

PART 7.
THE UGCC IN THE SYSTEM OF STATE-CHURCH
RELATIONS IN UKRAINE

The revival of Ukraine's independence has caused a wave of national and religious exaltation, a rethinking of the Church's role in developing the nation-state ideology of a society that has freed itself from the influence of a totalitarian system. The spiritual basis of the state-building process is the Ukrainian national idea, which consolidates the nation to solve complex problems of revival. The Church has played a decisive role in this area in the history of Ukraine for centuries. "Uniqueness and universality of the Christian Church as a factor of state-making activity of the Ukrainian people," stresses the UAOC Archbishop Ihor Isichenko, "in the period of state revival ensures the preservation of ethnonational identity, promotes the consolidation of society, acts as a guarantor of the nation's presence in the world Christian civilization"⁵¹². The development of a sovereign state is connected with the affirmation of ideological unity and national consciousness of the Ukrainian people as necessary factors for achieving the state aspirations.

The UGCC's unwavering position on this issue was supported by the Second World Forum of Ukrainians, which took place in Kyiv in August 1997 with the participation of the President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma, delegates of the Ukrainian world community and representatives of the national Churches. In his speech, L. Kuchma emphasized that the Ukrainian people must deeply understand the national idea, to form and adopt a national-state ideology, in order not to turn off the chosen path of independence⁵¹³. The documents of the Forum stated that "revival and strengthening of independent national Ukrainian state on ancient ethnic Ukrainian lands" requires, above all, "the revival of the national, state consciousness of the Ukrainian

⁵¹² Ісіченко Ігор, владика. Виступ на науковій конференції. *Визвольний шлях*. 1995. № 11. С. 1301.

⁵¹³ *Визвольний шлях*. 1997. № 10. С. 1169.

people... without this the Ukrainian independent state would be a ghost”. The resolution also emphasized: “The Ukrainian national idea, which is able to unite all citizens of Ukraine..., to serve the preservation and strengthening of Ukrainian statehood, should be a purposeful formation of civil society in Ukraine”⁵¹⁴.

The formation of national-state ideology is closely connected with the problem of the relationship between the Church and the state, which has deep historical roots. In this context, the positive role of the Christian Church of Volodymyr the Great in the consolidation of the Ukrainian ethnic group and the strengthening of the state of Kyivan Rus-Ukraine should be noted. The Orthodox Church of the Cossacks and Khmelnytsky period took part in the national liberation movements of the Ukrainian people and the development of the state. But in the conditions of loss of statehood, after 1686, when the Metropolitanate of Kyiv passed under the authority of the Moscow Patriarchate, it has become an instrument of anti-Ukrainian forces and no longer carried the Ukrainian national idea. Therefore, only the Greek Catholic Church, through the Union of Brest, managed to preserve national identity, to implement the Ukrainian church policy, to continue the struggle for the realization of the Ukrainian national idea and statehood in the conditions of statelessness, expansion of the Western and Eastern Churches. It played a significant role in the era of national revival in Galicia in the second half of the nineteenth century, as it was noted in the previous sections of this paper. “In Galicia in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,” said Lyubov Kiyanovska, “it was the priests who awakened the consciousness of their Nation in the Ukrainian people, and established such important public institutions as schools, theaters, and scientific centers, – this phenomenon does not exist in any country in Europe. On this background, the most important place belongs to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky”⁵¹⁵.

National-state aspects in the activities of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic and Orthodox (first of all autocephalous) Churches in the era of liberation struggle of 1917 – 1920 aimed at realizing the natural

⁵¹⁴ Визвольний шлях. 1997. № 10. С. 1175.

⁵¹⁵ Кияновська Л. Пам’яті митрополита Андрія Шептицького. *Київська Церква*. 1999. № 6. С. 133-134.

right of the Ukrainian people to statehood in the form of the UPR and ZUNR, raising the national consciousness of the Ukrainian ethnosc and the role of the Church in these processes. In his speech at St. Peter's Church in Rome on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the First November Breakdown of 1918 in Galicia Major Archbishop of the UGCC, Cardinal Josyf Slipyj emphasized: "The purpose of the Ukrainian people on earth is to fight for the Ukrainian state, for the Christian state of their nation". Remembering the restoration of an independent Ukrainian state – ZUNR, he said: "It was a powerful act that we imposed on the glorious earlier times of Svyatoslav, Volodymyr, Yaroslav, Daniel and others and began to think their statesmen's thoughts. Our Ukrainian people have once again joined the ranks of free nations and the family of independent states... This act was blessed by our Church because it prayed for it – for the creation of our own state, for its approval and for its construction... The idea of rebuilding the Ukrainian state must be leading in all our thoughts, struggles, sufferings and achievements. Let the raised state flag of the United Ukraine flutter over all of us forever!" Meanwhile Galicia in a newly formed in November 1918 state had its own national UGCC, the UPR raised the question of a church independent from Moscow. "No matter how successful in the future our achievements will be in the plane of political struggle," wrote S. Petliura, "the whole idea of our state independence will be blocked "in the hands and feet" by this dependence in the ecclesiastical plane, striking and undermining the independent struggles of our nation"⁵¹⁶.

Relations between the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the restored nation state of the UPR were fully in line with the situation that means that the Church supported it with all possible social and moral measures. The greetings of the Orthodox clergy to S. Petliura in March 1921 stressed that the close unity of Church and state is based on the national-state concept of the UOC, which together with the people is fighting for the freedom of Ukraine. "The close union of the state and the church," it was stressed in the greeting, "is the only condition of our national and state life"⁵¹⁷.

⁵¹⁶ Петлюра С. Статті. Київ, 1993. С. 213.

⁵¹⁷ ЦДАВО України. Ф. 1072, оп. 1, спр. 3, арк. 159.

It should be noted that the hierarchs of the Orthodox Church, and especially the Minister of Religions of the UPR I. Ohienko and later Metropolitan Ilarion, followed conceptual view that in the conditions of independent state there should be an independent national church, that is autocephalous. This idea is best described in a letter of the head of Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council to the head of Directory on May 25, 1920. "Ukraine's statehood will only have a solid foundation when the Ukrainian people will have their own, completely independent national church..," the authors of the letter stressed. "The goal of this movement has been and now is only one: approval of the united autocephalous Ukrainian national church, which, at the same time, should be one of the main pillars of the statehood of the Ukrainian people"⁵¹⁸.

Thus, the UOC hierarchs tried to get rid of dependence on the Moscow Patriarchate and Russian church centralism, to carry out democratization, celebrate liturgies in the Ukrainian language using the example of the UGCC, to revive national customs, rituals and traditions declared by the UNR decree on autocephaly. Indicative phenomenon at that time was the rebellion of Orthodox communities in Vinnytsia in the summer of 1920, which asked S. Petliura to send the pro-Russian bishops Amvrosiy and Pymen to Bolshevik Moscow because they issued an order "to prevent any Ukrainianization of the church at all costs". Believers asked to establish the UAOC in order to "educate the Ukrainian people in the national spirit and go toward the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Church"⁵¹⁹. It should be noted that not all bishops supported these views of the unity of the Orthodox Church and the state in the state-forming process of the UNR, as well as the Ukrainian state of Hetman P. Skoropadsky. Minister of Religions of the Hetman's Government O. Lototsky, acknowledging the ideas of autocephalousness, stressed the clear delineation of the functions of the state and the church toward limiting its interference with secular affairs. The UAOC First Hierarch V. Lypkivsky found it impossible to identify a nation with an Orthodox religion because the Ukrainian nation is a political, territorial and state, but not a religious

⁵¹⁸ ЦДАВО України. Ф. 1072. Оп. 1. Спр. 3. Арк. 12.

⁵¹⁹ Рибачук М. Ф., Уткін О.І., Кирюшко М. І. Національне відродження і релігія. Київ, 1995. С. 8.

concept⁵²⁰. V. Lypynskiy made a profound contribution to the concept of the relationship between the Church and the state in his research "Religion and Church in the history of Ukraine". First of all, he rejects the concept of state church and clearly defines the areas of activity of the Church (spiritual) and the state (material), defines the important role of the Church in the struggle for the statehood, calls the national and Ukrainian the Church, which "will be able to teach its believers in their struggle for the Ukrainian state to fulfil the eternal and universal laws of creative civic morality"⁵²¹. In general, the concepts of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in the era of liberation struggles concerning the state formation, the Church's participation in the economic, cultural, educational programs of the state was not sufficiently substantiated and did not influence the state-making process. While the UGCC, even in the conditions of statelessness, not only developed its national-state doctrine, but also created the material basis for the implementation of its ideas in the form of national, cooperative, scientific, cultural and educational organizations, and most importantly, in the grand structure of the national Church.

Let us briefly consider the national-state views of Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky. It is known that at the beginning of the XIX century among the Greek Catholic clergy in Galicia there appeared a widely educated, interested not only in their Church but, above all, in the national interests of the Ukrainian people, leaders, who contributed to the development of the Ukrainian national idea through their activities. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky made the most significant contribution to the formation of the national-state ideology of the UGCC, who for almost half a century of modern Ukrainian history was a leader of the Church and a spokesman for the interests of the Ukrainian people and secular national life. His merits in combining church interests with national ones are highly appreciated by domestic and foreign scientists. The leading position in the society of Metropolitan was provided by his unwavering desire to devote his life and activity to the Ukrainian people, which he has repeatedly expressed and implemented in everyday life, as well as the level of

⁵²⁰ Ibid. С. 9.

⁵²¹ Липинський В. Релігія і церква в історії України. Київ, 1995. С. 11.

scholar of the European dimension. He has written numerous religious and secular scientific papers and has brought together the most famous scholars in Galicia, among them were theologians J. Slipyj and P. Filyas, historians I. Krypiakevych and I. Skruten, art critic I. Svientsitski, archeologist J. Pasternak, lawyer R. Kovshevych, philosopher M. Conrad and other representatives of the Ukrainian scientific elite who made a significant contribution to the development of the national idea.

“With the coming of Bishop Andrey to the Metropolitan throne of Kyiv-Galician in 1900,” noted the scientist from Lviv Mykhaylo Haykovsky, “at the head of the Church and the nation appeared a person who contributed to the spiritual and national revival of Ukraine, especially Galicia, and brought the humiliated by Austria-Hungary and Russia Ukrainian people into the European and into the world political arena. Since his arrival the regeneration process of the statehood revival of Ukrainian nation started in Galicia”⁵²². His activity was based on a deep understanding that in Ukraine the fate of the people and the Church are inextricably connected. The Christian religiosity of Ukrainians has been long ago recognized as a phenomenon in the world society.

Devoting his life and work to the interests of Ukrainians, Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky developed a strong national-state doctrine of the Greek Catholic Church. First of all, we should note his “Memorandum on the future structure of the Ukrainian state” of August 1914 after the Austrian troops occupy the territory of Ukraine controlled by Russia. Referring to the Austrian government, he wrote: “We need to solve the triple problem: the military, legal and church organization of the region... in order to alienate these regions as far as possible from Russia and to make this national area attractive to the population and independent from Russia. For this purpose, all traditions of Ukraine, suppressed by Russia, should be used and so firmly revived in the minds of the masses that no political

⁵²² Гайковський М. Сучасне і майбутнє України: думки дивізії митрополита Андрія Шептицького. *Київська Церква*. 2000. № 1(7). С. 44.

combination would be able to destroy the consequences of our victory”⁵²³.

As for the military organization in the Ukrainian territories, Metropolitan considered it necessary to build it on the tradition of Zaporizhzhya Cossacks, create a Ukrainian army with all national outward signs and spirit. This should have contributed to the development of the national movement in the Russified, denationalized region. According to Metropolitan, it was advisable to revive the institution of Hetman⁵²⁴. He proposed to radically destroy the Russian state system and its imperial legislation, to implement Austrian laws, taking into account the peculiarities of the Ukrainian national mentality, which would immediately involve Ukraine in the European legal space⁵²⁵.

In the case of church organization, Metropolitan considered first of all to “separate as far as possible the Ukrainian Church from the Russian Church..., to separate the clergy from political and police activity on purely church and Christian area”. He stressed that in the Ukrainian state a national church should be preserved with its traditional rituals, customs, which constitute the spiritual values of the nation, without any influence of Moscow. Thus, a “perfect plan for the reorganization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was developed,” rightly observes M. Haikovsky, “which did not affect the canonical foundations of either the Orthodox or Catholic Churches, but put it in the rank of self-governing autocephalous Churches”⁵²⁶.

Thus, at the beginning of the First World War Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky proclaimed the nation-state aspirations of the Ukrainian people and outlined a strategic plan for development of the state, which was based on a strong foundation: the national army, the European legal field, and the Ukrainian Church. It is for these views that the Russian authorities after the occupation of Galicia intensified

⁵²³ Государственный архив Российской Федерации (ГАРФ). Ф. 102. Оп. 1. Спр. 131. Арк. 109.

⁵²⁴ Государственный архив Российской Федерации (ГАРФ). Ф. 102. Оп. 1. Спр. 131. Арк. 110.

⁵²⁵ Ibid

⁵²⁶ Гайковський М. Сучасне і майбутнє України: думки дивізії митрополита Андрія Шептицького. *Київська Церква*. 2000. № 1(7). С. 45.

their attack on the UGCC. A report from the Police Department was found in one of the archives in Moscow, which stated that in the national movement for the “rejection of the whole Ukraine from Russia... the Uniate clergy under the leadership of Metropolitan Sheptytsky has played an important role in the last decade”⁵²⁷. The state ideas of Metropolitan were partly realized with the formation in November 1918 of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic. He personally participated in the process of its formation and development, was together with the bishops H. Khomyshyn and J. Kotsylovsky a member of the Ukrainian National Council – representative body of the Republic.

The Head of the UGCC sincerely welcomed the proclamation of the Act of the restoration of the independent Ukrainian state on June 30, 1941. In a pastoral letter to the clergy and the believers on July 1, 1941, he wrote: “A New Era began in the life of the State United Independent Ukraine... Ukrainian People must show in that historical wave that they have a sufficient sense of authority, solidity and vitality to earn a position among the nations of Europe in which all God-given power could be developed”⁵²⁸. In another pastoral letter from July 5, Metropolitan appealed: “All who feel themselves Ukrainian and want to work for the good of Ukraine... let them work in unity and harmony to rebuild the economic and cultural life, destroyed by the Bolsheviks. Then in God’s hope, that on the foundations of solidarity and hard work of all Ukrainians, United Ukraine will rise not only as a great word and idea, but as a living, viable, healthy, powerful state organism”⁵²⁹. It is well-known that these hopes of the head of the UGCC and of the whole Ukrainian people did not come true: independent Ukraine did not fit into the geostrategic plans of both J. Stalin and A. Hitler. German occupation authorities launched a widespread attack on the Ukrainian national movement, repressing its members. In these extremely complex and difficult conditions for people under German occupation and the

⁵²⁷ Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: Життя і Діяльність. Документи і матеріали 1899–1944. Т. II. Церква і суспільне питання. Кн. 2. Львів, 1999. С. 639.

⁵²⁸ Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: Життя і Діяльність. Т. I. С. 517.

⁵²⁹ Ibid. С. 518.

Great War, Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky, being already ill, at the end of his life worked out and left a document that summarized the national-state thought of the Greek Catholic Church in the mid-twentieth century. It is a decree to the clergy “The Ideal of Our National Life” known by another name “How to Build the Native Home?” written in December 1941 and approved by the Archdiocesan Council in 1941.

First of all, it defines the state-unification desire of the faithful: “The ideal of our national life is our native all-national Hut-Fatherland” and prophetically says: “Divine Providence will enable the Ukrainian people to fulfill their natural right that is to choose and set up the control over their Native Hut”⁵³⁰. The following chapters of this deeply scientific paper outline what should be the Ukrainian state-Homeland – above all – powerful, monolithic and able to “combat different tendencies of internal disintegration and successfully protect the borders from external enemies” and most importantly, provide “true and sustainable happiness for citizens” that will contribute to the necessary condition of state formation – the consolidation of society from family and community to socio-political communities, societies, associations, cooperatives, unions “connected by a strong ties of solidarity”⁵³¹.

Bishop also advised the constructors of the Ukrainian state to analyse more deeply the principles of national life, to gain a thorough knowledge of the laws of its development “and to our people, even if only to the faithful should be transferred the necessary knowledge and educate them in all those social virtues on which the value of the whole public work of the person depends”⁵³². The concept of Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky regarding the state leadership of Ukraine looks more modern. He believes that only the people should choose, in particular “by plebiscites or referendums the form of authority: monarchical, oligarchic or democratic. Each of them serves primarily the interests of the people, “establishes righteous laws that conform to God’s law and the common good and impartial and independent judging”, provides freedom of a person, participation in government

⁵³⁰ Ibid. C. 519.

⁵³¹ Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: Життя і Діяльність. Т. I. С. 520.

⁵³² Ibid. C. 521.

of as many citizens as possible. At the same time, he analyses the existing state systems, in particular, monarchical, republican and totalitarian, warning “not to follow false slogans of revolution and socialism, leading to anarchy, slavery, poverty and ruins”⁵³³.

Metropolitan exposes the Soviet totalitarian system with significant arguments “in which a dictator and party or monoparty (Stalin) has power..., considers himself competent to enter into all the smallest details of life of the units, wants to regulate everything, takes everything in its hands and leaves no freedom to the units”⁵³⁴. By the way, Ivan Franko gave the same assessment of the state of the socialist system, who called it “a huge people’s prison”, where executives concentrate “in their hands such enormous power over the lives and destinies of millions of their fellows that the greatest despots never had”⁵³⁵. However, Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky realistically evaluated the democratic systems of the West, did not hide their disadvantages, in particular, the demagogic nature of the declared and not always realized social promises, but comparing them with the totalitarian regimes of Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, he concluded: “Tyranny is most harmful because under unjust authority, the more unity it has, the more it harms the people”, and “democracy and freedom... can provide the people with peace, prosperity and happiness”⁵³⁶.

The head of the UGCC fought for the unity of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian Churches, which, unfortunately, he noted, “in religious life are divided as our people”. In his view, the unity and power of the state to a large extent depended on the educational work of the clergy, on the Church in general, which played an important role in the system of formation of the moral values of the faithful, their national identity and statehood thinking. Then he described the large and important tasks for the clergy, the requirements in their pastoral work. Other factors influencing the formation of the national-state ideology of the Ukrainian ethnic group are also distinguished: family, community, voluntary organizations and societies. At the

⁵³³ Ibid. С. 77.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

⁵³⁵ Франко І. Твори в 50 томах. Т. 45. – С. 341–342.

⁵³⁶ Шептицький Андрей, митрополит. Як будувати Рідну Хату? ... С. 5.

same time, it is noted that their positive role depends on how freely they act, “enjoy full freedom and have some established traditions”. Therefore, the Ukrainian state should consider their freedom as “the most important thing”⁵³⁷.

“Taking care of the fate of Ukraine,” notes the famous religious scholar Anatoliy Kolodnyi, “accompanied all the conscious life of Metropolitan Andrey – from God’s call to become a Basilian monk to the last breath”⁵³⁸. And it is hard to disagree with this thought.

Let us consider the participation of the UGCC in the process of establishing of Ukrainian statehood. Describing the significance of the Church in state processes in Ukraine, we must remember that the socio-political and economic aspects of social life are closely linked to religious ones. An attempt by the Communist regime during 70 years to move the Church out from public life, or eliminate it totally, as it happened with the Ukrainian national Churches, was useless. After Ukraine’s declaration of independence, the Church’s influence on society has increased significantly, its nation-state ideology has been recognized because it corresponds to the demands of the time. Church-state relations are being transformed because modern political, economic and cultural processes, as Kyiv political scientist and religious scholar Serhiy Zdioruk rightly points out “cannot be resolved without taking in consideration the religious movements and church groups... Ukraine will not be able to effectively organize its security and implementation of national interest until the Ukrainian Church as the National Church standing on guard against the spirituality and morality of the Ukrainian nation will not take its proper place”⁵³⁹.

As already noted, the religious life of Ukrainian people in the XX century experienced devastating destruction. The first blow after the October 1917 Bolshevik coup was inflicted with Lenin’s decree of February 2, 1918 about separation of church from the state and school, which was condemned by the ROC All Russian Local

⁵³⁷ Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: Життя і Діяльність. Т. II, кн. 1. С. 528.

⁵³⁸ Колодний А. Андрей Шептицький про будівництво рідної хати. *Київська Церква*. 2000. № 1(7). С. 49.

⁵³⁹ Здіорук С. Національна церква у контексті державотворення в Україні. *Розбудова держави*. 1994. № 1. С. 56.

Council as the beginning of the persecution of the Church. VIII Congress of the Bolsheviks in 1919 decided to attack “religious prejudices” and the resolutions of the Party and Government of the USSR in 1929 launched a complete destruction of the church, in particular the elimination of the UAOC and the mass repressions of the clergy. Restored under the German occupation UAOC, as well as UGCC – the national churches of Ukraine, were liquidated as collaborative and hostile to the Soviet regime. Despite the loyalty to the totalitarian system, the ROC was constantly oppressed. The CPSU, as the ruling party of militant atheism, considered inviolable duty of every Communist and nomenclature activist to take part in the fight against religion. It was only after 1985 during Gorbachev’s reforms of political power, the liberation of the regime and a positive change in church-state relations began. The most important of these were the revival of the Ukrainian National Churches of the UGCC and the UAOC that made a significant contribution to Ukraine’s independence. Sociological research of the Department of Religious Studies of the Institute of Philosophy of NAS of Ukraine confirmed that before the historic People’s Referendum on December 1, 1991, approximately 97.4 percent of Greek Catholics and 96.9 percent of UAOC representatives supported the idea of independence of the Ukrainian state⁵⁴⁰. Chairman of the State Committee on Religion V. Bondarenko wrote: “It should be noted that since the first days of its revival the UGCC has again become an important factor in social development. Therefore, the West of Ukraine as a region of developed culture played a significant role in the revival and development of the young Ukrainian state”⁵⁴¹.

We should note that after 40 years of deep underground persecution, Greek Catholic Church continued to generate Ukrainian national-state ideas and was fighting for civilized state-church relations. In the discussions of the Second Vatican Council in 1965 on “Declaration on religious freedom” Cardinal J. Slipyj, bishop A. Roboretsky and other Greek Catholic hierarchs made a number of proposals for this document. It regulated relations between the state

⁵⁴⁰ Шуба О. Релігія в етнонаціональному розвитку України. Київ, 1999. С. 161.

⁵⁴¹ Бондаренко В. Українська держава: співпраця на новому етапі. *Людина і світ*. 1998. № 7. С. 26-27.

and the Church, in particular it proclaimed the right of a person to freedom of religion and limited state intervention, strongly condemned the prohibition of religion, the right of parents to raise their children according to religious beliefs, etc.⁵⁴².

The democratic processes that began in 1991 and continue in Ukraine today, according to O. Shuba, “found their expression in ethno-national and religious-church spheres. Stormy ethno-national and religious revival demanded to put it on the legal line and required the development of appropriate political and legal foundations”⁵⁴³. The main efforts of the state and the Ukrainian society focused on overcoming the consequences of the previous regimes, first of all in relation to religion, the Church and the believers, the restoration of religious institutions on the level necessary for church life. President Leonid Kuchma in a speech at the All-Ukrainian Christian Forum in 1997, said: “Adoption of the Constitution of Ukraine approved high standards of human rights relating to freedom of conscience and religion. During the years of independence, the state has shown its unwavering desire to cooperate with the Church, strongly supports the service, aimed at strengthening the moral health of the nation”⁵⁴⁴.

Indeed, overcoming the difficult legacy of the past, Ukraine in the post-totalitarian period has done much to secure the legal status of the Churches and the development of religious life. One of the first laws adopted independently of Moscow was the Law of Ukraine “On freedom of conscience and religious organizations”. It is based on the human right to freedom of conscience and religion, the right of parents to raise their children in accordance with their own beliefs and attitudes towards religion. The state took over the duties of overcoming the negative consequences of the past, creating appropriate conditions for the Church. The proclaimed principle of separation of the Church and the State does not reject their close cooperation in all spheres of public life, requires mutual work and responsibility. It should be noted that in the course of state building

⁵⁴² Сапеляк А. Українська Церква на Другому Ватиканському соборі. Львів, 1995. С. 162-163.

⁵⁴³ Шуба О. Релігія в етнонаціональному розвитку України. Київ, 1999. С. 162-163.

⁵⁴⁴ Людина і світ. 1997. № 5-6. С. 29.

and in connection with the adoption of the Constitution, the specified law is being improved. Thus, in August 1996, at a session of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, a draft of the law with the changes into the Law was introduced. In particular, the European Convention on Human Rights has caused this, so as the process of formation and structuring of independent religious organizations, normalization of inter-denominational relations, etc.⁵⁴⁵. In order to implement state policy in the religious sphere, a State Committee on Religious Affairs was established under the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. It collaborates with religious organizations in Ukraine, helps them, together with local authorities, to resolve complex issues of interfaith relations, to ensure the functioning of church structures and to ensure the implementation of relevant state legislative acts. Thus, the state is interested in the full revival of religious life in Ukraine. It relies primarily on the national Ukrainian Churches, in particular the UGCC with its powerful structure and national-state ideology. Because history shows that the ethno-national revival and the rise of the state, the political awakening of the people depends largely on the ideology and practice of the Church. One such positive example was the 1999 presidential election, when most of the electorate, especially in the western region with its high religiosity, supported the candidate – statesman Leonid Kuchma.

It should be noted that Ukrainian political parties who are on the state's position support the national-state ideology of the UGCC. Among them there are right-wing, center-right parties and the OUN. Despite some claims in the Ukrainian political thought that the ideology of Ukrainian nationalists denies the Christian choice and is not based on Christian principles, the facts suggest the opposite. Back to December, 1940 manifesto, the OUN said it was struggling “for human dignity and freedom, for the right to admit openly all beliefs, for the freedom of all religions, for complete freedom of conscience”⁵⁴⁶. Its leadership argued that the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism, struggle for national and political liberation of Ukraine, construction of an independent united Ukrainian state coincides with

⁵⁴⁵ Людина і світ. 1998. № 2. С. 28-30.

⁵⁴⁶ Бедрій А. Український націоналізм і християнство. *Визвольний шлях*. 1962. № 1. С. 43.

Christian ideology and the UGCC's aspirations that the Church and religion, in contrast to the policies of totalitarianism, are absolutely necessary values of the nation and the national state. By the way, the OUN opposed the separation of the church and the state, it supported the introduction of religion in schools. It identified only two churches in Ukraine – the Greek Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, advocating their unification and further demarcation from Moscow and rapprochement with Rome.

The state policy of the UGCC, the UAOC, and the UOC of the Kyiv Patriarchate has caused outrage from the Communist Party of Ukraine. Its leader Petro Symonenko in the article “The Communists about the church and its role in modern Ukraine” in May 1999 stated that his party does not accept Catholicism in any form. He wrote: “The Catholic West is hostile to the Orthodox geo-cultural space”. He claimed that religion of our ancestors is threatened by Catholicism and another source of threat is the uniatism, that is, the UGCC. Communist leader praised Lviv Pseudo Council of 1946, supported its decision to liquidate the UGCC and generally denied Greek Catholics right to exist. The Communist Party stands for the unbreakable unity of the Orthodox Churches of Ukraine and Russia, calls for a fight against the forces that separate the Ukrainian Church from Moscow, and consider Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate as their ally⁵⁴⁷.

The UGCC continues to treat the formation of national-state ideology as an important area of its social work. In address to the faithful and the people of Ukraine “On the tasks of the Christian in modern society” on March 12, 1999, the bishops of the UGCC emphasized: “Our country will not be saved by the wisest, most just laws or decrees, market reforms or other means if there is not a proper number of citizens who will carry out those prescriptions and measures in good faith”⁵⁴⁸. This reaffirms the social importance of civic peace and civic responsibility for strengthening statehood and establishing a modern Ukrainian nation.

⁵⁴⁷ Симоненко П. Комуністи про церкву та її роль у житті сучасної України. *Голос України*. 1999. 26 травня.

⁵⁴⁸ Людина і світ. 1999. № 3–4. С. 33.

With the development of human society, social problems are becoming more complicated. With the widening difference between rich and poor, city and countryside, with increasing national factors there are contradictions, tensions between communities and social groups. The hierarchs of the Church, the classics of its social thought long before K. Marx and F. Engels created the doctrine of social problems on religious grounds. The founders of Communist ideology K. Marx and F. Engels and their followers, V. Lenin and J. Stalin, proclaimed the only solution to the problem – the division of society into hostile classes and violent revolutions around the world.

To solve the complex socio-political problems that escalated in the era of the Industrial Revolution in Europe and at the turn of the XIX-XX centuries, the Church proclaimed the other paths taught by the Apostolic See. At the end of the 19th century, the first social encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII appeared in the official moral teaching of the Universal Church that answered the social, political and economic problems of the time. In 1891 the encyclical “New Things” was published. The modern historian of the Church Fr. Ivan Muzychka wrote about this encyclical: “In his encyclical, Leo XIII began the modern preaching of the Church on the social issue. He condemned communism, basing his claim on natural human rights and the dignity of the human person, “whom God himself treats with great respect”⁵⁴⁹. Encyclical proclaims that only on the principles of justice, truth, freedom and love complex social problems can be solved. We should note that these and five other social encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII have been immediately translated and published in Lviv among the decrees of the Lviv Provincial Council of 1891 and were used by the hierarchs of the UGCC in their activities in Galicia⁵⁵⁰.

In the era of the great military and socio-political disasters of the XX century, the Apostolic See has repeatedly responded with encyclicals on social problems in difficult circumstances, in particular, after the First World War and the Bolshevik revolution in

⁵⁴⁹ Музичка І., о. Вступне слово до збірника. *Церква і соціальні проблеми*. Енцикліка «Сотий рік». Львів, 1993. С. 7.

⁵⁵⁰ Додаток до Чинностей і Рішень руского провінціального Собору в Галичині, отбувшогося во Львові в р. 1891. Львів, 1897. С. 97-199.

Russia. It should be noted that the papal social doctrine was developed by eminent hierarchs, among them a prominent place belongs to Head of the UGCC Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. Among the papal encyclicals of this subject it is worth mentioning John XXIII "Pacem in terris", which outlines important aspects of church teaching on relations between states, people, and the political community, the priority of human rights and the individual in general. An important document of the Church on this issue is the Constitution of the Second Vatican Council in 1965 "Gaudium et spes" for the first time addressed to all people in the world. Basing on the text of the Constitution, Pope John Paul II later wrote: "Also in economic and social life we must respect and develop the dignity and fullness of the vocation of the human person as well as the good of the whole community. A human being is truly the center and purpose of all economic and social life"⁵⁵¹.

In a pastoral letter "On the Social Question" (1904) A. Sheptytsky warned that in some matters the socialist doctrine coincides with the church and serves as a deception for the people. At the same time, he criticized socialists who did not recognize human rights to property. They "would like to take away and replace with the common property all that has been acquired, whether with legal inheritance, or with manual labor or intellectual work, or through savings". With this purpose, they "incite the poor against the rich and they set the principle that all private property should be demolished and common property established and given to the representatives of the communities or heads of state". Thus, they "intend to reach the absolute economic and social equality of all people through the demolition of private property". Metropolitan calls the communist theory utopian, because it made a working man "a servant of the public, who has no right to his work of any kind of relations, is forced to work only for the maintenance"⁵⁵². The socialist doctrine, which proclaims and exercises "the power of the state over the family" and

⁵⁵¹ Музичка І., о. Вступне слово до збірника. *Церква і соціальні проблеми*. Енцикліка «Сотий рік». Львів, 1993. С. 7-8.

⁵⁵² Шептицький Андрей митрополит. О Квестії Соціальной. *Церква і суспільне питання*. Кн. I. С. 147.

the individual, is also strongly criticized because the state “should only take care of the rights of units”.

In contrast to the socialist doctrine, Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky outlined the Church’s social teaching, which covered all aspects of the economic order and was based on Christian principles. One of the main conditions for solving social problems he has identified not in a call to the struggle between the classes, proclaimed by Marxists, but in the need to eliminate the “brotherly struggle of the social classes” and follow the law of God which “unites people, because “People are all brothers, naturally they must live not in struggle, but in harmony and love... Capital and labor do not stand in natural contradiction”. Metropolitan rejects Marx’s economic theory, according to which labor is a commodity. He considers the statement that “labor is a product of value in terms of demand and sales” to be false⁵⁵³.

The development of socio-economic thought in Ukraine at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was facilitated by the mutual influence of secular and Christian doctrines. “Under the influence of real socio-economic processes the Church ideology was filled with economic ideas and secular economic doctrines, views, and programs have paid more attention to ethical, moral, and human values in the interpretation of the evolution of business forms and its prospects,” wrote Stepan Zlupko⁵⁵⁴. Thus, the social orientation of the Church, the practical activities of hierarchs and the priesthood have had positive consequences. However, in addition to Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky, these problems were raised in their writings by other leaders of the UGCC. In particular, the debates between I. Franko and A. Sheptytsky were appreciated by the famous theologian and philosopher Havryil Kostelnyk in his scientific paper “The boundaries of democracy”, in which he considered the aspects of equality of people with socialization of property, public freedoms, relations between the state and the Church. He defended the idea that the private and public property complemented each other and have the right to exist. Moreover, he considered it possible to interfere with

⁵⁵³ Ibid. С. 167-176.

⁵⁵⁴ Злупко С. Вплив Енцикліки «Нові справи» на становлення і розвиток християнсько-демократичної економічної думки в Україні *Церква і соціальні проблеми*. Енцикліка «Сотий рік». Львів, 1993. С. 50.

the state in the sphere of property, to restrict it and to carry out land reforms. “Where, therefore, the overwhelming majority of the population are in need, there the social order departed from the natural purpose of the earth in terms of supporting human life”⁵⁵⁵. Therefore, H. Kostelnyk took into account the realities of the times and the radical changes in society after the First World War.

With the restoration of Ukraine’s independence and the revival of the Greek Catholic Church, a new situation has arisen in our society. After a long stay of the Ukrainian lands in the position of a semi-colony in the totalitarian Soviet system, the process of forming a full-fledged Ukrainian macro-society has been launched on a national basis with its own social structure, institutions and independent solution of social problems of the people. However, it proved to be very complicated and painful. After all, “long-term Moscow captivity crippled the Ukrainian people: it destroyed its normal social structure and subordinated the wide masses of Ukraine to the cultural, economic and political influences of Russian society”, noted former UNR activist I. Mazepa⁵⁵⁶.

Realization of powerful social potentials of the Ukrainian people, reforms on the way of Ukraine from a totalitarian regime to a legal democratic civil society, to a developed market economy are slowed by the remnants of old institutions and ideas, lack of clear social, political and economic orientations. In the process of revival of the modern Ukrainian statehood, the powerful influence of spiritual aspects, moral factors that form the basis of the Christian religion and are one of the main activities of the Church, are not considered. Meanwhile, in times of the economic crisis, falling living standards of people, during the decline of morality and the indifference of a certain part of society to national-state aspirations more than ever requires the use of ideological and religious factors.

That is why the revived Greek Catholic Church lives the problems of the people, implements its social doctrine in new conditions. “The church has developed its own social teaching, which is nothing more than the codification and adaptation to the questions of the eternal

⁵⁵⁵ Костельник Г. Границі демократизму. Львів, 1919. С. 63-64.

⁵⁵⁶ Кононенко К. Україна і Росія. Соціально-економічні підстави української національної ідеї 1917-1960. Мюнхен, 1965. С. 35-56.

principles of law and the Gospel to let people know how to act in all areas, where social life comes into contact – meets morality. And that is why, not for economic or political reasons, the Church has condemned all systems that go against these moral principles,” emphasizes Fr. Ivan Shevtsiv⁵⁵⁷.

It should be noted that the current authorities of Ukraine understand that many significant problems during the development of the Ukrainian state cannot be solved without the participation of the Church, which spreads its influence on Ukrainian society. As noted above, the core of the social doctrine of the UGCC is the pursuit of the harmony of individual and public interests, which corresponds to the concept of a restored state. Therefore, the Christian concept of social structure of society on the principles of the spiritual essence of a human being should become a reliable guide to self-improvement of a person and society in the XXI century.

⁵⁵⁷ Шевців Іван, о. Збірник. Статті, доповіді і промови. Сідней, 1996. С. 41.