin Pel’vets’kyi and Fr. Mykola Mel’nyk, two celibate leaders of the Initiative Group, were consecrated Orthodox bishops and the rest present priests officially converted to the Orthodoxy.⁶⁵ Moreover, on March 1, 1946 news about the convictions of the arrested Greek Catholic Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi and four other church hierarchs⁶⁶ was published in the local newspaper.

These events were a prelude to the so-called “Lviv council”, which took place on March 8 - 10, 1946. Col. Danylenko-Karin personally arrived to Lviv to supervise preparatory work to be done for this meeting. He confirmed its budget, products and menu for three days, requests for hotels and transportation reservations, even though Fr. Kostelnyk officially

61 VOLOSHYN, Yu.: Havryil Kostelnyk: try lysty do Moskovskoho Patriarkha [Havryil Kostelnyk: Three Letters to the Moscow Patriarch]. *Z archiviv VUCH, GPU, NKVD, KGB*, 2001, no. 2 (17), p. 426 – 428.

62 SERGIYCHUK, V.: *Neskorena Cerkva*, p. 85 – 86.

63 BOCIURKIW, B.: *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church*, p. 130.

64 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 2, p. 447.

65 *Diyannia soboru hreko-katolyckoi cerkvy u Lvovi 8 – 10 bereznia 1946* [Acts of the Greek Catholic Church Council in Lviv on March 8 – 10, 1946]. Lviv 1946, p. 28 – 29.

66 Bishops Mykolai Charnetskyi, Nykyta Budka, Ivan Liatyshevskyi, and Apostolic Administrator for Ukrainians in Germany Fr. Petro Verhun. Bishop Grygoriy Khomyshyn died in Kyiv’s prison hospital on January 17, 1946.

wrote letters about these issues to the local authorities.⁶⁷ Capt. Bogdanov-Ivanov oversaw the selection of the delegates to the “council” and “pre-approved” their mandates on the eve of this gathering.⁶⁸ The MGB and the MVS officers gathered appointed “delegates” from their homes to the towns, grouped them, provided for them transportation means and accompanied to Lviv. Most of priests learned that they had to register as the delegates of the “council” only after their arrival to Lviv. Some priests thought, taking into account lack of information and the involvement of the MGB, that they were arrested and taken to Lviv’s prison.⁶⁹

According to the decisions (prepared jointly with the MGB and government representatives) of this “*rump synod, consisting of 216 intimidated priests and two [Orthodox] bishops (Mykola Melnyk and Antin Pel’vetskyi) hastily ordained from the ranks of the UGCC clergy by Russian Orthodox bishops*”, was subscribed “*the denunciation of the Brest Union and amalgamation of the UGCC into the Russian Orthodox Church*”.⁷⁰ However, as interviews with priests who were witnesses⁷¹ show and B. Bociurkiw⁷² proves, among them only minimal number did this voluntarily on the basis of their own convictions. Lviv “council” of March 1946 was regarded as the culmination of the liquidation phase for the Halych Metropolitanate. However, in reality it was not the final point.

Meanwhile, on the territory of Poland has still remained a part of the divided suffragan Eparchy of Peremyshl with two Greek Catholic bishops, Josafat Kocylowskyi and Grygoriy Lakota, and the whole Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region. On April 25, 1946 the Polish Security officers arrested both bishops together with Peremyshl canons and forcefully transferred them into the Soviet Ukraine. Afterwards the MGB took

67 HAIKOVSKYI, M. (ed.): *Khresnoyu dorohoju*, p. 312 – 317, 319.

68 ROZHNOV, G.: Eto my, Hospodi [Here We Are, the Lord]. *Ogoniok*, 1989, no. 38, p. 7.

69 Archive of the Institute of Church History (A ICH), file 322, Interview with Fr. Omelian Ivasyk, March 3, 1994, Drohobych, Lviv oblast.

70 GUDZIAK, B., SUSAK, V.: Becoming a Priest in the Underground: the Clandestine Life of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. *The Journal of the Oral History Society*, 1996, no. 2, p. 42. See also for more detailed account of the events: BOCIURKIW, B.: *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church*, p. 154 – 161, 175 – 183.

71 A ICH, file 322, Interview with Fr. Omelian Ivasyk, March 3, 1994, Drohobych, Lviv oblast. A ICH, file 268, Interview with Fr. Iosyf Antkiv, January 11, 1994, Tsygany, Borshivskyi raion, Ternopil’ska oblast.

72 BOCIURKIW, B.: *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church*, p. 180 – 181.

both Peremyshl bishops into Kyivan prison.⁷³ Thus on the institutional level the Greek Catholic Church within Poland was liquidated after the two forceful transfers of the Ukrainians: 1. to the Soviet Ukraine (1944 – 1946) and 2. to the northern and western territories of Poland in the framework of the so-called operation “Wisła” (April – July, 1947).⁷⁴

Back into the Soviet Ukraine, on January 17, 1947 new secret Directive No. 258 was sent to the MGB of the western Ukrainian oblast, where they were accused in negligence of the important work of control over the ecclesiastical-canonical registration of the Greek Catholic priests’ “reunion” with the Russian Orthodox Church.⁷⁵ Same fact was also stated on the special meeting of the western Ukrainian oblast plenipotentiaries, dedicated to the not satisfying results of the year-long work of “reunion” and “liquidation of the Brest Union”, held on April 22 – 23, 1947 in Kyiv.⁷⁶ Thus only in the middle of 1947 the cooperation between the western Ukrainian oblast’s MGB and the CARC allowed to achieve expected by Moscow top authorities results in Halychyna. First of all, many of the “recalcitrant” Greek Catholic priests, who since March 1946 have been openly continuing to celebrate liturgies in their parishes, received by summer 1947 an official letter from oblast’s plenipotentiary with prohibition of the further celebrations. After this they were expelled from the parish churches (des-

73 HAŁAGIDA, I.: “Szpieg Watykanu”. *Kapłan greckokatolicki ks. Bazyli Hrynyk (1896 – 1977)*. Warszawa 2008, p. 44. MISYŁO, E.: *Greko-Katolycka Cerkva u Polshchi (1944 – 1947)*. *Warszawski ukrainoznavchi zapysky*, 1989, no. 1, p. 208. O. HARASYM I., OSBM: *Narys vybranykh aspektiv instorii Greko-katolyckoi Cerkvy v Polshchi (1945 – 1985)*. *Zustrichi*, 1990, no. 5 – 6, p. 20 – 23.

74 MISYŁO, E. (ed.): *Repatriacja czy deportacja. Przesiedlenie Ukraińców z Polski do USRR 1944 – 1946. Dokumenty 1944 – 1945*. Vol 1. Warszawa 1996, 335 p. MISYŁO, E. (ed.): *Repatriacja czy deportacja. Przesiedlenie Ukraińców z Polski do USRR 1944 – 1946. Dokumenty 1946*. Vol. 1. Warszawa 1999, 395 p. MISYŁO, E. (ed.): *Akcja “Wisła”. Dokumenty*. Warszawa 1993, 524 p. BOGUNOV S. (ed.): *Polshcha ta Ukraina u trydciatykh-sorokovykh rokakh XX st. Nevidomi dokumenty z archiviv specialnykh sluzhnb. Akciya “Wisła” 1947*. Vol. 5. Warszawa – Kyiv 2006, 832 p.

75 SERDIUK, N.: *Katakombna Cerkva v dii. Za materialamy Derzhavnoho archivu Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy [Underground Church in Action. On the Basis of Materials from the State Archive of the Security of Ukraine]*. In: *Patriarch Iosyf Slipyi iak vyznachnyi ukraïns'kyi ierarkh, naukovec' ta patriot. Materialy Mizhnarodnoi naukovoï konferencii*. Kyiv 2003, p. 69 – 70.

76 HAIKOVSKYI, M. (ed.): *Khresnoyu dorohoiu*, p. 456 – 457.

ted for closure) and many of them were soon arrested or deported.⁷⁷ Secondly, in May – June, 1947 issue of the ROC Lviv-Ternopil Eparchy periodical *Eparchialnyi Visnyk* (Eparchial Herald) published the list of 1106 priests, who were documented as “reunited”.⁷⁸ This publication had to prove publicly the success of the “reunion” campaign and the closure of the liquidation phase.

3. Prevention phase: 1945/1947 – 1950

The State Security used typical methods in their work with the clerics of the UGCC, such as arrests of the clergy and their family members, blackmail, duress, manipulation. Arrests of those opposed to the “reunion” priests were planned and made up one of the repressive measures, which provided the success of the whole enterprise. By June 20, 1945 *narkom* Savchenko reported to Khrushchev the arrest of 91 Greek Catholic clerics by the NKGB: five hierarchs, 72 priests, two religious, five deacons and six seminarians.⁷⁹ Researcher Liudmyla Babenko provides following statistical data about arrests of priests in the Lviv oblast only in the year 1940 - 13, and during 1944 – 1950 - 223 (1944 – 5, 1945 – 89, 1946 – 18, 1947 – 16, 1948 – 19, 1949 – 23, 1950 – 53).

Several of the arrested priests were liberated on the request of Fr. Kostelnyk in 1945 – 1946 under condition that they would join the IG. For example, Fr. Ivan Klius and Fr. Dmytro Semchyshyn from Lviv spent several months in the prison and after the intervention of Fr. Kostelnyk they were liberated and joined the IG.⁸⁰ Despite this exceptional facts, most of the arrested clergy were accused and sentenced on the basis of two the most “popular” articles of the Criminal Law Codex of the UkrSSR: 54-1a (trea-

77 A ICH, file 265, Interview with Orest Huhlevych ta yim. Nataliyei, November 25, 1993, Lviv. A ICH, file 192, Interview with Ivan Kubai, April 10, 1993, Zymna Voda, Pustomytivskiy raion, Lviv oblast. HURKINA, S.: Dukhovenstvo likvidovanoji Cerkvy u 1946 – 1953 rokakh: na prykladi Lvivskoi oblasti [The Clergy of the «Liquidated» Church, 1946 – 1953: The Example of the Lviv Oblast]. In: *Istoria religiy v Ukraini. Naukovyi shchorichnyk*. Lviv 2006, p. 228 – 236.

78 *Eparchialnyi visnyk* [Eparchial Herald], 1947, no. 5 – 6.

79 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 843.

80 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 87, 131.

son of the fatherland) and 54-10 (anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation).⁸¹ Many of the arrested Greek Catholic priests, who refused to convert to the Orthodoxy, were sent to prison or labour camps in Siberia, Kazakhstan, northern, central and far eastern territories of the Russian Federation. In 1946 – 1950 the members of priestly families were often deported to special settlements in these areas, too.

Moreover, already in 1945 Security organs had tried to control situation within the “recalcitrant” Greek Catholic clergy in order to prevent the emergence of the underground church. The first step was done already on April 25, 1945, with the arrest of Fr. Omelian Horchynskiy, who was secretly elected at Lviv’s canons meeting as Canonical Vicar.⁸² Three out of four administrators secretly appointed by Metropolitan Iosyf were arrested as well (bishops Nykyta Budka and Mykola Charnetskiy, on the same day as the Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi, and Archimandrite Clementiy Sheptytskyi on May 30, 1947). The last of them, Fr. Josef De Vocht, provincial of the CSsR, was obliged to leave the Soviet Ukraine as a Belgian citizen in December 1948. By May 1950, the secretly appointed Canonical vicar Fr. Mykola Khmiliovskiy (who acted as such during October 1945 – July 1949) and General vicar Fr. Ivan Ziatyk, CSsR were also arrested.⁸³ Thus by means of arrests by the summer of 1950, NKGB-MGB prevented the attempts of the Greek Catholic clergy to have canonical administration.

Greek Catholic clergy in the city of Lviv tried to use legal measures to protest against Soviet persecutions and the forced conversion to the Orthodoxy in the year 1945. At the beginning of summer 1945 they wrote a letter to Viacheslav Molotov, a Minister of the Foreign Affairs of USSR and the right hand of Stalin. 61 priests, mostly from Lviv, signed this letter. It contained protests against the arrests of hierarchy, disapproval of the unlawful activities of the IG and appeal to the Soviet government to

81 BABENKO, L.: “Vzhyty neobkhidnykh agenturno-operatyvnykh zakhodiv ...”: spetssluzhby u spravi likvidaciji Ukrainskoi Greko Katolytskoi Cerkvy (1939 – 1941 pp.) [“To Take Necessary Measures”: State Security Organs in the Liquidation of the UGCC (1939 – 1941)]. In: *Istoria religiy v Ukraini. Naukovyi shchorichnyk*. Lviv 2006, p. 160.

82 Holovnyi Derzhavnyi Archiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy (HDA SBU), fund (f.) 6, Sprava 75188-FP Kriminalnoie delo po obvineniyu Kovalskoho Aleksandra Dmitrievicha i Gorchinskoho Emeliana Mikhailovicha v prestupleniakh, predusmotrennykh st. st. 54-1a i 54-11, folio 250, 251 reverse.

83 HDA SBU, Sprava P-35073 Kriminalnoie delo po obvineniyu Khmelevskoho N. I. v prestupleniakh, predusmotrennykh st. st. 54-1a, 54-10 chast 2 i 54-11 UkrSSR i druhikh, in 5 vol., vol. 1, folio 29 – 30, 59.

allow the election of general vicar to govern the church.⁸⁴ In July 1945 the “recalcitrant” Greek Catholic priests undertook one more action. Fr. Josyf Kladochnyi and Fr. Ivan Kotiv travelled to Kyiv with food and cloth packages for the imprisoned metropolitan and bishops, who were kept in the Kyivan NKGB prison. In Kyiv these priests met with P. Vilkhovyi, plenipotentiary of the CARC. They informed him about the letter sent to V. Molotov and about further plans to gather more signatures from more priests and also the faithful under their demands.⁸⁵ As a result of this visit the NKGB opened *delo* named *Vatykantysi* (“Vaticanists”) against 11 priests from Lviv and started their arrests.⁸⁶ In 1945 – 1946, in the city of Lviv, 32 out of 62 Greek Catholic priests were arrested. These arrests allowed to fill all of the Lviv parishes before the March 1946 “council” with the supporters of the IG.

In 1945 – 1949 several authoritative so-called “recalcitrant” priests (e.g. Archimandrite Clementiy Sheptytskyi, Fr. Joseph De Vocht CSsR, Fr. Roman Bakhtalovskiy CSsR, Fr. Mykola Khmiliovskiy, and Fr. Vasyl Hrynyk) made different attempts to send reports to the Vatican about the situation of the UGCC in the UkrSSR and in Poland, including materials about arrests and the real Soviet religious policy. Some of their communications reached the addressee, but most of them did not. Instead they appeared as proof of the anti-Soviet activities in the criminal cases of these priests (with the exception of Fr. Joseph De Vocht) and served as a basis for their accusations and arrests.

After the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church on the official institutional level, the Soviet authorities fulfilled the next stage of their plan: they suppressed religious orders and congregations.⁸⁷ This liquidation of monasteries and convents was done gradually. It generally went through three stages: 1. gathering of information about monasteries and their inhabitants, 2. closure of small monastic houses by local authorities, and 3. gathering monks or nuns into one monastery of the order or congregation, which would also soon be closed.⁸⁸ For example, members of all three male religious orders from the Lviv oblast were gathered and moved to-

84 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 2, p. 79 – 82.

85 SERGIYCHUK, V.: *Neskorena Cerkva*, p. 93.

86 KOKIN, S., SERDIYUK, N., SERDIYUK, S.: *Likvidaciya UGCC*, vol. 1, p. 58.

87 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 465 – 467.

88 HLYSTIUK, Ya, TURIY, O.: *Greko-katolytske chernectvo v religiionomu zhytti Ukrainy, 1939 – 2001 roky* [Greek Catholic Monastics in Religious Life of Ukraine, 1939 – 2001]. *Kovcheg*, 2001, no. 3, p. 360 – 377.

gether into Univ Lavra, the main monastery of the Studites, located 60 km away from Lviv (in October 1948 Redemptorists and in 1949 Basilians). Later the Univ Lavra was also closed by the Soviets in September 1950⁸⁹. Monks and priests, who were left without any means, had to go whenever they wanted. Some of them returned to their relatives, some went back to the places, where were their monasteries. They had to accommodate themselves to new realities.⁹⁰

Two assassinations of the key figures of the “reunion” process, Fr. Havryil Koslelnyk (September 20, 1948) and writer Yaroslav Halan (October 28, 1949)⁹¹ gave the State Security new grounds for repressions in Western Ukraine on a higher scale: mass deportations of population and persecutions of the “recalcitrant” and “reunited” clergy. The MGB accused the Vatican of organizing Halan’s death, with reunited Fr. Dionisiy Lukashevych named as the organizer. He was sentenced to 25 years of labour camps, and his three sons - students, Oleksandr, Myron and Illarion, were convicted and sentenced to death sentence in 1951.⁹² January – April 1950 marked a culmination point of the priests’ arrests and deportation of their families to the special settlements.⁹³

These actions, together with the announcement of the liquidation of the Uzhgorod Union in Transcarpathia in August 1949 and the

89 MANUIL, I.: *Istoria Sviato-Uspenskoji Univskoj Lavry i studijskoho monashestva* [History of the Holy Assumption Univ Lavra and the Studite Monks]. Lviv 2005, p. 90 – 91.

90 HLYSTIUK, Ya, TURIY, O.: *Greko-katolytske chernectvo*, p. 364.

91 VEDENEEV D.: *Ukrainskij front v vojnakh spetssluzhb* [The Ukrainian Front in the Secret Securities Wars]. Kiev 2008, p. 373 – 389.

92 A ICH, file 79, Interview with Zenoviem Lukashevychem, January 23, 1993, Lviv. Interview with Oryseiu Lashchevskoiu-Lukashevych, September 1, 1995, Kolomyia.

93 HURKINA S.: “Likwidacja Kościoła Grekokatolickego – zastosowanie mechanizmu sowieckiego systemu represyjnego na przykładzie losów duchownych Archidiecezji Lwowskiej”. In: ROGUT, D., ADAMCHYK, A. (eds.): *Represje sowieckie wobec narodów Europy Srodkowo-Wschodniej 1944 – 1956* [The Liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as the Mechanism of the Soviet Penalty-Repressional System in Action: The Example of the Fate of the Clergy from the Lviv Archeparchy]. Żelów 2005, p. 219 – 254.

reunion of part of its clergy with the ROC⁹⁴, fully resolved the “Greek Catholic (Uniate) problem” in the USSR, as already stated by col. G. Karpov in his secret report to Stalin, issued in September 1949:

“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 [matter] of the liquidation of the [church] union was given great attention by the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR, the CP(b)U CC⁹⁵, and personally by comrade N. S. Khrushchev. Major and essential measures were carried out by the organs of the MGB of the USSR”⁹⁶.

Conclusion

Immediately after the end of the Second World War, during the first five years of Soviet rule in western Ukraine, NKVD and NKGB on all levels were involved, and closely supervised the process of the official liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR. Moreover, these institutions tried to control the situation within the opposition among Greek Catholic clergy and were quite successful in 1945 – 1950 in restraining the institutionalisation of the Greek Catholic Church in the form of an underground church.

Resumé

Úloha orgánov sovietskej štátnej bezpečnosti pri likvidácii Ukrajinskej gréckokatolíckej cirkvi v Haliči a ich zásahy proti prvým pokusom o vytvorenie podzemnej cirkvi v rokoch 1945 – 1950

Autorka v príspevku poukazuje na formy činnosti sovietskych bezpečnostných orgánov (NKGB – MGB) v Moskve a Kyjeve, aké uplatňovali v procese likvidácie Ukrajinskej gréckokatolíckej cirkvi (UGKC) v Hali-

94 BENDAS, S., BENDAS, D.: *Sviashchenyky-muchenyky, spovidnyky virnosti* [Priests-Martyrs, Confessors of Fidelity]. Uzhgorod 1999, 408 p. PUSHKASH, L.: *Tse – Liudyna. Sluha Bozhyi Teodor Romzha, epyskop Mukachivskoiï greko-katolyckoi eparchii (1911 – 1947)* [Esse Homo. The Servant of God Teodor Romzha, Bishop of the Mukachiv Greek Catholic Eparchy]. Lviv 2001, 244 p. FENYCH, V.: “Chuzhi” sered svoiikh, “svoiï” sered chuzhykh. *Greko-katolyky Mukachivskoiï eparchiiï pid chas ta pislia “vozziednannia” Zakarpattia z Radianskoyu Ukrainoiu*. Uzhgorod 2007, 107 p.

95 Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine Central Committee.

96 SERGIYCHUK, V.: *Neskorena Cerkva*, p. 226 – 227.

či. Opisuje plány NKGB – MGB v rokoch 1940 – 1941 a 1945. Uvádza konkrétne mená dvoch dôstojníkom štátnej bezpečnosti z Kyjeva, pl. S. Danylenka-Karina a kpt. I. Bohdanova-Ivanova, ktorých poslal *narkom* S. Savčenko na obdobie rokov 1944 – 1946 do Lvova, aby priamo dohliadali na vykonávanie likvidačného plánu. Autorka predstavuje operatívnu činnosť NKGB – MGB voči UGKC v troch etapách: 1. prípravná fáza: september 1944 – marec 1945, 2. likvidačná fáza: apríl 1945 – jún 1947, a 3. preventívna fáza: 1945/1947 – 1950.