

МИТРОПОЛИТ АНДРЕЙ ШЕПТИЦЬКИЙ ПРО ІДЕОЛОГІЇ КОМУНІЗМУ, ФАШИЗМУ ТА ЕКСТРЕМАЛЬНОГО НАЦІОНАЛІЗМУ

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На основі використання системного підходу, порівняльного методу та контент-аналізу досліджується ставлення митрополита Андрея Шептицького до ідеологій комунізму, фашизму та екстремального націоналізму. Висновується, що позиція А. Шептицького, під впливом реалій суспільно-політичної ситуації, трансформувалась від вимушеного сприйняття до абсолютного невизнання антигуманних ідеологій та притаманних для них насильницьких методів політичної дії.

Ключові слова: ідеологія, комунізм, фашизм, екстремальний націоналізм, християнський патріотизм.

Oksana Volynets

METROPOLITAN ANDREY SHEPTYTSKY ON THE IDEOLOGIES OF COMMUNISM, FASCISM, AND EXTREME NATIONALISM

This research work analyses the attitude of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky to communism, fascism and extreme nationalism ideologies on the basis of a systematic approach, comparison methods, and content analysis. As a conclusion, it was determined that the position of Andrey Sheptytsky has transformed from forced perception to absolute rejection of antihuman ideologies and inherent to them violent methods of political actions. This was done under the influence of social and political realities of that time.

Key words: ideology, communism, fascism, extreme nationalism, Christian patriotism.

The last century went down into the world history as the time when a list of antihuman ideologies was created. Their practical implementation has resulted in millions of human deaths. During this particular period, Metropolitan Sheptytsky, whose authority had not been questioned, headed the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church that was the most influential religious and social institution in Halychyna. Realizing his own charismatic influence, Metropolitan Andrey constantly appealed to the faithful on the assessment of social, economic, political, cultural, and educational spheres of social life. Those were based on the position of moral and ethical standards of Christianity. Of course, the Metropolitan could not stay aside of emerging and spreading antihuman ideologies, the implementation of which put the very existence of mankind at risk. As a result of his Christian and humanitarian position, Andrey Sheptytsky strongly criticized the ideology of communism, fascism, and extreme nationalism. The analysis of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's heritage which concerns antihuman ideologies is especially important today, when humanity is under the threat of potential world war III because of the military conflict in the East and South of Ukraine.

Works by Andrey Sheptytsky, first and foremost his pastoral letters and appeals to the clergy and the faithful and his epistolary heritage, became the base for studying the proposed topic of this particular research. Monographs by I. Hryniokh I., K. Korolevskyi, V. Lentsyk, E. Nebesnyak are of a considerable importance for the analysis of Sheptytsky's position. Those researches are the first attempt to analyse the activity and works by the Metropolitan. However, not enough attention is paid to determining Sheptytsky's position on the ideologies of communism, fascism, and extreme nationalism and characteristic of them ways and methods of action. Thus, the objective of this particular research is to carry out a systematic analysis of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's attitude to the ideologies of fascism, communism, and extreme nationalism as antihuman ones. The Metropolitan insisted that they neglect all human rights, particularly the right to life.

Metropolitan Sheptytsky was primarily concerned with the preservation of the Christian faith, morality, and spirituality within the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Therefore, he could not keep silence concerning the dangers brought by the antihuman and atheistic ideology of communism. In February, 1930, Andrey Sheptytsky refers to the faithful in his pastoral letter "On the persecution of the Christian faith in Soviet Ukraine, Belarus and Russia" in which he states that struggle of the Bolshevik government against

God, religion, and Christianity approaches “reckless disregard on any of God's truths and human ethics regulations, righteousness, or even humanity that seems to overstep all limits” [5, p. 462].

Famine of 1933-1934 was the cruellest crime of the Soviet regime against the Ukrainian nation. Despite the fact that Halychyna within this period was a part of Poland, the fate of Ukrainians living in “Greater Ukraine”, which was a part of the Soviet Union, troubled not only the Church but every Ukrainian. On July 24, 1933, there was issued a message entitled “Ukrainian Catholic Bishops of Halychyna Church Province on the Events in Ukraine to All the People of Good Will”. This document is known as an appeal to the faithful “Ukraine in the Dying Convulsions” in which the Metropolitan expressed his rageful disapproval and sharp resistance to the actions of the Bolshevik regime in Ukraine. Andrey Sheptytsky describes the ideology of Bolshevism as atheistic, antihuman and one that fully condones human rights and makes people slaves. In this particular way, he supports the protest by Pope Pius XI, which was expressed as early as in 1930 against “the antihuman system of state capitalism, which has moved a rich country to complete ruin” [5, p. 477]. Realizing its impotence to provide material support (it is known that the Soviet government denied the fact of famine), the Metropolitan, not having much hope for “human assistance”, emphasizes the significance of spiritual care and support through fasting, national mourning, sacrifice, righteous Christian life and prayer for the Heaven’s help. In the same message, led by Andrey Sheptytsky hierarchy, through wrathful protest against the “persecution of the small, poor, weak, and innocent”, appeals to the global community and to all independent radio stations with the request to bring news of the famine in Ukraine to all countries in the hope that their voice will reach “houses of poor villagers dying because of hunger. Let in front of the horrible death among fierce suffering from hunger there is a small consolation idea that their brethren do know about their terrible fate and feel pain and suffering, and pray for them” [5, p. 477]. Commenting on this historic call of Halychyna Hierarchy, “Nyva”, which was an official newspaper of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, has published a call for defence of human rights for Ukrainians who lived in Eastern Ukraine. Interpreting Metropolitan’s call as an “appeal to Ukrainian citizenship” to immediately respond to Bolshevik extermination plan against Ukrainians, the publication stressed the need to overcome all the contradictions and unite in face of physical destruction. In response to this, “Ukrainian Public Rescue Committee of Ukraine” was founded in Lviv. This organization consisted of representatives of all Ukrainian central institutions. Thanks to the efforts of the Committee and Ukrainian diaspora communities, the matter of Holodomor (famine) in Ukraine was debated during the Session of the League of Nations. Despite opposition and intrigues caused by this issue, after long discussions, this case was assigned to the competence of the International Red Cross [4, p. 238 - 239].

It should be noted that the Communist ideology, which in theory preached equality, liberty and fraternity, significantly spreads in Halychyna in the 30s of the 20th c. Under such circumstances, Metropolitan Andrey appeals to people with the message “Warning of the Threat of Communism” emphasizing that everyone who helps communists in their political work through implementation of their political agenda, conducting political activities, especially in the so-called organization of People's or National Front, betrays his/her nation. Analysing nineteen-year long experience of the Soviet regime, Sheptytsky notes that Bolshevism becomes a materialistic and pagan religion with its demigods with ruling principles of lying, violence, terror, oppression and demoralization; and the power of the proletariat is a power of the caste “which squeezes blood from people” [5, p. 487].

As a result of signing the secret Molotov - Ribbentrop Pact between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, Western Ukraine became part of the Soviet Union. The first occupation of Eastern Halychyna lasted for 22 months. Then, the younger brother of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, Count Leo, was one of the first victims of the Bolshevik occupation regime. A French author Jean-François-Joseph Sharon, known under the name Cyril Korolewsky, describes the circumstances of his death in the book "Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky (1865-1944)". He says, " Bolshevik Gang seized the estate and made him (Count Leo) to dig his own grave and then killed him together with his wife" [3, p. 414]. Such cynical murder of Metropolitan Andrey's brother is a bright evidence of hatred of the occupation authorities to personality of the metropolitan, and their disregard for the natural human right to life and for universal values which were preached by Andrey Sheptytsky.

By means of a German commission that worked between Lviv and Germany, Metropolitan, threatened with death, still managed to convey a letter to a papal nuncio in Berlin, who forwarded it to Vatican. The letter originally was addressed to Cardinal Eugene Tisseranu (from December 26, 1939). Andrey Sheptytsky pays attention to the methods of the Soviet regime which are intended to "offend, exterminate, destroy, and hurt" and cause unimaginable chaos. Moreover, official authorities maintain this directive, and orders are given and carried out under the threat of death. Officials could kill anyone and did not bear any responsibility for the crime. NKVD (The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) engaged Ukrainian youth into being secret agents and encouraged them to espionage and denunciations by threats, and "so is done in such a way to upper ranks of state hierarchy, up to Stalin himself" [3, p. 416].

The ideology of Bolshevism, which was based on Marxist-Leninist doctrine, has denied the human right to private property. Besides, it provided a state with dominant status in the economic issues. Therefore, all private property was confiscated and transferred to state ownership. Private farms were reorganized into collective farms (kolkhoz) and state farms (sovkhoz). Such inadequate economic policies caused the impoverishment and resistance in rural Halychyna. Reform of social life under Marxist-Leninist ideology interrupted all social areas, including education. First of all, the state monopolised all schools and banned the study of religion. Parish churches were transferred to the local committees which had the authority to govern them. The church is slowly losing the opportunity to educate young people on the basis of universal moral values [8, p. 305] at that time. Metropolitan Sheptytsky said on this occasion, "There was a trend of systematic deterioration and corrupting youth, attracting young people by all sorts of dancing, music, games, and, finally, fanatical propaganda of atheism" [6, p. 892].

Including of Western Ukrainian lands into the Soviet Union created a threat for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church which had acquired a structural nature. Systematic implementation of atheism within the social life created a real opportunity to destroy the UGCC that was an influential religious and social organization (somehow Soviets managed to implement their plans in 1946 when the UGCC was forced to go underground). On the other hand, some of the clergy were captured by communist ideology. It led to the danger of internal erosion. However, the protection of religious freedom under the atheistic anticlerical state were extremely limited and manifested in a combination of two polar approaches - resistance and adaptation. The process of adapting found its expression in numerous public appearances of religious freedoms. The Metropolitan's resistance was based on the principles of political distance from the government and abandonment of cooperation with atheistic state [1, p. 192 - 193].

The Metropolitan drew the conclusion that the desire of Bolsheviks' global domination is to "capture" all opposition parties in European countries and unite them into a single national front to fight against fascism. This conclusion was made after the analysis of the USSR strategic plans. Thus, metropolitan stated, "The word "fascism" is used by Communists for People's Parties, all nationalists in all countries ... If they called their opponents nationalists, they would not have anyone to fight with. But the fight against so-called common enemy may be able to organize all who are dissatisfied. This policy is conducted against all nationalists, popular non-communist parties, Christianity, and the Church with ecclesiastical authorities"[5, p. 490].

Halychyna came under German occupation after the attack of Nazi Germany on the Soviet Union. It seemed that Germany would contribute to restoration of the Ukrainian state, but plans of the German government quickly became obvious and clear. Practical implementation of the national policy conducted by Nazi occupation authorities in Western Ukraine revealed true nature of the ideology of fascism. Therefore, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's attitude to this ideology was ambiguous. His position was transformed from complete relying on it to its rejection and condemnation. The metropolitan was sure that the Church can adequately carry out its mission only in an independent national state. Under that condition, A. Sheptytsky trusted Germany and its army as "liberators" from the occupation of Bolshevik regime [5, p. 516 - 517]. However, Sheptytsky comes to absolutely negative conclusions concerning fascism which are drawn in his description of antihuman methods in a letter to Pope Pius XII, "... German regime is angry, almost demonic, perhaps, to greater extent than the Bolsheviks" [6, p. 982]. Such a conclusion was drawn under the influence of political realities. Blaming the ideology of fascism as a system that is not consistent with the principles of Christian doctrine, Metropolitan Andrey discovered the falsity of his preliminary attitude to fascists. Even the Soviet authorities were forced to admit the change of Metropolitan's position in relation to the fascism. In particular, the proof of this is followed in the cover letter of the USSR People's Commissar of State Security S. Savchenko on the conversation with Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky sent to the NKVD on September 14, 1944. This document states that "Metropolitan Sheptytsky is an old Ukrainian separatist-hermanofil who cherished the hope of creating independent Ukraine with the support of German bourgeois" [7, p. 301]. Besides, the letter recognizes a change in position of Metropolitan's attitude to the fascism which occurred shortly after the German occupation. S. Savchenko states that "brutal policy of Germans against the Ukrainian people pushed Sheptitsky away so that he, according to his words, refused to declare his support of them. It was done even despite repeated urging to do so by the German representatives who visited him, namely by Koch, Wachter, Bisanz, etc..." [7, p. 302]. However, this did not prevent Germans from using immutable authority of the Metropolitan. They even put various appeals to the clergy and the faithful using Sheptitsky's name, but without letting him know [7, p. 302]. All Sheptitsky's protests against mentioned persons were "voices of the one crying in the wilderness" [7, p. 291], according to the Metropolitan himself. Soon S. Savchenko said that the victory of the Soviet Army over German troops, and bankruptcy of the idea of creating independent Ukraine with the help of Germany "...made him finally become disillusioned with "current Germans" brought up on Hitler's "Mein Kampf" and not similar to members of the former "cultural" nation" [7, p. 302 - 303].

According to the Metropolitan, if fascism can be interpreted as an external threat to the Ukrainian people, the internal threat in such a case was extreme nationalism. In the 30s of the 20th century, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which in the increasing oppression of Polish curative regime practiced illegal and violent methods of struggle, got a significant impact within Halychyna. This political power opposed legal parties such as UNDO (The Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance/Organization) or URSP (the Ukrainian Labourers' and Peasants' Party), which closely collaborated with A. Sheptytsky. Of course, we have to mention that the OUN leaders, including Bandera, Baranowskyi, Hrynoh, Leshchynskyi, Okhrymovych and others, were educated within the Greek Catholic environment. That is why they sought to enlist the support of the Church, clergy and, most of all, Metropolitan Sheptytsky. In general, supporting the national liberation struggle, Metropolitan Andrey could not agree with the means of struggle which were reduced to terror in regard to not only external enemies but also moderate Ukrainians. I. Babiy's murder by OUN gained a significant resonance in the society. All legal parties and Ukrainian population in general blamed extreme nationalists for this crime. The event, which violated the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" and, therefore, was not consistent with the norms of Christian morality, suffered an angry condemnation by the Metropolitan who wrote that "the work of Ukrainian criminal terrorists is crazy, and they will be condemned through the Ukrainian newspapers and all Ukrainian politicians, no matter what their party affiliation is. And yet, there are those who do not give themselves a deal how to work, to what extent their work is criminal and senseless" [5, p. 481]. However, the activities of extreme nationalists were developing despite the wishes and guidelines of the Metropolitan. The OUN put a dominant emphasis on involvement of the young generation into the struggle. Contrary to the OUN, the Metropolitan realised that young people represent a group which is the most exposed to external influences, including destructive ones. That is why Sheptytsky saw his task in the education of young Ukrainian patriots on the basis of moral values priority and interests of the people above personal ambitions or group interests. The Metropolitan noted that youth was characterized by readiness to sacrifice for love to their country and observed that love could not be paired with selfishness, hatred, and intolerance. According to A. Sheptytsky, drawback of the Ukrainian youth was the desire to "throw" their beliefs to others by means of terror and blind violence. Analyzing the Ukrainian situation in the context of world history, the Metropolitan in his appeal "A word to the Ukrainian Youth" wrote, "It is not Your exclusively, Ukrainian Youth, fault. This wave around the whole world which created fascism on the one hand, and a distinct in many states slope to dictatorship, on the other side gave the beginning of Bolshevism. Such is the worldwide spirit blowing and you are not to blame ... "[5, p. 359].

A. Sheptytsky repeatedly expressed his negative attitude to the struggle methods which are common for extreme nationalists in his pastoral letters to the clergy and the faithful both in official and private conversations. In particular, the Metropolitan said in an interview with Lt. Col. S. Karin-Danylenko, "... Judge these people, and I will judge them too. It is because Bandera phenomenon is harmful and we have to fight it. I will send priests to the forest if you want this, so that they may persuade those blind people ... to stop fighting and return to peaceful work. Do not think that I want to be order-bearer. I do it because I consider Bandera phenomenon to be great evil for people" [7, p. 289]. Knowing that, the appeal was announced by the government of Soviet Ukraine at once. The Metropolitan noticed it would have no value if someone of Soviet authorities signed that because the people of Halychyna used to believe only to "living people" [7, p. 290]. It seems that Metropolitan veiled this concept but gave locals correct form of attitude to assessing the Soviet regime.

It should be noted that the KGB headquarter of the USSR understood and realized the sanctity and authority of the Metropolitan for Greek Catholic clergy of Halychyna. Especially it was seen in a growing sense of religion among local population caused by the social and political realities. Therefore, the state security bodies, set a goal to subjugate the Metropolitan by completing this series of events, including: to force him to write an appeal to members of UPA (the Ukrainian Rebellion Army) to stop fighting; to persuade Sheptytsky for his active religious and patriotic activities to combat Ukrainian nationalists; to make Sheptytsky attract UGCC clergy to work on collecting material support for the Red Army [7, p. 303]. It had to be done in order to use A. Sheptytsky's authority for their own purposes. The above facts were determined by the socio-political context. That is why they cannot be considered as a grounds for a final assessment of the motivation of Metropolitan's certain statements and actions. It appears that to keep ecclesiological and national identity in difficult historical reality was obligatory for Metropolitan Sheptytsky and headed by him Church.

The Metropolitan realizes that the future of Ukrainian state depends largely on the younger generation and its relationship to the basics of statehood. Thus, he appeals to the youth to desist from haste and recklessness and stresses. He claims the nation-building is a constant, troublesome and difficult "ants' work" for many generations. In contrast to extreme nationalism, which is mainly practiced by youth, Andrey Sheptytsky preaches Christian patriotism, which excludes hatred of other people, class hatred and racial intolerance. Christian patriotism excludes the desire of neglecting and destruction of any other nation. While

it demands to respect other nations, their language, culture, history, traditions and identity. Christian patriotism is a “concept of service, helping, respect, and love” [2, p. 113 – 114] unlike the concept of destruction that is in the basis of underlying antihuman ideologies of fascism, communism and extreme nationalism.

Therefore, it can be stated that the Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky assessed any ideology according to its compliance with moral and ethical principles of the Christian doctrine, value of human life, and freedom. Metropolitan's position could vary, but always it was for Metropolitan Sheptytsky and headed by him Church based on the desire to preserve and strengthen the spirituality of Ukrainian people under any political regime. Of course, the legacy of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky is extremely versatile and diverse. In his letters and appeals to the clergy and the faithful, he analyzes problems related to all aspects of life: from religious and moral to socio-political, educational, cultural ones. Certainly, works of Metropolitan Andrey require further thorough research, including analysis of works on the issue of ecumenism, the value of the Christian patriotism, moral and ethical principles of Christianity for building a new type of political life in modern Ukraine.

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