

Introduction

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AN ECUMENIST ANALYZES THE HISTORY AND PROSPECTS OF RELIGION IN
UKRAINE

Searching for light

Each can guide the other by,

Sharing the search

With all who need the sun

Frances Forde Plude, "Thoreau Reflection" *

The informational horizon created in Ukraine by the mass media, unfortunately, cannot be called either objective or complete. The network of church presses, together with religious and analytical divisions of the secular mass media, are not sufficient and do not meet the urgent needs of either the church or society. Educational-evangelical work is done by means of the mass media, after a fashion, whereas theological and analytical fields are still poorly developed. This is mainly due to the insufficient religious and theological formation of Ukrainian journalists, as well as the considerable non-professionalism of the monitoring of religious processes in Ukraine .

Against this general background, the orientation of religious journalism, starting from the 1990s, has been considerably affected by the competition between the main churches of Ukraine . The mass media became the field for propaganda battles between rival groups and for settling historic scores. The negative effect of such publications later became so obvious that part of the church and the secular mass media became more careful and made efforts to avoid the subject of interchurch relations altogether. At the same time, there are still materials in circulation in Ukraine that are likely to be classified as at least ill disposed if not provocative. Despite the fact that passions regarding the churches have not calmed yet, an increasing number of Christians are beginning to realize that there can be no winners in these propaganda battles.

However, there is a long way to go from realizing the general harm of hostile publications to stopping the propaganda mill. There are very few examples of Ukrainian churches making steps to approach each other in the information sphere. These examples do not constitute a socially noticeable phenomenon. For instance, a meeting of laity of different confessions with editors of the religious and secular press of Lviv was in a way unique. The meeting was organized by the Institute of Religion and Society of the Lviv Theological Academy (now Ukrainian Catholic University) on 5 October 1999 . It was a seminar called "Tolerance in the Religious Press," where representatives of various churches jointly addressed newspaper editors and called upon them to present materials on the church situation in a more friendly way. However, in general, there is still not enough space in the Ukrainian information field to propagate ecumenism or at least all-national religious reconciliation.

As for the international press, even sporadic analyses thereof give grounds to assert that the agencies of the Moscow Patriarchate are the main source of information about the Slavic world for the international community. Until recently, it was the only information channel and, accordingly, the only version of religious history of the region. Of course, this version, as well as any other church's historic views, should be respected, especially as it is held by millions of believers. It does not follow from this, however, that this version is undeniably correct or should remain unchanged.

The Christian world's inertness, remaining oriented solely to information materials from Moscow , runs increasingly counter to the realities of modern Ukraine . Further ignoring these realities may lead to considerable distortion of the real picture of religious life in this country. In the 1990s, Greek Catholics desperately tried to deny the very existence of "religious war" in Western Ukraine (still confirming the presence of serious disputes between Orthodox and Greek Catholic communities.) The crying inadequacy of this definition eventually made the Patriarch of Moscow and All Rus Alexis recently admit "the absence of open clashes between Orthodox and Uniates." 1

There is another aspect that should be mentioned. One of the recognized rules of conflict management says: "another party's interpretation of events is as legitimate as our own." 2It follows from this that the historiography of churches, not recognized by Moscow , is as equally legitimate as the historiography of the Moscow Patriarchate. Anyway, it will be very difficult to solve the problem of reconciliation (as the first step towards ecumenism) without recognizing this fact. Therefore, sooner or later the Western mass media will have to give up the convenient but oversimplified view of problems through the eyes of only one side.

Unfortunately, there is the other side of the same coin. We have to admit that Ukrainian sources of information are either absent (in foreign languages) or non-

competitive in the world market of information. This is due not only to the material hardships faced by Ukrainian churches, but also to the lack of knowledge of the rules of that market and the principles of information presentation. Presumably, it will be possible to solve these problems gradually under the condition that interest is mutual. We have a good example of a mutual project of the previously mentioned Institute of Religion and Society (of the Ukrainian Catholic University) and the American Bradley Foundation with regard to establishing an objective Religious Information Service of Ukraine (www.risu.org.ua). This information service is becoming increasingly recognized in Ukraine and abroad. We appreciate any attempt to understand the whole spectrum of different perspectives on the religious situation in Ukraine . In this context, I would like to express my deep gratitude to Dr Frances Forde Plude, Notre Dame College , USA , for her interest in the present study and for her personal donation to see it published.

The main goal of this paper is to present a Greek Catholic view on the interchurch relations in Ukraine as it is seen from a layman's perspective . Hopefully, the observation-like style of the paper will make the understanding of the situation easier (and that is always important in the case of Ukraine). At the same time, however, I apologize for sacrificing certain academic criteria in order to achieve the desired clarity.

Let me give you also some comment on the place of the Moscow Patriarchate in the further analysis. References to the position of the Russian Orthodox Church will play an important role in my study simply because the main accusations against Greek Catholics come from that direction. It is not so strange that I consider most of the accusations unjust and biased, and it will be my task to show the same events or trends from a different perspective.

This task, however, is sometimes fraught with traps. Any researcher willing to go deeper into the logic of confrontation takes the risk of being captured by a dispute and presents his or her view in a more emotional way than necessary for the analysis. I apologize in advance for such moments if they are found in my study. I know that such fencing with arguments , by itself, has never solved a prolonged conflict because people talk about positions while motivated by interests . That is why the researcher has to tear himself or herself away, in time, from the captivity of refutations presenting his or her positive vision of how to get out of conflict. This is exactly what I intend to do. I am sure that the Russian Orthodox Church and Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church will be a test for one another. Sometimes, however, it looks like both sides, in different ways, have fallen into a psychological trap where Christ's voice from the Sermon on a Mount is barely resonating. To correct unjust argumentation for the sake of truth is only one part of the task. The other and more important task is to propose the way out of the traps of history. It is the readers themselves who will decide whether this author's attempt to do so is successful.

Chapter 1

Chapter 1. A Retrospective Overview of Interchurch Relations in Ukraine

1.1. The Attitude of Ukrainians Toward the Notion of Ecumenism.

The attitude of modern Ukrainians to the notion of ecumenism is very ambiguous and burdened by history. Researchers agree that there exists a steady idiosyncrasy with regard to the term “ecumenism” in Ukraine in general. The term triggers alarms and distrust for many people. Many religious and non-religious reasons could be listed for this non-acceptance. For me as an ecumenist, the most important among them are the following:

A. In the memory of the older generation (especially believers), the notion of ecumenism is closely associated with the international policy of the post-war Kremlin. Under the pretext of the so-called “struggle for peace,” the notion of “ecumenism” managed to place international Christian organizations under its command and, to a great extent, manipulate their aspirations for establishing Christian peace in Europe and the world. It was due to the Kremlin's influence that the meetings of the Christian Peace Conferences had rather specific agenda. The deployment of middle-range rockets have been discussed there more often than the protection of the rights of believers in the USSR and the policy of the official extermination of religion from the life of the socialist community. Such ecumenism only left an aftertaste of double-dealing on the lips, as did anything associated with the great policy of the Kremlin. Metropolitan Kirill (Gundiaev), who personally participated in the ecumenical meetings of that time and of today, himself recognized at the end of 1995 that Soviet ecumenism had a utilitarian character. Therefore, in the mind of many Ukrainians, the notion of ecumenism is still associated with the “intrigues of Moscow.”

B. As we know, after the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church became an important leader in ecumenical efforts. Its model of ecumenism, which stipulated the recognition of the primacy of the Pope, undoubtedly differed from the model of the Orthodox-Protestant world, united around the World Council of Churches. This gave grounds to those Ukrainians who were ill disposed to Catholicism to speak about a “Vatican plot.” These sentiments became especially strong after the collapse of the Soviet Union, when the redistribution of the spheres of influence of the Christian churches started.

The Vatican's ecumenical position was criticized also by those Ukrainians who, for the most part, supported Catholicism (especially in the diaspora). The so-called Ost politik of the Vatican, on which its ecumenical initiatives were based, was for them too pro-Muscovite to be truly ecumenical.

C. The 1990s were marked by a crisis in the ecumenical movement. Without reference to the particular positions of each side, one may say that the collapse of the socialist bloc and the Soviet Union revealed that the ecumenism of the 1960s to the 1980s was too closely interlinked with the geopolitical status quo. As soon as the geopolitical balance of power changed, some seemingly established achievements were “hanging in the air.” The political subtext of some ecumenical contacts became apparent. This roused mistrust of the ecumenical movement in general in the souls of skeptical Ukrainians. To them, what was supposed to be Christian reconciliation seemed like a mutual agreement on spheres of influence.

There is also another aspect important for the Ukrainian understanding of ecumenism. On the one hand, the split in Ukrainian Christianity has had a considerable effect on religious processes for four centuries now, both within Ukrainian society and throughout the whole Christian oecumene. The interests of all three branches of Christianity (Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Protestantism) intersect in Ukraine . Experience shows that this region (i. e. the larger area of Central and Eastern Europe) is a kind of “firing ground” for ecumenical testing in our times, if we can put it this way. It is here that the genuineness of ecumenical declarations and the strength of achieved agreements are tested. (Take for example the repeated statements by the Russian Orthodox Church on the interdependence between its future attitude towards the Catholic Church and the Catholic Church's level of support for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.) Unfortunately, this region is too often truly a “firing ground,” which implies a confrontation of “armies” instead of being a “church laboratory,” as it was called by John Paul II. 3

On the other hand, the Ukrainian churches are objects rather than subjects in ecumenical processes. They were not always able to be the masters of their own fate, being subjected to ecclesial designs drawn up by somebody else. For a long period of time, Ukrainian branches of international confessions and churches were obliged to show loyalty to the policies of their ecclesial centres outside their land rather than Christian love to each other in Ukraine or to make initiatives in search of reconciliation. Moreover, sometimes the hostility between the Christian “powers that be” obliged Ukrainian churches to break even those contacts, already established in Ukraine . (A classical example: the forced rejection of reconciliation and theological dialogue between the Uniates and Orthodox, which was already under way in 1680 at the Lublin Synod [Colloquium Lublinense]. The work of the synod was hampered primarily because of the Latin clergy's negative attitude, especially the Papal Nuncio then in Poland .) It is only logical that the subordinating nature of these relations is a stumbling block to Ukrainians and is not conducive to building trust in ecumenical dialogue in general today. The fate of Ukrainians was too often decided without them (as is expressed by the popular saying: “Once again, about us, without us”), and this did not develop a spirit of partnership and initiative among Ukrainian Christians.

A vicious circle was formed as a result with no way out. Yes, the opinion of the Ukrainian churches does not carry much weight in the world, for they are weakened by feuds. At the same time, it is the centres of international Christianity that must, to a great extent, accept the blame for sustaining and stirring up these feuds in the course of history. Against this background, Ukrainian Christians are bound to seek, first of all, unification of the fragments of the ancient Kyivan Church (which was once split by exactly these exclusivist tendencies in the Greek-Latin confrontation). Such a unification would turn the Ukrainian Church into the largest church of the Christian East whose power of influence the world would have to recognise, and would make this church a key factor in religious processes in Eastern Europe. As a result of the above mentioned protective reactions in the minds of Ukrainians, ecumenism actually does not go further than the issue of the unification of the fragments of the ancient Kyivan Church, which now belong to different Christian worlds. There is no genuine ecumenical dialogue which would lead to a deep rethinking of the Christian sensibility, for this is impossible without mutual respect between the participants. Such respect is missing even between Ukrainian Orthodoxy and Ukrainian Catholicism, not to mention understanding with Protestant groups. Therefore, we can reach two conclusions.

The first conclusion is that ecumenism exists in the minds of Ukrainians as a derivative of the issue of establishing one national Ukrainian Church of the Kyivan tradition rather than the key objective of establishing understanding between Christians. People are concerned with “international” ecumenism inasmuch as it is needed today to solve the problem of the mentioned National Church .

The second conclusion: ecumenism exists in peoples' minds at the level of political speculation rather than in their hearts at the level of Christian love for those people who love the same God in a different way. The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians use geopolitical, national and, in any case, logical arguments to motivate ecumenical efforts. (The author's perspective may even illustrate that.) They almost never make a spiritual case. This politicisation of the logic of Ukrainian (or, as it would be called in Romania, local) ecumenism does not look strange against the background of the politicisation of the logic of international ecumenism, mentioned above. However, it does not make the task of inter-Christian reconciliation any easier.

Therefore, the specificities of Ukrainian history conditioned the development of a specific approach to ecumenical processes. In a certain perspective to be discussed below, this approach is quite promising and shows that (1) the ecumenical potential of the Ukrainian churches (first of all, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church) cannot be considered fulfilled even to a minimal extent, (2) “untying” the Ukrainian ecumenical “knot” can give impetus to international

ecumenism, which is impeded today, and (3) one of the key ecumenical objectives today is to overcome the inertia in the ecclesial thinking of all branches of Christianity concerning Ukrainian matters.

1.2. Historical Roots of Ecumenism in Ukraine.

Without engaging in a long digression into ancient history, I will however single out a few historical moments which seem to me extremely important for Ukrainian ecumenical awareness.

A. The Kyivan Christian tradition is pre-schismatic in terms of the time of its establishment (988) and anti-schismatic by the logic of its existence. Kyiv was very reluctant to adopt the enmity between the Greeks and Roman Catholics. According to the chronicles, they said in ancient Kyiv: "Both faiths are given by God." ⁴ There is no wonder that the princes of Rus used any possible historical opportunity to renew their canonical links with the Roman Apostolic See. An example would be the union of Prince Danylo of Halych in 1253, whereby the episcopate of the Kyivan Metropolitanate recognized the Roman prelate as their supreme pastor.

B. Another important example is the active participation of Kyivan Metropolitan Isidore in the proclamation of the Union of Florence in 1438-39, as well as the fact that, after signing the union, the metropolitan was met in Kyiv with great enthusiasm, whereas in Moscow he was imprisoned for "betraying Orthodoxy."

C. The initial model of the Union of Brest of 1596 is of critical significance for Ukrainian ecumenical awareness. This model, voiced by Prince Constantine Ostrozkyi, provided for general Catholic-Orthodox reconciliation, that is, the complete unification of the two split branches of Christianity. The Kyivan Church was meant to be an initiator and a "bridge" for all-Christian reconciliation. Therefore, it was not the idea itself of the reunification of Catholicism with Orthodoxy that was unacceptable to Prince Ostrozkyi and his Orthodox supporters who later rejected the Union of Brest (as is often stated today). What they rejected was the "separatist" character that the union agreement took on before it was signed in Rome in 1595 and approved at the Council of Brest a year later, or, in other words, the separation of the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Church from the Constantinople mother-Church.

D. It is also interesting to analyse the ecumenical significance of the efforts to overcome the schism of the Ukrainian Church in the 17th century ⁵. These attempts are associated primarily with the name of Orthodox Metropolitan Petro Mohyla and the Greek Catholic (then "Uniate") Metropolitan Veliamin Rutskyi. These individuals ventured upon important mutual contacts and the

implementation of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla's idea of establishing a single patriarchate at a very unfavourable historical time. (It was a time of mutual accusations and sharp inter-confessional conflicts between the two branches of the recently divided Kyivan Church .)

Since that time, the idea of a single Ukrainian (Kyivan) Patriarchate has become a model for all later unification visions. ⁶ After the deaths of both metropolitans, any steps towards unification became impossible due to the forced absorption of the Kyivan Metropolitanate by the Moscow Patriarchate (1686). Both Kyivan Metropolitanates (Orthodox and Uniate) were then drawn into a long historical period of uncompromising confrontation. It took the prophetic spirit of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky in the 20th century to revive the idea of the unification of the branches of the historic Kyivan Church .

In these moments of history, the general conclusion, with key significance for us, is this: whenever Kyiv had a chance to express its own will, it showed support for a kind of church unity where the notions “Catholic” and “Orthodox” were not contrasted but complementary.

1.3. The Idea of Catholic-Orthodox Reconciliation in the Works of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky. ⁷

Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky's position on ecumenism became paradigmatic for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church for many years. Principles of “Catholicity” and “Orthodoxy” coexisted in his person in an un-contradictory and harmonious manner as much as the age permitted. Christian East and West met in his soul with equal harmony. His respect and criticism were also distributed between Catholics and Orthodox. Sheptytsky showed interest for the East as early as the turn of the 20th century, that is, at the very beginning of his ministry as a metropolitan. Metropolitan Andrew revived Eastern monastic life by founding the Studite order in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Its main mission was to preserve and develop the church's Eastern rite. In the metropolitan's opinion, the revival of Eastern monasticism was one of the key tasks of the church towards unification of East and West. In a year's time, together with some Belarussians, he developed a plan to assist the Belarussian Church in renewing its unity with the Apostolic See. Remarkably, the plan did not provide for pro-union activity as such, or for what today might be called proselytism in favour of the union. His plan provided for the settlement of Catholics of the Eastern rite on land which was to be bought by the metropolitan and where Greek Catholic priests were to minister. The main stress was laid on showing a positive example and shattering negative stereotypes in general.

In 1907, Sheptytsky started organizing a Russian Catholic Church. At first, individual groups were organized in St. Petersburg and Moscow . However, in 1917 he established a competent exarchate of the church on the basis of these

groups. 8 Again, here the Russian Catholics were not engaged in any pro-uniatic activity, though they readily admitted people who were personally interested in the Catholic faith into their community. The main mission of the Russian Greek Catholics was to shatter theological statements about the incompatibility of “Russianness” with “uniatism” or “Catholicism” and encourage openness to dialogue.

It seemed in 1917 that Sheptytsky might be offered the position of patriarch of the Ukrainian Church. The idea for such an invitation was suggested by a group of Ukrainian Orthodox who were involved in the establishment of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church at the time. Sheptytsky was prepared to accept the invitation, on condition that the proposal would be supported by a clear majority of the Orthodox, who would proclaim unity with the Holy See. Therefore, Sheptytsky did not seek to become a patriarch at any cost.

In the 1920s, Sheptytsky actively appealed to Western Catholics. He travelled much, seeking to draw the attention of the West to the East. It should be mentioned that it was a time when, for Western Catholics, the East was a territory of “schismatics,” who were to be converted to the Catholic faith by persistent missionary work. There was no recognition of either the uniqueness of the Christian culture of the East or its theology, liturgy, canon law, order and customs. Sheptytsky testified to the existence of all these features. He called upon Western Catholics not to wait for the “schismatics of the East” to come back to the bosom of the Catholic Church, but to meet them halfway. For Sheptytsky, church unity was not a unilateral way to be travelled only by the Orthodox. In his speech at a conference in Rome in 1923, he spoke about the significance of ideas, which create an atmosphere of mutual recognition and understanding. He specifically said: “Changing the public opinion of the non-united people of the East (nation dissidente) by means of even one fundamental idea would be a much greater achievement than the conversion of thousands of souls, especially, if this conversion, if performed badly, gives an opportunity and pretext for the spread of false ideas. 9

Metropolitan Sheptytsky renewed his appeals to the Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchy in 1941 and '42, when many ethnic Ukrainians managed to become leaders of the Orthodox Church in Poland. They could take steps independently of the influence of Moscow. The letters were only about establishing a dialogue, an exchange of ideas, and the necessity to get to know each other better. Immediate unification was not the objective of the dialogue, as Sheptytsky clearly stated that such unification was absolutely impossible at the time.

The main works in which Sheptytsky developed his ecumenical views were: “The Time Is Coming...” (1907), “The Role of Westerners in the Unification of the Churches” (1923), “Psychology of the Union” (1925), “How to Build One's Own House (1941), and a collection of materials, “On the Issue of Reaching

Understanding" (1943). However, his ecumenical activity was not limited to these works. The issue of reaching understanding between East and West was not only a separate subject of theological studies for Sheptytsky, but also a broad methodological basis, from the point of view of which he analysed other aspects of church activity. According to the metropolitan, the main mistake of earlier unification attempts was the fact that they were implemented from the top downwards, so that ordinary people did not understand the need for such efforts, and, therefore, did not support them. ¹⁰ Therefore, the creation of an atmosphere of understanding and reconciliation, as the first step to future unification, assumed key importance. Second, Sheptytsky noted that all schisms in the East were corporate. Thus, by analogy, restoration of unity was to be of a corporate character as well. ¹¹ Actually, for Sheptytsky, schism was to be overcome by means of the ecumenical movement, though he did not use that word then. For him, it was *mouvement d'idees* ¹², or *Bewegung zur kirchlichen Einheit*. ¹³

At the same time, Sheptytsky was not an ecumenist in the sense this word has been used since the Second Vatican Council. In particular, the term "unification" in his ecumenical conception was actually a synonym for the term "return" (to the jurisdiction of Rome). However, in his declining years, he began to understand that the previous union formulas might not prove the best ecumenical solutions. For example, in his correspondence with Orthodox hierarchs in 1941-2, he clearly gave them to understand that there might be other, more flexible approaches to be found: "Everyone understood my invitation only as a call to [...] accept our union with the Roman Apostolic See. However, one could talk about various ways of reaching understanding..." ¹⁴

However, Sheptytsky gave a quite clear definition of the kind of unity which was not acceptable for him: "The unification which is not possible is one which, speaking very clearly, would mean the full capitulation of the Orthodox Church to the Catholic Church, in which all other churches would dissolve in a Universal Church, and lose identity and particularity." ¹⁵

Therefore, Sheptytsky was a pioneer of ecumenical efforts; he acted mostly alone, with no official instructions, and often contrary to the policy of the top leadership of the Catholic Church. Sheptytsky was a man with a long-term vision of the Church, which allowed him to rise above the divisions and stereotypes of the time.

1.4. The Influence of the Diaspora and Underground Psychology on the Ecumenical Position of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC).

The events of 1945-6 brought radical changes in relations between the Orthodox and Greek Catholics in Ukraine. The implementation of Stalin's plan for the liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church began in 1945. It included

mass arrests of Greek Catholic clergy and efforts to persuade them to support the work of the so-called Initiative Committee. The Committee's responsibility was to bring the UGCC into full subjection to the Moscow Patriarchate. Eventually, in March 1946, despite the unanimous resistance of the UGCC episcopate, the so-called "Lviv Sobor [Council]" was held under the leadership of the NKVD. The sobor placed the Greek Catholic parishes of western Ukraine under the Russian Orthodox Church. Greek Catholics in Halychyna lost 1,830 church buildings, most of which fell to the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC). (Prior to the Sobor of 1946, the ROC possessed only four church buildings in Halychyna.) However, what the Orthodox considered the overcoming of the Uniate schism and an attempt to break the Union of Brest, was, for the UGCC faithful, an act of brutal intervention of the communist state in church matters and an act of gross proselytism on the part of the Russian Orthodox Church, which gathered the fruits of state terror.

The following factors associated with the events of 1946 became determinant for the subsequent position of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with regard to its relations with the Russian Orthodox Church.

- The Lviv Sobor was a pseudo-sobor. That is: it was not canonical, from the UGCC's point of view, as it was held under pressure from the authorities and was not blessed by any lawful bishops of the church. The Moscow Patriarchate made an attempt to overcome this detail by ordaining two Greek Catholic priests as Orthodox bishops. They participated in the work of the Lviv pseudo-sobor as bishops of the ROC. The Moscow Patriarchate to date has never recognized that the sobor was non-canonical.

- Most of the church buildings possessed by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as an institution were passed by the state authorities to the Russian Orthodox Church, which accepted the "gift" from Stalin. The ROC leadership still has not officially recognized the injustice of that act.

After the Lviv pseudo-sobor, the Greek Catholic Church existed in two forms: the underground and the Diaspora. Naturally, the separate existence of both parts of the church had an effect on the church mentality of the clergy and faithful and defined their position on interchurch relations. Under continuous persecutions, the underground church was bound to develop the psychology of a hounded victim. The Moscow Patriarchate's consent to use the fruits of state terror in respect to the Greek Catholic Church excited strong anti-Orthodox sentiments in the mentality of its clergy and faithful. Contacts with other churches were made extremely difficult. As a result, the underground clergy actually had no experience of dialogue at all.

The Diaspora part of the church developed quite freely, though the loss of its own territory had a bad effect on the status and historic rights of the church. (For example, the church did not enjoy the right to ordain bishops outside its native territory any more.) The UGCC clergy not only maintained extensive contacts with Catholic clergy in the West but also felt involved in dialogue with other churches of the free world. This, in part, helped to form church diplomatic staff and the very ability to conduct a dialogue. Extensive contacts with the Western world, which was not always familiar with the history of the Union led the Diaspora to make important autonomous decisions. (For example, the fact that the word "Greek" in the name of the church did not mean the ethnic identity of its faithful but the character of its rite, led to an increasing rejection of this name by the Diaspora church in favour of "Ukrainian Catholic Church.")

Post-war ecumenical contacts between the Vatican and Moscow and, especially, accompanying political factors, put the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in an ambiguous situation. On the one hand, the church won great respect in the Catholic world for paying with real martyrdom for its faithfulness to the Holy See. This respect especially increased when a living confessor for the faith, the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj appeared at the Second Vatican Council. The then-leader of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, released Slipyj from his Siberian imprisonment as Kremlin's "gift" to John F. Kennedy and, indirectly, to the Council Fathers. On the other hand, the successes of ecumenical contacts of the Vatican with the Orthodox world of that time increasingly made the Holy See take into consideration the firm anti-Uniate position of the Orthodox. This was the main reason why the Pope did not recognize the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, which was proclaimed by the Metropolitan and confessor Joseph Slipyj in 1975. For the Orthodox, it would mean the establishment of parallel structures in what they deemed to be "canonical Orthodox" territories and the non-fulfillment of its ecumenical obligations on the part of the Vatican .

The atmosphere of reconciliation and the search for ways of reaching understanding, which dominated Europe from the 1960s to the '80s, was bound to have an effect on the position of the UGCC. As early as 1976, that is, one year after the beginning of the official theological dialogue between the Catholic and Orthodox churches, Patriarch Joseph Slipyj made public his pastoral epistle "About Unification in Christ".¹⁷ His concrete recommendations included a proposal to start translation of the Holy Scripture from the original languages, jointly with all the Christian communities of Ukraine , and correlating the translations of the Divine Liturgy and other services in order to be able to pray "with one mouth and one heart." Patriarch Joseph continually sent epistles to bishops of Orthodox churches, invited them to visit him in Rome , and visited them during his pastoral trips to the Ukrainian Diaspora. In his "Testament," Patriarch Joseph called the faithful to follow in the footprints of the Servant of God, Andrew Sheptytsky, who dedicated his whole life to the great idea of the unification of Christians and became a herald of the unity of Christ's Church.¹⁸

In 1987, the successor of Patriarch Joseph as head of the UGCC, Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky, officially said the following significant words: "Following the spirit of Christ, we are offering our hand of forgiveness, reconciliation and love to the Russian people and the Moscow Patriarchate. As in our reconciliation with the Polish people, we repeat the words of Christ: 'Forgive us, as we forgive' (Comp. Mt. 6:12). We are all brethren in Christ. Let us respect each other; let us learn to live together, being aware that we are united by one faith in our Saviour. Mary, the Mother of God, is such a strong bond in our religious tradition that she will help us to overcome all the difficulties on the way to unity, for the sake of the salvation of our peoples." 19 Unfortunately, both this call and a further similar appeal of the Synod of Bishops of the UGCC to the patriarch of Moscow , Pimen, of 14 October 1989 , remain unanswered.

During the celebration of the 1000 th anniversary of the baptism of Rus-Ukraine (1988), the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church established first contacts with representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. In 1990, the UGCC clergy were invited to a ceremonial prayer service on the occasion of the visit of Demetrius I, Patriarch of Constantinople, to the USA . In a letter of Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky to Bishop Vsevolod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America and Canada dated 12 July 1990, it is underlined that "Ukrainian Catholic hierarchs ... resolved to foster sincere relations with the Orthodox Church and, first of all, with the archbishop of Constantinople, The New Rome." 20

It should be noted that it was really in the Diaspora that a so-called "Ukrainian ecumenism" developed. The notion included mutual contacts between the Diaspora branches of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox churches, their joint resistance to propagandistic and diplomatic actions of the Moscow Patriarchate. It was the anti-Moscow tendency of this "Ukrainian ecumenism", with distinct political overtones, that excited criticism on the part of some Ukrainian researchers. 21 Of course, this kind of "ecumenism" as a rule did not overstep the limits of purely demonstrative acts, for example, the joint participation in national or religious celebrations organized by Ukrainian Diaspora communities.

These joint actions culminated in the celebration by Diaspora Greek Catholics and Orthodox of the 1000 th Anniversary of the baptism of Rus-Ukraine in 1988. Despite the limited character of this ecumenism, its positive achievement was the practice of civilized co-existence and mutual respect.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2. Inter-Church Relations in Ukraine Since 1988/89.

2.1. The Emergence of the Greek Catholic Church from the Underground and its Effect on Ecumenical Processes in Ukraine and the World.

The democratisation of Soviet society during Gorbachev's perestroika clearly showed that the monopoly of the Moscow Patriarchate in Ukraine (especially in the western regions) relied solely on the pressure of the state's repressive machinery. As soon as this pressure weakened, the spontaneous and mass transfer of religious communities to the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church started. (The present distribution of religious communities is shown in the Appendix 1. 22) As a result, for example, of the 1237 church buildings that were occupied by the Moscow Patriarchate in the Lviv Region alone in 1990, by 1992 only 8 remained in its possession. 23

At first, the leaders of the interested churches made efforts to take control of these processes. On 5 March 1990, the Quadrilateral Committee started its work. It consisted of representatives of the Holy See, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, the Moscow Patriarchate and the Ukrainian Exarchate subject to Moscow. The committee was authorized to put in order the above-mentioned religious transformations. However, in the early 1990s neither Moscow nor the Vatican could imagine how unrealistic it was to expect to stop the processes of reorientation of religious communities. The conditions set forth by the Moscow Patriarchate were unacceptable to the Greek Catholic delegation. Finally, on 15 March, the UGCC delegation refused to participate in the work of the committee. From that time on, the reorientation of faithful and the seizure of church buildings were uncontrolled until a new balance was established between the influences of the three main players: Greek Catholics, Orthodox of autocephalous orientation, and Orthodox under the jurisdiction of Moscow.

a. The crisis of interchurch relations.

The mass transition of the faithful to the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was a real surprise for the Orthodox world. This version that it was the people's expression of free will was too disturbing an explanation for the Moscow Patriarchate to accept easily. Therefore, officially accepted explanations included, "proselytism on the part of the Vatican" and "the forced intervention of the local 'nationalistic' authorities of western Ukraine." The revival of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine and other countries of the former socialist block was the subject of discussions at several bilateral meetings of delegations of the Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches (Freising, Germany, 1990, Aricca, Italy, 1991, and, of course, Balamand, Lebanon, 1993). The dissatisfaction of the Orthodox Church was so strong that the Vatican considered it necessary to make considerable concessions in order to preserve the earlier achievements of

the ecumenical movement. The participants of the dialogue renounced "uniatism" as a solution with regard to Orthodox-Catholic relations by an agreement signed in Freising. However, this agreement was worded such that it might be considered as retroactive, if necessary; that is, the very existence of the Greek Catholic churches might be questioned. Therefore, after Freising, the "Uniate" churches in their turn protested. In September 1990, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church made public its official statement of disagreement. In particular, the statement emphasized two important aspects:

* "It is unacceptable to decide any church's fate in its absence."

* "The denial of our [the UGCC's] right to existence as a sister church is [an instance of] moral violence in itself and makes impossible the 'brotherly cooperation of pastors' encouraged in the statement." 24

Instead, the Balamand Agreement of 1993 was, from a certain point of view, a refutation of the imprudence of Freising. The agreement laid a reasonable foundation under the old controversy over the phenomenon of the Union. It distinguished "Uniatism" as a method of separate restoration of canonical ties between the Orthodox churches and the Roman See, on the one hand, from the actual historical existence, on the other hand, of the Eastern Catholic (Greek Catholic) churches, which enjoy the right to institutional religious freedom. The Balamand statement specifically says: "As for the Eastern Catholic churches, they have the undeniable right to exist and act according to the spiritual needs of their faithful as part of the Catholic community." 25

The Balamand Agreement was analysed in the pastoral address of Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky "About the Unity of the Holy Churches," published in Lviv on 7 April 1994. The address included an analysis of ecumenical progress after the Second Vatican Council, particularly the theory of sister churches, which is extremely important for the UGCC, and formulated tasks for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church on the basis of the Balamand Agreement. In particular, the address included a call "to abstain from any behaviour which would indicate a lack of respect and, thereby, excite discord or even hatred. There should be respect and tolerance in all things between Christians." 26 In the person of its patriarch, the Church also called both its "faithful and all Christians to avoid not only violence, in deed or in word, but also anything that could excite disdain for other Christians and be a bad testimony..." 27 The address also dealt with the danger of triumphalism. It was emphasized that "martyrs and confessors are always God's gifts for the whole Church and witnesses of Christ before all people. One must not use this testimony to show disdain for our Christian brethren." 28

Contacts with the Patriarchate of Constantinople continued for some time after the UGCC came out of the underground. For example, in 1992, with the blessing of the ecumenical Patriarch, the previously mentioned Bishop Vsevolod

participated in the Synod of Bishops of the UGCC in Lviv when the UGCC hierarchy once again convened at St. George's Cathedral in Lviv.

The work of the unofficial Kievan Church Study Group is an important page in the history of contacts of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The group includes clergy and theologians of both churches. The first advisory meeting of the Study Group took place on 8-10 August 1992 in Oxford, England. Later meetings were held in Stamford, Connecticut, USA (October 1992) and Ottawa, Ontario, Canada (April 1993). The materials of the study group appeared in the journal *Logos*, published by the Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies at St. Paul's University in Ottawa. They are extremely important for researching the Patriarchate of Constantinople's attitude towards the history of the Kyivan Church and the present status of the Ukrainian churches.

However, the general cooling of relations between Catholics and Orthodox led to the reduction of contacts between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. The restoration of the Greek Catholic Church revived anti-Catholic sentiments among the Ukrainian Orthodox as well. Attempts to transport the Diaspora practice of "Ukrainian ecumenism" to the context of Ukraine were made only in the beginning and were not really successful. The cause of that is obvious: unlike the stable balance in the Diaspora, there was strong competition for the souls of the faithful in Ukraine. The logic of that competition dominated all other church interests for some time.

b) On conflicts between the Christian communities of Halychyna (Galicia)

Specificities of statistics.

As a rule, Greek Catholics are accused of "the destruction of three Orthodox eparchies in the western regions of Ukraine." 29 Well, it is true that in the early 1990s, the overwhelming part of the Moscow Patriarchate left the region. By 2004, only 209 Orthodox communities associated with the Moscow Patriarchate are active in these regions. (See Appendix 2.) However, not all the residents of Halychyna who left the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate joined the Greek Catholic Church. A considerable number remained Orthodox and changed their jurisdiction to the Autocephalous Orthodox Church. However, the fifty-year-long stay of Orthodoxy in Halychyna did leave its imprint here (despite the fact that there were actually no Orthodox here before 1946). According to official information (provided in Appendix 2), as of 1 January 2004, in Halychyna (Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv and Ternopil provinces), the ratio of Orthodox communities (of all three jurisdictions) to Greek Catholic communities is about 1:1.5, which by no means can be called "the destruction of Orthodoxy." It is yet another proof of the fact that Christians of this area had the chance to freely express their confessional orientation.

The thesis of a “religious war” in western Ukraine , whose victims are the Orthodox communities of the Moscow Patriarchate, is also an exaggeration. In reality, according to information from the National Religious Committee of Ukraine, as of November 2002, there were eight conflicts registered between communities of the UGCC and Moscow Patriarchate in three provinces of western Ukraine .³⁰ This includes approximately 3.8% of the total number of communities (209) of that patriarchate in the region and less than 0.3 % of the number of UGCC communities (2,946). (Needless-to-say, the fault does not lie solely with the Greek Catholics in all conflicts.) There is no doubt that the pain of even one community should have society's attention. However, the 3.8 % of UOC (Moscow Patriarchate) communities affected by conflicts does not constitute a religious war, as it is often described. In addition, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which is in Eucharistic communion with the Moscow Patriarchate, is building new churches in western Ukraine [the same statistics show that, in the 1992-2004 period, the number of the UOC (MP) parishes increased from 8 to 209 in the region]. This, again, is hardly an indication of a religious war.

Forced conversion or religious freedom?

Another equally traditional accusation against Greek Catholics is their presence among the local authorities of Halychyna. However, first , by far, not all towns and villages of Halychyna are under the dominating influence of Greek Catholics. There are areas where the picture is the opposite, that is, where independent Orthodox dominate. If Greek Catholic influence was as seminal as the Moscow Patriarchate suggests, there would be a clear monoconfessional situation in Halychyna. However, this is not confirmed by the statistics provided above.

It should also be taken into account that in 1988, when it became apparent that it was impossible to control the process of religious revival, the authorities began the mass transfer of possession of closed church buildings, which had not been used for intended purposes for some time, to the Ukrainian Exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church. For example, at the beginning of 1988, there were only 578 Orthodox churches in the Lviv Region, whereas in September the same year there were 1200 (so the number of Orthodox churches more than doubled in 9 months).³¹ The buildings were transferred to formally and hastily registered Orthodox “groups of twenty” (parish committees), authorized to manage a church building according to state law. This was often done despite the resistance of the local population, which was predominantly Greek Catholic. In that way, more fuel was added to the flame of the inter-confessional “fire” which was about to spread and the responsibility for which was placed solely on Greek Catholics.

Second, interchurch conflicts occur against the background of low awareness of laws and the uprooted Christian culture of the whole population of Ukraine . In many cases, the readiness of state officials to “adjust” the situation in favour of their personal sympathies or preferences comes from an erroneous

interpretation of Christian or national duty, and not from direct instructions of the clergy. This may happen with the faithful of any Church of the region, and it correlates with the general lack of rule of law in post-Soviet and post-totalitarian Ukraine .

Third, all conflicting parties motivate their wish to limit the presence of their competitors by the logic of “equal response,” or “parity.” For example, the clergy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which is in communion with the Moscow Patriarchate, have for a long time been using their influence on the local authorities – for example, in Sevastopol or Kharkiv. In these areas, hierarchy of the Moscow Patriarchate pressure the civil authorities to prevent the registration of Greek Catholic communities, labelling them “non-traditional”, or the allocation of plots for church buildings for similar reasons. 32 There are also problems regarding discriminatory regulations of Russian legislation, which make the normal functioning of Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Autocephalous Orthodox communities in Russia difficult. On the other hand, when the Lviv City Council, in its turn, refused to allocate a plot for building another church of the UOC (Moscow Patriarchate) 33 on the grounds that Greek Catholic communities in Moscow and Saint Petersburg have no church buildings at all, it argued its position exactly by appealing to the logic of equal response. (By the way, in 2002, the head of the UGCC, Lubomyr Husar, approached the Lviv deputies with an official request to grant permission to the UOC to build another church.)

But if in the 1990s the Christians of Halychyna did have the chance to exercise their religious freedom, and the influence of state factors was not determinant, why then does the Moscow Patriarchate persist in ignoring this? In my opinion, the tremendous blow to its prestige was the most painful reason. To assume that such a large part of its faithful voluntarily left it at the first opportunity would mean admitting that the nearly half-century presence of the Russian Orthodox Church in Halychyna, facilitated by Stalin through the Lviv pseudo-sobor of 1946, left in reality no positive imprint in the lives of the people of Halychyna. Such an admission would be unbearable for the pride of the Third Rome.

Responsibility for conflicts.

In reports of the Moscow Patriarchate, the term “Uniates” is used in a generic sense. The reader may get the impression that aggressiveness and quarrelsomeness are intrinsic characteristics of Greek Catholics and are typical of the position of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as such. Such a vision leaves several aspects of the problem unnoticed.

First, such a black and white picture of conflicts is too polemic to be realistic. Its mirror reflection is the black and white picture presented by materials of the Lay Committee in Defence of the UGCC, where Orthodox are shown to play only a negative role in interchurch conflicts. But the real picture, in my opinion, is the

mutual responsibility of Greek Catholic and Orthodox communities of Halychyna for the inter-confessional conflicts of the late 20th century. Ten years of renewed ministry of the churches has proved to be insufficient to revive the culture of understanding and religious tolerance, to teach people to settle in a civilized manner conflicts which are inevitable with such big changes.

Second, we can be assured that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church's hierarchy is not less concerned about the conflicts than the hierarchy of the Orthodox churches, and, in particular, the UOC (Moscow Patriarchate). This is confirmed by the signatures of the hierarchs of both churches under the press release of the bilateral meeting of 3 July 1998 in Vienna mediated by the Catholic Foundation Pro Oriente. During the meeting, both parties "condemned any kind of violence, whether physical or moral, used during the seizure of church buildings to Christians of any confessions as inconsistent with the ideal of Christian life." 34

Third, careful analysis of inter-confessional conflicts shows that, though having a religious basis, they often have no clear religious causes. Quite often, religious feelings become objects of manipulation on the part of non-church factors, such as various political groups, competing clans, and even human ambitions. A religious background in this case can serve as a convenient shield for one's personal interests, which may be far from religious.

In addition, there are certain specifics from the field of social psychology that should be mentioned here. The main conflicts in Ukraine were conflicts between the branches of the now divided historic Church of Kyiv. The differences in rite and forms of piety between them are minimal. And we know from conflict management: "The closer the relations are, the more bitter the conflict is." 35

To break the vicious circle.

The Christian way to break the vicious circle in which Ukrainian Christians, mainly of the Kyivan tradition, are trapped is more or less obvious: to ask forgiveness and to forgive. How can we characterize, in this respect, the position of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, allegedly a stumbling block of ecumenism?

In the paragraph 1.4 we have already spoken about the UGCC's proposals to normalize its relations with the Russian Orthodox Church ("we are offering our hand of forgiveness, reconciliation and love to the Russian people and the Moscow Patriarchate.") We also remember that these proposals were not answered.

At a festal Liturgy on 27 June 2001 in Lviv, before the Pope and over a million believers, the present head of the UGCC, Lubomyr Cardinal Husar, said:

...The history of the past century knew moments of darkness and spiritual tragedy, moments in which most unfortunately certain sons and daughters of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church consciously and voluntarily did evil things to their neighbours, both to their own people and to others. For all of them, in your presence, Most Holy Father, in the name of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, I wish to ask forgiveness from the Lord, the Creator and Father of us all, and also from those whom we, sons and daughters of this church, may have wronged in any way. So that the horrible past may not weigh down upon us, and not poison our life, for our part with all our hearts we forgive those who in any way have wronged us. 36

Once again, there was no positive response from Moscow to this signal. Moreover, in the Orthodox environment, one often hears that the Orthodox have nothing for which to repent.

The statement of Patriarch Lubomyr of 25 November 2002 is of no less ecumenical importance. He says, on behalf of the UGCC, that he “recognizes and respects the right of the Orthodox Christians of Ukraine, particularly the faithful of the Moscow Patriarchate, to invite and receive those persons who they consider to be their spiritual authorities.” He also expresses his readiness to “receive him (the Patriarch of Moscow) as an exalted guest in order to set in motion the process of solving a number of complicated problems of our relations.” 37 Unfortunately, that signal was also left without response.

I am convinced that, if in the middle of perestroika the Moscow Patriarchate had come forth with a sincere admittance of its mistakes of total submission to the godless authorities and the “solution of the Uniate issue” in 1946, which was unworthy of the Christian spirit, the events in Halychyna might have developed in a different way. And even today, an appropriate step on the part of the Russian Orthodox Church could have a positive and transforming effect on the whole spectrum of relations between the two Churches. Unfortunately, this has not happened. Moreover, in March 2003, the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, Alexis II, clearly stated: “The Russian Orthodox Church does not accept statements which question the canonicity of the Lviv Council and its results. We are convinced that the undeniable tragic character of the circumstances in which the Council was convened do not give grounds to review its results, for not only that time but the whole history of the Union in Ukraine was tragic.” 38 For the UGCC, such words signify: “Everything remains unchanged.”

2.2. The Revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and Its Influence on Ecumenical Processes in Ukraine and the World.

Simultaneously with the emergence of the UGCC from the underground, that is, in 1988-1989, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) was also revived. The Lviv Parish of Sts. Peter and Paul was the first one to proclaim the change of its jurisdiction. Since then, Orthodox communities of Halychyna have probably been the biggest support of autocephaly in Ukraine. This church declared itself the successor of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church which was proclaimed in 1918, then "liquidated" by the NKVD in 1930, restored in Nazi-occupied Ukrainian territory in 1942, and which existed in the post-war period only in the Diaspora. The church was headed by the head of the Diaspora branch of the UAOC, Metropolitan Mstyslav (Skrypnyk), who was elevated to the level of patriarch in Ukraine by decision of the 1990 Council-Sobor of the UAOC in Kyiv.

The main stimulus for a part of Ukrainian Orthodox to gain autocephaly is the historical memory of Kyiv as the centre of the Christianisation of Ukraine-Rus (since 988), as well as the residence of the historical Kyiv Metropolitanate for more than three hundred years. (According to many scholars, this Metropolitanate had a de facto autocephalous status, though this is not universally accepted.) In addition, the autocephalous aspirations of Kyiv are based on the fact that it does not recognize the Russian Orthodox Church as its "Mother Church," which is the official claim of the ROC. Autocephalous Orthodox Kyiv considers the Church of Constantinople its Mother Church and seeks recognition from it.

It is interesting to note that in the late 1980s, at the time of reorientation of Christians in western Ukraine, the position of the Moscow Patriarchate towards the process of establishing autocephalous Orthodox communities was quite ambiguous. On the one hand, the autocephalous were officially considered schismatics. On the other hand, Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly was a lesser evil for the Moscow Patriarchate than Greek Catholicism.

Remarkably, similar logic was used also by the Communist authorities that were losing real influence in Halychyna at that time. When it became clear that the local population would inevitably fall away from Russian Orthodoxy, the Communists made efforts, by any means, to initiate the transition of communities to autocephalous status in order to prevent them from turning to the Greek Catholic camp. For the same reason, Orthodox Moscow talked very little about its negative attitude to the autocephalous "schismatics" in the late 1980s. Moreover, in some conflicts with Greek Catholics, the Orthodox of the two orientations formed a united front against Greek Catholics. They considered their differences insubstantial and their mutual opposition untimely. 39 Still, not every autocephalous community appeared as the result of manipulation on the part of the communist authorities. Orthodoxy became a reality for western Ukraine and gained some patriotic sanction as well.

Actually, in 1992 two Orthodox Churches with autocephalous status were established in Ukraine : the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church-Kyivan Patriarchate (UOC-KP). The first one has existed since 1989; the second one was established under initiative of the former exarch of the Russian Orthodox Church for Ukraine (in the Soviet era), Metropolitan Filaret (Denysenko), who attempted to officially proclaim autocephaly for the whole Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The considerable part of the hierarchy and the faithful headed by Metropolitan Volodymyr (Sabodan) remained loyal to the Moscow Patriarchate preserving the actual name of the church. Since then, there are three major Orthodox churches in Ukraine .

The main cause for the emergence of the two churches with an autocephalous status is a problem of leadership, in particular, that of the person of Patriarch of the UOC-KP Filaret. Being excommunicated by the Russian Orthodox Church, he is regarded as a stumbling block for the hierarchy of the UAOC. After the death of Patriarch Dymytrii of the UAOC (25 February 2000), according to his testament, the Church accepted the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of the UAOC in the Diaspora and the UOC in the USA, Konstantyn (Bahan), who is subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. 40

Neither Ukrainian Orthodox Patriarchate is today recognized by any Orthodox church in the world. The main reason is the firm position of Moscow . At the turn of millennium, the Church of Constantinople expressed its desire to bring peace into the Orthodox life in Ukraine and recognize both churches with an autocephalous status under certain conditions. The process of recognition was halted, however, as a consequence of the fact that both churches have not adhered to these conditions.

The problem of non-recognition (and, consequently, non-canoncity) of both autocephalous churches seems to be their main "Achilles' heel". Generally speaking, the status of "recognition" of a church is a very important element of interchurch diplomacy. However, when one is talking about ecumenism as reconciliation and the treatment of historical wounds, one usually has in mind phenomena outside the status quo . The example of two Ukrainian Orthodox churches whose autocephalous status is still not recognized by any Orthodox church may serve as a good illustration.

Neither of the two churches was represented at the Second European Ecumenical Assembly, as neither of them was a member of the Conference of European Churches (CEC). The principal of "recognition" was victorious. As a result, the assembly in Graz dealt with reconciliation in Europe without the participation of two churches of nearly 4300 total parishes, without which it is impossible to achieve reconciliation in Ukraine ! This happened just because

Moscow considered them schismatic. Thus, the principle of recognition assumed an absolute character and began to contradict the task of reconciliation. The world Christian community would, certainly, have made a positive impact on the position of those Churches still burdened with historical wounds if they had been present at the Assembly. It did happen, for example, in the case of gay/lesbian Christian groups who, due to the support of Western Churches, had the opportunity to acquaint the participants with their position and enter the dialogue with them.

It is well known that a considerable number of churches that are recognized today first arose as the result of schism and were not recognized for long periods. However, in the course of time, the Christian world was compelled by exactly the need for reconciliation to accept the change of the status quo . In view of today's need for reconciliation, which is by no means less than before, the exclusion from the ecumenical process of Ukrainian churches of an autocephalous status, becomes even more strange and illogical. In any case, under the current conditions of establishing Ukrainian statehood, the policy of a principled non-recognition of the autocephaly of Ukrainian Orthodoxy has no future. We will see this more clearly below as we consider what lies behind the problems of dialogue. [i.e. in section 2.3 Problems of Dialogue...]

However, the expected recognition of autocephaly has put high demands on Orthodox Kyiv. Representatives of Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly have to prove that they are worthy to be the vehicles of their future history. For they have the task of overcoming all the dangerous syndromes of the recent past, such as the syndrome of the “persecuted victim” and tendencies towards extreme nationalism, politicisation, and so on. The clergy of both of the Orthodox churches with an autocephalous leaning show strong isolationist sentiments, with a few thankful exceptions. Their failure to fulfil criteria for recognition established by Constantinople , from a certain perspective, suggests that both churches have much to do in the sphere of discipline and identity.

Positions on the notion of the “canonicity” of the territory of Ukraine also differ. Even if the ecclesial and canonical technicalities of this question are left aside, the very claim of the Moscow Patriarchate to a single-handed monopoly in defining the canonical status of the territory of Ukraine is not acceptable for Ukrainian Christians with a patriotic orientation. Therefore, the Russian scholar Nikolai Mitrokhin was absolutely right to have noted that “the word ‘canonicity,’ hackneyed in propagandist battles, is now a synonym for the word ‘Russian’ rather than for the word ‘legal’ in western Ukraine, and probably in all Ukraine.”

41

2.3. Problems of Dialogue Between the Churches of the Kyivan Tradition.

Today in Ukraine (at least, in its western part, where transfers between Christian communities of the Kyivan tradition went on for 10 years) a certain balance of power has been established for the most part. This conclusion is especially true of the line of Orthodox-Catholic divide. Unfortunately, it does not follow from this that the situation has become free of dispute. However, today communities argue about to whom church buildings belong and not about their jurisdictions and confessional orientations. The changes of church orientation along the mentioned line of divide, as a rule, take place at the level of individuals rather than whole communities.

The situation of Ukrainian Orthodox communities of different jurisdictions is more complicated. The process of the redistribution of the faithful along the lines of the intra-Orthodox divide cannot be considered completed. The balance of power between Orthodox communities is more responsive to the sentiments of top state management. It is not a secret that today, contrary to the spirit and letter of the law, the presidential administration and governmental circles send out distinct signals (sometimes unnoticeable to outsiders but quite obvious for the top management) that the central authorities of Ukraine give preference to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church that is in communion with the Moscow Patriarchate. This affects the attitude of the regional power elite to the communities of the other two Orthodox churches and, therefore, has a negative affect on the sentiments of the faithful.

History shows that dialogue becomes fruitful and constructive when all of the participants do not see any other alternative. The experience of Western Europe, gained as early as in the 17th century during the 30-years War, became archetypal for Western ecumenists. Looking at Eastern Europe, particularly Ukraine, they assume a priori that Christians here also see no alternative other than dialogue. But, in reality, at least some parties involved in the Ukrainian tangle of contradictions are convinced that there is still an alternative to dialogue.

In numerous publications in the pro-Moscow Patriarchate press, one can trace the following method of thinking: the present situation of religious pluralism (particularly in Ukraine) is artificial and temporary, caused by the weakness of the state. It was the weakening of the Soviet Union, headed then by Mykhail Gorbachev, that led to the legalization of the ecclesial "anomaly," the UGCC, in 1988, and the establishment of "schismatic" Orthodox churches. Consequently, the influence of the Moscow Patriarchate was considerably weakened in Ukraine. Orthodoxy cannot (and should not) enter ecumenical dialogue under such conditions, as this can lead to excessive losses. Therefore, the main task is to bide the time until Russia, Ukraine and Belarus unite again, which will lead to a new, radical redistribution of forces in favour of Russian Orthodoxy. Then the Moscow Patriarchate will be able to enter the dialogue being in a stronger position than now. Well, this logic seems to be simply incommensurate with the logic of ecumenical dialogue.

So, as we see, the problem of the autocephaly of Ukrainian Orthodoxy is directly associated with the problem of Ukrainian state independence. Russian historiography denied Ukrainian independence for a long time and imposed the concept of “one Russian (later substituted with ‘Soviet’) people.” The Russian Orthodox Church devotedly followed the authorities' position on the Ukrainian issue. The concept of “one church” clearly corresponded to the concept of “one nation.” Judging from publications of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in communion with the Moscow Patriarchate, the Russian Orthodox Church even today makes efforts to persuade believers that the “present breach of unity” of people and church is temporary and lacking God's blessing, and that that church still unites various nations “in one gigantic whole of the allegedly nonexistent country.”⁴² Such expressions automatically make the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) to be seen as a representative of Russian imperial interests in the family of Ukrainian churches, instead of a representative of Ukraine in the Moscow Patriarchate.

The psychological difficulties, which the Moscow Patriarchate has with the recognition of Ukrainian independence, are not just the harmless inertness of the church's thinking. In church life, this is the main reason for not recognizing the right of Ukrainian Orthodoxy to autocephaly and, consequently, for not recognizing the existing autocephalous churches. In other words, in the view of the Moscow Patriarchate, the territory of Ukraine is still included in the “canonical territory” defined by the Russian Orthodox Church. This excludes any possibility for the proclamation of church autocephaly without the consent of the ROC. This focus, which in many Ukrainians' view has an imperialistic complexion, constitutes a serious historical obstacle in the way of reconciliation in Eastern Europe .

Let us note, in turn, that a typical reaction of Greek Catholics and Autocephalous Orthodox to the harm done to them by the Russian Orthodox Church is an effort to separate themselves totally from Moscow with a “wall of China .” In the case of Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly, the ecclesial formula is even stronger: “neither Rome , nor Moscow ,” or “freeing Ukraine from the bondage of both Romes.” It is clear that this position of double denial is not conducive either to reconciliation inside Ukraine or to active ecumenical initiatives of that church in the international context. The world has become too small for the faithful of the national churches to be able to find a safe place in complete isolation from the life of Russian Orthodoxy. It is necessary to seek models for coexistence jointly, which would at least reduce the threat felt by all parties concerned.

There is another specificity of the dialogue process, which should be mentioned here. Ecumenical dialogue envisages the acceptance of the same basic values by the participants: “It is necessary to use one language to understand each other.”⁴³ But in our case, there is at least one value, religious freedom that is sometimes viewed by the parties in a radically different way. For example, the UGCC, as far as its doctrine and the position of its hierarchy are concerned, does

not question religious freedom and the legitimacy of the presence of the Moscow Patriarchate in Halychyna. This issue was more painful for the historic awareness of Greek Catholics at the beginning of perestroika, whereas today recurrences of non-acceptance of this presence are found only in those individual villages where there is an open opposition to Orthodox of the Moscow jurisdiction. In such villages, one may hear the motto "Orthodox, return to the other side of the river Zbruch". 44

In the view of the Russian Orthodox Church, "the establishment of the legal principle of freedom of conscience indicates that society has lost its religious values and purpose, witnesses about mass apostasy and actual indifference to the church's cause and to the victory over sin." 45 The Moscow Patriarchate presents the revival of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine solely as the result of Catholic proselytism and state intervention, without even mentioning the right of Ukrainian citizens to freedom of religious self-determination. For, of course, the motto "Ukraine – an Orthodox country" does not provide in principle for any Ukrainian Catholicism. Neither does the Moscow Patriarchate apply this right to the Ukrainian Orthodox churches of autocephalous orientation, which are viewed by it as a product of solely nationalistic and heretical perversions.

However, both mottos are dangerous because both of them equally question one of the most important achievements of modern Ukraine, religious freedom. The recognition of the principle of religious freedom makes all the mentioned participants of religious discourse in Ukraine equal partners at various levels of interchurch relations. On the other hand, the absoluteness of the ecclesial vision of the Moscow Patriarchate totally negates such partnership and leaves only one participant (itself) at the negotiating table. And the positions of some Greek Catholics and Autocephalous Orthodox are also too burdened with the reflexivity of historic offences and saturated with political arguments to be really dialogical (in the European sense of the word).

2.4. The Influence of the Roman Catholic Church on Ecumenical Processes in Ukraine .

For more than six centuries, the Roman Catholic Church has been represented in Ukraine mainly by the Roman Catholic Church of Poland. This church had its strongest influence in Ukraine exactly at the time when its position was dominated by soteriologic exclusivism and the post-tridentine principle *praestantia ritus latini* (the superiority of the Latin rite). There is no wonder, therefore, that the relations between the Ukrainian churches and the Roman Catholic Church of Poland are considerably burdened with history, and that the mentality of many Ukrainians is dominated by an established stereotype of distrust of Catholics (especially with Ukrainians who have no contact with the modernized, post-conciliar Catholic Church).

Among the main questions still troubling Ukrainians, one can single out the following issues:

First, the forms of inculturation of the Catholic Church in the Ukrainian environment are still not distinct. Today, one increasingly often sees Roman Catholic churches where liturgies are served according to the Latin rite, but in the Ukrainian language and even with the use of Ukrainian ornamentation, whereas for many centuries it was the preservation of the Eastern "Byzantine" rite that was considered the natural form of inculturation. This question is particularly important for Greek Catholic clergy who are troubled to see the Latin Church advancing to eastern Ukraine, often bypassing the Greek Catholic Church. The latter is held back not only by state factors but at times also by certain circumstances of the bilateral dialogue between Rome and Moscow, as well as the interpretation quite widespread, apparently, in the Vatican that the UGCC is primarily a regional (Galician, i.e. Western Ukrainian) Church.

Second, there is still no solution to the problem of the inequality of Roman and Greek (Eastern) Catholic clergy within the Universal Church. For instance, in places where the Latin Church is in the majority, Poland for example, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy are subjected to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, despite the fact that the Roman Catholic clergy in Ukraine were never in subordination to the Greek Catholic hierarchy, which is in a vast majority here. Then, there is concern that the Greek Catholic structures of the Transcarpathia Province, which is part of the territory of Ukraine, have been placed directly under Vatican jurisdiction rather than being part of greater Greek Catholic configuration. This legitimises separatist tendencies in the Greek Catholic Church still weakened by recent persecutions. A relatively recent outburst of emotions was caused by a letter of 4 March 1998 from the Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Angelo Sodano to the Apostolic Nuncio in Poland. The letter obliged Greek Catholic priests in Poland, contrary to the historic tradition of the UGCC, to "keep the discipline of celibacy" or leave Poland if married and "return to the eparchies of their origin in Ukraine." 46 All these cases, unfortunately, illustrate the previously mentioned principle of the superiority of the Latin rite, a syndrome which revives old offences and fears – for Greek Catholics and Orthodox alike.

Third, there is some concern among Ukrainians over the fact that the percentage of ethnic Poles (including Polish citizens) in the Roman Catholic clergy in Ukraine is disproportionately large, and parishes headed by them at times become epicentres not only of evangelisation but also of the polonization (or re-polonization) of the local population. This also has to do with a stereotype of suspicion about possible recurrences of the old Polish "mission to the East," that is, the polonization and latinization of Ukrainians.

The remaining presence of anti-Polish sentiments (which in the church context almost automatically means anti-Latin sentiments) among some Greek Catholics was expressed, for example, in their strong reaction to Cardinal Jaworski's address to the president of Ukraine of 26 July 2002. The cardinal requested that a number of church buildings, which belonged to the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine in the past be returned, though some of them were recently passed to Greek Catholic communities (because of the reduction of the number of RCC faithful). The mirror anti-Ukrainian and anti-Greek-Catholic sentiments may be traced among Roman Catholics in eastern Poland, especially in Przemysl, where even a dome of the former Greek-Catholic cathedral was rebuilt into a typical Latin style in order to wipe out any cultural sign of Ukrainian presence in the city. 47

At the same time, despite these difficulties, the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine today shows characteristics which were not typical as recently as a few decades ago. The clergy generally recognize the legitimate status of the Eastern rite (it was considered schismatic in the past) and support the independence of the Ukrainian state. It is making efforts to participate in various ecumenical events and joint prayer services. (It has to be noted, however, that it supports rather than initiates them.) The Roman Catholic clergy in Ukraine do not normally campaign against Ukrainian churches, avoiding negative remarks about them (However, recently some accusations of "nationalism" with regard to the UGCC's efforts to achieve patriarchal status were publicly expressed by Latin clergy).

Justice must also be done to the efforts towards understanding made by the hierarchy, intelligentsia and younger generations of Poles and Ukrainians, which are conducive to healing the wounds of the past. Let me give you one example.

A few years ago, some controversy took place around the Polish military memorial cemetery "Orłat" in Lviv. On the one hand, this memorial plays an important role in the historical memory of Poles either in Poland or Ukraine. Polish heroes are buried there, and it is clear that the Polish side has a right to maintain the memorial in an appropriate condition. On the other hand, the memorial was erected immediately after the Polish-Ukrainian war in 1918 and was intended to demonstrate the glorious victory of Polish arms over Ukrainian ones. It is obvious that many Ukrainians considered the restoration of all elements of the memorial as an offensive confrontation. Some politicians and state officials made a lot of mistakes but my intention is to show what Churches may do in such a situation. Both Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic communities headed by Cardinals Husar and Jaworsky correspondingly organized common prayers on the Ukrainian and Polish cemeteries erected on the site in commemoration of all the heroes of the 1918 war 48. Intellectuals from Ukraine and Poland supported this initiative. As a result, the atmosphere around the memorial became less tense.

One may draw the general conclusion that the more that Roman Catholic clergy and faithful break established stereotypes through modernized forms of activity and rethinking the forms of church unity, the stronger is the position of the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine and its influence on ecumenical processes. (The same, as will be shown later, is valid for the clergy and faithful of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.)

What is also new for the modern Ukraine is that we all live in a globalized world, and the Ukrainian Greek Catholics have entered intensive contacts also with other particular Roman Catholic Churches. More and more, the whole notion of Catholicity is losing its Polish-centricity. The Roman Catholic Church provides considerable financial assistance to Catholic and Orthodox churches in Ukraine, which plays a crucial role in their revival. It is not strange, therefore, that the visit of John Paul II to Ukraine marked a revolutionary change in the image of Catholic Church in the country in general.

2.5. The Influence of Protestant Churches on Ecumenical Processes in Ukraine.

In this section I will deal with the situation of local Protestant churches, which, during the last century, have become a familiar part of the Ukrainian religious landscape. The largest Protestant denominations with the most registered communities are the following: Baptist Union (2,367), Pentecostal Union (1,424), and the 7th Day Adventists (991); (for more information, see Appendix 1) Their long existence as religious minorities and persecutions under the Soviet power left an imprint on the self-awareness of their faithful, which is manifested in their inclination to self-isolation and mistrust. In addition, the features formed in all the people by the communist system are undoubtedly, to some extent, characteristic of Protestants as well. As a result, the differences in mentality within some large Protestant church between fellow-believers from the West and from Ukraine can be even stronger than between faithful of different churches in Ukraine. One has to consider this peculiarity while predicting the reaction of local Protestant churches to the ecumenical challenge coming from the West.

The transition from complete isolation to the domination of foreign missionaries was too abrupt for Ukrainians to be able to bear it patiently. In the beginning, the local population's general attitude to mostly Protestant missionaries was favourable, as they were viewed as carriers of religious faith, which had been persecuted in the USSR. In a few years, however, the sentiments changed to the opposite. Many churches in Ukraine (mostly Orthodox) accused missionaries of "stealing sheep from the sheepfold" and, following the example of Russia, actively sought to pass laws, which would restrict the activity of foreign religious missions in Ukraine. Under pressure from these churches, in 1993 the Supreme Council (Parliament) of Ukraine made amendments to the Law of Freedom of Conscience. The amendments were of an explicitly restrictive character. As a

result, the Ukrainian mentality underwent a certain shift from a trustful openness before the world (in which people longed to have contact during the period of the Berlin wall and "locked borders") to a kind of isolationism, caused by distrust and disillusionment.

The adoption of the amendments to the law on freedom of conscience by the Supreme Council of Ukraine in 1993 was the state's attempt to partially renew the protective screen in front of local churches. However, this kind of "protection," from a certain point of view, means maintaining neglected illnesses. Much is said in post-soviet territory about the losses to society caused by the activities of Western Protestant missionaries. However, no analysis has yet been made of the positive aspects of these activities, particularly the wholesome effect of competition imposed by Western missionaries on local clergy, who were forced to look for new ways of influencing their flock. We are evidently going to see a wholesome effect from the Western theological challenge as well. It will, undoubtedly, revitalize Eastern theology.

The attention that Protestants pay to people's social position may also be important as an encouraging example. This Protestant "socio-centricity" is often seen by faithful of the Orthodox and Catholic traditions in a somewhat distorted light when the sincerity of the Christian ministry of Protestants to people is questioned. However, given the current conditions of economic and social crisis in Ukraine, the social mission of Protestant churches⁴⁹ is not only important in itself. As a challenge to the so-called "historic" churches, this mission has a stimulating effect on the implementation of their own social programs.

The presence of Protestant churches in the country is an important restraining factor, preventing state officials from creating policies oriented towards only one, influential church. The cumulative influence of Protestantism is strong enough to accustom the society to civilized coexistence under the conditions of confessional pluralism.

As to the ecumenical potential of Protestant churches in Ukraine, it is worth mentioning the complexity of assessing the influence of Protestantism on the religious identity of Ukrainians. Unlike early Protestantism in Western Europe, in Ukraine neither early nor late Protestantism was based on the principle *cuius regio eius religio*, which so much helped the nation-building movements in Western Europe in the 16th century. Protestantism in Ukraine, as a rule, was not concerned with the problems of Ukrainian national self-determination. According to Viktoria Liubashchenko, an expert on Protestantism, the latter was mostly a "cultural and educational factor."⁵⁰ As a consequence, unlike the Orthodox or Greek Catholic churches, the Ukrainian branches of Protestantism traditionally have not been considered national churches of the Ukrainian people. At the same time, it does not follow from this statement, by any means,

that local Protestants did not have a cumulative influence on Ukrainian religious awareness, and, consequently, on Ukrainian religious identity.

In general, it can be argued that local Protestant communities in Ukraine have not yet become an active factor in the ecumenical movement. On the one hand, there is a considerable reluctance of the so-called “historic” churches of Ukraine to any reconciliation with Protestant groups who engage in active proselytism. On the other hand, the position of some Evangelical Protestant groups is characterized by considerable intolerance, too. Most of them, as a rule, use the oversights and errors of the “traditional” churches as a battlefield of competition. In this case, the logic of strong competition for the souls of the faithful fully dominates the logic of reconciliation and cooperation. It is not strange, therefore, that some Protestant groups (Ukrainian Baptists, for example) even restrain themselves from taking part in ecumenical events trying to avoid involvement in the doctrinally foreign projects of other denominations.

Predictably enough, there is no official dialogue between the majority of Protestant denominations and the “historic” churches. However, their representatives meet occasionally during official meetings organized by state authorities or at scholarly conferences held by academic institutions. Obviously, such meetings cannot be called ecumenical meetings proper but they are still steps on the road to getting to know each other.

22 It should be noted that today in Ukraine there is no scholarly, reliable information about the number of faithful of various religious communities. Therefore, assessment of the influence of religious organizations only by the number of communities may produce inaccurate information. Besides that, statistics do not show the number of unbelievers in Ukraine, which is estimated at 34-37% by some researchers [see Alexei D. Krindatch, Religion as a Component of Regional and Political Differentiations in the Post-Soviet Ukraine (manuscript ; alkrin@online.ru)].

Chapter 3, 3.1-3.4

Chapter 3. The Dynamic of Geo-Christian 51 Processes and the Ukrainian Churches.

3.1. Civilization's Challenge to Churches of Slavic Areas.

Taking a closer look at the process of ecumenical convergence of the three branches of Christianity in the 20th century, one can see that it was mostly characterized by alternating challenges, which the branches had to answer in turn.

The first Protestant ecumenical initiatives at the turn of the 20th century were addressed directly to Protestant partners, but indirectly constituted a challenge to all Christians throughout the world. In 1920, after the Patriarchate of Constantinople joined the ecumenical process, and especially after the World Council of Churches was established in 1948, a certain Protestant-Orthodox pressure zone was formed with respect to the Roman Catholic Church, which viewed the ecumenical movement as a violation of its ecclesial foundations at that time:

Catholics should not join such attempts, or support them, as, otherwise, they will promote the spread of pseudo-Christian religion, which is a thousand miles away from the true Church of Christ (Pope Pius XII). 52

The Kremlin felt the challenging character of that moment for Rome . It has been argued that the aim of the Moscow Patriarchate in joining the World Council of Churches was to also weaken its ancient competitor.

In the 1960s, as was already mentioned, Catholicism not only accepted the challenge, but also answered it in a fitting manner by seizing the leadership initiative. This had a revolutionizing effect on the whole of Western Europe where both Catholic and Protestant Christians became increasingly united in a single "front" from that time on. In a few decades, the change became tangible in the World Council of Churches. As far as their methodological approaches to solving many geo-Christian problems are concerned, Protestants have seemingly much more in common with the Roman Catholic Church, which only has observer status in the Council, than they do with the Orthodox churches, which are full members thereof. The Pan-Orthodox Meeting in Salonica (1998) heralded the beginning of the rebalance of Protestant-Orthodox partnership. The alliance axis "Protestantism-Orthodoxy," which challenged Catholicism, has been increasingly on the decline, whereas the Western axis "Catholicism-Protestantism," which is better motivated in the cultural sense and currently challenges Eastern Orthodoxy, is becoming stronger.

I can understand how joyfully some Orthodox isolationist's heart will leap at this conclusion. They will say: "There you have it!" Confirmation of the Catholic-Protestant conspiracy against Orthodoxy continually reported by isolationists' sources! However, where an isolationist sees a conspiracy and proselytism, I see a cultural challenge that, Patriarch Athenagoras believed, "hinders the ritualistic and psychological rigidity" of Orthodoxy and aids the challenged object in correcting its position.⁵³ Today, both Catholics and Protestants put, so to say, cultural pressure on the Orthodox (Eastern Christian) branch of Christianity with a determined demand not to let it "become petrified outside history" and with a desire to help it get out of permanent anachronism and acclimatize itself to the parameters of the modern world.

Of course, one cannot deny the fact that most interchurch initiatives are mixed with the purely earthly, pragmatic interests of one party or another. However, it does not follow from this that such initiatives are totally deprived of a providential sense and that there is no will of the Holy Spirit in them. For example, before the 1960s, Catholicism of the time may have looked like the most reactionary and retrograde force to many Protestants and Orthodox. However, Catholicism managed to get out of that box with flying colours, having not only kept, but even developed and enriched its Catholic identity. Now, let us ask ourselves: was the grace of the Holy Spirit not at work in that Protestant-Orthodox "conspiracy"? Why then should one see only a dark side in a Catholic-Protestant challenge? What is there to stop the Eastern churches from mobilizing their theological resources and presenting a truly Eastern Orthodox vision of the modern world's controversies and problems instead of simply complaining and indulging in self-isolation?

Mobilization of the positive efforts of the Eastern churches is needed also in order to prevent the one-sidedness of pressure from the West. For the East also has its civilizational mission – to paraphrase Athenagoras: "to prevent the West from dissolving in history." It is an illusion to think that the cultural and globalizing pressures from the Western churches are unstoppable and that the Christian East has no future. This results from the fact that the East itself desperately clings to the past, taking its backwardness for authenticity and rejecting the challenge sent by God to all mankind. A constructive response from the East is badly needed for its future. And to make the East get out of its sweet liturgical drowsiness, it is necessary to justify the pressure from the West, which becomes really salvific for the East.

However, the cultural pressure put on the Eastern churches by the churches of the West is not the only geo-Christian phenomenon of modern life. At the Pan-Orthodox meeting in Salonica, Greece, in 1999, Orthodoxy still appeared as a more or less monolithic force, whereas the beginning of the new century brings considerable changes into this picture as it activates the old confrontation

between the second and third Romes. Thus, the third “collision” of civilizations (according to the classification of Toynbee 54), the Muscovite and Byzantine, becomes more distinct in the modern church history of Ukraine . As expected, Constantinople 's recognition of the Estonian Orthodox Church as a church outside the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate was only a prelude to similar (though unfinished) efforts of Constantinople with regard to the recognition of Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly.

Thus, it appears that the entire Christian world has today gathered around the whole Eastern Christian Slavic territory in order to make it venture on a qualitative transformation and reorganization and to express its important opinion. Without the normalization of interchurch relations in this territory, it will not only be impossible to find a way out of the ecumenical deadlock, but, also, the whole body of interchurch relations will continue to be in a feverish condition.

3.2. Discussion of the Ukrainian Identity and Its Impact on the Ecumenical Prospects in Ukraine .

The religious consciousness of the Ukrainian people still does not provide for a vision of Ukraine as the meeting point of the three main branches of Christianity, Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Protestantism. The role of Orthodoxy in the formation of the religious awareness of Ukrainians is obvious, whereas the role of Catholicism and Protestantism is, sometimes, diminished. The influence of these two branches of Christianity is sometimes interpreted as the result of an invasive and insidious proselytism. In this case, the ideal situation is seen in “clearing” their land of foreign (that is to say, harmful) influences. While confirming well-known facts of proselytism in the past, one should note, however, that this position is a reflection of the Third-Rome confessional identity, since it was Third Rome that assumed the responsibilities of the “protector of the purity of Orthodoxy.” What is viewed by Moscow as the expansion of Catholicism and Protestantism on the Ukrainian territory is for the modern Ukraine a resumption of the presence of the three branches of Christianity, which was traditional for it. 55

The prospects of Christian understanding in Ukraine strongly depend on proper self-identification of people. Comparison between the Ukrainian and Russian Christian identities is of key importance in this regard since the religious awareness of modern Ukrainians was formed in the dominating field of Russian Orthodoxy for a long period of time. As they existed for centuries under the dominant influence of Russian Orthodoxy, which uprooted the national and religious originality of Ukrainians with special attention, the Christian traditions in Ukraine were bound to be distorted. To prove this, let us use the opinion of a well-known non-Ukrainian expert, Ernst Christoph Suttner:

Any originality of the former Kyivan Metropolitanate had to disappear. Hierarchs and theologians from Kyiv were only to help the Russian Church become open to Europe . But in all other respects, the Kyivan Church had to adjust its spiritual, liturgical and theological life to the pattern of Moscow and, later, St. Petersburg .
56

By affirming the fact of such deformation of the religious worldview of Ukrainians, I do not, by any means, intend to reject the natural character of the process of inter-influences between the two neighbouring churches. (There was a period when the Moscow Church was significantly influenced by the Church of Kyiv .) However, there is a big difference between the natural influences of Russian Orthodoxy which will remain for a long time or even forever, and the forced “trimming” of Kyivan piety to fit the “only true” Russian matrix.

Today, everyone in Ukraine notes the erosion of self-identification of Ukrainian Christians who seemed to have been distinct until recently. This is a subject of discussion today: whether this erosion is a stimulus for the restoration of the recently lost identity of the Moscow pattern. Or, on the contrary, whether this is the first step toward the development of a new form of that which was old and long-forgotten (to the degree that anything new is a comeback).

The Moscow Christian tradition whose Metropolitanate autocephaly was legalized in 1458 is post -schism and, by the logic of its existence, anti- Catholic. The Third Rome considered itself the protector of Orthodoxy . At that time, this term meant it was “taking up the baton,” continuing the feud in which the second Rome was involved with the first Rome prior to the Turkish invasion. 57 Therefore, what to Kyiv was the “openness” of the church to other churches of the Christian oecumene, including the Catholic Church, looked to Moscow like “betrayal” of and contamination of Orthodoxy with the Uniate heresy.

This difference in self-identification assumes a special importance today, in the age of ecumenism when the Christian community, in general, welcomes the movement of churches towards each other and towards Christian reconciliation. In spite of the unacceptability of “uniatism” as a historical method (or, maybe, owing to it), the idea of reconciliation between Orthodoxy and Catholicism becomes increasingly attractive. Thus, the Kyivan tradition of openness to the centres of Orthodoxy and Catholicism (and, in modern times, we need to consider openness to Protestantism as well) not only assumes legitimacy in the modern world but also becomes ecumenically more promising than the anti-Catholic antagonism still typical of the Moscow Church . The development of this openness would allow not only the harmonizing of religious interests inside Ukraine but it would also have a positive effect on East-West relations in general by demonstrating the advantages of openness over isolationism.

3.3. The Church of Moscow Versus the Church of Kyiv , or the Problem of “Nationalism.”

As was already mentioned in the first chapter, the main conflicts of the Slavic ecclesial space can be found along the lines of (1) the Catholic-Orthodox divide and (2) the Moscow-Byzantium rivalry (the issue of Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly). Rejecting the ecclesial nature of the UGCC, UAOC and UOC-KP, the Moscow Patriarchate traditionally sees the “heresy of ethnophiletism”⁵⁸ and nationalism as the bases of their ecclesiology and church mentality. In addition, the tendency to nationalism is often referred to as the reason why the international Christian community is slow to establish full contacts with these churches, as well. It is believed that this tendency is expressed, among other things, in the anti-Moscow orientation of the “national” churches, the negative character of which makes a negative impression on Western Christians. Let us have a closer look at this argument.

On the one hand, Archimandrite Rafail (Karelin) is right when he says that, “the Church is not national but supranational.”⁵⁹ That is exactly how the faithful of the Moscow Patriarchate justify the idea that Ukrainians have no need to establish their own national church but that they should continue going to the Russian Church instead. On the other hand, however, according to the oral testimony of Archbishop Augustin (Markevych) of the same Ukrainian Orthodox Church in communion with the Moscow Patriarchate, attempts to introduce the Ukrainian language in the Liturgy roused much opposition among ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking population in Ukraine who threatened to seek direct government intervention from Moscow . Therefore, not only the Ukrainian but also the Russian church mentality has a national character. The only difference between them is that pro-Russian Christians seek to preserve the status quo [from the Soviet era] whereas the pro-Ukrainian Christians seek to change it.

One cannot, in fact, deny that the faithful, the clergy, and even some hierarchs of some Ukrainian churches (of the Byzantine rite) use national-protective rhetoric, unambiguously interpreted by the West as nationalistic. Due to the wrongs done to the UGCC and UAOC by communist Moscow , the faithful of these churches, almost unanimously, support the state independence of Ukraine . In general, the long period of persecutions developed in their souls, in certain cases, negative feelings that can hardly be described as truly Christian. Therefore, strengthening the evangelical motivation in the attitude of the faithful is a priority and urgent task for these churches.

At the same time, the fear of some Western Christians of any combination of Christianity with culture is, very often, too sketchy and superficial. If we follow this logic, we would end up having to accuse even Jesus of a wrong understanding of Christian universalism. For he said: “I was sent only to the lost

sheep of the House of Israel” (Mt. 15, 24). The authenticity of Christianity should not be seen only in the absence of any mention of anything national. The Christian “distillate” is not closer to Christian teaching than the living water of faith enriched with national “minerals”. As for the UGCC, starting from the middle 19 th century, it increasingly felt the missionary character of its ministry with regard to Ukrainians. That ministry could be characterized by a paraphrase of the Gospel: “We were sent only to the lost sheep of the House of Ukraine.” (Comp. Mt. 15, 24). The word “lost” is a determinative here, as it directly refers us to the words of Christ: “Suppose one of you has a hundred sheep and loses one of them. Does he not leave the ninety nine in the open country and go after the lost sheep until he finds it?” The evangelical “sheep” of Ukraine were lost in the ideological jungles, confused by cunning promises, and bled white in the thorns of the GULAG. Therefore, the national character of church mission can be seen, from certain perspective, as a direct embodiment of the evangelical spirit and not a distortion thereof! (Of course, by this I do not intend to justify the abandonment of the evangelical nature of the Christian faith, turning the church into an instrument of a political and ideological conjuncture.)

One can also give more practical warnings against hasty accusations of nationalism. It is methodologically wrong to condemn the consequences without looking at the cause. The negative attitude to Moscow has no confessional complexion, as both Greek Catholics and Orthodox of the autocephalous orientation possess it. This is an expression of a kind of historical retribution for the collaborationism of the Russian Orthodox Church with the communist regime, which brought numerous troubles to Ukraine . Even if such sentiments are to be viewed as unambiguously “nationalistic,” they should not be considered out of context, without taking into account the openly negative attitude of the hierarchs of the Moscow Patriarchate to the state independence of Ukraine, its rejection of the UGCC's ecclesial nature, and its more than evasive attitude to the issue of Ukrainian autocephaly.

In addition, it is obvious, that the anti-Muscovite orientation of Greek Catholics is due to the historical injustice of the Lviv pseudo-sobor – the injustice, which is recognized even by objective Western historians. Let us give a floor to the same Austrian expert:

That process, which was a degradation of human rights, was officially called by the authorities “the return to the mother-church, the Moscow Patriarchate.” This definition was untruthful in its essence, and the whole process was criminal. The native lands of these faithful belonged to the Western world from the time of the disintegration of Kyivan Rus, and, therefore, they were never linked to Moscow in terms of church and state. The “return to Moscow” arguments are a propagandistic falsification of historical facts, and the people to whom it was referred simply could not return to Moscow, as neither they themselves nor their ancestors ever belonged to it, and neither did they want to become part of it at

that time, as they were nationally-conscious Ukrainians and knew very well that those who belong to the Russian Church will be inevitably russified. 60

The propaganda efforts of Moscow are aimed at taking advantage of the general European opposition to nationalist doctrines in order to present Ukrainian national churches as solely nationalistic churches opposing “universal, superethnic” Russian Orthodoxy. At least, two comments should be made with regards to the statement.

To start with, the very claim for universality appears doubtful. For in Russia the Russian Orthodox Church is openly called “the Church of the Russian people.” The rhetoric of ethnocentricity is so common here that even the highest hierarchy of the ROC does not notice typical contradictions to the declared principle of universality. Let me give only one, but a very typical, example. The Russian scholar Andrei Zubov has noted that:

In the whole lengthy report read on 29 December 1994 in the Russian Academy of Education and called “Foundations of Orthodox education in Russia,” His Beatitude the Patriarch [Alexis II] emphasized the indissoluble ties of the Russian people with Orthodoxy more than once, but did not even mention the fact that he was the patriarch of not only Russians, but also Jakutians, Ukrainians, Chechens, Tatars, Mordva, Armenians, Germans, Jews, Calmics and other ethnic groups in Russia. 61

Therefore, in the opinion of both Greek Catholics and Autocephalous Orthodox, the visible dilemma between “nationalism” and “universalism” conceals the deepest gist of the problem, namely: an effort to keep the Kyivan church in the shade, as has been done for more than three centuries 62, that is to say, the attempt of one national church to prevent the revival of another national church.

It should be mentioned that patriarchal Moscow's fear of the revival and unification of the Church of Kyiv is not really without foundation. As of 1 January 2003, the Moscow Patriarchate has about 10,600 communities 63 within the whole territory of the Russian Federation, whereas in Ukraine alone, as of 1 January 2004, it has “control” over 10,300 communities. However, if it came to a unification of all Orthodox communities in Ukraine (i.e. the three major jurisdictions mentioned above), they together would total 15,150, which is more than Russia has now. Further extrapolation from the unification prospects and summation of absolutely all today's active branches of the Kyivan church in Ukraine (including Greek Catholics) would give a total figure of some 18,500 communities.

Both in the second and third case, the unified Church of Kyiv would become the largest Church of the Christian East. This would substantially undermine the Third Rome's claims to the position of the Second Rome. That is why the accusations of nationalism against the Ukrainian churches and efforts to prevent the legitimization of Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly become sine qua non for the domination of the Moscow Patriarchate. 64

Nonetheless, one should distinguish between the negative role of nationalism, which damages the evangelical nature of the Christian Church by overemphasizing political factors (and signs of this illness are surely present in the "national" Ukrainian churches,) and the positive role of the awareness and realization of a people's own religious identity. This is especially important for the Eastern churches, which, by their tradition, are more closely tied to ethnicity than the Western churches.

The second comment deals with the fact that the argument about the "nationalistic" nature of the Ukrainian churches is accepted by Western Christians almost automatically. The reason for this is not only the respective rhetoric of the clergy of the "national" churches. Sometimes it appears that religious processes in the West and East of Europe are out of phase with each other. In the postwar period, members of Western European societies (including Christians) made much effort to overcome nationalistic tendencies and create an atmosphere of peace and cooperation. Therefore, the Western vector of development is characterised by mutual convergence, partnership, overcoming differences and avoiding all possible obstacles in the way of unity. Therefore, it is difficult for Western Christians to understand why in Ukraine, at first sight, a qualitatively different process is under way, namely the efforts of Ukrainian Christians to realize their own religious identity and distinguish it from the Russian one. 65 This can be understood as the vector of efforts of a substantial part of Ukrainian Christians as characterized by the separation from the church body which oppressed Ukrainian religious traditions and national forms of religious self-determination. In order to make certain of their identity, Ukrainians have to draw a dividing line between "us" and "them" and concentrate on what makes them different from others, that is, to do exactly what is so disapproved of in the West today.

Does this mean that Ukrainian Christians are not capable of adopting modern European values? One may be inclined to come to this conclusion if one does not look into the causes of the described contradiction. Is the assumed "universalism" of Moscow Orthodoxy, which conceals aspirations to maintain the unfair status quo, really closer and more acceptable to Western Europe than the efforts of Ukrainian Christians to break free from what they see as ecclesiastical imperialism? In this case, then, the "nationalistic" overtones of the weaker party, which suffered persecutions, may seem to more dangerous for the Christian oecumene than the definitely pan-Slavic and pan-Russist overtones of Russian Orthodoxy, which, allegedly, are free of nationalism.

Such an aberration of vision is usually due to the fact that, for example, in the 1960s or '70s, there was peace and tranquility in the territories controlled by the Moscow Patriarchate, whereas the 1990s, when the so-called "national" churches of Ukraine revived, brought interconfessional frictions and conflicts. But was that peace and tranquility really Christian, and did the attempts of Ukrainian churches to find a place for themselves under the Christian sun really warrant condemnation? Was not the illusory peace of that time farther from the expected ecumenical ideal than the attempts at seeking a more just status quo? Monica Hellwig noted that "sometimes the evasion of change is more dangerous than a response to challenges, even if it results in conflicts." 66

Therefore, both Western and Ukrainian Christians have specific tasks to do. People in the West often do not understand the dynamic of the struggle of Ukrainians for the right to revive their Christian reputation. But it does not follow from this that the very desire of Western Christians to urge Ukrainians to rise above all barriers is wrong in itself. The outstanding representative of Western Christianity, His Holiness Pope John Paul II, showed Ukrainians a striking example of the meticulous application of Christian principles. In his speeches in Ukraine, he never mentioned anything about the neo-imperial sentiments of the Kremlin. He elevated the importance of the state independence of Ukraine to a high position without even trying to stir up anti-Russian sentiments. (Ironically, some Ukrainian church leaders invoke anti-Russian sentiment to promote their own position, only to harm their cause.) The Ukrainian people felt that, in the eyes of the Pope, they have value in themselves and not just as a "springboard" for winning over the proud Muscovite hearts. And the spiritual greatness of such a peace-making and un-hostile position had an unstoppable and healing effect. Ukraine still has a long way to go to develop this ability to speak about one's own tasks without making it conditional on the other party's position.

However, while expecting Ukrainian Christians to comply with the main principles of their faith and to love those who reject even their right to have their own churches, Western Christians (in a broader sense, Christians worldwide) cannot leave unnoticed the very fact of the existence of those who revile Ukrainians and their legitimate aspirations to worship in their own tradition. Or to be more exact, the latter cannot be considered better Christians and viewed as the only ones good enough to enter the ecumenical dialogue. Otherwise, the "dialogue of love" will become just an ostentatious cloak concealing the solely political logic of "yielding to power." What is absolutely appropriate for rivalry between political parties becomes destructive for the Christian nature of ecumenism if applied to interchurch relations.

Let us sum up: in the 20th century and, especially, at the turn of the millennium, the tendency towards a revival of the Kyivan Church was too obvious to be

unnoticed. Besides that, the share in the historic responsibility of the global centers of Christianity for the schism of that church in the 16 th century has surely also been established enough to incline them to show more initiative today regarding Ukrainian church matters. The following chapters will deal with the specificities of the Ukrainian policy of the above-mentioned centres as they are seen or should be seen by Kyiv-oriented Christians.

3.4. The Role of Rome in the Formation of the Modern Christian Image of Ukraine.

Rome exercises its influence on relations between the Ukrainian churches of the Kyivan tradition mainly through the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC). During the time of its existence, the UGCC has paid a high price for its loyalty to the Roman Apostolic See. The beatification of 25 new martyrs of the church is just the top of the striking martyrology by which the church showed how important communion with Rome is for Ukraine. The “Conception of the Ecumenical Position of the UGCC” says:

The UGCC's communion with the Church of Rome has served it as a great historic support, enriched its ecclesiological experience, and filled it with spiritual blessings which have inspired its faithful to great sacrifice and great deeds of heroic faith during persecutions. Ecclesial unity with the universal pontiff became one of the basic foundations for the identity of the UGCC, and, therefore, any further ecumenical steps cannot undermine the significance of this unity and should be made taking this unity into account (p. 17). 67

The ecclesial awareness of the UGCC typically presents its role in ecumenical relations as that of a “mediator.” However, more than one Greek Catholic scholar has noted bitterly that, in reality, even Rome was not interested in this mediation (not to mention Constantinople and Moscow). In the history of the Church, Rome was convinced of the “self-sufficiency, universality and infallibility of the Western Catholic approach” 68 for too long to get rid of that feeling in its approach to interchurch relations so easily. Amazingly, much was done at the Second Vatican Council and in later teachings of the popes but there still remain certain gaps of seeming ambiguity at the theoretical level. For example, the issue of papal primacy, the ecclesiology of sister-churches and the place of Eastern Catholic churches in the Catholic community all need discussion by theologians and ecclesiologists within the Catholic Church. There exists also the old tradition of leaving unnoticed the vision offered (if perhaps candidly on occasion) by the Eastern Catholic churches themselves.

Thus, the history of the Union of Brest sounds like a definite reproach to Rome :

The fact that Union of Brest was concluded according to ideas which did not accord with the Eastern tradition and that the proposal to reach agreement through the establishment of a Kyivan Patriarchate was not heard in Rome either, resulted in tragic consequences in the Polish-Lithuanian state: the rise of two rival churches of Byzantine tradition at the turn of the 17th century. 69

The schism of one particular church (or, later, several churches) was not the only consequence of that ecclesial “short-sightedness” of the day. The ecclesial experience and peace-making proposals of the Kyivan Church, which actually had great ecumenical potential were darkened.

The Kyivan bishops brought to Rome a very early-Christian model of sister-churches, a model that showed some continuity from as early as in the 11th century. 70 However, Rome, relying on the power principle, rejected that ecclesiology as “heretical” (redeant unde discesserunt – “let them return to where they came from”) and forced Kyiv to accept the model of uniatism. Melkite Metropolitan Elias Zogby, is convinced that the “superiority of the Latin rite (praestantia ritus latini) was the main cause of the elimination of the theology of sister-churches. 71 In the second half of the 20th century, the renewed Rome made a definite evolutionary shift towards the sister-churches ecclesiology and, in Balamand, renounced the model of uniatism (and this is fine). However, the merits and honours are Rome's again, if one can put it so, and the “uniate” Church of the Kyivan tradition continues to be very nearly “heretical” and “anomalous,” as it is once again inconsistent with the patterns of Roman diplomacy.

Here, we can again see the same lack of interest of Rome in any serious study and adoption of the experience of its Eastern Catholic partner. In particular, the experience and ecclesial vision of the UGCC's Patriarch Joseph Slipyj, who was able “to subtly distinguish between a dialogical exchange of values and a non-critical syncretism, or between union and uniatism,” 72 are still kept on the shelf in the curial offices of the Vatican or in the offices of Western theologians without being used. It was probably this Rome's inert disinterest in any serious consideration of the ecclesial perspectives of Kyivan Christian tradition (though Rome's attitude to its cultural and historic achievements is mostly very favourable) that urged Fr. Myron Bendyk to formulate his important conclusion: “The UGCC should ... offer medicine to the Western churches to heal the psychology of self-sufficiency.” 73

One can see at least two more important ecclesial elements in Bendyk's position.

First, at the level of practical stereotypes (sometimes not even noticeable to Roman Catholics) Catholicism still

identifies itself with the Latin Church, which is its norm. Accordingly, the Eastern Catholic church is an anomaly of the Catholic Church, because it is Eastern... A definite theological fiction prevails again and, therefore, the movement towards unity is not real but fictitious. 74

Two different concepts of what is the nature of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church exist at the present time among Roman and Greek Catholics. The former normally hold to the concept of “one Catholic church – two rites”. In this case, the basic Latin ecclesial formula *cum Petro et sub Petro* (literally, with Peter and under Peter, where the “sub” is understood as at least some form of administrative subordination) is automatically spread to the Eastern Catholic Church too. Some Ukrainian Greek Catholics, especially those who were greatly traumatized by the forceful subordination of the Church to the Moscow Patriarchate, share this view. A larger portion of Ukrainian Greek Catholics carry the memory of the Kyivan Church as an Eastern Church who entered into Eucharistic unity (*soprychastia*) with the Roman Pontiff. In this case, only part of the Latin ecclesial formula is valid for an Eastern Church, namely *cum Petro*, and the Latin Church and Eastern Catholic Churches altogether belong to the universal Church. A Pope is, then, the highest authority in matters of faith (the Supreme Pontiff) leaving an Eastern Church administration in the hands of a Synod of its Bishops and/or a Head (Patriarch) of an Eastern Church. In the Greek Catholic perspective, such a vision does not mean higher ambitions of an Eastern Church or betrayal of Catholicity. It is an important ecumenical proposal, which enables Eastern Catholic Churches to fulfil their main task – “to prepare a place for Eastern Orthodox Churches in the united Church” (Maximus IV).

Second, the Ukrainian theologian sees the very problem of ecumenism from a radically different point of view:

Today, the Church carries out its ecumenical search ... through meetings of representatives of the main centres of Christianity. That is to say, the vision of church only as Rome, Constantinople or Moscow prevails. Ecumenism at the level of particular churches, for example the Ukrainian or German, when representatives of a divided people gather to negotiate, is not even considered today. However, the problem of church divisions varies from particular church to particular church. 75

Ecumenism at the level of particular churches makes each church an equal subject of the ecumenical process and also provides a radically different basis for an increasingly huge role of the papal ministry. The Pope's role in the model of “ecumenism of particular churches” would be that of the universal bishop, whereas today he acts mainly as the patriarch of the West. The pilgrimage of the

present Pope, John Paul II, to Ukraine and other regions with a predominantly Orthodox orientation, has vividly demonstrated this possibility.

While formulating all these obstacles found in the ecumenical approaches of Rome, I have no intention whatsoever of suggesting to the reader that there is any ill will regarding this in the modern Latin Church. There is much more mere ignorance, inertness of established stereotypes and psychological comfort in these obstacles than any deliberate ill will. For me, personally, it became evidently clear at the sessions of the Tenth Assembly of the Synod of Catholic Bishops, where the above-mentioned issue was raised in two aspects. On the one hand, there is a really pronounced need for a more thorough study of the experience of the churches of the East by Western Christians as the first and inevitable step towards understanding the importance of solutions proposed by the Christian East. On the other hand, the Eastern churches, in my opinion, should, for their part, stop complaining about their church reality being ignored and should “roll up their sleeves” and get down to serious theological work on the issue of the place and full value participation of the Eastern churches in the Universal Church.

...It is necessary to review many polemical theological formulations that imply that there are radical differences in principle between the Eastern and Western churches. The Kyivan tradition in the Universal Church always maintained that there was no radical difference between them. 76

The history of the Vatican's *ostpolitik* is rich in examples of the humiliation of the UGCC,... examples of its representatives being delicately pushed “under the bench” when Moscow bishops entered the main halls. The overwhelming majority of Roman Catholic clergy were formed in the conviction that such behaviour is an axiom of interchurch diplomacy. However, these very same decades were the period when the adherents of *ostpolitik* recovered their sight and became disappointed in the style of diplomacy, which promised them the moon in the beginning. Therefore, the way of rethinking history should not be one-sided, as there are no simple solutions to this problem.

On the one hand, one cannot deny that the way to reconciliation passes through dialogue, and the more irreconcilable the rival, the more attention is needed to engage the person in dialogue. In particular, it includes careful consideration of the opponent's position. However, during the last few decades, the Vatican made the mistake of subordination to the opponent (the perceived readiness of the Vatican to sacrifice the interests of the UGCC was an indication of this). This made the “dialogue of love” look increasingly like a “yielding to power.” On the other hand, it is true that the Vatican's *ostpolitik* failed. But it would be wrong to believe that Roman Catholics now have no other option than to adopt the position of the once-ignored Greek Catholics. It is true that Ukrainian Greek Catholics sometimes understood the nature of Moscow's diplomacy better than

curial Italians. However, this does not mean that the negative sentiments of some Greek Catholics should be approved as a norm for inter-confessional dialogue.

Therefore, it would be worthwhile for both parties, adherents of *ostpolitik* in the Vatican curia and the “irreconcilable” part of Greek Catholics, to examine their consciences. Today, it seems impossible for anyone to fail to see that both parties sustain each other's intransigence rather than persuade each other. Greek Catholics would better concentrate on building up the treasures of church life, filling the hearts of the faithful with the true light of the Gospel and urging them to humble work for the benefit of their neighbours rather than focus on the Vatican 's mistakes. The more authentic the Christian life of the UGCC faithful is, the fewer arguments will be left for those who deny their right to existence.

The Vatican 's influential circles should, in their turn, critically rethink their policy with regard to the churches of Ukraine , which, for some reason, is nearly always derivative of their policy towards Moscow . The mentioned fact that Pope John Paul II showed respect for the Ukrainian nation, irrespective of the interests of Russia , should serve as an ideal example not only for Ukrainians but also for officials of the papal Curia. As a case in point, the problem of Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly cannot be interpreted only as a problem of canonicity, that is, as an internal problem of the Russian Orthodox Church, because it is actually an inertial repetition at the church level of the earlier non-recognition of the oppositional national liberation movement in the USSR. The president of the USA, George Bush, Senior, and the Prime Minister of the UK, Margaret Thatcher, once spoke at the Supreme Council (Parliament) of the then Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in support of the preservation of the integrity of the USSR in their primary effort to, first of all, maintain the status quo . In the history of Ukraine , both of them will be remembered as helpless in trying to stop time. In fact, the absolutization of the basically important political task of maintaining the status quo (as well as the absolutization of the basically important ecclesial principle of canonicity) sometimes looks very much like an effort to stop time and secure temporary geopolitical structures forever. In my opinion, an attempt to apply this logic to the church would contradict the nature of the church, as it would be tantamount to trying to cage the Holy Spirit.

Chapter 3, 3.5-3.7

3.5 The Role of the Moscow Patriarchate.

The need for dialogue has assumed nearly an imperative character ("dialogue at any cost") for the Roman Church, whereas the Church of Moscow considers this dialogue profitable only for the Catholic side, since, according to Moscow, it serves as a cover up for the prozelytizing expansion of Catholicism. It appears that the Russian Orthodox Church does not feel ready for dialogue, and, therefore, makes efforts to avoid it at any cost. This conclusion is sometimes questioned. Therefore, I would like to refer to the argumentation of a well-known Russian theologian, Deacon Andrei Kuraiev:

"Under the conditions of the destruction of the traditions of church theology, schooling and education, it would be somewhat naïve to seek full-scale dialogue with a structure like the Vatican. It is necessary to heal our own wounds, understand who we are, remind ourselves of our own history, reach at least our prerevolutionary level... How can one enter a dialogue with another society, culture, tradition without first knowing oneself?" 77

In response to this logic, one can single out a few weak points. First, Orthodoxy is not a modern religious movement which needs safe isolation during its embryonal maturation. The main problem of present Slavic Orthodoxy is the fact that, as a rule, it guards its invaluable capital, Eastern theology, but does not use it. Thereby, it can be likened, if you will, to the unwise servant from the Gospel, who hid the talent which he had received from his master (comp. Matt. 25, 14-30). And it is only by making use of theology, multiplying its "capital" and putting the talent into circulation in the "market of ideas," in dialogue, a lively exchange of thoughts and application of the theological freedom of the Church Fathers, that will solve the complicated problems of our time.

Second: perhaps there is no need for Slavic Orthodoxy to revive itself in its prerevolutionary forms? Have Orthodox theologians forgotten the desperate call of a Russian bishop of that time who participated in the National Sobor of the ROC (1917-1918):

Enough of this alliance with the state! In the past our bones cracked in the heavy embrace of the protector-state, as they do now in persecutions of the Bolsheviks. No, we do not want carriages and stagecoaches, we will walk and be free, like sectarians, relying on our faithful. ... It is not the state, which is changing its appearance catastrophically, but a believing society that is the guarantee of a strong church order, which is already accepted by the Russian Church, and for

giving up which there are no grounds at the time of the future liberation of Russia from communist bondage. 78

Perhaps the fact that the communist axe separated Slavic Orthodoxy from its pre-revolutionary form was, in this sense, an expression of God's grace as it gave Orthodoxy the chance to get grafted to modernity?

Third, getting to know oneself in isolation very often maintains neglected illnesses and reproduces the most odious and non-viable concepts. Some would consider today's Russian church press is a confirmation of this.

However, in the view of Greek Catholics it is this reluctance to enter into dialogue that explains the invariable shifting of the blame onto the "Uniates" for upsetting the dialogue. Greek Catholics are convinced that the Moscow Patriarchate desperately needs "evidence" of persecution of the Orthodox in Halychyna, for example, as without this its main construct of propaganda falls apart. In fact, the use of the present continuous tense to describe persecutions of the Orthodox in Halychyna (they "are being persecuted, beaten, killed, etc." 79) deserves amazement, as it has not been reflective of the real situation for a long time. This all indicates the existence of a certain propagandistic formula, which, by the way, inflicts losses on all parties: Greek Catholics become "scapegoats," Orthodox of the Moscow jurisdiction in Halychyna become hostages of big politics, and the Moscow Patriarchate itself becomes a victim of its own incapability to overcome the inertness of its policy.

I have no doubt that some circles in Moscow are also concerned about the inflexibility of the ROC's position. But I am afraid that, as long as the trick of the "red card for Uniates" brings forth fruits it will be used. This trick is a mirror reflexion of the Catholic imperative "dialogue at any cost." If one is not willing to enter dialogue, it is advisable to set too high a price, which would be impossible to pay.

The reluctance of the Russian Orthodox Church to take an active part in the ecumenical process (and not simply to attend ecumenical meetings in order to make its position known) is combined with the desire to keep its monopoly on the formation of religious processes in the post-Soviet space. In this view, the monopoly becomes a synonym of church power, and its loss becomes a synonym for defeat. This dooms Moscow to a positional conflict in two respects (at least, in the case of Ukraine).

First, the Moscow Patriarchate seeks to remove Rome and Constantinople from the competition field at any cost instead of seeking understanding with them in

the issue of “untying” the Ukrainian church knot. With respect to Rome , it can be explained away by an argument about “Catholic expansion,” which is usual for the Orthodox mentality; whereas with respect to Constantinople 's position, the Moscow Patriarchate is trying to find traces of “crypto-Catholicism” in Patriarch Bartholomew, schemes of the USA and NATO, and so on. And, of course, for some time the Moscow Patriarchate will be able to appeal to the anti-western sentiments of its faithful and mobilize them to “protect true Orthodoxy.” The geopolitical international situation is currently conducive to this.

However, that church will thereby drive itself into a dead end (or, to be more exact, into a catastrophe), as it will increasingly rely upon its darkest, most undialogical and obscurantist circles. The deformation between the civilizational and anticivilizational segments of the church will eventually become excessive, which may cause a schism of the church community. Even today one sometimes hears the opinion that the current inflexibility of the ROC's position is partly due precisely to the reluctance of the church hierarchy to resort to radical changes, which may cause the development of threatening cracks in the church body. This fear is understandable but the strategy formed by it will hardly be salvific for the church, as life itself will demand that the hierarchy make different decisions and resort to qualitatively different methods to protect the interests of its own church.

Second , Moscow 's claims on church monopoly in Ukraine , irrespective of its degree of success, doom Moscow itself to an everlasting confrontation with independent tendencies in the Kyivan Church . A replacement of the monopoly strategy by the strategy of participation would help protect the interests of the Russian- or Moscow-oriented Orthodox population of Ukraine without tying them to imperialistic ambitions, and in a civilized way. I am actually talking about the British post-imperial model of rational anticipation of events, allowing the avoidance of a complete break of relations and reaching friendly cooperation instead, even though it is not close. The future will show if this change is possible.

Both cases are not about removing patriarchal Moscow from the ecumenical dialogue but, on the contrary, about freeing up this dialogue. It is only the claims of the Moscow Patriarchate to monopoly in the ecumenical process that are to be questioned and not, by any means, its right to participate in the process. It is exactly the removal of certain churches from the ecumenical dialogue that was the main error of its last phase. The replacement of removed churches would not bring a qualitative change to the situation and, apparently, would not activate the ecumenical dialogue.

However, neither will it be possible to set the ecumenical “cart” in motion if everything remains unchanged. The tactic of “getting around Moscow,” typical of the age of ostpolitik, only sustained Moscow's hopes to still be able to keep the

present tactic, in particular to keep the national churches in Ukraine (not to mention the churches of Belarus!) away from the dialogue in the future and, thereby, to maintain its monopoly. The sooner the Russian Orthodox Church realizes that it is impossible to enter “the eye of the needle” of the third millennium with such a load, the sooner it will take its real and harmonious place in the Christian oecumene. It appears to be clear even in the Kremlin but still not in the St. Daniel monastery.

The situation in the World Council of Churches shows that, today, the Christian community needs the voice of the Eastern churches, which would not be dominated by the rejection of modernity and artificial prevention of changes but by a bold and friendly healing of modernity. It will be very difficult to achieve this if the Russian Orthodox Church is not open and prepared for dialogue. One has to distinguish between natural conservatism and the sickness of reactionism. The conservatism of Orthodoxy in general (as compared to Catholicism and Protestantism) and, in particular, Russian Orthodoxy (against the background of other churches of the East) has played and will continue to play a positive role. This statement is based on the conviction that a stabilizing conservatism has the same value for the progress of humanity as does a flexibility toward change.

Reactionism and obscurantism, on the other hand, are results of the degeneration and sickness of conservatism. For all its inflexibility, conservatism is still dialogical, that is to say it realizes and appreciates its dialectal links with its antipod. Obscurantism develops a sectarian mentality in a church body, which destroys dialogism and locks the church in the “fortress of its own truth” (Patriarch Athenagoras). This danger was emotionally described by the deputy rector of Saint Filaret's Higher Orthodox-Christian school of Moscow, Margarita Shylkina:

Can it be that we are witnessing the fulfilment of the prophecy of Mother Maria (Skobtsova), in which she said as early as in 1936 that the recognition of the church in Russia and growth of its outward success will lead to restriction of freedom, increase of heresy-mania and the annihilation of opponents? Cadres brought up by the Soviet power in the psychology of a search for infallible decisions will be even bigger eradicators of “heresies” and protectors of “Orthodoxy” in the area of Orthodox doctrine. May it not happen! For this is not only far from Orthodoxy, but far from Christianity! 80

Therefore, the world needs the conservative but, at the same time, dialogical Russian Orthodoxy, whereas a church, which relies on the obscurantism of the darkest part of its faithful, dooms itself.

3.6. The Role of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

The crisis in relations between the Moscow and Constantinople Patriarchs about the jurisdiction of the Estonian Orthodox Church caused a lively discussion on the possibility that the Patriarch of Constantinople's next step will be the recognition of the autocephalous status of one of the Ukrainian Orthodox churches.

Among others, the optimistic statements of Patriarch Filaret of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church-Kyivan Patriarchate appeared in the press at that time. The optimism of these expectations proved to be premature but, on the other hand, the current position of the Patriarch of Constantinople cannot be considered final, either. It is considered that Constantinople never officially renounced its status as the mother-church of Kyiv, notwithstanding the fact that the Patriarchate of Constantinople has actually tolerated the passage of the Kyivan Patriarchate under the jurisdiction of Moscow Patriarchate in 1686 for three hundred years, according to Constantinopolitan dignitaries themselves. ⁸¹ It is also noteworthy that when he admitted the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA under his mantle, Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople said that he recognized the Moscow Patriarchate only within the borders of 1591. ⁸² All this really gives ground to the belief that the old historical controversy over the Kyivan Metropolitanate between Constantinople and Moscow may revive in some new form in the future.

At the same time, after 11 September 2001, the geopolitical situation in the world changed drastically, which was bound to affect the geo-Christian situation. At least in the midst of the Episcopate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church-Kyivan Patriarchate it is believed that the fact that the Patriarch of Constantinople became indifferent to the problem of Ukrainian autocephaly is due exactly to changes in geopolitics. ⁸³ The actual suspension by Constantinople of the process of canonical recognition of both Ukrainian Orthodox churches, which proclaimed autocephalous status, took those churches by surprise. The reaction of the Kyivan Patriarchate to the hesitation of Constantinople apparently found expression in the appearance in America of sharply critical materials of Oksana Khomchuk, the editor of the magazine Ukrainians of America for a Kyivan Patriarchate. ⁸⁴ The materials mentioned, of course, are not official documents of the church but their appearance is an indication of the sentiments, which prevail in it (at least, in its American branch).

It is too early to come to any final conclusions about the future of the process of recognition of Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly today. However, I am going to take the liberty of making at least a few remarks in this regard.

Moscow and, apparently, Constantinople view "the healing of the schism" in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as the process of its branches becoming individually dependent on one of the centres. Many Ukrainian Orthodox see it as a struggle in a vicious circle: in an effort to free oneself from one subjection, one is bound to

get into another one. In an attempt to break free from the vicious circle, part of the Orthodox choose the previously mentioned ecclesial formula “neither Rome , nor Constantinople , nor Moscow ”; that is to say, “the liberation of Ukraine from the bondage of all three Romes.”

Well, there are many historic arguments against superiority of these centres, and such a position could even be seen as heroic in a way. However, it does not make this position any less hopeless. This conclusion is based not even on a pragmatic comparison of powers and opportunities (though it is very eloquent in itself). Primarily, it is based on the conviction of many past and present outstanding representatives of the Ukrainian Church that the historic mission of Ukrainian Christians is to reconcile the quarrelled branches of Christianity and not to open a third front against them. Therefore, stirring up hatred for any centre (no matter how deserved it is) must be considered inconsistent not just with evangelical imperatives but also with the identity and practical interests of the presently divided Church of Kyiv . For the logic of triple rejection is not conducive either to reconciliation inside Ukraine or to active international ecumenical initiatives from the autocephalous churches.

Despite the risk of being accused of holding a typically Greek Catholic viewpoint, I am going to formulate my own conclusion: the issue of Ukrainian Orthodoxy cannot be solved only along the Constantinople-Moscow line. The wavering of dependencies between Moscow and Constantinople , in my opinion, is an indication that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, as another branch of historic Kyivan Christian tradition and a representative of its openness to the Church of Rome, is left out of the solution of the issue of the unity of the Church of Kyiv . Both Rome and Constantinople today are objective factors in the positive solution of the stalemate situation of the Ukrainian churches since they both oppose Moscow 's monopolistic claims in their own ways. (This conclusion is fair even if one takes into account the fact that both Rome and Constantinople may have their own interests in Ukraine , different from the interests of the mentioned Ukrainian churches). It seems conclusive that the orientation towards Constantinople and Rome are organic parts of the Ukrainian Christian tradition, whereas the monopoly (and not just presence) of the Moscow Patriarchate in Ukraine is artificial and counter-productive.

There is no doubt, as Andrii Yurash says, that,

...under the present circumstances, one can easily forecast the parallel existence of two canonical jurisdictions in Ukraine – one in full subjection to Moscow and the other in strategic partnership with Constantinople. That is to say, Ukraine will again find itself on the dividing line between the two church orientations, the two poles of Eastern Christian Orthodox spirituality. 85

I would like to add to this that the inclusion of the UGCC in the untying of the Ukrainian religious knot would determine the division of the Kyivan Church, this time between the three centres of Christianity. That is to say: each particular centre would “look after” some branch of the Kyivan Church. The negativist interpretation of this fact offers statements about the imperial ambitions of the three Romes. According to such an interpretation, it is really possible to say that only fundamental and harmonious unity is an alternative to schisms, and not the imperial “gathering of lands,” no matter which centre we are talking about.

However, I suggest looking at this situation from a different, positive point of view. For centuries, all three of the centres sought to resolve the problem of the unity of the Kyivan Church individually, and all these efforts failed sooner or later. Unfortunately, the tradition of keeping some centres away from the untying of the Ukrainian church knot has survived to date. Therefore, Ukrainian Christians alternately pinned their hopes on one particular centre, and those hopes were also deferred. Efforts to get rid of any dependencies proved futile as well. In my opinion, there is only one way out of the situation: to realize that any further political manipulations along the lines of old ecclesial models will drive the parties into a blind alley. What cannot be overcome should be taken as the will of Providence.

And positive sides thereof should also be considered. The three centres of Christianity never made an attempt to sit down jointly to the negotiating table with each other. Neither did Ukrainian Christians ever (at least in modern times) try to engage all three centres in the solution of their problems on a partnership basis. Of course, until recently the situation in the Christian world was not conducive to making such proposals. However, today, despite the old ambitions and resistance, there is actually an opportunity to test new models of coexistence. There is excessive inertia in ecclesial thinking with regard to the Ukrainian issue and a lack of positive proposals, which would engage all parties in cooperation instead of excluding some parties from the field of negotiations. This inertia may lead to considerable remorse on the conscience of both Ukrainian Christians and the leadership of the international centres of Christianity.

3.7. On the Issue of a Single Kyiv-Halych Patriarchate.

The problem of the patriarchate is very troublesome and ecumenically significant in today's Ukrainian context.

To begin with, in the eyes of Ukrainian and international communities, this issue has been considerably discredited by the “parade” of Ukrainian patriarchates proclaimed in the 20th century. For example, in 1963 at the Second Vatican Council then-Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj raised the issue of the establishment of a UGCC patriarchate (and, actually, assumed the title of patriarch in 1975 for his

office as head of the UGCC). In 1991, at the All-Ukrainian Sobor of Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox, the Patriarchate of the UAOC was established and was headed by Patriarch Mstyslav (Skrypnyk). In 1992, as a result of the redistribution of influences between the UAOC and the-then UOC, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church–Kyivan Patriarchate was established and was headed by Patriarch Volodymyr (Romaniuk). The above mentioned decision of the UAOC hierarchy, made in 2000 to carry out the last will and testament of the late Patriarch Dymytrii (Yarema) and not to elect a new patriarch for some time – which was, basically, a very praiseworthy decision – was not able to outweigh the disappointing (for us) conclusion that Ukrainian Christians are not capable of bringing order into their patriarchal aspirations.

However, in this conclusion by people outside the church, not all aspects of the problem, by any means, were taken into account. For example, the proclamation of a number of Ukrainian patriarchates was not so much an indication of an increase of church ambitions,⁸⁶ as an indication of a growing feeling in the church awareness of Christians of the Kyivan tradition, that their churches were ready to assume the patriarchal title and manner of governance. The realization by Greek Catholics and the Autocephalous Orthodox of the fact of the great martyrdom of their churches under the Bolsheviks became the first motivating factor, as martyrdom has long been considered the ultimate (and, therefore, perfect) testimony of faith in the church. In addition, the revived churches increasingly gain in full-fledged ecclesial “flesh.” This thought was clearly sounded out in the speech of UGCC Patriarch Lubomyr (Husar) during the Divine Liturgy in Lviv with the participation of His Holiness John Paul II:

Today, Most Holy Father, the church stands before you in love and humbleness and ready to fulfil the new tasks which arise from our God-bearing Eastern tradition and church government, as well as from our honorary duty to the whole universal church.⁸⁷

The Vatican 's procrastination in recognizing the UGCC Patriarchate became one of the two little clouds which appeared in the basically light and cloudless Galician sky during the visit of the present Pope to Ukraine (the delay in the beatification of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was the other one). Orthodox Ukrainians of autocephalous status also had a grudge against Constantinople until recently, and even today, that is, as of 2004, their position on the unification initiatives of Constantinople is still not definite. Both in the first and second cases, Ukrainians tend to believe that Rome and Constantinople give priority to political considerations, which, naturally, raises discontent and suspicions in the minds of the faithful. Very few people in Ukraine think about the providential significance of such procrastination. (Below, I will talk about the situation of the UGCC Patriarchate).

However well-motivated might be those who criticize the Vatican of the 1970s-'80s for the excessively juridical character of its ecclesial thinking and the invariably hypnotic character of its inability to take its eyes off Moscow, nevertheless, its resistance to the Greek Catholics' struggle for patriarchal status played an important role. The establishment of a new patriarchate is an extraordinary event in the church sphere: there are very few other events of equal significance. A hasty decision in such an important step could cause lost opportunities for the church. However, if it were not for the assertiveness of Patriarch Joseph Slipyj, the justified prudence of the Vatican would have become an unforgivable rigidity. Only such an energetic "ram" as His Beatitude, Joseph I, could break the ecclesiological walls of the Curia. And the gift of prophecy is given only to those who are able to melt both prison bars and Siberian permafrost and the great callousness of rigid bureaucracy.

At the peak of the Vatican's *ostpolitik*, Patriarch Joseph was right to predict that the policy of "cajoling Moscow" pursued by the world churches at the time would fail. Several decades of these "*ostpolitik*" tests and mistakes did not go for naught, and today the model of the Vatican's diplomacy with respect to Moscow seems to be slowly changing. Of course, from the point of view of the ordinary Greek Catholic, it is changing too slowly. And, in my opinion, there is a very practical explanation for this slowness: *ostpolitik* formed certain stereotypes of ecclesial thinking and behaviour, which were adopted by generations of Roman Catholics in seminaries, universities and academies. It is not so simple to overcome the acceptability of such stereotypes.

The fears of certain Curial factions are also inertial that the recognition of the UGCC Patriarchate by Rome "will harm the freedom of the Roman Catholics of Russia". Traditionally, the fact that Rome sacrificed the interests of Greek Catholics more than once, and still does, is not considered. However, I am not sounding the call regularly to choose some "sacrifice for the ecumenical dragon." I suggest coming out of the vicious circle of "sacrifice" altogether, getting rid of out-dated approaches to relations with patriarchal Moscow and entering the international arena with new and bold ideas, which will bring a qualitative change to the ecumenical paradigm.

However, the Greek Catholic way of thinking, in its turn, also shows immobility. For it is easy to guess what kind of position would be considered fair by many Greek Catholics because of their dissatisfaction (often well-motivated) with the "pro-Moscow pliability" of the Vatican. It will mean a headlong struggle against Moscow's pro-imperial ambitions with resolute measures "to put it in its place." It is about punishing Moscow Orthodoxy for wrongs done by it and not about the evangelical treatment of its diseases. If this statement is correct, such a reaction is too automatic to be a really Christian and ecclesiastical reaction. The same conclusion is implied by what His Beatitude, Lubomyr Cardinal Husar said in an interview with a reporter of the Polish bulletin KAI: "We all have to be like John Paul II, whose ecumenical awareness and patience are exceptional." 88

The Brest logic of the UGCC (or, in a broader sense, the Kyivan Church) of being a sister-church to the Roman Church, which was so strongly advocated by Patriarch Joseph, seems still to be viewed by the Roman Catholic Church as a very nearly scandalous claim. The title of "sister-church" is mechanically applied to the Eastern Orthodox churches, whereas the Eastern Catholic churches still have to seek consolation in the status of "rite."

It is clear that such ecclesiology directly affects Vatican diplomacy. When Patriarch Theoktist of the Romanian Orthodox Church, during his recent visit to Rome, joined the celebration organized by the Pope in St. Peter's Square, Vatican officials immediately found "an equally important throne" for him and let him be seated next to John Paul II. This fact was presented by the Vatican press as a positive example of living ecumenism, without considering whether the title of "pope" bears the same honour as that of "patriarch." If I am not mistaken, not a single Eastern Catholic patriarch was given the same honour, exactly on the ground that "the Pope's title is something more than just the title of patriarch of the West." I remember when I mentioned other examples of such inconsistency to my Polish colleagues at the 10th session of the Synod of Bishops in the Vatican, they turned their eyes away saying nothing: in their eyes, it was, apparently, too ambitious to make such unjustified claims.

Of course, Greek Catholics should not concentrate on such inconsistencies and build their ecclesial policy on the basis thereof. I mentioned the throne only in order to signal that the Roman Curia should get rid of the remoteness in its treatment of the Eastern Catholic churches. These churches are a convenient object of argumentation for Orthodoxy not only because they are "uniate" but also because they illustrate the inadequate place prepared for the united Orthodox churches in the present Catholic community.

As I analyse the logic of the struggle of Greek Catholics for the status of patriarchate, I should mention another factor beautifully spotted by an Austrian, Ernst K. Suttner (with respect to the UGCC):

Many Greek Catholics today would like their church, which is in union with Rome, to be elevated to patriarchal status. What in the 17th century would be seen by their ancestors as a complete overcoming of the schism with the Orthodox is now sought by them exclusively for their confession. 89

The idea of a patriarchate suggested by the Orthodox is not less "separate." This is a clear indication that Ukrainian Christians have almost lost the ecclesial awareness, which they had in the past. It is clear that neither in the Vatican nor

in the Phanar are such nuances considered. However, the chronic inability to establish a united Kyiv-Halych patriarchate should urge Ukrainians to see it not only as someone's political calculation but also as a lesson from the Lord that they keep failing to learn.

It is rather interesting to look closer at the historical proposals of the Kyivan patriarchate.

The idea of the establishment of such a [then] Rusyn [that is to say, Ukrainian] patriarchate appeared at the end of the 16 th century and made itself felt up to the end of the 17 th century. 90

More careful consideration shows that it arose in two forms: on the one hand, as a proposal of the chancellor of the Polish Republic , Jan Zamojski, "about the transfer of the Constantinople capital to Kyiv," and, on the other hand, as "the establishment of an autonomous Rusyn Patriarchate, which would be in communion both with Rome and Constantinople ." The two readings agreed with each other only in terms of geography, though, in my opinion, they were qualitatively different in essence. The first version of the idea was merely a Polish reflection of the Moscowite idea to replace the Second Rome by the Third Rome. The second version was a solely Kyivan vision of church unification –

...the messianic idea of the Ukrainian Church is an idea, which carries the great providential truth that Rome is the thesis, Constantinople is the antithesis, and Kyiv is the synthesis. 91

The Kyivan Patriarchate is seen here as a "bridge" (or, mediator between Rome and Constantinople , as suggested by Patriarch Lubomyr Husar).

The " Kyivan Church " would prefer to return to the situation before the schism, that is to say, to be in communion both with Rome and Constantinople , despite the continuing schism between the Old and New Romes. Then we would have some kind of indirect Eucharistic communion. 92

According to the previously quoted Waclaw Gryniewicz, "the very notion of double loyalty seems lawful and fruitful in the context of the ecclesiology of communion (koinonia) of sister-churches." 93 In this way, what was well known in the earlier days of Ukraine takes clear shape today:

At the turn of the 17 th century, many [representatives] of the church and secular elite of the Polish Republic assumed that two churches which are not in Eucharistic communion with each other may use a third church as a connecting bridge, if that church is in communion with both parties. 94

By the way, this compromise formula was acceptable also for Orthodox Kyivan Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, who believed that it was possible to “be ordained by a patriarch, who is not in union, and still be in agreement with the Roman bishop and church.” 95

Therefore, Ukrainian Christians are challenged with a decisive choice between two possible ways. The first one is the way of separate patriarchates. And I am not ready to call this way unambiguously wrong, as it can be just a preparatory one. It is the feeling that there can be temporary “shelters” on the way to the desired goal that urges me to support the idea of the UGCC patriarchate. However, in this case we have to remember that “incomplete solutions carry the danger of new divisions. The interests of certain churches are given priority over the good of the whole church, which immeasurably complicates the problem of reconciliation and unification.” 96

The other way is by reviving the unifying spirit, which was an organic part of the Kyivan tradition. As Metropolitan Sheptytsky once noted, in this case, “the future unified church would not be either Catholic or Orthodox, in the traditional sense of the words.” 97 Here, we again come across a reflection of the filial character of the Kyivan Church – filial with respect to Rome (Christian West) and Byzantium (Christian East). The fact that Kyivan Christian tradition was formed in the bosom of Byzantium does not contradict the recognition of Rome as the head of the whole Christian family at the time. 98 And, as we know, a daughter is neither the father's nor the mother's but a genetic synthesis of both.

As I side with advocates of the idea of double Eucharistic communion, I am perfectly aware of the fact that both the Vatican and Constantinople are suspicious of it. This guardedness of church pragmatics plays an important and positive role at the present moment of development of the Kyivan Church , as it prevents the strategists of double communion from being carried away by unjustified illusions. However, the “sober” practicality of sceptics, in its turn, should not ignore what is probably undeveloped but still quite an authentic reality. That is to say, they should not suppress the natural ecclesial presentiments of the Kyivan Church . The biblical logic of the rejected cornerstone (comp. Mat. 21:42) has proven right too often in the history of the universal Church for Rome or Constantinople to allow themselves to fall into the sin of insensitivity again now. Therefore, instead of rejecting the mentioned ecclesial presentiment, Rome and Constantinople might help the theologians of the Kyivan tradition to put this idea into an appropriate form. This will help to make it serve the cause of reconciliation and to emphasize the intrinsic essence

of the Catholic and Orthodox identities, which have been mutually exclusive so far. For, as Dr. Myron Bendyk said, “it is much easier to reach Catholic-Orthodox unity within one particular church (the Kyivan) than between different particular churches (Roman and Constantinopolitan).” 99

However, the formula of double communion, that is the simultaneous Eucharistic communion with both the Roman Pontiff and the Patriarch of Constantinople, can also be only a partial solution to the problem under the conditions of present-day Ukraine (and not that of past Ukraine) as the Moscow-oriented branch of the historic Church of Kyiv would be thrown “overboard.” That is to say, if one knows the history of Ukraine , it is safe to predict that any attempts to solve its ecclesial “squaring the circle” by eliminating the interests of one of the three mentioned centres of Christianity are doomed to failure.

Therefore, only cooperation between Rome , Constantinople , Moscow , and all (canonical and non-canonical) churches of the Kyivan tradition will provide a really harmonious and long-term solution to the Ukrainian problem. In other words, as was already said, neither of the mentioned centres can bring Christian peace to this land on its own. In terms of the above-mentioned patriarchal models, this means (as an ideal formula for the future) joint recognition by all three historic centres of Christianity of a single Kyivan Patriarchate (united Church of Kyiv), which would be in double Eucharistic communion with Catholicism and Orthodoxy (through the core of the present UGCC – with Rome, through the core of the present UOC-KP and UAOC – with Constantinople, and through the core of the present UOC – with Moscow. See Chart 1.)

I realize that such a simultaneous, triple recognition of one patriarchate still looks like an absolute ecclesial science fiction. However, out of curiosity, I would like to suggest a mental exercise in order to identify arguments in favour of such solution.

A) Moscow 's recognition of such a patriarchate would remove barriers in the way of recognition thereof by Constantinople . Constantinople would regain its due honours as mother-church and establish prayerful unity with the most numerous church of the Slavic territories. In addition, Constantinople and Moscow would find an honourable solution to “the discord regarding Ukrainian uniatism.”

B) Moscow would find also an honourable solution to “the discord regarding Ukrainian Autocephaly,” preserving its prayerful unity with Kyiv and having no hostile churches on its southern borders as a result. Thus, by “releasing” the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (in unity with the Moscow patriarchate by now), Moscow would not only preserve canonical connection with it through the

Kyivan Patriarchate but would also gain the honour of being remembered in prayer by three other fragment-churches which had been hostile to it before. In addition, the recognition of the Kyivan Patriarchate would allow tolerant existence on the whole territory of Ukraine for those UOC parishes which would prefer to function in the status of the Russian Orthodox Church within the framework of Moscow Patriarchate. That is the way the Roman Catholic Church functions in Ukraine today.

C) Rome would find an honourable solution to the problem of the need to bless the patriarchate of its faithful church without exposing itself to the risk of a reproach from the Orthodox. It would also have an opportunity to satisfy those Roman Catholics who are trying to persuade the Pope to “release” the Uniates, who “only cause trouble for the Pope,” and to do this without losing prayerful unity with them. Their loyalty to the Roman See cost Greek Catholics too much blood and suffering to be now disregarded either by Rome or anybody in Ukraine . Finally, Rome (as well as Moscow) would additionally gain mention in prayer from three other fragment churches, which have been hostile to it so far. At the same time, it would preserve its Eucharistic connection with its “representative.”

D) All the Ukrainian churches would get real benefits from such an agreement, as it would stop the hostility which is exhausting their strength and reducing their competitiveness as compared with the missionary activities of other churches or religious groups. If all the Ukrainian churches of the Kyivan tradition joined a single patriarchate, they would have a real opportunity to turn the vectors of their orientation to a mutual centre and bring to the altar of ancient Kyiv all good blessings gained from Roman, Byzantine and Muscovite spirituality instead of bringing a hydra of discord.

E) And, most importantly, the establishment of such a patriarchate would provide the “church laboratory” mentioned by John Paul II for the world ecumenical movement. In the beginning, the power lines of understanding and peace would go exactly through Kyiv. It would be used to try out the sincerity and mutual trust of all three centres. Thus, a unified Kyivan Patriarchate might become a stabilizing factor and a field for direct cooperation of the centres, which are not yet in direct Eucharistic communion with each other.

This would be an important step towards replacing the old model of unification of churches based on the principle of ecclesial imperialism with the model of Eucharistic communion of churches. The former “stumbling blocks in the way to ecumenism” may play a determining role in the formation of the latter. “The mission of the Eastern Catholic churches is to persuade the churches of the East and West that the return to the model of Eucharistic communion is the only way to restore church unity.” 100

Sober realists will, undoubtedly, ask a basic question: “From where will Ukrainians draw the spiritual energy needed for a complete transformation of their souls, which are currently burdened with hostility and distrust?” That is where we can recall what an amazing enthusiasm filled the hearts of Ukrainian Christians (primarily Greek and Roman Catholics, of course, though not only them) during the visit of John Paul II to Ukraine in 2001. Even refined Vatican sceptics were amazed by that enthusiasm. One can just imagine how Ukrainian souls would be moved by a simultaneous and joint pilgrimage of both the Roman Pope and the patriarchs of Constantinople and Moscow to Ukraine in order to jointly proclaim a unified Kyivan Patriarchate! Not only Ukrainian souls would be transformed, but it is impossible to even fathom the spiritual wonder that all Christians of good will would experience throughout the world at such an event.

My conviction of the energy of the proposed model is based on another, this time solely theological, intuition. In view of the fact that the division of the autocephalous part of Ukrainian churches into UOC-KP and UAOC is due not to ecclesial motivations but solely based on questions of personnel, and that these churches actually jointly constitute one element of the triad, the proposed model (see Chart 1) assumes the familiar form of the “infusibility and inseparability” of three substances, which are typical of the existence of the Holy Trinity. If the Ad Gentes statement (n. 7) is fair about the Trinity as God's eternal plan of salvation for all people, which becomes visible through the act of sending the Son and the Holy Spirit into the world, the mentioned proposal is in line with this plan and, therefore, is capable of awakening the lulled spiritual strength of the people.

Ukrainian Churches of the Kievan Tradition

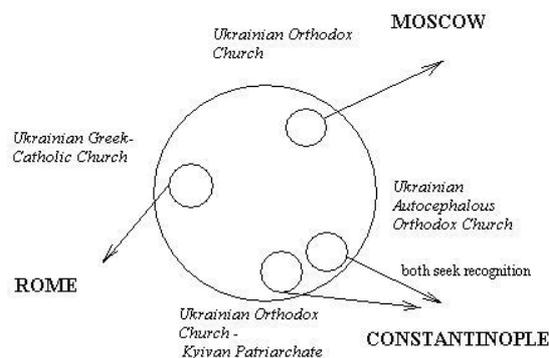


Chart 1.

Of course, I can hardly believe that my version of I have a dream 101 will be immediately taken up by all ecclesiologists worldwide after they have become

acquainted with it. Therefore, I would be happy if, as a practical result of this mental exercise, one would get the feeling that non-standard ecclesiological (and at the same time ecumenical) solutions to the Ukrainian situation can and should be found.

Final Thoughts

In his speech at the Second European Ecumenical Assembly in Graz , Austria , the president of the Council of European Bishops Conferences, Cardinal Miloslav Vlk, expressed an important thought: “West and East advance in ecumenism with different velocities.” The Christian East has lived under the conditions of artificially repressed time for too long to fail to painfully feel the difference in the covered distance now. As a result, today we have a stalemate situation in interchurch processes at least on three levels.

Level one: West-East relations

As was mentioned above, the Christian world today is faced with the problem of the transformation of the Slavic East. This is associated both with the issue of the different character of Eastern Christianity and the issue of its theological backwardness. The twofold character of this problem is often left unnoticed, which negatively affects ecumenical processes.

Thus, on the one hand, the Christian East still protects its characteristic features, which it considers integral, from changes, not noticing that some of them are the result of backwardness. It was always difficult for Orthodoxy to differentiate between the spirit of tradition and its historic forms. Orthodoxy's concentration on the archaic past and its theological unpreparedness to explain the “signs of the time” at the turn of the millennium results in a conscious or unconscious desire of Eastern Orthodox to be isolated in the “fortress of their truth” (Patriarch Athenagoras).

However, the present tendency of Eastern Slavic churches towards self-isolation cannot last without being self-destructive at the same time. This self-isolation is not only indicative of the shock caused by a sudden upset of the balance of power but also of the efforts of the mentioned churches to make the Christian world consider their interests. After a new balance of power is established and, most importantly, after the restoration of the potential capabilities of Eastern theology, which was traumatized by various dictatorships, the churches will surely begin a new stage of ecumenism because they are directed to it by the

vector of development of civilization itself. The current idiosyncrasy of international Orthodoxy with respect to the word "ecumenism" will be either overcome at the new turn of history or will lead to the creation of another term. However, the phenomenon of the convergence of Christian churches will continue to exist, regardless of its name.

On the other hand, the West sometimes sees what is organic and integral for Eastern Christianity as unambiguously backward. The East will continue to be characterized by its theological conservatism and devotion to tradition. Therefore, the West is faced with the task of not only a profound recognition of this integral identity but also comprehension of its providential importance for humanity in general. Evolutional (and therefore, ecumenical) importance is carried not only by the theological adaptability of Western Christianity, which allows humanity to "feel out" possible ways of convergence of the churches quickly, but also by the theological conservatism of Eastern Christianity, which prevents "tying" ecumenical formulas to a certain historical period or temporary fashion. It is important for Christianity not only to recognize the signs of each age without being tied to any of them, but also to avoid being carried away by the illusions of a certain age and to continue to belong to eternity.

Level two. Relations with the Moscow Patriarchate

It will not be possible to reorganize the Christian space of the Slavic territories without an appropriate response to the problem of Moscow. The current stalemate situation in this area of interchurch relations lies in the fact that one should consider wrong both the possible proposals, namely, further "cajoling of Moscow" in the manner of ostpolitik and, on the contrary, ignoring Moscow's interests and breaking ecumenical dialogue with it. It is the fact that, in one's effort to avoid one extreme, one inevitably gets into another one, that is indicative of the crisis on the "Vatican-Moscow" line. However, this situation is a classical result of the inertia of ecclesial thinking and lack of new ideas.

A suggestion to consider the issue of Moscow in its dynamic interconnection with the issue of Kyiv is one of the possible keys to the solution of this stalemate. All earlier attempts to affect Moscow in a positive way have been made through ignoring the interests of Kyiv. The time has come to recognize that this way is also wrong. Kyiv as the centre of St. Volodymyr's baptism has a special place in the Moscow Church's consciousness, being the centre of its legitimisation. One can persuade the whole world that Ukrainian churches are too primitive to deal with. But as soon as the official rhetoric of St. Danyil's monastery is silenced, loud echoes of history are being evoked, where the role of Kyiv (Ukraine) is equal to that of the life-giving roots.

Therefore, the objective is not to make Moscow disown its Kyivan roots. It will never agree to this. On the contrary, Moscow should be engaged in a civilized

solution to the Ukrainian “knot.” The task is to reveal for it the harm of its stereotypical attitude to Kyiv, and the prospects of other ecclesial approaches accordingly. The role of the world churches in this regard may be invaluable. But one has first to work out solutions advantageous for Moscow to be able to propose them to the latter. Therefore, the inertia in the approaches of the world Christian community to the “Moscow-Kyiv” church system is also harmful, as it leads to a loss of the momentum of the ecumenical movement and to marking time.

It is worthwhile mentioning another negative result of politically-engaged ecumenism: it is not only ineffective but it also leads to deformation of the spiritual principles on which the ecumenical movement is based (or is supposed to be based). The increasing dissatisfaction at the bottom of the ecumenical movement is probably the best barometer to warn about this deformation. The ecumenical sentiments of Christians have been sacrificed to the Moloch of interchurch diplomacy for too long. Discussions during the Second European Ecumenical Assembly in Graz showed that, in the eyes of many Christians, such diplomacy turns from a completely legitimate and necessary means of coexistence of churches into concealing the ambition and pride of the “Christian powers of this world.” Ignoring this attitude could lead to deepening the crisis of the churches, which today is rather significant as it is.

Level three: Attitudes to the Ukrainian churches

It will be impossible to reorganize the Christian space of the Slavic territories without an adequate solution to the problem of the unity of the Church of Kyiv . In this way, a problem that seemingly is solely Ukrainian assumes a distinct ecumenical importance. The previous period of history has been characterized by the marginalization of the Ukrainian churches and subordination of their interests to the interests of world centres whose motivations were not always solely Christian. During that period of history, the Ukrainian churches were non-standard “stones” most often rejected by the builders of the Christian community. The current achievements of human civilization allow one to assume that, during the new turn of history, antagonistic power reactions in interchurch life will be increasingly bridled. This will give the Ukrainian churches a certain historic opportunity. Therefore, it is very important that the previous tendency of world Christian centres, suppressing the troubled voice of these churches, be changed into assisting them in meeting their neglected needs and using their hidden ecumenical potential as soon as possible.

However, the realization of this task also requires overcoming the stereotypes of the ecclesial (ecumenical) thinking of the world Christian community. One cannot further ignore the proposals of the Ukrainian churches as being inconsistent with established patterns and, therefore, allegedly harmful to the ecumenical process. One has to understand that Ukrainian Christians feel too much a lack of theological and ecclesiological training to be able to present their

ideas in such language and using such a conceptual system that will make these ideas understandable and interesting for non-Ukrainians. Assistance in this regard from well-disposed Christian theologians of the world would be invaluable.

Therefore, only joint efforts will allow us to get out of this stalemate situation. I am convinced that it is possible to harmonize the legitimate interests of all concerned parties, including both the recognized centres of Christianity and the still fragmented Church of Kyiv in a reliable and consistent manner. In order to find the desired model of agreement, all parties should overstep the limits of established stereotypes, which have assumed an inadmissibly sacred character in our imperfect souls.

¹ * Pivot (Notre Dame College of Ohio) , Vol . LVIII, Spring 1999 , p. 14.

¹ Quotation from Andrei Okara's article " Kyiv – baptismal washing" in Telegraph (Kyiv) , 14 March 2003 .

² Roger Fisher and William Ury, Put' k soglasiju [Russian edition], p. 36. See the original: Fisher, Roger and Ury, William. Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In , ed. B. Patton, 2nd edn. (New York : Penguin Books, 1991), XX, 200 p.

³ Meeting and lunch with the members of the Ukrainian Catholic Episcopate – Apostolic Nunciature, Kyiv (June 24, 2001).
(http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/20010624_ukraina-meeting-episc_en.html).

⁴ The "faiths" meant are the Orthodox and Catholic faiths.

⁵ As a result of the Brest Union, the Kyivan Metropolitanate of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Church reestablished the Eucharistic unity with the Roman Apostolic See. The Eastern Orthodox patriarchs, together with some Orthodox within the Kyivan Metropolitanate, did not accept this decision and reordained an Orthodox hierarchy in 1620. Since that time, two separate Kyivan Metropolitanates exist in the Ukrainian lands – Uniate (the primary name for the Orthodox Ukrainians united with the Holy See, later Greek Catholic) and Orthodox.

6 It should be mentioned here that those forms of liquidation of the schism where one church was supposed to be simply absorbed by another cannot be called really unifying.

7 This chapter is based on the article of the present head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Cardinal Lubomyr Husar, "Sheptyts'kyi and Ecumenism," published in *Morality and Reality* (Toronto : Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989), 185-200.

8 In 1908, Metropolitan Sheptytsky received from Pope Pius X considerable personal powers , which , according to the Latin Law , were normally exercised only by the pope . He was deprived of the powers in 1940.

9 Andre Szeptyckyj , " Le role des occidentaux," *Stoudion* , III , 6 (Rome , 1926), 161-2 .

10 Ibid., 161.

11 Ibid., 160.

12 Ibid., 162.

13 Scheptytzkyj, "Einleitung" in Julius Tyciak, Georg Wunderle, and Peter Werhun, eds. *Der christliche Osten: Geist und Gestalt* (Regensburg , 1939), 11.

14 "On the Issue of Reaching Understanding " in *L'vivs'ki Arkhyeparkhijal'ni Visti* [Lviv Arch-eparchial News], 3-4 (1993), 32.

15 Ibid.

16 Halychyna (Galicia), a term still used today by the residents of the region, refers to the pre-war province of the Austro-hungarian empire that includes today's Lviv, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk provinces. It is important to

remember that this area of Ukraine did not come under Soviet rule until the Second World War.

17 Blahovisnyk Patrijarkha Kyjeva i Halycha i vsijeji Rusy [Herald of the Patriarch of Kyiv and Halych and all Rus , Castello Gandolphi] , XII , 1-4 (1976), 29-32 (hereafter – Blahovisnyk).

18“Testament of His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf,” Blahovisnyk, X V I - XX , 1-4 (1980-84) , 277.

19 From the radio speech of His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky in Rome on 6 November, 1987 on the occasion of the 40 th anniversary of the organization “Church in Need” (Kirche in Not).

20 Quoted from Kovcheh [The Ark, scientific collection on church history], edited by Borys Gudziak, Ihor Skotchylias and Oleh Turii (Lviv: the Institute of Church History of the Lviv Theological Academy), 2 (2000), 476 (hereafter – The Ark).

21 The Kyivan researcher Natalia Kochan is probably the strongest critic of “Ukrainian ecumenism” in Ukraine today.

23 This figure was mentioned by the UOC Archbishop of Lviv and Drohobych, Augustin at an interchurch meeting in Vienna (1998). As of 2004, the Moscow Patriarchate has 62 parishes in this province (see Appendix 2).

24“ Zayava Ukrajins'koji Katolyts'koji Ierarkhiji ” [“ The Statement of the Ukrainian Catholic Hierarchy ”] Patriyarkhat [Patriarchate , Published by the Ukrainian Patriarchal World federation and the Ukrainian Patriarchal Society in the USA , <http://patriyarkhat.ucu.edu.ua>] , September 1990, 17.

25http://www.orthodoxinfo.com/ecumenism/balamand_txt.aspx

26The Ark , 2 (2000), 480.

27 Ibid ., 482.

28 Ibid ., 481.

29 For example, on 29 March 2001, the site [korrespondent.net](http://www.korrespondent.net) (<http://www.korrespondent.net/main/16411/>) with a reference to the agency Interfax-Ukraina provides the following information: “During his speech at the meeting of the Foundation of Unity of Orthodox Peoples on Thursday in Moscow, the patriarch reminded (the audience) that in the early 1990s, Greek Catholics destroyed three western Ukrainian Orthodox eparchies at once – in Lviv, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk ...”

30 Conflict situations between faithful of the UGCC and UOC-KP and UAOC are not taken into account here .

31 This information is drawn from the article of M. Horyn, published in the newspaper *Za Vil'nu Ukrainu* [For an independent Ukraine] , No 24, 1992 .

32 See materials of Nos 14, 16, 18 (2001) of the newspaper *Arka* [The Arch] .

33 Decision by the Lviv City Council of 3 July 2002 .

34 Quotation from : Myroslav Marynovych on the analysis of the meeting of delegations of the UOC and UGCC in Vienna , *Viruiu* [I believe , Lviv , Ukraine] , 19-20 (1998).

35 Lewis Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1956), 67.

36 *Vitaju tebe, Ukrayino!* [I greet you, Ukraine ! The Pastoral Visit of the Holy Father John Paul II to Ukraine, 22 – 27 June 2001; Speeches and Homilies], (Lviv: Svichado, 2001), 91.

37 www.ugcc.org.ua

38 Quotation from Andrei Okara's article " Kyiv – baptismal washing," Telegraph , 14 March 2003 .

39 This is what happened, for example, in the early 1990s in the western Ukrainian town of Sambir , where Orthodox picketers of the town council put forward joint anti-Greek Catholic demands to the authorities.

40 At present, the UAOC in Ukraine has de facto split into two parts, headed by, respectively, Archbishop Ihor Isichenko and Metropolitan Mefodii Kudriakov (see material of the press center of the UAOC for 2003, uaoc-ptr@uaoc-ptr.kiev.ua).

41 Nikolai Mitrokhin, "The Russian Orthodox Church in Western Ukraine " in Dia-Logos. 2000-01 [Almanac], (Moscow : Cultural and educational center "Spiritual Library", 2001), 292.

42 Newspaper Gor'kaja Pravda [Bitter truth , edition of the Moscow Patriarchate in Ukraine], 6 (1998).

43 See "Letter by Metropolitan Andrey (Sheptytsky) to All the Orthodox Bishops in Ukraine and in Ukrainian Lands" in Znaky chasu: Do problemy porozuminnia mizh tserkvamy [Signs of the time: Towards the Problem of Mutual Understanding Between Churches], Zynovij Antoniuk, Myroslav Marynovych, eds. (Kyiv: Sfera, 1999), 125. (hereafter – Znaky chasu).

44The river Zbruch was the border between pre-war Polish and Russian territories.

45 Fundamentals of the social conception of the Russian Orthodox Church (<http://www.russian-orthodox-church.org.ru>).

46Patriyarkhat , May 1998, 9.

47 The Ukrainian Cathedral of Przemyśl was never returned to the Ukrainian Catholics. Rather, the Ukrainian bishop was allowed use of a former Roman Catholic church just down the street for this purpose.

48“ Greek-Catholic and Roman Catholic Cardinals Pray for Deceased Ukrainian and Polish Soldiers” in RISU [Religious Information Service of Ukraine], (<http://www.risu.org.ua/article.php?sid=1045&l=en>).

49 It has to be admitted that the Catholic social teaching with its practical implications has a stimulating effect on the Eastern Churches in Ukraine , too.

50 Viktoria Liubashchenko , History of Protestantism in Ukraine . Course of lectures (Lviv: Prosvita, 1995), 47.

51 By this I mean processes which are relevant for the whole Christian oecumena.

52 Quotation from Nataliia Kochan, “Ecumenism: Regarding the Characteristics of the Phenomenon and Notion” in *Znaky chasu* , 17.

53(Athenagoras, here and below.)

54 According to the theory of Arnold Toynbee , the territory of Ukraine is the place where the Western (Christian) civilization meets the Eastern (Muslim) one, the Western Christian (Catholic-Protestant) tradition interacts with the Eastern Christian (Orthodox) one, and also where two separate Orthodox civilizations, Muscovite and Byzantine-Constantinopolitan co-exist [see Arnold Toynbee, *Mankind and Mother Earth; A Narrative History of the World* (New York – London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 546-51].

55 This is, so far, a scholarly conclusion because, as I said earlier, the “traditional” Ukrainian Churches are reluctant to admit this. And one comment more: here, I speak mostly about the history of ethnic Ukrainians not mentioning the Armenian Church for Armenians, Judaism for Jews, Islam for Muslims etc.

56 Ernst Christoph Suttner, *Ukrajins'ke khrystyjanstvo na pochatku III-ho tysiacholittia: Istorychnyj dosvid ta ekleziolohichni perspektyvy* [*Ukrainian Christianity at the Dawn of the Third Millennium : Historic Experience and Ecclesiological Prospects*] (Lviv : Svichado , 2001), 28 (hereafter – Suttner) .

57 Sergei Averintsev, “Notes Concerning the European Context of Russian Arguments” in *Duch i Litera* [*Spirit and Letter*], 3-4 (Kyiv, 1998), 287.

58 See “ The Statement of the Episcopate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Concerning the Ways of Overcoming the Schism in Ukrainian Orthodoxy” (November 22, 2000), in *Svitlo Pravoslav'ja* [*Light of Orthodoxy*], 1 (75) (Lviv, 2001).

59 *Troits'kyi visnyk* , No 3 (67), 24 March 2000 .

60 Ernst Christoph Suttner, “Die Ukrainische Christenheit auf dem Weg ins dritte Jahrtausend,” *Kanon* , 11 (1993), 49-50 .

61 Andrei Zubov, “The Russian Orthodox Church and Russian Nationalism” in *Tserkov' i obshchestvo: Dialog russkogo pravoslaviia i rimskogo katolichestva glazami uchenykh* [*The Church and Society: The Dialogue Between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church As Seen Through the Eyes of Scholars*], J.-Y. Calvez and A.A. Krasikov, eds. (Moscow : Interdialekt, 2001), 130.

62 Let me give readers some necessary historical information: according to the independent Ukrainian historiography, the present Church of Moscow was a part of the historical Kyivan Metropolitanate that existed since 988. The Moscow Metropolitanate declared its autocephaly in 1448 contrary to the will of the Patriarch of Constantinople who only recognized Moscow autocephaly ten years later under political pressure. For more than two centuries, the Church of Kyiv and the Church of Moscow existed separately. It was in 1686 when the Moscow Patriarchate, which existed by this time, incorporated the Kyivan Metropolitanate and claimed to be the only successor of the Church of Kyiv ! That is why the modern Russian Orthodox Church claims to be the Mother Church for the modern Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which of course is regarded as incorrect at least for the other branches of the Kyivan Church , namely – both churches with autocephalous status and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. It is important to understand , as it will be shown later, that the Church of Constantinople officially recognizes the Moscow Patriarchate only within the borders that it claimed in 1591...

63 According to information from the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation as of 1 January 2003 . Quoted from the Internet-Portal "Library of Yakov Krotov"
(<http://www.krotov.info/yakov/past/21/statistica/total2003.html>).

64 For some time, it did not seem quite appropriate to me to quote these arithmetic assumptions in the present research, but I was eventually convinced by the press-secretary of the Union of Orthodox citizens of the ROC, Kiril Frolov. In his article "'The general plan' for the cutting up of the Russian Orthodox Church is being implemented in Ukraine," he described Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople as "the highest hierarch of one of the smallest national churches of the Orthodox world, the entire flock of which makes up no more than one Moscow eparchy of the Russian Church" [quoted from " Ukrainian Orthodox Church in search of recognition " in Ukrainians of America for the Kyivan Patriarchate (Chicago, January 2002), 24]. Thus, sometimes, simple statistical calculations become an important argument in the competition of churches!

65 And this task has not by any means changed today: "A Ukrainian could not think of any way of identification other than affirming his difference from anything Russian." [Vilen Gorskiy , "A Myth in the Modern Culture and Its Modifications in the Field of Historical and Philosophical Ukrainian Studies" in *Dukh i Litera* , 3-4 (1998), 106.]

66 Monika K. Hellwig, "Aus der Hoffnungslosigkeit in die Hoffnung" in *Chrześcijaństwo jutra : Materiały II Międzynarodowego Kongresu Teologii Fundamentalnej*, Lublin , 18-21 września 2001 (Lublin : Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego , 2001), 287.

67 Bohoslovia [Theolog y, Published by the Ukrainian Theological Academic Society and the Lviv Theological Academy], LXV, 1-4 (Lviv, 2001), 56 .

68 Ibid ., 13.

69 Suttner , 23.

70 See Waclaw Gryniwicz, *Mynule zalyshyty Bohovi: Uniya ta uniatyzm v ekumenichnij perspekyvi* [The Past Is to Be Left to God: Union and Uniatism in

the Ecumenical Perspective], (Lviv: Svichado, 1998), 13 (hereafter – Mynule zalyshyty Bohovi).

71 This conclusion is presented in the interpretation of Waclaw Gryniewicz from his book Mynule zalyshyty Bohovi , 40.

72 Fr. Myron Petro Bendyk , Pomisnist' Ukrajin's'koji Hreko-Katolyts'koji Tserkvy ta jiji bachennia Patriarkhom Josyfom Slipym [The Particularity of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as Seen by Patriarch Joseph Slipy], (Lviv: Svichado, 1996), 15. (hereafter – Myron Bendyk).

73Ibid ., 11.

74Ibid ., 46.

75 Ibid., 14.

76 Ibid ., 47.

77 Interview with Deacon Andrei Kurayev “ Two churches – two ways ” for the daily Internet newspaper “ Vesti . Ru ” , 26 October 2000 (<http://www.vesti.ru/2000/10/23/972310265.html>).

78 Quoted from Veniamin Novik, “The Social Problem in the Russian Orthodoxy” in Sotsial'na doktryna Tserkvy [Social Doctrine of the Church], (Lviv: Svichado, 1998), 208.

7904.06.01. ITAR- TA SS / Radonezh. “ Patriarch Alexis considers a meeting with the Pope impossible ‘as long as Greek Catholics in Ukraine are at war with the Orthodox’.” 05.06.01. ITAR- TA SS / Radonezh. “Patriarch Alexis notes that a meeting with the Pope is still impossible in view of aggressive actions of Catholicism against the Orthodox Church.” This was said by Patriarch of Moscow and All Rus Alexis to reporters on 5 June as he answered questions about the possibility of renewal of the dialogue with the Vatican ... His Holiness regretfully noted: in Western Ukraine , Orthodox churches are even to this date being seized by Greek Catholics, who already destroyed three Orthodox eparchies in Lviv,

Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk with the help of UNA-UNSO detachments . –
http://www.radonezh.orthodoxy.ru/news_text.asp?id_news=2755.

80 Distributed by electronic means of communication through
bratstvo@online.ru on 20 June, 2001 .

81 See a mention of this in the review of Bishop Kallistos (Ware) in Logos: A
Journal of Eastern Christian Studies (Canada : The University of Toronto Press),
XXXV, 1-4 (1994), 130.

82 See “ Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Search of Recognition” in Ukrainians of
America for Kyivan Patriarchate (Chicago : January, 2002), 24.

83 See an interview with Bishop Dymytrii (Rudiuk) of Pereiaslav -
Khmelnyskyi in the magazine Ukrainians of America for Kyivan Patriarchate ,
Special Issue No . 15 (January 2002), 28.

84 Oksana Khomchuk , “ Church Behind the Church Fence : Schisms and
Destruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Search of ' Constantinople 's
Recognition. ” (Chicago , Illinois : 2002), 621, and “ Ukrainian Orthodox Church
in Search of Recognition ” in Ukrainians of America for Kyivan Patriarchate ,
Special Issue No . 15 (January 2002).

85 Andrii Yurash, quoted from Materials of the Round table “ Religious Choice of
the Population of Ukraine, ” organized by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation
on 6 November 2000 in Kyiv (reprint).

86 It would be strange to hold that such ambitions were absent in the
establishment of the Constantinople or Moscow patriarchates...

87 Vitaju tebe, Ukrajinu , 91.

88 Card. Husar, “Brak jedności przez biurokrację w kurii,” Katolicka Agencja
Informacyjna (Warszawa), 12.10.2002
(<http://andrzej.kai.pl/ekai/serwis/?MID=3298>) [Lack of unity due to
bureaucracy in the Curia, in Catholic Information Agency (Warsaw).]

89 Ernst Christoph Suttner , “Die Ukrainische Christenheit auf dem Weg ins dritte Jahrtausend,” *Kanon* , 11 (1993), 65 (my emphasis).

90 Here and in the next two cases, quoted from Waclaw Gryniewicz, *Mynule zalyshyty Bohovi* , 35 .

91 Ivan Paslavskyi, *Mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom: Narysy z kul'turno-politychnoji istoriji Ukrajins'koji Tserkvy* [*Between East and West: Essays From the Cultural and Political History of the Ukrainian Church*] (Lviv: Strem, 1997), 37.

92 *Mynule zalyshyty Bohovi* , 154.

93 *Ibid.* , 40.

94 Ernst Christoph Suttner, “Brachte die Union von Brest Einigung oder Trennung fur die Kirche?“, *Ostkirchliche Studien* , 39 (1990), 16.

95 *Mynule zalyshyty Bohovi* , 97.

96 *Ibid.* , 155.

97 Quoted from Myron Bendyk , 31.

98 This “family” vocabulary is used by many scholars, in particular, Borys Gudziak: “Despite the fact that the Kyivan metropolitanate had always been a daughter of Constantinople , it rarely entered into the ecclesiastical and dogmatic conflicts waged between the Byzantine Church and the sister Church of Rome. Like a child in the midst of chronic family discord, the Kyivan Church occasionally repeated formulations overheard in a distant debate, but for the most part avoided, or even ignored, the conflict within the senior generation... [A] distinct pattern emerged of manifesting affinity to the Church of Rome without abrogating ties to the Mother Church in Constantinople .” [Borys A. Gudziak, *Kryza i reforma: Kyjivs'ka mytropolija, Tsarhorods'kyj patriarkhat i heneza Berestejs'koji uniji* (Lviv: Institute of Church History , Lviv Theological

Academy , 2000), 48. See also the English edition *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, 1998)].

99 Myron Bendyk , 140.

100 Myron Bendyk , 139.

101“ I have a dream” – the title of a speech given by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Religious Organizations in Ukraine

Institutions - Name of Church or Religious Denomination	Communities (*see note 1)	Pastoral Ministers	Periodicals	Monasteries/ Missions	Educational Institutions (*see note 2)	Sunday Schools
Ukrainian Orthodox Church (of the Moscow Patriarchate)	10,310 / 74	8,620 of which 13 are foreign citizens	95	151 4,095 Monks and Nuns 5 Missions	15 1,698 / 2,584 Students	3,746
Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kievan Patriarchate	3,352 / 43	2,588	25	34 185 Monks and Nuns 23 Missions	16 916 / 565 Students	1,086
Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church	1,154 / 2	685	7	5 12 Monks and Nuns 7 Missions	7 181 / 77 Students	325
Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church	3,328 / 12	2,051 of which 47 are foreign citizens	27	92 1,134 Monks and Nuns 9 Missions	13 1,385 / 196 Students	1,132
Roman Catholic Church	854 / 9	474 of which 268 are foreign citizens	13	80 635 Monks and Nuns 37 Missions	7 338 / 444 Students	518
Armenian Apostolic Church	20	14 of which 9 are foreign citizens				3

Old Believers	61 / 9	35 of which 5 are foreign citizens		2 4 Monks		10
Baptist Union	2,311 / 56	2,818 of which 16 are foreign citizens	18	80 Missions	40 2,169 / 4,718 Students	1,339
Other Baptists	382 / 52	509 of which 22 are foreign citizens	3	15 Missions	8 347 / 232 Students	183
Pentecostal Union	1,349 / 75	2,152 of which 12 are foreign citizens	21	50 Missions	15 723 / 175 Students	956
Other Pentecostals	504 / 143	690 of which 10 are foreign citizens	26	21 Missions	7 144 / 205 Students	287
Full Gospel Church (Charismatics)	437 / 1	494 of which 7 are foreign citizens	13	6 Missions	3 500 / 25 Students	174
Other Charismatics	444 / 37	590 of which 6 are foreign citizens	20	8 Missions	6 415 / 50 Students	248
7th Day Adventists	941 / 50	1,166 of which 6 are foreign citizens	8	2 Missions	3 55 / 427 Students	669
Sub-Carpathian Reformed Church	107 / 2	68 of which 8 are foreign citizens	1			105
Lutherans	84 / 2	80 of which 9 are foreign citizens	3		2 17 Students	43
Other Protestant Communities and Centers	189 / 9	275 of which 36 are foreign citizens	4	1 Mission	2 38 / 162 Students	92

Mormons	32 / 24	309 of which 110 are foreign citizens				46
Jehovah's Witnesses	579 / 339	1,936 of which 34 are foreign citizens				233
Jewish Communities	239 / 1	136 of which 60 are foreign citizens	21	1 Mission	5 81 / 30 Students	77
Muslims	445 / 22	433 of which 20 are foreign citizens	5		7 276 Students	90
Society of Krishna Consciousness	30 / 8	43 of which 1 is foreign citizen	2		2 150 / 50 Students	7
Buddhists	42 / 3	35	1	1 5 Monks		2
Other Eastern Religions	22 / 16	37				3
Pagan Communities	75 / 2	70	4	1 Mission	2 25 / 9 Students	13
Other Faiths	288 / 56	342 of which 29 are foreign citizens	6	12 Missions	3 - / 43 Students	66
Total in Ukraine	27,579 / 1,047	26,650 of which 728 are foreign citizens	323	365 6,070 Monks and Nuns 283 Missions	163 9,458 / 9,992 Students	11,453

as of 1 January, 2004

Note 1: The first figure denotes communities whose statutes are fully registered according to legal requirements; the second figure denotes communities which operate without registration, which is allowed according to Ukrainian legislation.

Note 2: The first figure denotes the number of educational establishments; the second figure the number of full-time students; the third figure the number of part-time (correspondence) students.

Statistics supplied by the National Committee on Religious Matters of Ukraine, as noted in Journal *Liudyna i Svit*, Kyiv, January 2004, p. 31-34.

Comparative Statistics of Parishes in Western Ukraine (2004)*

<i>Region</i>	<i>UOC (Moscow Patriarchate)</i>	<i>UOC - Kyivan Patriarchate</i>	<i>UAOC</i>	<i>UGCC</i>
Western Ukraine	209	897	806	2,946
	[Total Orthodox:] 1,912			[Total UGCC:] 2,946

* Statistics supplied by the National Committee on Religious Matters of Ukraine.