

Out of the Catacombs: The Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine

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On 1 December 1989, as President Mikhail Gorbachev visited Pope John Paul II at the Vatican, the Soviet Ukrainian government announced that Greek-Catholics in Ukraine would have the same rights as members of other religions. This concession marked the success of a long struggle to regain legal rights for the Greek-Catholics, whom Stalin had placed outside the law in 1945 and 1946. In 1988, during the celebration of the Millennium of Christianity in Kievan Rus', the pressure on the Greek-Catholic Church actually intensified: 'closed' church buildings used for Greek-Catholic services were given to the Russian Orthodox Church, and much heavier fines (often several thousand roubles) were levied for the conduct of Greek-Catholic worship. In January 1989 Greek-Catholic activists were arrested in connection with an ecumenical service in L'viv; the Moscow Patriarchate continued to insist that there were no Greek-Catholics in Ukraine.

By spring 1989 open-air Greek-Catholic services in L'viv were attracting 30,000 people. In May, Father Mykhailo Nyskohuz and his parish in Stara Sil' (not far from L'viv) left the Moscow Patriarchate; Metropolitan Volodymyr (Sterniuk) of L'viv received the priest and parish into the Greek-Catholic Church. Moscow Patriarchate clergy and the Soviet militia attempted to remove Father Mykhailo by force, but when several thousand parishioners surrounded the principal church building and the priest's residence, the militia withdrew. Over a dozen other village parishes followed the example of Stara Sil' in the course of the summer.

A continuous demonstration began in Moscow, with daily services and pickets on the Arbat asking for the restoration of legal rights to the Greek-Catholics of Ukraine. *Moscow News* published the story, and in several articles during the summer advocated legalisation for the Greek-Catholic Church and the return of Saint George's Cathedral in L'viv to the Greek-Catholics. *Moscow News* even

published an interview with Metropolitan Volodymyr — although without identifying him as a hierarch!

Political events were also developing quickly; the Popular Movement for *Perestroika* in Ukraine (usually called *Rukh*) gave the Greek-Catholic Church strong support. Rostyslav Bratun and several other People's Deputies in the USSR Supreme Soviet were pressing the matter of the Greek-Catholic Church. On 8 August, the Russian Orthodox Metropolitan Nikodim Rusnak of L'viv sent a letter to the heads of all the Eastern Orthodox Churches, claiming that the Greek-Catholics were persecuting Russian Orthodox believers in Western Ukraine (earlier in the year Nikodim was still claiming that there were no Greek-Catholics in Western Ukraine). Later in August Patriarch Pimen of Moscow sent three Metropolitans to Rome to ask Pope John Paul II to direct the Greek-Catholics in Ukraine to join the Russian Orthodox Church — which the Pope declined to do. In L'viv a group of prominent men and women in local government, education, and even the Communist Party sent an Open Letter to Mikhail Gorbachev, calling for the legalisation of the Greek-Catholic Church.

On 17 September 1989 250,000 people held a peaceful demonstration in L'viv, marching from the city centre to Saint George's Cathedral to demand the legalisation of the Greek-Catholic Church. David Alton MP came from England with a BBC video crew, and the international news media gave the event wide coverage. Metropolitan Volodymyr was interviewed on Soviet television for the first time. Nevertheless, some Soviet officials continued to assert that whereas the government was prepared to accept the Roman Catholic Church, it would not permit any renaissance of the Greek-Catholics.

On 21 September Radio Vatican announced President Gorbachev's forthcoming meeting with Pope John Paul II; it was widely assumed that this meant an important Soviet concession on the Greek-Catholics. On 5 October, the Pope addressed the exile Synod of Ukrainian Catholic Bishops, assembled in Rome, with his strongest statement yet on the necessity of recognising the rights of the Greek-Catholic Church in the Soviet Union.

On Sunday 29 October the Church of the Transfiguration in L'viv — the largest functioning church in the city — repudiated the Moscow Patriarchate and returned to the jurisdiction of the Greek-Catholic Church. The L'viv Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs came to Metropolitan Volodymyr's small room to demand that the Metropolitan should instruct his clergy and faithful to withdraw from the Church of the Transfiguration; but he declined to do so. The Moscow Patriarchate accused the Greek-Catholics of 'violence', and spread this accusation around the world — but a video

crew from the Canadian Broadcasting Company had been present during the service when Fr Yaroslav Chukhny announced the return of the parish to the Greek-Catholic Church. The Canadians witnessed that there had been no violence; Mayor Bohdan Kotyk of L'viv (a prominent member of the Communist Party at the time) also testified (on Radio Kiev) that there had been no violence.

The Moscow Patriarchate's Metropolitan Filaret (Denysenko) of Kiev was in the USA at the time; he broke off his meetings and flew at once to L'viv, where he attempted to convince the police to expel the Greek-Catholics from the Church of the Transfiguration by force. The police refused to do so. Legal action was attempted against Fr Yaroslav Chukhny and Greek-Catholic lay activists, but it came to nothing. There were more large demonstrations in L'viv, Ivano-Frankivsk and elsewhere in support of the Greek-Catholic Church.

The stage was set for the decisive act of 1 December 1989. But a new player was coming on the scene.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Church

Ever since 1689, when Constantinople transferred the Metropolitanate of Kiev to the Moscow Patriarchate, Ukrainian Orthodox believers had been under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. Some Ukrainians found this onerous, and shortly after the Russian Revolution attempts began in Kiev to establish a Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Unfortunately, these attempts were directed by a revolutionary group who broke with Eastern Orthodox doctrine on several points, and eventually produced an ecclesiastical formation not recognised by Eastern Orthodoxy. This Ukrainian Autocephalous Church was tolerated in Soviet Ukraine for about 12 years, but eventually ceased functioning during the Stalin persecution of the 1930s.

During the Second World War there was a second effort to organise such a church, as there was a general religious revival in the section of Ukraine occupied by the Germans. The Soviet government again abolished this church in Ukraine, but several derivative groups continued in the emigration, still unrecognised by the Eastern Orthodox Churches. In most of Ukraine, the Moscow Patriarchate subjected the Orthodox parishes to an intense campaign of russification.

In 1989, Father Bohdan Mykhailechko — a Moscow Patriarchate priest serving in Lithuania — announced the formation of a committee to revive the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church. On 19 August, Father Volodymyr Yarema and the Church of Ss Peter and

Paul, L'viv, announced their adherence to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church and withdrew from the Moscow Patriarchate. On 22 October 1989 Bishop Ioann Bodnarchuk announced his withdrawal from the Moscow Patriarchate to become the first hierarch of the new Ukrainian Autocephalous Church. The L'viv Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs made no difficulties for the new Ukrainian Autocephalous Church, and encouraged parishes and clergy to withdraw from the Moscow Patriarchate in favour of the Autocephalous Church. The Greek-Catholics took this to mean that the Soviet government was promoting the Autocephalous Church — and this view gained strength when Fr Vytali Polytylo, Rector of the Church of the Assumption in L'viv and a notorious sycophant of the government and the Communist Party, took up a leading position in the Autocephalous Church.

Thus at the moment when the Greek-Catholic Church regained her legal rights, she had to compete with both the Moscow Patriarchate and the new 'Ukrainian Autocephalous Church' headed by Ioann Bodnarchuk.

Emerging Tensions

As the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine emerged from the catacombs, several problems became visible. Some difficulties remained from earlier in the century: disagreements between the Archdiocese of L'viv and the smaller Diocese of Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanyslaviv); disagreements between the diocesan clergy and the Basilian priest-monks; variations in liturgical practices; the distinct identity of the Diocese of Mukachevo-Uzhhorod in Transcarpathian Ukraine. Other problems arose from the circumstances of the underground. It had been difficult and dangerous for the bishops to keep in contact, let alone hold sessions of the Synod — so each bishop conducted his own affairs more or less independently. Diocesan boundaries had necessarily been very vague; deaneries were non-existent, and clergy functioned wherever and however they could. It was impossible to conduct seminaries in the underground, so priests were ordained with only a rudimentary education at best. From 1939 until 1988 there had been very little contact with Rome; almost no one had had access to the documents of the Second Vatican Council — so the underground church discovered that the Catholic Church of 1990 was not entirely the same as the Catholic Church before the Second World War.

The Influx from the Moscow Patriarchate

Within a few weeks of 1 December 1989, about 500 nominally Russian Orthodox clergy in Western Ukraine left the Moscow Patriarchate and joined the Greek-Catholic Church. Most of these priests had either been trained in the three Russian Orthodox seminaries which remained open in the USSR after Khrushchev — in Leningrad, Zagorsk, and Odessa — or had been trained by correspondence. Their pastoral experience in the Soviet Union was quite different from that of the underground clergy: the official clergy had served very large parishes (often with several church buildings in three or more villages), where practically everyone was at least culturally related to the church; the underground clergy had usually served much smaller groups of much more highly committed faithful. By the end of 1990, the clergy from the Moscow Patriarchate who had joined the Greek-Catholic Church probably outnumbered those of the underground clergy who were below retirement age.

Hundreds of parishes from the Moscow Patriarchate were also joining the Greek-Catholic Church, in spite of government pressure to divert themselves to the Autocephalous Church. By the end of 1990 there were at least 2,000 functioning Greek-Catholic parishes in Western Ukraine — and nowhere near enough priests to serve them. In addition, other Greek-Catholic communities were organising themselves, and requesting priests.

If the local 'Russian Orthodox' priest led his parish into the Greek-Catholic Church, he normally remained with the parish. Such a priest continued to receive the salary and stipends he had been receiving previously (roughly the equivalent of the salary of university professors). As *perestroika* continued, punitive taxation on the income of the clergy was drastically reduced, so the economic position of such clergy even improved. Priests from the underground receive much lower salaries, and the collapse of the rouble has made the general financial situation worse.

Deacons are hit particularly hard, because they do not receive Mass stipends. Each priest normally receives a Mass stipend of ten roubles each day, in addition to his salary. There are only about fifteen Greek-Catholic professional deacons in Western Ukraine; all of them came from the Moscow Patriarchate, where diaconal service is highly thought of and remunerated accordingly.

Marriage Cases: Canon Law and Pastoral Reality

Catholic marriage law is quite strict, with an elaborate system of ecclesiastical courts. In 1948 Pope Pius XII promulgated a code of

marriage laws for the Eastern Catholic Churches. Since this was two years after the Greek-Catholic Church was suppressed in Ukraine, and contacts had been virtually severed, this body of law was not well known in Ukraine; of course, the elaborate system of ecclesiastical courts does not exist there, nor are there any specialists in canon law in the USSR.

Several forms of marriage were available: Soviet law requires either an ordinary civil marriage in a registry office or a 'solemn' civil marriage in a 'wedding palace' (with a ceremony imitating that used in the Eastern Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches). As to religious marriage, the picture is complex. Some people were married by Russian Orthodox clergy. Many of these were the former Greek-Catholic priests who had nominally become Russian Orthodox in order to remain with the parish — often at the request of the parishioners themselves — and most people took it for granted that in fact these clergy were still Catholics; other such priests were ordained in the Russian Orthodox Church but had some sort of relationship with the underground Greek-Catholic Church as well. Some people managed to seek out underground Greek-Catholic priests to marry them (whether any of these clergy were actually pastors in the canonical sense could be discussed). And some people were unable to find any sort of priest — often because of distance, sometimes because of the persecution — so they contented themselves with the Catholic teaching that under such circumstances one is not bound to have a church wedding.

Divorce is even more common in Soviet society than in the West. Many people have had three or more divorces, so that one can seriously question whether a Soviet civil marriage really indicates any intention of making a binding commitment until death, as Christian spouses are supposed to do.

As many as 40 per cent of the adult parishioners in Western Ukraine are living in marriages which the Catholic Church considers dubious. The bishops and priests from the underground fear that any compromise with the strict Catholic marriage laws will scandalise all the faithful and further undermine Christian family life in Ukraine, but they also realise that trying to enforce the letter of the law could mean driving half the faithful away from the church (neither the Moscow Patriarchate nor the Autocephalous Church have such marriage legislation). It is impossible to have a system of marriage tribunals to judge these matters on a case-by-case basis, as the Catholic Church does in western countries.

The result is chaos. The faithful soon learn which clergy are likely to be rigid, and which are likely to be lenient; charges and counter-charges are flying about accordingly. The bishops have taken

the problem directly to Pope John Paul II, but the Pope appears reluctant to act. Marriage cases will remain a source of trouble for the foreseeable future.

The 'Quadripartite Commission'

Pope John Paul II and the Vatican's Council for the Promotion of Christian Unity were anxious not to lose the relationship which Rome had developed with the Moscow Patriarchate since the reign of Pope John XXIII. In January 1990 a delegation from the Vatican visited Moscow for meetings with the Moscow Patriarchate and with Orthodox and Greek-Catholic representatives from Ukraine. This meeting began a process which was to result in a Quadripartite Commission — which collapsed in March 1990, when the Greek-Catholics from Ukraine withdrew from the discussions.

The Church Property Issue — St George's Cathedral

Rukh was achieving important political support in Western Ukraine as well. By early February, the Council for Religious Affairs returned the Cathedral of the Resurrection in Ivano-Frankivsk to the Greek-Catholics, despite the strenuous protests of the Moscow Patriarchate (which unsuccessfully appealed to President Gorbachev against the decision). But the most difficult battle was growing around St George's Cathedral in L'viv.

St George's was built in the 18th century as a Greek-Catholic cathedral (a large statue of a Pope stands over the exterior of the main entrance). Cardinal Sembratovych and Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'ky are buried in the cathedral crypt. The cathedral itself is an imposing building, standing on a hill over central L'viv and visible from most of the city. The Moscow Patriarchate did not want to lose it, and government officials encouraged the Patriarchate to try to keep the cathedral.

In March 1990 local government elections put the Communist Party out of power in the L'viv and Ivano-Frankivsk regions. The new local government in L'viv passed a resolution giving St George's Cathedral to the Greek-Catholics as of 13 April. But the Moscow Patriarchate appealed against this decision, and refused to vacate the cathedral. There were no services at all in St George's Cathedral after January 1990 — Bishop Andrei Horak of the Moscow Patriarchate feared that if the doors were opened large numbers of Greek-Catholics would gain entry and refuse to leave. At that point the 44-voice cathedral

choir led by Volodymyr Dzhuryn resigned *en masse* and subsequently sang open-air Greek-Catholic Holy Week and Easter services for Metropolitan Volodymyr.

In August 1990 the L'viv City Council succeeded in gaining access to St George's Cathedral, and gave the building to Metropolitan Volodymyr for the use of the Greek-Catholic Church. Metropolitan Volodymyr made his solemn entry into the cathedral on 19 August 1990; fully 300,000 faithful took part in this largest religious service in the history of L'viv. The cathedral choir sang the Pontifical Liturgy. A message of greeting was read from Cardinal Lubachivs'ky, but there was still no indication that the Cardinal would soon be coming to L'viv.

The June 1990 Assembly of Hierarchs in Rome

Pope John Paul II invited Metropolitan Volodymyr and the other nine bishops from Ukraine to Rome for a fraternal meeting in June 1990. All the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic bishops from the diaspora also attended this gathering, which thus became the largest assembly of bishops in the history of the Church of Kiev. Cardinal Lubachivs'ky and Metropolitan Volodymyr appeared to defer to each other and work well together; the Metropolitan made a strong and positive impression on many people in Rome. There was no indication that Cardinal Lubachivs'ky had any specific plan to come to L'viv and take up residence there.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Patriarch

Also in June 1990 the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church elected a 'Patriarch of Kiev and All Ukraine' in the person of Mstyslav Skrypnyk, a nonagenarian living in the United States. For several months, the Soviet government refused to permit him to enter the USSR, but in October 1990 he was enthroned in Kiev.

Cardinal Lubachivs'ky and his Staff

In 1963, the Soviet government released Metropolitan Iosyf Slipy from prison and required him to leave the USSR for Rome, where he set up an exiled Chancery of the Archdiocese of L'viv, with three bishops (whom the Vatican has never recognised), a Vicar General, a Chancellor, and some other functionaries. Cardinal Slipy died in

1984, and was followed by Myroslav-Ivan Cardinal Lubachiv's'ky, appointed by Pope John Paul II. Cardinal Lubachiv's'ky had not been in Ukraine since 1938, and almost no one in Ukraine knew him personally. He assumed the title 'Major Archbishop of L'viv', and the Greek-Catholic hierarchs and clergy in Ukraine commemorated him as Patriarch of Kiev-Halych and All Rus'.

By 1988, people began to notice the dual role of Cardinal Lubachiv's'ky in Rome and Metropolitan Volodymyr in L'viv, who were each functioning as in some sense the head of the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine. The Cardinal's Chancery explained that in 1971 Cardinal Slipy had designated Metropolitan Volodymyr as *locum tenens* in Ukraine — but the Chancery representatives did not seem to appreciate the full significance of this title.

When the Soviet government conceded legal rights to the Greek-Catholics on 1 December 1989, there was no specific reference to any hierarchy, even inside Ukraine. For about eight weeks the Council for Religious Affairs tried to treat the Greek-Catholics as though they were followers of some newly invented religion, and tried to ignore the bishops who were in place. But by late January 1990 political developments and ecumenical relationships had brought all concerned to the realisation that the bishops could not be ignored.

Cardinal Lubachiv's'ky is a naturalised American citizen, and did not seem anxious to go to Ukraine; the events of 1990 all took place in his absence, and Metropolitan Volodymyr became the most visible and best-known Greek-Catholic leader inside the USSR. In November 1990 the new regional government returned the historic palace of the Greek-Catholic metropolitans adjacent to St George's Cathedral; Metropolitan Volodymyr took up his residence there.

Late in 1990, the Cardinal announced that he would come to L'viv on 30 March 1991 — the day before Palm Sunday according to the church calendar used by the Eastern Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches. In January, a commission was formed in Rome and L'viv to coordinate the events of Cardinal Lubachiv's'ky's trip. He was to return to Rome after ten weeks in Ukraine.

The Cardinal arrived as scheduled, with four or five priests, three nuns, and two or three lay people in his immediate staff. In early June 1991, the Cardinal announced his intention of remaining permanently in Ukraine. Some degree of culture shock was manifest, as methods of administration, technology, and social assumptions of those from the West are markedly different from what people in L'viv are accustomed to. Several members of the Cardinal's entourage questioned Metropolitan Volodymyr's position, and there are increasing signs of malaise.

Difficulties with Roman Catholics

In December 1990 Pope John Paul II invited the hierarchs from Ukraine and the emigration to Rome for a session of the synod in February 1991, to elect three nominees to succeed Cardinal Lubachiv'sky. Metropolitan Volodymyr and two other bishops from Ukraine were unable to make the trip, and this hastily-arranged synod was unable to elect candidates at such short notice. Simultaneously the Vatican announced the appointment of a Roman Catholic Archbishop of L'viv (or Lwów, to give the Polish version of the city's name) and several other Polish bishops in Ukraine and elsewhere in the Soviet Union. This new Archbishop was resident in Poland. Both the Greek-Catholics and the L'viv City Council were seriously affronted by this appointment, which had been made without consultation with either of these parties. Historically, relations between Roman Catholics and Greek-Catholics in both Western Ukraine and Poland are not good, and in addition some Ukrainian circles feared that this appointment might signal Polish efforts to claim Ukrainian territory.

The Primate of Poland, Cardinal Glemp, indicated his plan to come to L'viv for Cardinal Lubachiv'sky's arrival, accompanied by about 30 Polish Roman Catholic bishops. The L'viv City Council would not permit Cardinal Glemp's chartered plane to land, forcing the party to return to Poland. The City Council also forbade the Roman Catholic Archbishop of L'viv to make his solemn entry during the time of Cardinal Lubachiv'sky's arrival, and refused to make the former residence of the Polish archbishops available to the new incumbent.

Some of this antipathy arose because meanwhile only 50 miles away in Peremyshl' (Přemyšl) — a formerly Ukrainian city just inside the Polish border — the Poles were refusing to allow the new Greek-Catholic Bishop of Peremyshl' access to the Greek-Catholic cathedral and the residence of the Greek-Catholic bishops. These conflicts have continued, and worsened.

Greek Catholics Elsewhere in the USSR

Greek-Catholicism has been the traditional faith in Transcarpathia (on the southern side of the Carpathian Mountains) for centuries; local tradition claims that Ss Cyril and Methodius themselves founded the Diocese of Mukachevo-Uzhhorod. Ethnographers consider the majority population of Transcarpathia to be Ukrainians; they certainly speak a form of Ukrainian. But Ukrainian national consciousness came late to Transcarpathia, and the region did not become politically part of Ukraine until after the Second World War.

Transcarpathia had belonged to Hungary for centuries, and was part of Czechoslovakia between the world wars; both countries still covet the territory. This ethnic confusion is reflected in the Greek-Catholic Church, and the attachment of the Greek-Catholics of Transcarpathia to the central authority in L'viv is not yet firm. Many of the older priests were educated in Budapest and consider themselves Hungarian — and derive important support from the Greek-Catholic Church in Hungary.

The Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Uzhhorod has just been restored to Greek-Catholic use. Bishop Basil Losten of Stamford, USA, who had been making strenuous efforts to accomplish this transfer, was able to celebrate there on Sunday 3 November 1991. Only about 50 church buildings have been restored to the Greek-Catholics in the rest of Transcarpathia, however, and many communities are still meeting in the open air.

The Greek-Catholic Church continues to develop in Eastern Ukraine, in Belorussia, and in Russia itself, and the church administration in L'viv feels some degree of responsibility for these communities, but is unable to offer much practical help. In January 1991 Metropolitan Volodymyr received Bishop Vikenti Chekalin into the Greek Catholic Church (from one of the catacomb Russian Orthodox groups) but the Soviet government and Moscow Patriarchate protested, and the Vatican refused to ratify Bishop Vikenti's position. The Metropolitan has appointed deans for Belorussia and Bucovina; in Bucovina there are at least two functioning parishes with church buildings. In Belorussia the three priests currently serving have not yet obtained any church building for the faithful, nor have they been able to organise and register formal parishes.

In Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, there is a large Greek-Catholic parish served by a Studite priest-monk. The local authorities have registered the parish, but persistently refuse to assign a church building for this parish to use (replacing the Greek-Catholic parish church constructed by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'ky and destroyed by the bolsheviks), so services are held every Sunday and feast day in the open air, regardless of the weather.

Cardinal Lubachivs'ky and his entourage visited Kiev in May 1991; they arranged to serve a liturgy in the baroque Church of St Andrew (currently a museum), but retreated when a Russian Orthodox demonstration blocked the entry of the building. The city police then made another church building available for the occasion, but at the time of writing Cardinal Lubachivs'ky has not been able to convince the Kiev authorities to assign a building to the Greek-Catholics for regular services.

The Diaspora and the Mother Church

About two million Ukrainian Greek-Catholics live in Western Europe, North and South America, and Australia. They feel an attachment to the church in Ukraine, and took an interest in the campaign to legalise the church in the USSR. At the same time, they were very sceptical about *perestroika* and even when the Greek-Catholics in the USSR did regain legal rights, Ukrainian emigres were loath to believe it for a while.

By now, the diaspora Ukrainians realise that the Greek-Catholic revival in Ukraine is a reality, and Ukrainians in their native land look to the emigre communities for important moral and material help, both in rebuilding the church and in the political and economic struggle for an independent, self-sufficient Ukraine. The encounter between the two groups is traumatic.

Forms of piety and worship are notably different in Ukraine and in the emigration. In 1991, for example, midnight services for Christmas and Easter in St George's Cathedral in L'viv each lasted nearly seven hours, and the Cathedral was still filled at the end of each service. Guests from the West were stunned and exhausted; such services are simply not held in the diaspora. Since each group thinks of itself as the exemplary model for the other, tension and resentment can result.

For the diaspora, the restoration of St George's Cathedral was probably the most important symbolic event which has yet occurred. An effort to organise large numbers of emigre Ukrainians to come to L'viv for Cardinal Lubachiv'sky's arrival in late March 1991 had very limited success (Bishop Basil of Stamford led the only large group), and the number of visitors from the West in July 1991 is far below that in previous years. This is to some extent part of a general falling-off in tourism as a result of the Gulf War, the recession and fear of civil unrest in the USSR; but the fact remains that the anticipated large numbers of Ukrainians from abroad visiting their homeland have not materialised.

Practical assistance for the church in Ukraine from the diaspora has also been sporadic. Bishop Basil of Stamford has provided important assistance, and so has the Saint Sophia Religious Association in Canada. Metropolitan Volodymyr visited the USA and Canada in May and June 1991, and raised about US \$250,000 (which will go much further in the Soviet Union than in the West). Ukrainian Greek-Catholic paramonastic communities in the West are providing some assistance to their confrères in Ukraine.

Much more substantial assistance has come from Roman Catholic circles in the West. Aid to the Church in Need has contributed millions of dollars to Cardinal Lubachiv'sky and his Chancery, making it possible to publish a desperately-needed prayer book of more than

1,000 pages; the Cardinal brought 50,000 copies of this prayer book with him when he arrived in Ukraine in March, and eventually two million should be printed and distributed. Other Catholic organisations in Austria, France, Germany and elsewhere have sent truckloads of supplies to Metropolitan Volodymyr.

Education of Future Clergy

Virtually none of the Greek-Catholic priests in the USSR under the age of 75 has had even a basic Catholic theological education. This is particularly tragic in view of the history of the church in Western Ukraine: the L'viv Theological Academy had the highest standards and a most enviable reputation for scholarship. Even today, most of the intelligentsia of Western Ukraine are the children and grandchildren of Greek-Catholic priests. At best, it will take at least two generations to bring the parish clergy back up to normal educational standards.

The hierarchy realise the need, and have tried to establish seminaries, in L'viv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Drohobych and Mukachevo, with a total of more than 1,000 students. Premises are a problem in each place — the L'viv Seminary has been housed for the past year in a summer camp rented from the Young Communist League, with no heat and no washing facilities. But the worst problem is the complete lack of Catholic theological textbooks in Ukrainian, and the absence of qualified professors and instructors. Aid to the Church in Need has undertaken to construct a seminary building in L'viv. But the training of an adequate faculty, and the production of textbooks, will take several years.

Already in the autumn of 1990 the Metropolitan and bishops sent numerous candidates to study in Rome, in the Ukrainian Minor Seminary, the Major Seminary of St Josaphat, and the Ukrainian Catholic University; the Basilians and Redemptorists also have men from Ukraine studying in their houses in Rome. At least two of these students are doing advanced work at the Pontifical Oriental Institute. Several seminarians from Ukraine are enrolled at Holy Spirit Ukrainian Catholic Seminary in Ottawa, Ontario.

Conclusion

These are only some of the internal problems facing the Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine. The survival and restoration of this church is a historic miracle — and a similar miracle may be required if it is to overcome its present difficulties and provide the moral and religious leadership which the Ukrainian people urgently need in this time of economic uncertainty and rapid social change.