

INFORMATION GROUP ON CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON

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CIVIL WAR VICTIM

**PERSECUTION OF THE UKRAINIAN
ORTHODOX CHURCH DURING THE
UKRAINIAN CONFLICT**

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During the Maidan, the canonical Ukrainian Orthodox Church (UOC), which is the major country's confession, associated itself with the entire Ukrainian society and urged both parties of the conflict to stop the bloodshed. That is why the UOC has been persecuted. The new authorities of Ukraine initiated an informational campaign against the UOC presented as one of the main inner enemies. One and all mass media sources accused the UOC of storing weapon and sheltering saboteurs, financing 'terrorists', assisting the Russian secret service, participating in killing civilians and the military. In spring 2014, the Ukrainian society was seized with mass hysteria resembling the Medieval witch hunt. The taking place chaos recalled persecution of Huguenots in the Catholic Europe. Church arsons, pursuits of priests by special services and radical groups have become more common. This book, prepared by the Information Group on Crimes against the Person (IGCP), contains summarised information on the UOC churches takeovers, arsons, shelling in the Donetsk Region, attacks on priests and oppression of the UOC by the authorities and libel of mass media.

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How and Why this Book has Come out

The following study is a result of a two-year research which I have conducted since November 2013. As an observer of *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* newspaper, I nearly every day kept a close watch on the events which primarily took place at the Maidan and then, after its victory, in various regions of Ukraine. Within the scope of this activity, I have communicated with Russian and Ukrainian experts which have opposite opinions about the current events. This monitoring has resulted in 20 articles published in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* from December 2013 till July 2015. The information collected required a conceptually new format which would allow to summarize all the facts in one publication and display certain tendencies on their basis. The accomplished study has resulted in the present book.

At the very beginning of the Maidan, I observed a difference in the positions of religious organizations of Ukraine. The canonical Ukrainian Orthodox Church (UOC), being the largest confession of the country (UOC incorporates 12.673 of 33,993 (37.28%) religious organizations registered by the Ministry of Nationalities and Religious Affairs of Ukraine by 1 January 2014), associated itself with the whole Ukrainian society, and therefore called on both belligerent parties to refrain from violence, sometimes even interposing between them on the streets of Kiev. Meanwhile, the non-canonical Kiev Patriarchate, which originated in 1992 and has not been recognized by any world Orthodox Churches yet, though incorporating 4651 (13.68%) religious organizations of the country, and Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (3763 or 11.07%) have placed their bets on the opposition, supported it publicly, provided their churches in Kiev and mobilized all the tutors and students of their religious colleges for rallies.

All this activity has apparently been intended for the following - forceful redistribution of religious buildings in the country after the opposition's victory through engaging rebellion agents, including fighters of nationalistic organizations, some of which closely associated themselves with the mentioned Churches before the Maidan: *Svoboda* party contacts with the Kiev Patriarchate, and paramilitary *Stepan Bandera Trizub* (the *Right Sector* was established on its basis in November 2013) relates to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Considering the participation of extreme right organizations in 1990s it stands to remind that there were widespread practices of seizures of UOC churches both in the west and in the central regions of Ukraine by both Greek Catholics and Kiev Patriarchate, and non-canonical Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC). As for the moment, the latter is closely associated with UNA-UNSO and the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists having their own paramilitary forces.

And indeed, the first attempts to seize UOC religious centers took place within the first days after the Maidan's victory, in twentieths of February 2014. Subsequently, up to August 2014, this process developed rapidly, since the majority of political players paid their attention mainly to the disruption of the UOC which was expected to lose at least a half of its parishes and clergy, as declared openly by a number of well-known representatives of Ukrainian expert community. According to plans, they were to be passed to Kiev Patriarchate forming the Church controlled by secular authorities. For this purpose, the largest mass media of the country began an information campaign where the UOC was represented as one of the main internal enemies. Central and regional mass media also blamed the UOC for being armed and offering refuge to saboteurs, financing terrorists and collaborating with Russian special services, participation in mass killing of civilians and the military, etc. In spring 2014, the Ukrainian society turned out to be

seized by mass hysteria very similar to medieval 'witch hunting' when specific groups of persons were accused of poisoning the wells, advance of black death or ritual murders.

Another objective of this campaign is to give the metropolitan Kiev throne to a person amenable to the ruling elite, wherefore the other candidates have been subjected to the shameless public dishonor up to the murder joint prosecution. The elections of Metropolitan of Kiev and all Ukraine took place on 13 August 2014, and Metropolitan Onufry (Berezovsky) of Chernovtsy and Bukovina known since 1992 as a fighter against schisms was elected. When it became clear that there was no disruption in the ranks of the UOC without any to be in contemplation, power resource was activated - nationalists obviously supported by the deputies of district, regional and municipal radas (councils) and by the officials of various levels (up to the governors) from the local public administration.

Bacchanalia of forcible church seizures which had started at that time in Ukraine and primarily in its west regions resembled now due to its fever pitch and brutality of proven methods the *dragonnades* or other persecutions of Huguenots in the Catholic Europe. The church doors were opened by force, and priests and believers were literary kicked out. For example, it gives you the creeps reading about the raid on Church of Christ the Saviour in Khodosy village of the Rivne Region occurred on 20 September 2014 and described by Roman Ignatjuk, the UOC priest of this church: 'Several cars pulled up to the church, some athletic men got out of them. Some of them wore black camouflage uniform and had yellow bands on the arms. They are likely to be members of the Right Sector... When the Evening mass was nearly over, these people who had gathered near the church cemetery headed for the church... When we saw it, we locked ourselves inside of the church. They knocked on all the doors aggressively... When we were praying and singing Polyeleos, they started a

real storm of the church. They tried to cut off the lock on the main door with a saw. Then they tried to break these and those doors. Finally, they just brought a crow-bar and just tore off side doors of the right wing... Our parishioners, brave men, resisted to these barbarians... They made a live shield and did not let the offenders in. The aggressors used cans with some liquid which caused burning pain in nose and throat. Everyone in the church coughed, it was difficult to breathe. I took the cup with the holy water and aspergillum and dropped water on the offenders... Father Vitaly, the secretary of the Eparchy, made an attempt to stop the chaos. They took him near the broken doors by the chasuble and pulled outside. I thought they were going to beat him and pleaded them not to make harm to an Orthodox priest. Then they grabbed me by the head and leg and wanted to throw out of the church too. But they failed. I only had a button torn off and a loop on a cassock... Both doors were opened by force and young people rushed inside, they formed a kind of a chain and started to kick out one by one the people who prayed and defended the holy place. I was one of the first who was thrown out. I saw them throwing our priests with my own eyes. Those who lost balance just fell on the ground. I saw them throw out archpriest Vasily (Vashchik) who just fell. I saw a group of the so-called clerics of the Kiev Patriarchate who were standing near our church and just watched their victory without saying a word and smiling'. In summer of 2015 the following events took place in the Kolosovo village of Ternopil region: 'Every week the groups of young people in camouflage uniform and balaclavas gathered near the church without even trying to conceal fire arms, knives and gas cylinders in their possession. Several times they even used fighting dogs without muzzles for horrification of the clergy. The local police only watched this sidewise.' Setting the fighting dogs by the *Right Sector* members on the UOC church people (including children) took place on 21 June 2015 at the attempt of occupa-

tion of Church of St. George the Victorious in the Katerinovka village of Ternopil Region.

The *Right Sector* members don't hide the fact of their participation in such activities. 'We, Ukrainian nationalists, are very interested in this and as much as possible promote those communities that want to secede from the Moscow Patriarchate, - said openly Vasil Labaychuk, leader of the *Right Sector of Ternopolschina* in June 2015. - We 'wedge' in this process from the position of strength.'

Sometimes, the MIA officers ceased to act as bystanders of the massacres and... joined the conflict on the side of nationalists! 'Due to the well-established actions of district police and the *Right Sector* which together were administrating the law during the conflict, most of the self-invited guests were not left without 'warm and hot presents!' just so the events which have occurred in the Katerinovka village of Kremenets District of Ternopil Region on 21 September 2015 are described on the page in Facebook of the *Right Sector of Ternopolschina* Kremenets branch. There is evidence of people inquired during the UOC religious massacre in the Katerinovka village by the *Ternopol-2* MIA battalion fighters below. 'I heard an alarm and realised that the church was opened... I rushed to the fence and saw hell opened there... it was a massacre, they beat everyone, beat women, beat poor children of 16-17 years old. I remember an old man, he attended our church for a long time. He was about 80 years old, he was tall and white. And they beat and threw him on the ground, the they pulled him by legs and hands and threw him over the fence but other people went on beating him there,' narrates Zinaida Bereketa, a resident of Katerinovka. 'I stood there not far from the church and heard a cry 'Beat them!'. It was a chief officer of Kremenets police. And a total massacre started after his words. At the very beginning a combatant of *Ternopil-2* battalion pinched me with a leg into stomach. I bent and could not breath but then felt a little better and

went to help our Orthodox people. The next hit I got with a long black rubber baton. Then one of the parishioners from our village but a follower of the Kiev Patriarchate grabbed my hair and pulled to the ground. Then I tried to save one man who was knocked down and hit with batons and again I had my hand hit, so I got a fracture, said Ludmila Drobot, a parishioner of the church in Katerinovka, at a press-conference in Kyiv on September 25. Vasily Levchenko also told his story there, 'We started to sing prayers to Our Lady and Easter hymns. They tried to shout louder 'Glory to the Nation, death to enemies!'. People in bulletproof vests and with rubber batons pressed us to the fence and cried 'Throw these bastards over the fence', swore and threw people over the wall. I was pressed to the fence and had a hit in the head, so I got a severe injure. When I climbed over the fence, they hit me 4-5 times in the back, the most painful was the hit in the right kidney'.

According to my sources, 26 attempts of forced occupation of UOC religious objects with participation of the fighters of nationalistic organizations took place from February 2014 till November 2015. Notice that the statistics collected in this book contains only those cases when the power resource of nationalists (including voluntary battalions both integrated into MIA as *Donbss*, and independent from the law-enforcement structures of the country to the present day as *Voluntary Ukrainian Corps* of the *Right Sector*) was used directly and freely. In fact, the number of seized UOC churches is several times higher. Using the fighters of radical nationalistic groups Kiev Patriarchate and Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church attempted to usurp for 3-4 times some of the churches which had been sturdily protected by the religious people! On the whole, I have counted 36 attempts of forced occupations of UOC religious objects. There was nothing of the kind in Ukraine for many years after a similar wave of seizures in 1990s.

In other regions of Ukraine where the nationalists had no robust support from their like-minded people in the government and law-enforcement authorities, the UOC churches were being burnt, in a literal sense. In two past years, I have countered 12 attempts of the UOC church arsons that may be surely identified as actions motivated by the hatred to the Church which is considered by the xenophobes as ‘Moscovian’ and for which ‘there is no place on the Ukrainian land’. Besides, it does not matter for the radical nationalists that the relation between the UOC and Moscow Patriarchate lies only in the sphere of the canonical law, and thus the UOC is a self-governed church. In some cases, the right radicals did not refute their responsibility, but on the contrary, directly recognized the fact by graffiti inscriptions or distribution of video records in the Internet. Sometimes (as was the case, for example, with the arson of the church in Kovel), the chronological and causal connection between publications in the local press rousing hatred to the UOC and subsequent church arson is quite evident.

The list of religious intolerance demonstrations may be expanded by a variety of the UOC church violations and attempts of nationalists to attack its priests (up to bishops, and sometimes directly during church service as was the case in the cathedral church of regional center Sumy on 1 March 2015). A number of churchmen were subjected to personal search and kidnapping with subsequent tortures performed by the armed officers of Security Service of Ukraine, and nationalist motives may be sometimes perceived in their actions. However, such actions of security service officers are of no surprise if we remind that Valentin Nalivaychenko, the future chief of Security Service of Ukraine, stood for election to the Ukrainian Parliament in 2012 backed up by nationalists, and his official deputy at that time was Dmitry Yarosh, one of the leaders of the *Stepan Bandera* *Trizub* and the future head of the *Right Sector*. In June 2014, Nalivaychenko being

already high up in the civil service stated in public that ‘Orthodox fundamentalism’ was the ideology of separatists in the Donetsk Region, thus effectively justifying the repressions against the UOC priesthood.

Finally, it stands to mention the shelling of the UOC churches in Donetsk and Lugansk regions by Ukrainian military men during the so-called ‘antiterrorist operation’. In this book I have included the facts about 30 shelled UOC religious buildings (churches, chapels, abbeys, diocesan administrations) in these two regions if these facts I have considered to be valid. In other words, whenever the data of shelling is known, the description of damages exists, as well as confirmations with videos and pictures, etc. Some religious buildings were shelled many times, and in this context the Holy Iverskiy convent adjacent to the Donetsk airport and St. Alexander Nevsky cathedral of Slavyansk suffered in particular. The former building was actually destroyed. It should be also mentioned that the following objects burned down by the impact of heavy-caliber shells of the Ukrainian artillery: Annunciation church in Gorlovka (this happened on 7 August 2014) and St. John of Kronstadt church in Trudovskiye town on the west suburb of Donetsk (this happened on 25 August 2014). Witnesses say that in some cases the Ukrainian artillery intentionally shelled large churches crowded by the flock attempting thereby to intimidate the people and force the home guards to abandon their defended cities (terrorism) or because of hatred of the UOC as ‘Moscow’ Church (nationalism, xenophobia). Sometimes the mass media reports about the supposed storage of weapon by separatists in the churches which was the reason for shelling. In any case, these actions were not accidental.

As for the state officials responsible for religious policy in Ukraine, they either take up a position of denying the facts of forcible occupation of UOC churches by the radicals or ac-

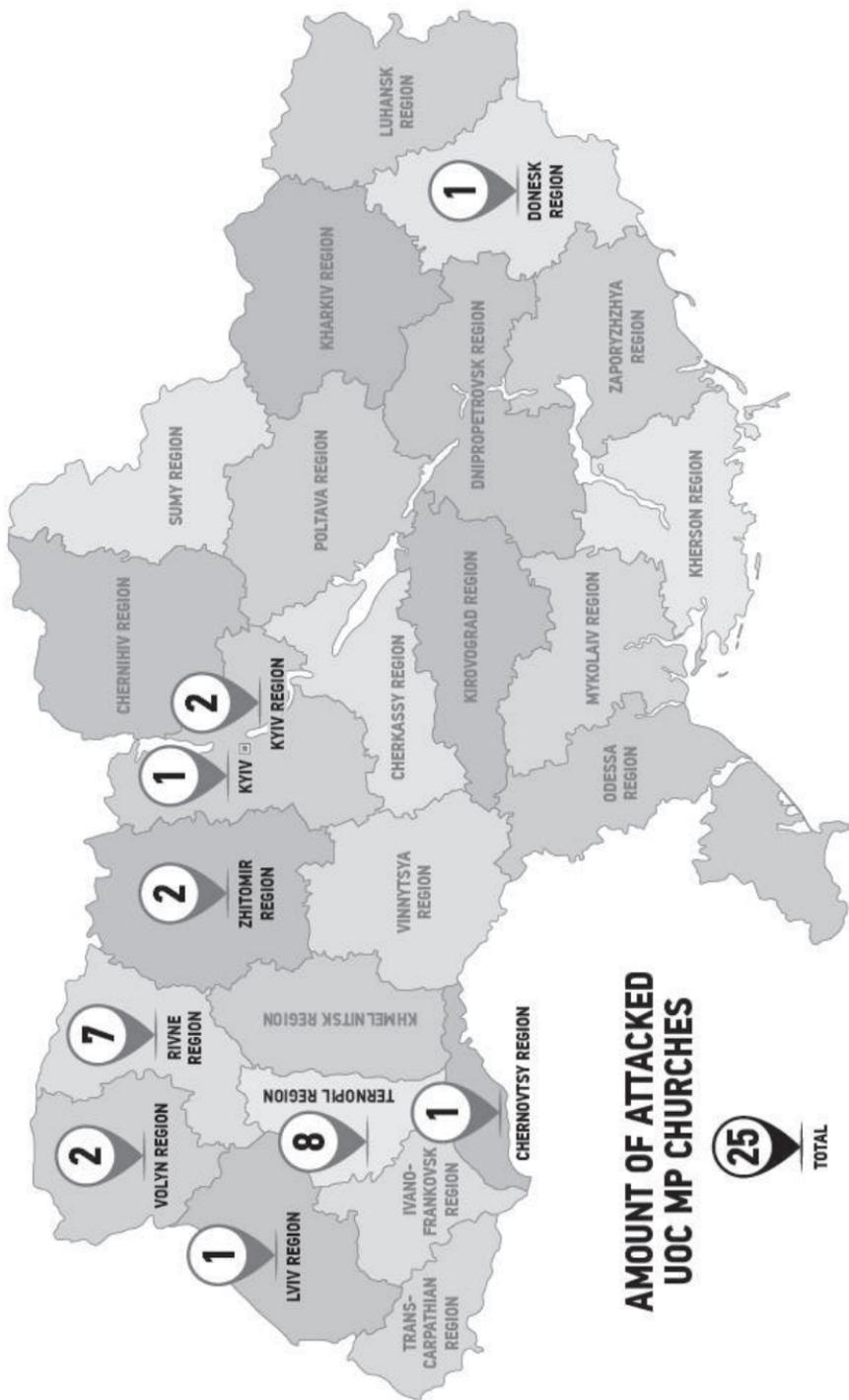
cuse the agrieved party indiscriminately, as it was after the massacre in Katerinovka.

As a result, it is possible to state the existance of systematic events associated with the persecutions against UOC. Defamation and escalation of hatred against these religious organizations in mass media feeds hysteria in the society and provides conditions for approved far-right radicals activity which either is not noticed by the officials and law-enforcement authorities or is directly encouraged by them. At the same time, the UOC feels pressure from local authorities through discrimination of its valuable rights (at the beginning of 2015, city councils of Kiev and Ternopil adopted laws granting land tax allowance to all religious organizations except the UOC), the pressure on clerics in order to make them transfer parishes to other Churches and illegal reregistration of UOC churches. All these facts are a typical case of deliberate religion-based discrimination which somehow does not meet the slightest resistance from either local or international human rights organizations.

In conclusion, I wish to extend my thanks to Vladimir Volotsky without whose help in material collection this book would fail to be written, and to the Information Group on Crimes against the Person (IGCP), without which help this book would fail to be published.

Vladislav Maltsev

1. Forcible Occupations of Religious Buildings



Reviewing the discrimination facts based on religion concerning the canonical Ukrainian Orthodox Church (UOC, sometimes incorrectly named UOC MP in the Ukrainian mass media) being a self-governed Church within the Moscow Patriarchate and being observed currently in Ukraine, it stands to mention that its origins date back to the beginning of 1990s. In Western Ukraine, members of Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, non-canonical Kiev Patriarchate (KP, UOC KP) and Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) powered by the nationalists destroyed four UOC Eparchies and seized hundreds of UOC churches. A new wave of religious building occupations which were estimated by the UOC members in Western Ukraine in their public statements as similar by a scale to those they “had experienced in the roaring 90s” started after power change in Ukraine on 22 February 2014 accompanied by street offences and legalization of nationalism in public scope. Discrimination based on religion and attacks on the UOC religious objects have taken wide-scale and systematic form. Representatives of the Kiev Patriarchate and UGCC in some instances have also played a big role in it.

On the night of February 22, 2014. there was made a shot at occupation of Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, the greatest sanctuary and the UOC administrative center. ‘It all began about six in the evening on Saturday, February 22, when it was written on the AutoMaidan page (which consolidates protestors in cars) in Facebook that relics of saints and other Orthodox shrines were supposed to be moved out of Lavra’s territory. According to Yury Chornomorets, religious scholar, doctor of Philosophy,’ reports the eye-witness Oleg Gavrish, journalist of *Kommersant-Ukraine* newspaper. According to his story, Au-

toMaidan representatives said that the monks of the UOC KP Fedoseevsky monastery allegedly had convinced them of this fact. ‘There were appeals to come to Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, to stop moving out of saints and to make a search on the monastery territory, also’, said Yury Chornomorets. Hence, according to Gavrish, ‘200-300 men from the AutoMaidan and also Maidan’s self-defense fighters in camouflage uniform, bulletproof vests and balaclavas turned up near the monastery gates close to 21:30’. It is confirmed by Vladimir Burega, provost of Kyiv Theological Academy: ‘Suddenly on Saturday evening there appeared information that the values were being moved out of Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. And even supposedly there were attempts of trying to move out the relics of Pechersk saints. These rumors quickly spread around Kiev and near the Lavra walls there appeared the Maidan’s self-defense fighters who blocked all exits from Lavra and began to check all machines leaving Lavra. It is clear that no relics and values have been found in any luggage boot. Yet, the appeals not only to block the entries but to capture the Lavra itself was suggested in the network’. Nevertheless, we managed to convince paramilitaries of Maidan’s self-defense that there were no attempts to move values out of the Lavra and cooled them down. However, soon the situation became explosive again.

‘At midnight KP priest Pavlo Dobryanskiy with a status of ‘EuroMaidan’s spiritual chaplain’ among the protestants addressed the Maidan’, adds Gavrish. ‘He repeated the rumour about moving saints out of the Lavra and ‘titushkies’ (protestants supporting Victor Yanukovych and the former authorities) supposedly located there, and called to detain them in favor of UOC KP ‘for restoration of historical justice’. And although 20 minutes later the leaders of Maidan received credible information refuting the fake and appealed to everybody not to succumb to provocations, other 200 new protestors arrived at the monastery and began

to sound off. “Around midnight, aggressive paramilitary masked people who had relieved the first hundred of the ‘self-defense’ appeared right in front of the barrier’, says Igor Stokalich, UOC press-officer. Some of them had fire arms. The arrived people called themselves UPA [Ukrainian Insurgency Army - this name of nationalist insurgents of 1940s was adopted by one of the radical groups at the Maidan]. Unlike the first patrol, they were very aggressive. They shouted to the monks: ‘You have been cursing us!’, ‘You have supported Yanukovych!’, ‘You are Moscow Patriarch fifth column!’, etc.

Meanwhile, a message appeared February 22 at 22:15 on the AutoMaidan official page in Facebook: ‘This moment self-defense is also grouping around near Lavra in order not to permit Moscow Patriarchate to rob Kiev-Pechersk Lavra of the sacred values and relics of saints and smuggle it to Russia. Kiev Patriarchate calls on Ukrainians to prevent this. True patriots have gathered near Lavra not permitting to steal the shrines. Those who can - go there!’ It should be noted that eyewitness accounts somewhat differ in details concerning the time of announcement from the EuroMaidan stage of appeals to capture Lavra (some persons state 2:30 a.m. time), so the stated ‘midnight’ time should be considered as purely indicative one (‘about midnight’). Two versions are possible: either the appeal sounded about ten o’clock in the evening or there were several appeals which sounded in different places about midnight.

The monks and students of Kiev Theological Academy and Seminary came to the Lavra protection blocking all its entries with a living chain. Understanding that fast assault and capture of Lavra would fail, radical nationalists abandoned the attack.

On 25 February 2014, there was a similar attempt to capture the Pochaiv Holy Dormition Lavra. A day earlier in Ternopil, priest Anatoly Zinkevich, dean of the Holy Trinity

cathedral KP, made the following statement: ‘The leaders of Pochaiv Lavra support Yanukovych’s government, now, this shrine may become a place for sheltering of provocateurs and bandits... I appeal to the self-defense with a request to protect our shrine’.

The activists of local *Maidan Self-defense*, *UNA-UNSO*, *Stepan Bandera Trizub*, ‘independent nationalists’, etc. gathered by him, decided to take UOC church ‘under their protection’. The next day, the caravan of buses from Ternopol arrived at Lavra with, according to Religious Information Service of Ukraine, 120 KP churchmen including the archimandrite of Kiev Saint Michael monastery and about a thousand of ‘support group’ members including the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists representatives. Also, according to Religious Information Service of Ukraine, some ‘Maidan spilnota’, i.e. groups of Maidan members were among the organizers of this action. According to the witnesses, the Maidan’s participants including *Women’s Hundred* from Ternopol didn’t reach the monastery although they appeared in its vicinity.

During the impromptu prayer service arranged at the monastery gates the KP priests stated that the monks ‘Hide more than 200 ‘titushkies’ [supporters of deposed Yanukovych], who were armed and expected to be blessed for the massacre here in Ternopol and Pochaiv. some of them were detained, concealing their weapon under ikons. Icons taken down disclosed an arsenal of weapons. It should be noted that the monks were accused of providing asylum to ‘titushkies’ and in attempt to move values according to the pattern which had been used in Kiev.

The believers who had been informed the night before about the coming provocation formed a living chain to defend the monastery, and the capture of the Pochaiv Lavra failed as well.

Having suffered a defeat when trying to capture the UOC religious centers, the KP churchmen and radical nationalists

retargeted at the UOC curacies. However, the radical nationalists did not stop to apply pressure on the UOC religious centers. In June 2015, Artem Skoropadsky, the *Right Sector* press-secretary, praised Vasil Labaychuk, the leader of this extreme right union in the Ternopol Region, noting that ‘he is a true militant and fights, in particular, against Pochaiv Lavra, the cluster of Ukrainophobia’. On October 8, 2015, Labaychuk frankly declared to the Religious Information Service of Ukraine: ‘We have already visited almost all villages of the Ternopol region, where the Moscow Patriarchy exists. We advocate showing people that they are under the influence of Moscow’. Obviously, ‘the advocacy’ implied not only propaganda campaigns, but physical abuse by the punishers. .

Primarily, there were captured churches in regard to which judicial disputes were being conducted. In such a way, for example, in **February 2014** (exact date is not referred in the publications - some of them state that this refers to “mid-February” and the capture is associated with “the Maidan’s victory”) the Sts. Konstantin and Elena church in Oshichleby village of Chernovtsy region was captured by force (although so far without victims). ‘The stone church was locked, the construction was underway but the court judgments were in favor of UOC MP community,’ the *Religion in Ukraine* information resource quotes Ivan Chernyavsky, the referent of the Chernovtsy UOC Eparchy consistory. ‘However, in the middle of February 2014 parishioners of UOC KP removed the locks and occupied the building where continued repairs’.

On July 13, 2014, an attempt to occupy St. Michael’s Church of the UOC by force was made in Novostav village of the Ternopol Region. ‘On Monday, after the holiday liturgy, activists of the Kiev Patriarchate made an illegal attempt to let their priests into the church to administer a service,’ *Pravoslaviye v Ukraine* web-site reports. ‘UOC congregation

resisted actively¹. ‘An terrible incident occurred in Novostav village of the Ternopil Eparchy, when St. Michael’s Church was captured by force. The priest was forced out during the liturgy and people were also forced to abandon the church,’ says Archbishop Kliment (Vecherya), representative of the Synodic informational department of the UOC. ‘After that the state registrar annuled the parish with any juridical grounds, while Sirotuk, chairman of Ternopil Regional State Administration, made a decision to register the regulations of this parish as a part of the UOC of Kiev Patriarchate².

It should be noted that during the first six month since the Maidan victory, despite the violent activity of national radicals, they rarely took part in forceful takeovers of churches. The reason was that the new authorities made a mistake believing that the UOC would come to ruins by itself under the impact of social processes fuelled through the mass media (refer to chapter *Libel in Mass Media*). ‘The Moscow Patriarchy faces a dissidence owing to the political situation in Ukraine’, reported news programme at 1+1 TV-channel owned by Igor Kolomoysky. ‘The Moscow Patriarchate loses parishioners in Ukraine’³. The plan was obviously to split congregations of the UOC and then make them part of the Kiev Patriarchy and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church as a certain ‘Ukrainian Local

¹ НА ТЕРНОПІЛЬЩИНІ - спроба силового захоплення храму УПЦ представниками УПЦ КП // Православие в Украине. 15.07.2014. URL: <http://orthodoxy.org.ua/data/na-ternopilshchini-sproba-silovogo-zahoplennya-hramu-upc-predstavnikami-upc-kp.html>

² В УПЦ заявляють о силовом захваті около 10 храмів // УНІАН-Релігії. 03.10.2014. URL: <http://religions.unian.net/orthodoxy/992167-v-upts-zayavlyayut-o-silovom-zahvate-okolo-10-hramov.html>

³ В Московском патриархате зреет раскол из-за политической ситуации в Украине // Служба новостей ТСН. 22.03.2014. URL: <http://ru.tsn.ua/ukrayina/v-moskovskom-patriarhate-zreet-raskol-iz-za-politicheskoy-situacii-v-ukraine-356305.html>

Church'. 'Today, the UOC is a provisional dormitory where everyone lives in a separate flat without stable communication among them... But this situation will 'end' sooner or later. It will be even better for the UOC when all these marginal groups, Stalinists, obscurantists and all those hostile to the idea of Ukraine itself drop off,' said Andrey Yurash, a religious expert from Lvov, on May 2014 who was appointed Head of the Religion department of the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine. Thus, the idea of possible changes within the discussed unification process consists in reforming current differences and the clerical jurisdictions we have today. Today, the UOC enjoys the absolute majority of congregations, which are about 12-13 thousand parishes. The UOC of the KP has up to 4 thousand parishes, though officially they amount to 4 800. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church has about 700 parishes though they claim to have 1200, but in fact they don't have that much. If an eventual union of healthy elements of the OUC of the KP, UPC and UAPC come to life to consolidate some 3-14 thousand pro-Ukrainian parishes, it will be a significant achievement. Especially, if the number rises up to 15 thousand⁴. However, the plan failed. There was no dissidence and people did not leave the UOC in mass, Metropolitan Onufry (Berezovsky) was elected to be a new Metropolitan of Kiev and all-Ukraine who in 1992 stepped forward as one of the most active opponents of joining the UOC to non-canonical Autocephalous Church. Since then takeovers began.

On **September 1, 2014**, Kazansky church in Rachin village in the Rivne Region was taken over. 'The church was captured by nearly 70 right-wing radical militants,' the press-service of the Rivne Eparchy reports. The mili-

⁴ Черноморец Юрий. О переформировании украинского православия // День. 08.05.2014.

tants broke the seal on the church doors which had been placed there by the police the day before. Anteceding the takeover a so-called ‘referendum’ was held on August 31, when the village community determined that the church would confessionally belong to the ‘Kiev Patriarchate’. A certain Natalya Andriyuk organised the ‘referendum’ and takeover of the church. The decision to make the church part of the KP was supported by a village elder Viktor Bilous who tried to capture the church with three hundred men. At the same time, senior priest of the church Andrey Deker and parishioners were blamed by the aggressive crowd of assisting separatists of the Donetsk Region and anti-Ukrainian propaganda⁵. The leader of the Right Sector in Rivne Roman Kovel confirmed that his fighters took part in the takeover of the church and told journalists, ‘We... handed this the church to the Kiev Patriarchate, now Ukrainian services are delivered there. Our guys are staying there to protect the church... We are setting up United local Church in Ukraine, whether Moscow like it or not’⁶.

On September 10, 2014, church of Exaltation of the Holy Cross was captured in the village of Ugrinov in the Volin Region. A group of skinheads wearing camouflage uniform and T-shirts with symbols of nationalistic organisations arrived into the village, ‘put under protection’ the local church and changed the door locks acting like robbers. The takeover was organised by a prominent local

⁵ РОВНО. В епархии филаретовцами захвачен храм // Украина православная. 01.09.2014. URL: <http://pravoslavnye.org.ua/2014/09/%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BD%D0%BE-%D0%B2-%D0%B5%D0%BF%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%85%D0%B8%D0%B8-%D1%84%D0%B8%D0%BB%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B5%D1%82%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%86%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%B8-%D0%B7%D0%B0%D1%85%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%87/>

⁶ «Правий сектор» «відбив» церкву у Рачині у Московського патріархату // Рівне вечірне. 02.09.2014. URL: http://rivnepost.rv.ua/lenta_msgshow.php?id=54449

businessman and member of the Regional Council from People's Party Andrey Turak. The parishioners were literally kicked out and had to deliver services outside⁷. Later the terror against the UOC congregation of the village continued, on March 18, 2015, Turak or some of his supporters beat up senior priest Rostislav Sapozhnik in head with a stick⁸, and then the village council moved him and his family from their house⁹.

On **September 13, 2014**, an attempt to take over Holy Trinity Church in the village of Pasechnoye in the Kyiv Region. There is a video demonstrating the process of 'referendum' where members of some volunteer battalion in camouflage uniform shout at elderly believers of the UOC¹⁰. Eye-witnesses also admit in a blog at a popular web-site Lb.ua that several members of the *Right Sector* were present at the place¹¹. Archpriest Georgy Kovalenko, chairman of the Synodic informational department of the UOC, says, 'Some residents of the village and unknown young people, headed by ten priests of the Kiev Patriarchate try to capture the church. The clergy does everything possible to prevent the violence... but activists of the KP urge for storming and try to pressure on the

⁷ Вольны: Прихожане захваченного храма молятся под открытым небом (ВИДЕО) // Православие.Ru. 03.10.2014. URL: <http://www.pravoslavie.ru/news/74100.htm>

⁸ На Вольни «орлам Авакова» не удалось замять дело об избииении священника // Украина сектантская. 13.08.2015. URL: <http://ukrsekta.info/news/2652-navolyni-orlam-avakova-ne-udalos-zamyat-delo-ob-izbiienii-svyaschennika.html>

⁹ Власти Угринова: Выселение семьи священника УПЦ из дома законно // Православная жизнь. 10.06.2015. URL: <http://www.pravlife.org/content/vlasti-ugrinova-vyselenie-semi-svyashchennika-upc-iz-doma-zakonno>

¹⁰ Серета Евгений. «Раскольники - это церковные сепаратисты». О захватах храмов УПЦ МП сторонниками Киевского патриархата // Фраза. 07.10.2014. URL: http://fn.fraza.ua/analytics/07.10.14/207390/%C2%ABraskolniki_eto_tserkovnye_separatisty%C2%BB_o_zahvatah_hramov_upts_mp_storonnikami_Kyivskogo_patriarhata.html

¹¹ Лебедева Маша. Церковь в Пасечном // Lb.ua. 15.09.2014. URL: http://blogs.lb.ua/masha_lebedeva/279419_tserkov_pasechnom.html

local community¹². As a result, the church stayed part of the UOC after interference of police.

On **September 20, 2014**, church of Acheiropaic Image of Our Saviour in the village of Khodosy in the Rivne Region. Priest Roman Ignatyuk, who was inside the church during the attack, describes the incidence: ‘Several cars pulled up to the church, some strong-built men got out of them. Some of them wore black camouflage uniform and yellow armbands. They were likely to be members of the Right Sector... When the Evening mass was nearly over, the people gathered around the church cemetery headed for the church... When we saw it, we locked inside of the church. They knocked on all the doors violently ... When we were praying and singing Polyeleos, they started a real storm of the church. They tried to cut off the lock on the main door with a saw. Then they attempted to break other doors. Finally, they brought a crow-bar and tore off side doors of the right wing... Our parishioners, brave men, resisted the barbarians... They made a live shield and did not let the offenders in. The perpetrators used cans with a substance which caused burning pain in the nose and throat. Everyone in the church started coughing, it was difficult to breath. I took the cup with the holy water and aspergillum and sprayed it on the offenders... Priest Vitaly, the secretary of the Eparchy, made an attempt to stop the chaos. They took him near the broken door by the vestment and pulled outside. I thought they were going to beat him and shouted not to make harm to an Orthodox priest. Then they grabbed me by the head and leg and tried to throw out of the church too. But they failed. I only had a button torn off and a loop on a cassock... Both doors were opened by force and young peo-

¹² Священники закрылись в храме села Пасечная на Киевщине, препятствуя захвату храма - спикер УПЦ // УНИАН-Религии. 13.09.2014. URL: <http://religions.unian.net/orthodoxy/984519-svyaschenniki-zakryilis-v-hrame-sela-pasechnaya-na-Kyivschine-prepyatstvuya-zahvatu-hrama-spiker-upts.html>

ple rushed inside, they formed a kind of a chain and started to kick out the people who prayed and defended the holy place one by one. I was one of the first who was thrown out. I saw them throwing our priests with my own eyes. Those who lost balance just fell on the ground. I saw them throw out archpriest Vasily (Vashchik) who hit the ground. I saw a group of the so-called clerics of the Kiev Patriarchy who were standing near our church and admired their victory without saying a word and smiling'. 'I heard stories and watched videos about Orthodox churches being captured in the 90s,' the priest adds. 'But I could never think I would come to be a witness of it myself'¹³.

On **September 28, 2014**, church of Intercession of the Holy Virgin in the city of Turka in the Lvov Region was captured. 'A group of 50 people came up to the church, cut off the locks, did not let other people in, chased them and beat them,' says the press-secretary of the Lvov Eparchy celibate priest Markian (Kayumov). 'Next Sunday they brought their own priest and then priests supporting Filaret served in the church'¹⁴.

On Sunday, **October 5, 2014**, UOC Bishop of Lvov and Galicia Filaret (Kucherov) arrived to the Turka order to deliver a service. He described what he had seen, '...The gates were locked with a chain. The church was surrounded by the people who had never been its parishioners. In a skirmish a local priest had his nose broken with a bottle. We are indignant with the fact that the police calmly observed all these illegal actions and helped the criminals, hinder-

¹³ Ігнатюк Роман. 1990-ті повернулись?.. Свідчення священика про захоплення 20 вересня храму в с. Ходоси Рівненської області // Православие в Украине. 23.09.2014. URL: <http://orthodoxy.org.ua/data/1990-ti-povernulis-svidchennya-svyashchenika-pro-zahoplennya-20-veresnya-hramu-v-shodosi>

¹⁴ РЕПОРТАЖ. Как живут общины захваченных храмов? // Православная жизнь. 20.01.2015. URL: <http://pravlife.org/content/kak-zhivut-obshchiny-zahvachenyh-hramov>

ing the legal owners of the church, in fact they assisted the rebels¹⁵. Pictures made during a visit of Bishop Filaret to the church which then were published on the Lvov Eparchy web-site, show a group of hearty men blocking the entrance to the church yard and holding black and red flags of the Ukrainian Partisan Army, used by nationalists. Andrey Kuzmichenko, chief of Turka district police department, confirmed to a local news web-site *Zaxidnet* that one of UOC priests was hit with a bottle in face, 'On September 28, I was near the church when some people did not let priest Andrey into the church... During the skirmish somebody threw a bottle with water and hit into nose of one of priests of neighbor parish and a criminal case has already been launched for this fact under Criminal Rule 125, part 1 of the CCU [Criminal Code of Ukraine] - infliction of minor injuries¹⁶.

On **October 5, 2014**, an attempt to take over St. Boris and Gleb church in Pereyaslav-Khmelnytsky in the Kyiv Region. According to the web-site of Borispolskaya Eparchy of the UOC administrating the church built in the 19th century the attackers were 'unknown people in camouflage uniform and with baseball bats', led by Mikhail Sivorko, member of the city council from Svoboda nationalistic Party. 'The attackers cut off the locks at the church doors... and blocked the entrance to the church,' the Eparchy web site reports. 'The young people didn't let the senior priest Anatoly Mikhnevich into the church and pulled off the scouphos from his

¹⁵ Офіційний коментар єпископа Філарета у зв'язку із захопленням Свято-Покровського храму міста Турка // Сайт Львовської єпархії УПЦ. 05.10.2014. URL: www.upc.lviv.ua/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1837%3A2014-10-05-17-53-23&catid=5%3A2011-02-09-21-01-23&Itemid=2&lang=ru

¹⁶ Слюсарчук Тетяна. Як бойки попа виганяли // *Zaxid.net*. 06.10.2015. URL: http://zaxid.net/news/showNews.do?yak_boyki_popa_viganyali&objectId=1325093

head... It all occurred in silent presence of priests from the UOC of the KP¹⁷. Newspaper *Vestnik Pereeyaslavshchiny* reports, 'Members of the Right Sector cut off the locks but did not come into the church'¹⁸. Presence of priests of the Kiev Patriarchate during the conflict place is also confirmed with a publication at the web-site of the city council: 'On October 5, a religious conflict between supporters of UOC of the MP and UOC of the KP burst out in Borisovka district... who contested the jurisdiction of St. Boris and Gleb church... Activists of the Right Sector and supporters of both Churches took part in the conflict'¹⁹. 'According to police, some 120 people were involved in the conflict.' *Vestnik Pereeyaslavshchiny* reports. 'Activists of the Right Sector explained that they wanted to bring the church back to the the jurisdiction of the Kiev Patriarchate.' 'Meanwhile, according to social networks, about 20 people came to Pereyaslav-Khmelnytsky from Kiev to support the church community. As a result, city major Taras Kostin announced a poll of Borisovka district residents on October 11 to determine which Patriarchy should administer the disputable church'²⁰.

All opponents of the UOC were mobilized on the day of the referendum. Communities opposing the Maidan in social net-

¹⁷ У Бориспільській єпархії чергова спроба захоплення храму представниками УПЦ КП // Бориспольская єпархія УПЦ: інтернет-сайт. 06.10.2014. URL: <http://www.boryspil-eparchy.org/index.php/news/109-%D0%B6%D0%B8%D1%82%D1%82%D1%8F-%D0%BF%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%84%D1%96%D0%B9/1889-%D1%83-%D0%B1%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BF%D1%96%D0%BB%D1%8C%D1%81%D1%8C%D0%BA%D1%96%D0%B9-%D1%94%D0%BF%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%85%D1>

¹⁸ «Правий сектор» не зрізував замків на церкві // Вісник Переяславщини. 06.10.2014. URL: <http://visnik-press.com.ua/?p=20638>

¹⁹ Конфесійні спори // Сайт Переяслав-Хмельницької міської ради. 06.10.2014. URL: <http://phm.gov.ua/node/6182>

²⁰ Якій церкві належатиме храм святих Бориса і Гліба, вирішить громада (Оновлено) // Вісник Переяславщини. 05.10.2014. URL: <http://visnik-press.com.ua/?p=20608>

works reported that cossacs from Starokonstantinov (district centre in the Khmelnytsky Region), Kiev and a number of other Ukrainian cities arrived to support the UOC community. They stayed away from the church and sent only a small group there. 'There was no more than an verbal hassle' the communities report. 'Information about 50 Cossacks ready to arrive at the scene and detain provocateurs cooled the aggressors'²¹.

Neither blogs nor mass media reported anything about the results of the survey, however, an article about churches which had been taken over published at *Pravoslavnyaya Zhizn* web-site in January 2015 says that the church is still controlled by the UOC, 'When people calmed down, the community rejected the idea to adopt another Patriarchate. As a result, the church was consecrated again (as the strangers burst inside by force). The community preserved, the services are conducted, we were able to protect ourselves. The life of the parish returned to normal'²².

On **October 5, 2014**, militants of the Right Sector took over St. Michael church in Butin village of the Ternopol Region. 'On Sunday, October 5, I assisted the Liturgy with other parishioners,' says archpriest Vladimir Slobodyan,' however the church was already taken over by activists of the 'UOC of the KP'. The church entrance was guarded by unknown people in uniform and balaclavas who called themselves the Right Sector. A police unit just watched them not allowing us to enter the church. The Sunday service was disrupted'²³. Yulia Tsimbaluk, a local activist favoring the transition of the church to the

²¹ Скриншот со страницы «Отряд им. Богуна» в Facebook (ныне недоступной): Новости православных фронтов // Блог Мирославы Бердник. 12.10.2014. URL: <http://varjag-2007.livejournal.com/6893951.html>

²² РЕПОРТАЖ. Как живут общины захваченных храмов? // Православная жизнь. 20.01.2015. URL: <http://pravlife.org/content/kak-zhivut-obshchiny-zahvachenyh-hramov>

²³ Розкольники захопили храм на Тернопільщині // Сайт Синодального інформаційного відділу УПЦ. 05.10.2014. URL: <http://news.church.ua/2014/10/10/rozkolniki-zaxopili-xram-na-ternopilshhini/>

Kiev Patriarchate, confirms that the Right Sector was engaged in the takeover of the church, 'We had activists of the Right Sector around... The Right Sector has always come out in favour of the Ukrainian Church'²⁴. 'Vasily Labaychuk, the leader of the Right Sector in Ternopilshchina, confirms that members of this organisation were present in Butin to prevent provocations,' says the report of the Religious Informational Service of Ukraine²⁵. On October 8, Labaychuk announced publicly, 'If you need any help to make your church part of the Ukrainian Church, feel free to come to us, Ukrainian nationalists!'²⁶.

On **October 12, 2014**, an attempt to seize the Holy Trinity church in Povcha village of the Rivne Region was made by activists of the Kiev Patriarchate supported by nationalistic radicals. Clerics of the Kiev Patriarchate, together with Aleksandr Kazak, deputy chairman of the Dubensk district council and numerous activists of nationalistic organisations came to the church and demanded the keys. 'In case of refusal, the activists of the UOC of the KP threatened us with a forceful takeover of the church,' reports the press-service of the Rivne Eparchy of the UOC. 'Naturally, the Orthodox priests never agreed, so the activists brought with them combatants of the Right Sector and local nationalistic group *Cossack Guard* who were expected to threaten people and to get access to the church. When they failed, the combatants started to push from the porch parishioners and priests... In the squirmish, priest John Savchuk

²⁴ «Хотим молитися на українському мові в Українській Церкві», - чому громада с. Бутин перейшла в УПЦ КП / Розпитав Володимир Мороз // Релігійно-інформаційна служба України. 14.10.2014. URL: http://risu.org.ua/ru/index/expert_thought/interview/57920

²⁵ Мороз Володимир. УПЦ (МП) покинула ще одна громада на Тернопільщині // Релігійно-інформаційна служба України. 09.10.2014. URL: http://risu.org.ua/ru/index/all_news/confessional/orthodox_relations/57890

²⁶ «Ні» церковній п'ятій колонії! // Блог Василя Лабайчука. 08.10.2014. URL: http://labajchuk.blogspot.ru/2014/10/blog-post_8.html Обращение было опубликовано также на страницах «Правого сектора Тернопольщины» в соцсетях и на областных интернет-сайтах.

got a brain concussion and an inner craniocerebral injury, he was hospitalized in the traumatology department. The other priests of the Orthodox church were just ‘moved aside’ from the church doors. Despite the threats and aggression, the dissidents failed to get the key from the church and resumed to persuade people to attend sermons by turns, saying that if they not agree, they would lose absolutely everything²⁷. Another attempt to take the church over, once again with participation of the Kiev Patriarchate clergy headed by Ihor Zagrebelny, an archpriest of Debesk district, the *Cossack Guard* (its leader demanded by threats the key from the KP priests) and Right Sector, occurred on Sunday, October 19. It resulted in a skirmish with parishioners, and consequently the church was sealed by the police²⁸.

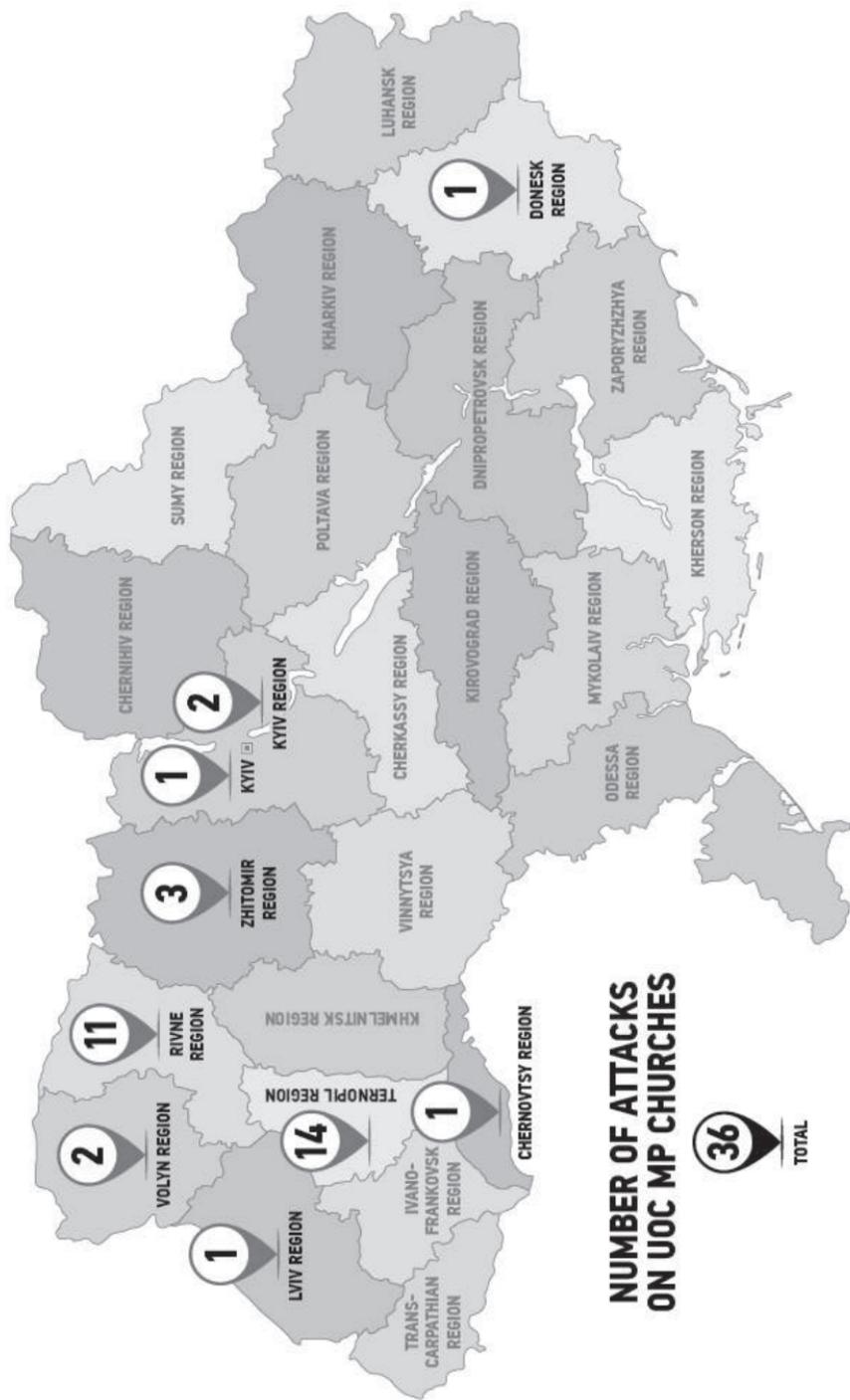
On **October 21, 2014**, members of the KP ‘broke the locks and took over a church’²⁹ of the UOC in Povcha village in the Rivne Region.

On **November 30, 2014**, there was an attempt to occupy a church of St. Mary Magdalene under construction in the village of Badovka in the Rivne Region. Activists of the KP

²⁷ Чергова спроба захоплення православного храму на Рівненщині // Сайт Ровенської єпархії УПЦ. 16.10.2014. URL: http://www.rivne-pravoslavne.org.ua/%D1%87%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%B3%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B0-%D1%81%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B1%D0%B0-%D0%B7%D0%B0%D1%85%D0%BE%D0%BF%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%BD%D1%8F-%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%BE%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2/#.Vhgzt_ntlHw

²⁸ Міжконфесійна сутячка у Свято-Троїцькій парафії, с. Повча Дубенського району // Сайт Ровенської єпархії УПЦ. 21.10.2014. URL: <http://www.rivne-pravoslavne.org.ua/%D0%BC%D1%96%D0%B6%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%BD%D1%84%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%96%D0%B9%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D1%81%D1%83%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%87%D0%BA%D0%B0-%D1%83-%D1%81%D0%B2%D1%8F%D1%82%D0%BE%D1%82%D1%80%D0%BE%D1%97%D1%86/#.VhgzmvtlHw>

²⁹ Захоплено ще один храм в с. Повча Дубенського району // Сайт Ровенської єпархії УПЦ. 21.10.2014. URL: http://www.rivne-pravoslavne.org.ua/%D0%B7%D0%B0%D1%85%D0%BE%D0%BF%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%BE%D1%89%D0%B5-%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%B8%D0%BD-%D1%85%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%BC-%D0%B2-%D1%81-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%87%D0%B0-%D0%B4%D1%83%D0%B1%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%81/#.VhgZL_ntlHw



arrived to the church accompanied by members of a paramilitary self-defence organisation from the city of Neteshin of the Khmelnytskyi Region, situated not far from the border of the Rivne Region. The parishioners defended themselves and locked in the building. The police blocked the church to protect the parishioners from the aggressive intruders. In order to prevent the violence, the police sealed the church³⁰.

In **December 2014** (exact date is not released), a group of nationalists arrived again to the church in Povcha village in the Rivne Region in order to take it over. 'Activists of the Right Sector came up to the church but did not dare to storm it,' archpriest Vitaly Gerlinsky, secretary of the Rivne Eparchy, told *Pressa Ukrainy*. 'They stayed for some 10 minutes near the church, psychologically oppressing priest Simeon and then abandoned the place³¹. By of January 2015 the church was administered again by the UOC³².

On **December 14, 2014**, another attempt to take a church by force was made in the village of Badovka in the Rivne Region by activists of the KP headed by archpriest Yury Lukashik of the Ostrozhskoy district. The aggressors damaged some cars of the church protectors parked nearby³³.

³⁰ В УПЦ заявляють про спробу захоплення храму на Рівненщині (+відео) // УНІАН-Релігії. 30.11.2014. URL: <http://religions.unian.ua/orthodoxy/1015765-v-upts-zayavlyayut-pro-sprobu-zahoplennya-hramu-na-rivnenschini-video.html>

³¹ Демкова Слава. «Правий сектор» не причетний до захоплення храмів на Рівненщині (ФОТО) // Преса України. 26.12.2014. URL: <http://uapress.info/uk/news/show/54257>

³² РЕПОРТАЖ. Как живут общины захваченных храмов? // Православная жизнь. 20.01.2015. URL: <http://pravlife.org/content/kak-zhivut-obshchiny-zahvachenyh-hramov>

³³ РІВНЕ. Чергова агресія з боку розкольників в селі Бадівка // Православие в Украине. 15.12.2014. URL: <http://pravoslavnye.org.ua/2014/12/%D1%80%D1%96%D0%B2%D0%BD%D0%B5-%D1%87%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%B3%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B0-%D0%B0%D0%B3%D1%80%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%96%D1%8F-%D0%B7-%D0%B1%D0%BE%D0%BA%D1%83-%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B7%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%BB%D1%8C%D0%BD/>

On the night of December 25, 2014, nationalists broke into a church in the village of Badovka and the Holy Dormition Church in Ptichya in the same region. 'For the moment, unknown people have taken over two churches, the Holy Dormition Church in Ptichya and the St. Mary Magdalene in Badovka village in Ostrozhsky district, archpriest Vitaly Gerlinsky reported to *Vse* news web-site on December 26. 'It was perpetrated with the help of a radical national organisation, but I still don't know, who were those young people in black clothes and balaclavas³⁴. 'According to Inna Berezovskaya, chief of the press-service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine... embers of the Right Sector were involved in incident,' journalists report'³⁵. On December 26 the Synodic information department of the UOC confirmed the event and specified the method applied: 'Athletic militants of the Right Sector cut off the door locks and broke into the church. The capture of the church in Ptichya village was headed by Ihor Zagrebelsky, archpriest of the UOC of the KP in Dubnensky district'³⁶.

Taras Pustovit, deputy chairman of the Rivne Regional State administration, commented on the incident: 'We have been aware of this situation with the churches for years. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Security Service of Ukraine also know about it and they were informed about a series of forceful captures intended for the oncoming night. Still all

³⁴ Боротьба за церкви на Рівненщині: парафіяни захоплюють храми і перекривають дороги // *Все*. 26.12.2014. URL: <http://vse.rv.ua/news/141957724-borotba-za-cerkvi-na-rivnenshchini-parafiyani-zahoplyuyut-hrami-i-perekri-vayut>

³⁵ «Правий сектор» проник у церкву в Острозькому районі? // *Все*. 26.12.2014. URL: <http://vse.rv.ua/news/1419581845-praviy-sektor-pronik-u-cerkvu-v-ostroz-komu-rayoni.html>

³⁶ РІВНЕНСЬКА ЄПАРХІЯ. За ніч розкольникки захопили два храми УПЦ // Сайт Синодального інформаційного отдела УПЦ, 26.12.2014. URL: <http://news.church.ua/2014/12/26/rivnenska-jeparxiya-za-nich-rozkolniki-zaxopili-dva-xrami-upc/>

villainies done by the followers of the OUC of the KP under the cloud of night won't pay them good, therefore the Law and the Constitution of Ukraine stand the the same for everyone³⁷. 'This is how eye-witnesses describe the events: 'Law enforcement structures do not prevent the conflict, they seem to support the dissidents,' writes archpriest Nikolay Danilevich, deputy chairman of the Synodic international relations department of the UOC³⁸.

On **January 14, 2015**, militants of UNA-UNSO group seized the UOC church of Intercession of the Holy Virgin in the city of Malin in the Zhitomir Region. The radicals report on the case in the website: 'On January 14, 2015, combatants of UNSO helped to clear the Church of those who tried to possess it unlawfully, the building is sealed and is under protection. The Moscow Patriarchate have been trying for over 12 years to illegally take into possession the church of Intercession in Mialin and its property. According to the documents this religious building is administered by the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad (ROCA)³⁹. In fact, in 2001 only a single defrocked priest (a UOC senior priest Vasily Demchenko) and some members of his congregation moved to one of the ROCA denominations, the so-called ROCA of Metropolitan Agafangel (Pashkov) which is not recognized by the majority of World Orthodox Churches. Demchenko retained in his possession the documents for the ownership and tried to re-register the church for himself. How-

³⁷ Громади УПЦ(МП) та УПЦ КП обмінялися звинуваченнями щодо захоплення двох храмів на Рівненщині // Религія в Україні. 29.12.2014. URL: http://www.religion.in.ua/news/ukrainian_news/27900-gromadi-upc-mp-ta-upc-kp-ob-minyalisya-zvinuvachenniyami-shhodo-zaxoplennya-dvoh-xramiv-na-rivnen-shhini.html

³⁸ Протоіерей Миколай Данилевич: «Конфлікт в с. Птича, що на Рівненщині, не вщухає» // Православная жизнь. 26.12.2014. URL: <http://pravlife.org/node/423>

³⁹ Війна хрестів або Церковне рейдерство на Житомирщині (оновлюється) // Сайт УНА-УНСО. 15.01.2015. <http://unso.in.ua/uk/new/viyna-hrestiv-abo-cerkov-ne-reyderstvo-na-zhytomyrshchyni-onovlyuyetsya>

ever, the press-service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Zhytomyr Region reports: ‘the last state re-registration of the legal entity was conducted in 2010, the legal entity is the church of Intercession of the Holy Virgin in Ovruchsko-Korostenskaya Eparchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church’⁴⁰.

In March 2015, right-wing radicals repeatedly attacked the church of Nativity in Stenka village of the Ternopil Region. ‘On March 2 and 7, our combatants responded the invitation of some local residents who make the parish of the UOC of the MP but want to pray for the Ukrainian Army and the ‘Divine Hundred’, Vasily Labaychuk, leader of the Right Sector in Ternopilshchina told *Te-News.te.ua* invitation web-site on March 24. ‘On March 22, we arrived there for the third time.’ The photos in the article show that on March 22 about 50 militants arrived to the village, who according to Labaychuk were members of a national organisation Stepan Bandera Trizub and the 6th reserve battalion of the Volunteer Ukrainian Corps of the Right Sector. They encircled the church, and priests of the UOC of the KP tried to get in with their help⁴¹. A video, filmed by activists of the UOC in the church yard, also confirms it⁴². Local residents came out to protect the church from the right-wing radicals, later police arrived to prevent clashes. ‘About 300 residents and 50-60 members of the Right Sector gathered there,’ says Alek-

⁴⁰ Втягування правоохоронців у конфлікт між конфесіями у Малині є штучним // Сайт МВД України. 21.08.2013. URL: http://www.mvs.gov.ua/mvs/control/zhytomyr/uk/publish/printable_article/95425;jsession-id=95DEED1D9D0AF4439EC883BA8F11COB1

⁴¹ Савчук Тарас. Василь Лабайчук: «Правий сектор» підтримує українську громаду Стінки у прагненні молитися в храмі, який їй і належить» // *Te-News.te.ua*. 24.03.2015. URL: http://tenews.te.ua/news_all.php?id=3966

⁴² Уніати під прикриттям бойовиків намагаються захопити православний храм на Тернопільщині // Канал користувача «Офіційний канал інформвідділу УПЦ» на YouTube. 24.03.2015. URL: http://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=_lEWYs9HnfE

sandr Bogomol, chief officer of the Ternopol Regional Police Department, in the interview to UNIAN news agency. 'About 80 law enforcement agents arrived in the village under full order, previously they attended Pochaiv to prevent disorders in the city that could erupt due to the rumours of a possible transfer from the cathedral of the miraculous icon of Holy Virgin of Pochaiv. We managed to settle down the conflict in Stenky, it did not escalate to violence between the parties'⁴³.

One more church which called the attention of the radical nationalists was St. John the Divine temple in the village of Kolosovo of the Ternopol region. Although the church was a property of the UOC community, supporters of the KP arranged a 'referendum' to transfer the church to the KP. On **April 26, 2015**, the church was nearly forced in. Dozens of supporters of the KP came to a small village of some 75 households, some wearing cleric robe, over 60 radicals wore balaclavas, holding flags and other attributes,' web-site *Pravoslavnyaya Zhizn* reports. Nevertheless, the takeover failed, due to believers, old people among them, who surrounded the church with a living chain⁴⁴. The siege of the church by numerous paramilitaries in camouflage and balaclavas, holding red-and-black flags of the UPA was videofilmed and presented on YouTube on April 27⁴⁵. 'When the plan of the Right Sector provocateurs failed, they began to intimidate the village residents,' the Synodic Informational Depart-

⁴³ На Тернопільщину для недопущення релігійного конфлікту відправлені 80 правоохоронців // УНІАН-Релігії. 23.03.2014. URL: <http://religions.unian.ua/religinossociety/1058956-na-ternopilschinu-dlya-nedopuschennya-religiy-nogo-konfliktu-vidpravleni-80-pravoohorontsiv.html>

⁴⁴ Новые попытки захвата храмов на Тернопольщине. Раскольникам помогают телевизор и радикалы // Православная жизнь. 27.04.2015. URL: <http://www.pravlife.org/content/novye-popytki-zahvata-hramov-na-ternopolshchine-raskolnikam-pomogayut-televizor-i-radikaly>

⁴⁵ Спроба захоплення храму УПЦ в с. Колосова // Канал користувача «Перший Козацький» на YouTube. 27.04.2015. URL: <http://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=47qsx1lAHpo>

ment of the UOC reported on September 4, 2015. 'Groups of young people wearing camouflage and balaclavas arrive to the church every day, they even don't hide their guns, knives and gas cans. Several times they even hounded fight dogs without muzzles to intimidate people. Local police watched their actions with indifference'⁴⁶.

On May 10, 2015, priests of the KP and militants of the Right Sector took over the Temple of Archangel Michael in Bashuky village of the Ternopol Region. A video shows how radical nationalists who came to the village with machine guns and black- and-red flags, set up tents and line up their combatants in uniform and balaclavas in front of the the church⁴⁷. The ultra-radicals never concealed their aspiration to change the church jurisdiction and officially announced, 'Local residents pleaded to the Right Sector for help in changing the confessional character of the church. We help them actively, legally and physically to protect them from provocations of the Moscow clergy.' The Right Sector reports that combatants of the 6th reserve battalion of the Volunteer Ukrainian Corps arrived in Bashuky and veterans who took part in hostilities in the Donetsk Region addressed to the village residents. The Right Sector says, 'Above all, our aim is to defeat only the outer, but also inner enemy'⁴⁸. Vasily Lavaychuk, leader of the Right Sector in Ternopilshchina also took part in the event.

On June 21, 2015, an attempt to take over St. George Church was made in the village of Katerinovka in the Ter-

⁴⁶ Тернопільська ОДА використовує радянські методи боротьби з Церквою (+ВІДЕО, ДОКУМЕНТИ) // Сайт Синодального інформаційного відділу УПЦ. 04.09.2015. URL: <http://news.church.ua/2015/09/04/ternopilaska-oda-vikoristovuje-radyanski-metodi-borotbi-z-cerkvoyu/>

⁴⁷ Правий сектор погрожує православним, Тернопільська область // Канал користувача «Перший Козацький» на YouTube. 14.05.2015. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S7PEV618pAQ>

⁴⁸ Храм на Тернопільщині переходить від московської до Української церкви! // Сайт «Правого сектора». 11.05.2015. URL: <http://old.pravyusektor.info/news/hram-na-ternopilshchini-perehodyt-vid-moskovskoj-do-ukrajinskoji-tserkvy/>

nopol Region. During the attack militants of the Right Sector wearing camouflage uniform and balaclavas assisted to activists of the Kiev Patriarchate, one of them set a fight dog on the parishioners (children among them)⁴⁹. Activists of UOC congregation filed a report to the Ministry of Internal Affairs requiring investigation of this case. On July 2, 2015, an official reply of the Kremenets district department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine in the Ternopol Region about registration of the inquiry was published at *Pravoslavna Zhyzn* web-site⁵⁰. Nevertheless, the criminal actions of nationalists were apparently left without investigation.

On June 28, 2015, priests of KP backed up by militants of the Right Sector took over a church of Intercession of the Holy Virgin in the village of Kulikov of the Ternopol Region. Archpriest Vladimir Bugrak, head of Kremenets deanery of the KP, referred to it in the interview to Ternopol *Gorod* web newspaper, 'According to priest V. Bugrak, members of the Right Sector assisted, preventing possible provocations⁵¹. (The term 'to assist' or 'to protect' is an ordinary way to avoid the word 'to capture'.) 'It's a great honour for our organisation to be part of this process even in this modest way,' says the page of the Right Sector in Ternopolshchina in Facebook⁵².

On June 28, 2015, a new attempt to seize the church of the UOC was made by activists of the KP in Katerinovka vil-

⁴⁹ Религиозный конфликт в Катериновке // Православная жизнь. 25.06.2015. URL: <http://pravlife.org/content/religioznyy-konflikt-v-katerinovke>

⁵⁰ МВД возбуждает уголовные дела по фактам атаки на храмы // Православная жизнь 02.07.2015. URL: www.pravlife.org/node/2535

⁵¹ Громада села Куликів на Тернопільщині майже повністю перейшла в УПЦ КП // Місто. 01.07.2015. URL: <http://www.gazeta-misto.te.ua/news/hromada-sela-kulykiv-na-ternopilschyni-majzhe-povnistyu-perejshla-v-upts-kp/>

⁵² Сообщение на странице «Правий Сектор Тернопільщина» в соцсети Facebook. 29.06.2015. URL: <https://www.facebook.com/rs.ternopil/posts/1064536346907732>

lage in the Ternopol Region. 'Eye-witnesses in Katerinovka say, that radical groups oppress local residents and pilgrims both mentally and physically,' web-site *Pravoslavnaya Zhyzn* reports on July 2⁵³.

On September 6, 2015, a new attempt to capture the UOC church in the village of Kolosovo was made in the Ternopol Region. 'On September 6, Sunday, believers of the UOC had to resist dissidents and radicals for several hours instead of delivering a Liturgy in their own church,' the Cynodic Informational Department of the UOC reported on September 7, 2015. Archpriest Stefan Balan, press-secretary of the Ternopol Eparchy, says that activists of the 'UOC of the KP' tried to force their way into the church and broke the fence. 'They came to the church early in the morning. Police arrived and tried to calm down the radicals'⁵⁴.

A real massacre occurred on **September 21, 2015**, during a another attempt of the Right Sector to take over the church in Katerinovka village in the Ternopol Region. 'On September 21, our people went home after the service and at 14.30 the parishioners noticed that activists of the Right Sector in balaclavas came to the church yard, all in all, they were around 30 people. Together with 'Kiev Patriarchate' they broke the doors, windows, came into the church and robbed us of all the property we owned. Then the police and *Ternopol* battalion arrived,' archpriest Georgy Kazimiryak, press-secretary of the Ternopil Eparchy,

⁵³ МВД возбуждает уголовные дела по фактам атаки на храмы // Православная жизнь 02.07.2015. URL: www.pravlife.org/node/2535

⁵⁴ Дискримінація віруючих на Тернопільщині продовжується. Голова ОДА не зважає ані на закон, ані на український суд (+ДОКУМЕНТИ, ВІДЕО) // Сайт Синодального інформаційного відділу УПЦ. 04.09.2015. URL: <http://news.church.ua/2015/09/07/diskriminaciya-viruyuchix-na-ternopilshhini-prodovzhujetsya-golova-oda-ne-zvazhaje-ani-na-zakon-ni-na-ukrajinskij-sud-dokumenti/>

told *Segodnya* news web-site on September 23⁵⁵. Militants of the Right Sector who took the yard under control can also be seen on videos presented in the Internet⁵⁶, even Vasily Labaychuk admitted their presence there on September 21 in Facebook, 'Nationalists blocked the entrance to the church'⁵⁷. The story were covered in more details in article 'The Right Sector Wins over One more Church from Moscow' published on the web-site of this nationalistic organisation on September 23. The 6th reserve battalion of the Volunteer Ukrainian Corps of the Right Sector and Stepan Bandera Trizub came to help residents of Katerinovka village and to protect parishioners of the Kiev Patriarchate... The nationalists took the entrance under control and protected it and then helped the special force to kick out supporters of the Moscow Patriarchate from the church yard⁵⁸. It should be noted that right-wing radicals and law enforcement agents acted together. It is announced plainly on the web-site of Kremenets branch of the Right Sector in Ternopilshchina (Katerinovka is in Kremenets district of the Ternopol Region), 'Due to coherent actions of the Right Sector and district police, who administer order to-

⁵⁵ Силовой захват храма в Катериновке: бойцы «Правого сектора» в балаклавах, 18 пострадавших и большая вражда (видео) // Сегодня. 23.09.2015. URL: <http://www.segodnya.ua/ukraine/silovoy-zahvat-hrama-v-katerinovke-boycy-pravogo-sektora-s-dubinkami-15-postradavshih-i-bezumnyaya-vrazhda-652041.html>

⁵⁶ Розкольники силою залишили парафію с. р без церкви у свято Різдва Богородиці // Канал пользователя «Офіційний канал інформвідділу УПЦ» на YouTube. 22.09.2015. URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uBUyE4x6dJs>

⁵⁷ Сообщение пользователя «Василь Лабайчук» в соцсети Facebook. 21.09.2015. URL: https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=501678716681270&id=100005174374448

⁵⁸ «Правий сектор» відвоював у Москви ще одну церкву // Сайт «Правого сектора». 23.09.2015. URL: www.pravyusektor.info/news/akciyi/848/pravij-sektor-vidvovuvav-u-moskvi-sche-odnu-cerkvu.html

gether, the majority of unwelcome guests got their ‘warm’ reception!’⁵⁹.

This is how the events went on: when followers of the UOC tried to come to their captured church, the nationalists retreated and used tear spray against them, while combatants of Ternopol-2 Ministry of Internal Affairs battalion attacked the Orthodox believers with rubber hoses from behind. As a result of violent beating over 15 people had their arms broken, got bruises, hematomas, head injuries, dozens of people received severe traumas, many of them were in need of medical help.

‘All those people who were there, the Right Sector, police, Ternopol-2 battalion beat our women and children, everyone, who was there. It was an outrageous massacre,’ said archpriest Kazimirchuk, at a conference dedicated to the incident in Katerinovka on September 25⁶⁰. Labaychuk confirmed it on September 21 writing on his Facebook page that his ‘nationalists... assisted the special forces to kick out supporters of the Moscow Patriarchate from the church yard’⁶¹.

Here is evidence of eye-witnesses: ‘I heard an alarm siren and realised that the church was opened... I rushed to the fence and saw the hell broken loose ... it was a real massacre, they beat everyone, beat women, beat poor children, who were 16-17 years old. I remember an old man, he had attended our church for a long time. He was about 80 years old, he was tall and white-haired. And they beat him and knocked him down, they dragged him by legs and hands and threw

⁵⁹ Сообщение на странице «Правый Сектор м. Кременець» в соцсети Facebook. 22.09.2015. URL: <https://www.facebook.com/PSKremenets/photos/a.1420077964931408.1073741830.1380821915523680/1644055169200352/>

⁶⁰ Захват церквей и «Правый сектор» // РИА Новости Украина. 25.09.2015. URL: <http://rian.com.ua/analytics/20150925/374285627.html>

⁶¹ Сообщение пользователя «Василь Лабайчук» в соцсети Facebook. 21.09.2015. URL: https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=501678716681270&id=100005174374448

him over the fence but other people went on beating him there,' says Zinaida Bereketa, a resident of Katerinovka⁶². 'I stood there not far from the church and heard a cry 'Beat them!'. It was a chief officer of Kremenets police. And a blood bath began after his words. At the very beginning a combatants of Ternopol-2 battalion pinched me with a leg into stomach. I bent and could not breath but then felt a little better and went to help our Orthodox people. The next hit I got with a long black rubber baton. Then one of the parishioners from our village but a follower of the Kiev Patriarchate grabbed me by the hair and pulled me to the ground. Then I tried to save one man who was knocked down and hit with batons and again I had my hand injured, so I got a fracture, said Ludmila Drobot, a parishioner of the church in Katerinovka, at a press-conference in Kiev on September 25. Vasily Levchenko also told his story, 'We started to sing prayers to Our Lady and Easter hymns. They tried to outcry us 'Glory to the Nation, death to enemies!'. People in body armours and with rubber batons pinned us to the fence, shouting, 'Throw these bastards over the fence', swore and threw people over the wall. I was pressed to the fence and got a hit in the head, I'm gravely injured. When I climbed over the fence, they hit me 4-5 times in the back, the most painful was the hit in in the right kidney'⁶³.

The complicity of the authorities with right-wing radicals demonstrated during the disorders in Katerinovka has other manifestations. For example, Andrey Yurash, director of the Department for Religion and Nationalities of the Culture Ministry of Ukraine, argues that the Right Sector took

⁶² Свідчення парафіянки УПЦ, постраждалої внаслідок силового захоплення храму в с. Катеринівка // Канал користувача «Офіційний канал інформвідділу УПЦ» на YouTube. 29.09.2015. URL: <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=47OkQmH9dV8>

⁶³ Захват церквей и «Правый сектор» // РИА Новости Украина. 25.09.2015. URL: <http://rian.com.ua/analytics/20150925/374285627.html>

control over the church legally, while Viktor Yelensky, deputy chairman of the Committee for Cultural and Religious Affairs, the chairman of sub-committee for State Policy for liberty of conscience and religious organisations, of the Ukrainian Parliament Viktor Yelensky promised to indict three criminal cases against... the injured believers of the UOC⁶⁴. Law enforcement agents of Kremenets district in the Ternopol Region started a criminal proceeding against the believers who were injured near St. George church during the clashes on September 21 under Rule 345, part 2 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (Deliberate infliction of bodily injuries of light or medium severity to a law enforcement agent or his close relatives due to his implementation of service duties)⁶⁵.

On **September 28, 2015**, a new attempt to storm the UOC church in Kolosovo village in the Ternopil Region was made. 'In the evening on September 28 residents of Kolosovo village saw six cars of the Right Sector pulling up to the John the Divine church, young people accompanied four priests of the 'Kiev Patriarchate', the press-service of the Ternopol Eparchy of the UOC reports. 'Among the priests there was a man resembling Nestor (Pisik), the head of the Ternopol Eparchy of the so-called UOC of the KP. Around 30 militants helped the dissidents pass into the church yard. When local residents asked why they had come, they swore in response and said that they would take over the church in a week⁶⁶. La-

⁶⁴ Прес-конференція щодо міжконфесійного конфлікту між релігійними громадами // Канал користувача «UkrinformTV» на YouTube. 25.09.2015. URL: <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=7IOUmLB8H-k>

⁶⁵ Правоохоронителі відкрили уголовне виробство в стосунку... избитых верующих УПЦ Тернопольщины // Фраза. 25.09.2015. URL: http://fn.fraza.ua/news/25.09.15/231595/pravoohraniteli_otkryli_ugolovnoe_proizvodstvo_v_otnoshenii_izbityh_verujuschih_upts_ternopolschiny.html

⁶⁶ Під покровом темряви «Правий сектор» знову зробив спробу захоплення православного храму // Сайт Тернопольської єпархії УПЦ. 29.09.2015. URL: <http://ternopil.church.ua/2015/09/29/pid-pokrovom-temryavi-pravij-sektor-znovu-zrobiv-sprobu-zaxoplennya-pravoslavnogo-xramu/>

baychuk, leader of the Right Sector in Ternopolshchina, said on September 29, 2015, 'On September 28, the UOC KP congregation assembled for a service in front of the church and allowed the authorities a week to settle the matter. If they don't give the permission to serve, the community will occupy the church because it is actually theirs. Our guys were present at the place but stayed in the cars'⁶⁷. It is appropriate to ask, if the majority of a small village community uphold the transition of the church jurisdiction to the Kiev Patriarchate, why then radicals from the regional centre all the time arrive to take hold of the church? There are no 'separatists' and 'terrorists' in the Ternopol village.

On **October 4, 2015**, the Church of Holy Virgin Nativity in Duliby village in the Rivne Region was taken over. 'On Saturday, October 3... unknown people surrounded a village elder who was cleaning the church yard before the service and demanded keys from the church threatening to beat him up otherwise,' the web-site of the Rivne Eparchy of the UOC reports. 'A lot of people rushed to the rescue and stopped the offenders. By the following day priests of the UOC of the KP arrived on scene headed by dean of the Goshchansky district, who accidentally happens to be brother of Lesya Mironchuk, chairlady of Duliby village council. To be on the safe side, the dissidents also took with them policemen from Goshchansk district police department and militants of the Right Sector... The conflict-mongers were as usual members of the Right Sector. After a verbal cross-fire they started kicking their opponents and tried to ouch the senior of the church from the church stairs. Finally, Lesya Mironchuk, who had pre-arranged the deal with Petr Camchuk, chief officer of Goshchyansky police department

⁶⁷ На Тернопільщині віруючі попросили захисту у Правого сектору // Правый: Информационное бюро. 29.09.2015. URL: <http://www.psua.info/na-ternopilsh-hyni-viryuyuchi-poprosyly-zahystu-u-pravogo-sektoru/>

(the chief ordered his personnel to clear a passage to the church entrance) sealed the doors with an official seal⁶⁸. This is one more example of cooperation of the authorities, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and right-wing radicals in takeovers of the UOC.

On **October 14, 2015**, activists of the Kiev Patriarchate, assisted by businessman Yury Shapran took over the Church of Presentation of the Lord under construction in Konstantinovka town in the Donetsk Region. It was a typical raid. Shapran, who had previously donated money for the construction, introduced in the church council his wife and business partners and other people without prior notification of the senior priest, and they made a decision to change the jurisdiction of the church. On October 14 [2015], Intercession Day of the Holy Virgin - says Ukrainian edition "News" - buses with the military arrived to the temple. They encircled the church and held a service with clergy of the Kiev Patriarchate. Now the temple is under custody day and night with a military truck parked nearby. The information was confirmed to Vesty reporters by Shapran himself. "Sure, the church is guarded by personnel of the Donbass battalion. I asked them for this favor" (Этот фрагмент не был переведен вообще!) 'I'm glad that the church is protected by the military,' archpriest Konstantin Kuznetsov, dean of Konstantinovsky district of the Donetsk Eparchy of the UOC KP, told Provintsiya newspaper a week later⁶⁹. The question is, how can it be a goodwill transition of the parish if it has to be constantly guarded by the military?

⁶⁸ Сільська чиновниця перевищила повноваження у селі Дуліби Гошанського району // Сайт Ровенської єпархії УПЦ. 05.10.2015. URL: <http://rivne.church.ua/2015/10/05/silska-chinovnicya-perevishhila-povnovazhennya-u-seli-dulibi-goshhanskogo-rajonu/>

⁶⁹ Данько В. Первый храм Киевского патриархата в нашем городе // Провинция. 21.10.2015.

In November 2015, (no exact date is specified) activists of the Kiev Patriarchate took control over a UOC church in the village of Ptichya in the Rivne Region, which had been attacked by the Right Sector since 2014. 'The KP did not wait for a decision of the economic court of appeal and violated all the agreements. In November they broke the door locks and captured the church,' Viktor Zemlyanoy, press-secretary of the Rivne Eparchy of the UOC, told *112 Ukrainian TV-channel* later⁷⁰.

On November 14, 2015, an attempt was made to capture Archangel Michael church in the village of Zalukhov in the Volyn Region. The temple abbot Vladimir Kovtach says that priests of the KP who demanded to let them into the church for praying were accompanied by combatants of the Right Sector in camouflage uniform and with armbands who came by 11 cars (according to other sources, by 11 cars and one bus⁷¹). A video, published by the Union of Orthodox journalists, shows these people of tearing off gratings on the fence and trying to enter the church yard⁷². However, when they saw that the church was surrounded by people warned by alarm bells, with a lot of women and the elderly among them, the nationalists did not dare to attack and left⁷³.

⁷⁰ Конфликт между прихожанами Киевского и Московского патриархатов храма в с. Птичья Ровенской обл. накладывается искусственно, - отец УПЦ МП // Телеканал 112. 18.12.2015. URL: <http://112.ua/obshchestvo/konflikt-mezhdu-prihozhnami-kiievskogo-i-moskovskogo-patriarhatov-hrama-v-s-ptichya-rovenskoy-obl-nakalyaetsya-iskusstvenno-otec-upc-mp-279753.html>

⁷¹ 112 канал о попытке захвата храма УПЦ в селе Залухов // Канал пользователя «СПЖ І Спілка Православних Журналістів» на YouTube. 17.11.2015. URL: <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=mWf6QgfNkZw>

⁷² КП залякує провославних села Залухів. Відео свідків // Канал пользователя «СПЖ І Спілка Православних Журналістів» на YouTube. 15.11.2015. URL: http://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=Gqc1-49pW_0

⁷³ На власні очі. У селі Залухів віряни УПЦ захищають свій храм від Правого сектора (ВІДЕО) // Союз православних журналістів. 15.11.2015. URL: <http://uoj.org.ua/spetsproekty/zashchita-very/na-vlasn-och-u-sel-zalukh-v-v-ryani-upts-zakhishchayut-sv-y-khram-v-d-pravogo-sektora-v-deo>

On **December 18, 2015**, a UOC church was nearly captured in the village of Podlyzhye in the Rivne Region. On that day, combatants of the Right Sector volunteer Ukrainian corps wearing uniform with chevrons arrived in the neighboring village with their leader Roman Koval, their actions filmed and photoed.⁷⁴ Archpriest Zemlyanoy recalls, 'Members of the UOC KP summoned the Right Sector. They came and menaced to capture all our churches in the Rovny Region and not only in the Dubny Region. Combatants of the Right Sector were seen in the neighbour village and as our people say that they were armed'⁷⁵. Maksim Kostenko, an Orthodox journalist, quoted in Facebook one of the UOC believers from Ptichya that day: 'The Right Sector decided to capture a church of the Moscow Patriarchate in the village of Pidluzha near Ptichya'⁷⁶. Zemlyanoy's words quoted by Koval are confirmed by his own words in *Vecherneye Rovny* newspaper, 'I notified the police that if the Moscow Patriarchate did not stop provocations in Ptichya, we would take away all their churches in the Rovny Region'⁷⁷.

On **December 18, 2015**, activists of the Kiev Patriarchate attempted a take over of the UOC St. Nikolay Church in the village of Kolodyanka in the Zhytomyr Region. The video

⁷⁴ Глава Правого сектора Ровенщины угрожает захватить все храмы УПЦ в Дубенском районе // Союз православных журналистов. 15.11.2015. URL: <http://uoj.org.ua/novosti/sobytiya/glava-pravogo-sektora-rovenshchiny-u-grozhaet-zakhvatit-vse-khramy-upts-v-dubenskom-rayone>

⁷⁵ Конфликт между прихожанами Киевского и Московского патриархатов храма в с.Птичья Ровенской обл. накаляется искусственно, - отец УПЦ МП // Телеканал 112. 18.12.2015. URL: <http://112.ua/obshchestvo/konflikt-mezhdu-prihozhanami-kievskogo-i-moskovskogo-patriarhatov-hrama-v-s-ptichya-rovenskoy-obl-nakalyaetsya-iskusstvenno-otec-upc-mp-279753.html>

⁷⁶ Сообщение пользователя «Массимо Костенко» в соцсети Facebook. 18.12.2015. URL: <https://www.facebook.com/maksym.kostenko.9/posts/944858792271346>

⁷⁷ У Птичі ченці б'ються з селянами // Рівне вечірне. 18.12.2015. URL: http://rivnepost.rv.ua/lenta_msgshow.php?id=64712

published by UOC priest Boris Kosyanchuk, present ten men in camouflage uniform with chevrons of the Right Sector, one of them wearing a leather jacket with an armband with colours and the name of this organisation (the Right Sector ags could also be seen on cars, priests and believers of the Kiev Patriarchate who came by cars⁷⁸. 'Members of the Right Sector were present at the skirmish,' says archpriest Sergiy Arakelov who witnessed the conflict⁷⁹. However, the storm did not start.

On **December 27, 2015**, an attempt to capture a UOC church in Kolodyanka village of the Zhytomyr Region was made by combatants of the Right Sector. 'According to the priest,' the UOC web-site quotes archpriest Stefan, dean of Novograd-Volynsky district, members of the Right Sector patrolled the accesses to the village in several cars on Sunday morning, December 27. 'As soon as they noticed our car, they followed us to the church,' says priest Stefan. Combatants of the Right Sector who according to their own words arrived to maintain order, helped supporters of the UOC KP to enter the church premises and take control over the church⁸⁰. A video record of the incident demonstrates athletic men wearing uniform with armbands of the Right Sector in the midst of the Kiev Patriarchate priests⁸¹.

⁷⁸ Спроба захвату православного храму Житомирщина село Колодянка. // Відеозапис в аккаунте користувача «Борис Косянчук» в соціальній мережі Вконтакті. 21.12.2015. URL: https://vk.com/video56301234_171374450

⁷⁹ На Житомирщині в Свято-Никольському храмі скасовані служби // Православна життя. 18.12.2015. URL: <http://pravlife.org/content/na-zhitomirshchine-v-svyato-nikolskom-hrame-otmeneny-sluzhby>

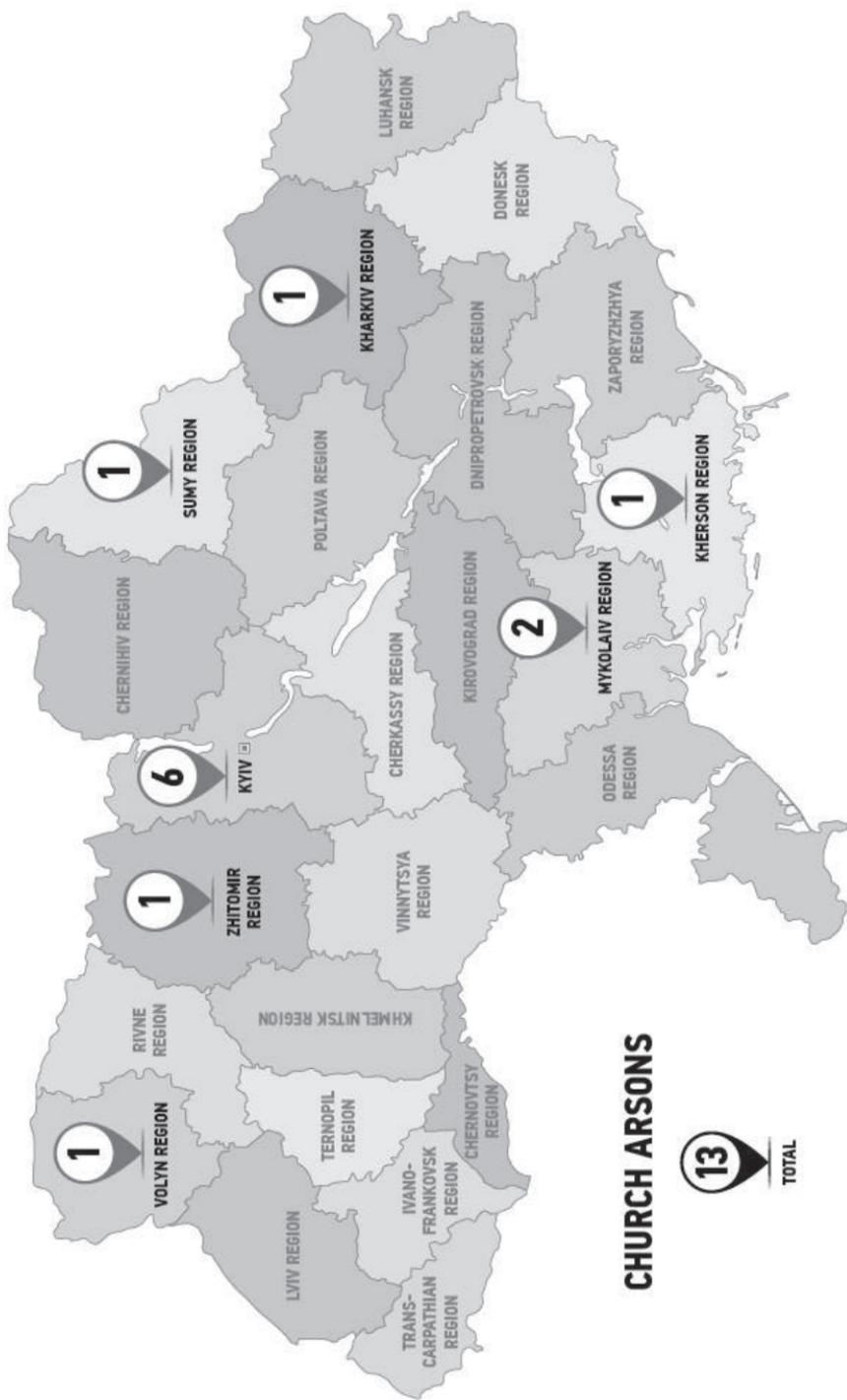
⁸⁰ «Навіщо нам той закон?»: На Житомирщині можуть встати на сторону церковних рейдерів // Сайт Синодального інформаційного відділу УПЦ. 28.12.2015. URL: <http://news.church.ua/2015/12/28/na-zhitomirshhini-pravij-sektor-znovu-dopomig-rozkolnikam-zaxopiti-xram-upc/>

⁸¹ В с.Колодянка Київський патріархат захопив церкву, яку побудувала УПЦ // Канал користувача «СПЖ І Спілка Православних Журналістів» на YouTube. 18.12.2015. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bP3q6kyhcC0>

‘Our affiliation with the canonical Ukrainian Orthodox Church is becoming a basic motive for political oppression and even outright violence, including pressures by the military and police, expert Roman Bortnik told Argumenty I Fakty newspaper on September 25, 2015. ‘If this situation continues, other confessions will be also infringed. Intolerance and xenophobia will start looking for other ‘enemies’⁸².

⁸² Чиновник Минкульту: Избиение православных милицией - это «провокация ФСБ» // Аргументы и факты-Украина. 25.09.2015. URL: http://www.aif.ua/society/social/chinovnik_minkulta_izbieniepravoslavnyhmiliciei_eto_provokaciya_fsb

2. Arsons of churches



CHURCH ARSONS

13
TOTAL

Deliberate fuelling hatred to the UOC resulted on top of all in numerous attempts of incinerations and desecrations of its churches. Our list includes cases of violence, in which the motive of ideological hatred was either proved or obviously present.

Overnight into March 8, 2014, an anonymous person made with black paint and in large letterings offensive and obscene inscriptions on the walls of John the Revelator church in Solnechnoye village of the Zhytomyr Region, blaming the UOC in contacts with Moscow⁸³.

Overnight into June 17, 2014, a wooden church of St. Varsonofy of Kherson chapel was burnt down in Kherson. UNIAN news agency reports that participants of the Maidan responded negatively to construction of this chapel and Stanislav Troshin, leader of Fatherland party in the Kherson city council, said after the arson that ‘it was an undoubted land expropriation by the church’, which justified the arsonists⁸⁴.

Overnight into August 15, 2014, two neighbouring UOC churches of St. Simeon and St. Sergiy, were set on fire in Mykolaiv with Molotov cocktails⁸⁵. Inscriptions resembling Scandinavian runes were left on the ruins,: ‘This is not our faith,

⁸³ ЖИТОМИР. Здійснено акт вандалізму проти православного храму // Православие в Украине. 10.03.2014. URL: <http://orthodoxy.org.ua/data/zhitomir-zdiysneno-akt-vandalizmu-proti-pravoslavnogo-hramu.html>

⁸⁴ В Херсоне неизвестные сожгли деревянную часовню УПЦ МП // УНИАН. 17.06.2014. URL: <http://www.unian.net/politics/929683-v-hersone-neizvestnyie-sojgli-derevyannuyu-chasovnyu-upts-mp.html>

⁸⁵ В Николаеве этой ночью неизвестные подожгли две церкви УПЦ бутылками с зажигательной смесью // УНИАН-Религии. 15.08.2014. URL: <http://religions.unian.net/religinossociety/951683-v-nikolaeve-etoy-nochyu-neizvestnyie-podojgli-dve-tserkvi-upts-butyilkami-s-zajigatelnoy-smesyuu.html>

glory to Odin' (St. Simeon church) and 'Gods watch' (St. Sergiy church)⁸⁶. On November 11, 2014, chief officer of city police department lieutenant-colonel Valery Koba in a briefing said that the criminals were detained. 'The young people offered resistance (one of the detainees applied tear gas against a police officer). Above all that, all three of them wore masks and had Molotov cocktails. It was found that the teenagers burned the churches... due to religious hatred. According to the eldest of the arsonists, the three boys worship gods of ancient Scandinavia, proved by the fact that inscriptions on one of the churches were made with allegedly Scandinavian or Slavic runes'⁸⁷. Vladimir Rogatin, local sect expert, told *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, that threatening graffiti had been noticed near the burnt churches several years before, showing up the word WotanJugend, which is the name of an international neo-Nazi group which joined the Right Sector at the beginning of the Maidan and then switched to the Azov battalion, where there are a lot of their fellow-believers⁸⁸.

Overnight into August 15, 2014, a hand-made bomb exploded near the entrance of juvenile church school of St. Luca of the Crimea church in Sumy. Fortunately, nobody was injured. 'Considering aggressive statements and threats against Orthodox believers of Sumy repeatedly made by representatives of distinct social and political segments and religious figures, the above-mentioned acts can possibly be a

⁸⁶ НИКОЛАЕВ. Поджог двух храмов за одну ночь - фото // Православие в Украине. 20.08.2014. URL: <http://orthodoxy.org.ua/data/nikolaev-etoy-nochyu-neizvestnyye-podozhgli-dva-hrama-butylkami-s-zazhigatelnoy-smesy-vedetsya>

⁸⁷ К поджогам храмов причастны малолетние... «викинги» // Новости Николаева. 11.10.2014. URL: <http://mk-news.mk.ua/%D0%BA-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%B6%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%B0%D0%BC-%D1%85%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%BE%D0%B2-%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%87%D0%B0%D1%81%D1%82%D0%BD%D1%8B-%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B%D0%B5%D1%82%D0%BD/>

⁸⁸ Мальцев Владислав. Викинги подожгли церковь и синагогу // НГ-Религии. 19.11.2014.

dangerous result of these irresponsible statements,' the Eparchy press-service reports⁸⁹.

A wooden church dedicated to Our Lady's icon Joy of all Sorrowers was set on fire overnight to **December 3, 2014**. The temple is situated on the premises of Kiev national historic and cultural preserve Babiy Yar. The offender hurled a bottle with incendiary liquid into a window. The custodian noticed the fire in time and extinguished the flames, thus only a wall, a window and a part of façade were deteriorated⁹⁰. An arson attempt repeated in the morning on **January 26, 2015** as the perpetrators tossed six bottles with incendiary liquid into the church luckily, three of them did not incinerate. (не переведено! - В результате была повреждена алтарная часть храма¹²⁰. На этот раз поджигатели сняли свои действия на видео и выложили для всеобщего просмотра в Интернет, сопроводив призывом: «Прочь московских попов из украинской Церкви»¹²¹.) *As a result, the fire damaged part of the sanctuary. On this occasion the arsonists filmed the action and made it public in the Internet with an appeal "Down with the Moscow priests in the Ukraine!"*

Overnight to **January 27, 2015**, St. Triphon church was set on fire in Troeshchina district of Kiev. The offender set fire to a car tyre (popular instrument with the Maidan activists) and threw it against the wall, as a result the building caught fire, the flames rising to the roof, the dome and the cross. The fire damage some icons and the roof burned down nearly by half. A leaflet saying 'Down with the Mos-

⁸⁹ В Сумах біля дверей дитячої недільної школи храмового комплексу Святого Луки Кримського спрацював саморобний вибуховий пристрій // Сайт Сумської єпархії УПЦ, 24.10.2014. URL: <http://portal-pravoslavie.sumy.ua/v-sumax-blya-dverej-dityacho-nedlno-shkoli-xramovogo-kompleksa-svyatitelya-luki-krimskogo-spracyuvav-samorobnij-vibuxovij-pristrj.html>

⁹⁰ Знову скоєно спробу підпалу столичного храму // Сайт Київської митрополії УПЦ, 03.12.2014. URL: <http://mitropolia.kiev.ua/znovu-skoye-no-sprobu-pidpalu-stolichnogo-xramu-2/>

cow Patriarchate in Ukrainian land' was left near the church⁹¹. The press-service of the Central Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine reports, 'During the examination of the crime scene it was established that a side part of the wooden building of the church was damaged by fire. Law enforcement agents found another tyre near the building which was also partly damaged by fire. Nobody was injured during the incidence. Investigation department of the Desnyansky district department of the Central department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine in Kyiv started a criminal proceeding for elements of crime stipulated by Rule 194, part 2 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (Deliberate damage of property through arson)⁹².

On **February 7, 2015**, an attempt to set on fire another Kiev church was made. 'On late Saturday evening, around 23:00 a custodian of St. Mark church in Balzac Street heard noise of a pulling up car and went out,' says bishop Kliment (Vecherya), vicar of Kiev Eparchy of the UOC. 'Evidently, the offenders heard him coming out and ran away, leaving the tyre. We consider it another attempt to set fire to the church, last time St. Triphon church was also set on fire with a tyre. But there was no guard there, only an alarm system⁹³.

On **April 22, 2015**, the church dedicated to Our Lady's icon Joy of all Sorrowers in Babiy Yar was set on fire for the

⁹¹ КИЇВ. В столиці підпалено храм на честь мученика Трифона // Сайт Синодального інформаційного відділу УПЦ. 27.01.2015. URL: <http://news.church.ua/2015/01/27/kijiv-v-stolici-pidpaleno-xram-na-chest-muchenika-trifona/>

⁹² У столиці правоохоронці встановлюють обставини пожежі в церкві // Сайт МВД України. 03.12.2015. URL: <http://www.mvs.gov.ua/mvs/control/rov/uk/publish/article/1252797>

⁹³ Мукало Максим. В Києве в третій раз попытались поджечь церковь УПЦ МП // Вести. 09.02.2015. URL: <http://vesti-ukr.com/kiev/88157-v-kieve-v-tretij-raz-popytalis-podzhech-cerkov-upc-mp>

third time. The Ministry of Internal Affairs reports that an outward wall of the building and a window were partly damaged⁹⁴. 'A custodian felt a strong smell of burning,' says the Prior of the church archpriest Segey Temnik. 'The fire was considerable. It took two fire extinguishers to put it down. Detectives and rescuers arrived to the fire scene. It is a third attempt to destroy the church. Previously, somebody hurled Molotov cocktails, yet the fire was insignificant. This time the attackers apparently changed their tactics, they poured fuel between decks and set the fire'⁹⁵.

The series of attacks on churches and priests of the UOC in Kiev does not seem to be accidental, as stated by nationalists. 'We gave up the siege of the Lavra [Monastery] in 1992. We did not storm it in 2014 during the Maidan since Patriarch Filaret asked us not to do it. We ceded them the Ternopol Region, and the whole Pochaiv Laura to these rogues and they made a small Moscow there, we won't let them repeat it in the capital. We will not make the third mistake,' Lana Samokhvalova, a journalist of *Ukrinform*, quoted 'one of regular participants of her programmes' on October 1 2015⁹⁶. The person is likely to be Dmitry Korchinsky, leader of *Bratstvo* (Brotherhood) right-wing radical organisation. It was he who was one of the leader of UNA-UNSO and tried to storm Kiev-Pechorskaya Laura on June 18,

⁹⁴ В Киеве третий раз подожгли храм в Бабьем Яру // Вести. 22.04.2015. URL: <http://vesti-ukr.com/kiev/97399-v-kieve-tretij-raz-gorel-hram-v-babem-jaru>

⁹⁵ У Києві в Бабиному яру невідомі облили бензином та підпалили храм УПЦ МП // УНІАН. 22.04.2015. URL: <http://www.unian.ua/society/1070177-u-kievi-v-babinomu-yaru-nevidomi-oblili-benzinom-ta-pidpalili-hram-upts-mp.html>

⁹⁶ Самохвалова Лана. Парад переходов: московские батюшки сменили рясы на судейские мантии // Укринформ. 01.10.2015. URL: <http://www.ukrinform.ru/rubric-community/1891753-parad-perehodov-moskovskie-batyushki-smenili-ryasyi-na-sudeyskie-mantii.html>

1992⁹⁷. Later militants of *Bratstvo* took part in the clashes in the Maidan, then he formed the Hundred of Jesus Christ of them which joined the Azov battalion⁹⁸, described by Western journalists as a ‘neo-Nazi brigade’ due to high number of Ukrainian and European followers of Hitler⁹⁹. Later Korchinsky formed his own special battalion of the Holy Mary under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Despite pseudo-religious terms he and his combatants exposed radicalism and practiced violent methods (Korchinsky had been expelled from UNA-UNSO for attempts to implement terroristic methods of Red Brigades) and hatred for canonical Orthodox.

Overnight to **May 24, 2015**, a hospital church of St. Panteleon was set on fire in Kovel and the fire started in two spots what means that it was not an accident or a spontaneous act of vandalism. Fire fighters who came after a call of a passer-by managed to extinguish the fire, however, the church school located on the ground floor of the church was partly damaged¹⁰⁰. This act took everybody buy surprise, as stated by the senior dean of Kovel district archpriest Vladmir Rovinsky ‘before the incident Kovel used to be a quiet town, though situated in western Ukraine, there were no provocations, arsons etc., unlike in Rovny and Volyn Eparchies¹⁰¹. Nevertheless, we cannot

⁹⁷ Гусев А. Ночной штурм Лавры с благословения Филарета // Независимость. 20.06.1992.

⁹⁸ A Brigade In Ukraine Is Fighting For Jesus // Vocativ. 07.07.2014. URL: <http://www.vocativ.com/world/ukraine-world/brigade-ukraine-fighting-jesus/>

⁹⁹ Parfitt Tom. Ukraine crisis: the neo-Nazi brigade fighting pro-Russian separatists // The Guardian. 11.08.2014.

¹⁰⁰ Ковель. Підпал храму // Сайт Владимиро-Вольховнської єпархії УПЦ. 24.04.2015. URL: <http://vv-orthodox.org/novyny/novyny-z-parafij/813-koveli-pidpal-hramu>

¹⁰¹ У Ковелі підпалили «лікарняний храм»: дрова не зайнялися, люди обурені // Православна життя. 25.05.2015. URL: <http://pravlife.org/content/u-koveli-pidpalili-likarnyaniy-hram-drova-ne-zaynyalisya-lyudi-obureni>

ignore the fact that on May 14, 2015, an article titled ‘Are our officials going to build a genuine Ukrainian State?’ was published in *Vesty Kovelshchiny* newspaper, containing a lot of defamatory statements about the UOC: ‘On December 12, 2014, Metropolitan Onufry called all clerics to recall in their prayers Patriarch of the UOC. It means that our people are to pray for the Patriarch and people who come to kill our brothers, for those who see nothing wrong in blessing the weapons intended to kill our patriots’. Then the author writes, ‘For our disgrace another Orthodox church is being built on the premises of a medical institution where a church community already exists . It is impossible to believe that some people among us are so imprudent... How is it possible that the authorities could permit construction of this building on the territory of a public institution? Nevertheless, I am sure that this mistake is easy to correct¹⁰². Apparently, someone obsessed with anti-Russian hysteria ‘corrected the mistake’ by an arson.

On October 22, 2015, two packages with five Molotov cocktails were found in fallen leaves during patrolling of the area adjacent to UOC Monastery of Intercession of the Holy Virgin in Kharkiv some 5-7 meters from the monastery wall. ‘This is a clear evidence of plans to set the religious buildings on fire at any moment,’ the press-service of the Kharkiv Eparchy reports¹⁰³.

Early in the morning on **January 5, 2016**, a wooden church dedicated to Petr Mogila in Kiev was set on fire. ‘According to the Vicar of the church, archpriest John Tronko, at approx-

¹⁰² Карасовська Любов. Чи наші можновладці думають будувати справжню Українську державу? // Вісті Ковельщини. 14.05.2015. URL: http://vk.volyn.ua/news_30_6327_CHinashimojnovladtsidumayutbuduvatispravjnyuUkrainskuderjavu.html

¹⁰³ ХАРКІВ. Попереджено теракт у Покровському монастирі // Сайт Синодального інформаційного отдела УПЦ. 27.01.2015. URL: <http://news.church.ua/2015/10/24/poperedzhenoterakt-u-xarkivskomu-pokrovskomu-monastiri/>

imately 2 a.m. offenders set on fire the north outer wall of the altar part of the church using incendiary liquid. As a result, the church façade was partly damaged, still the fire did not penetrate the building,' web site of Synodic informational department of the UOC reports¹⁰⁴. In the interview to the Union of Orthodox journalists Tronko added that a strong smell of petrol permeated the place.¹⁰⁵

On **October 27, 2015**, the Holy Synod of the UOC addressed the believers, 'Recently we have seen numerous attempts to take over churches of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, incidences of violence against our parishioners and even attempts of homicide. Unluckily, we are to state that some local authorities turn a blind eye on violations of the state law, while law enforcement bodies do not always protect legal rights of religious communities, clergy and believers of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. All these facts not only hamper implementation of Ukrainian citizens' constitutional right of freedom of conscience but also provokes social conflict in our country. Our assessment of a pending threat is not exaggerated - as proved above, a full-scale campaign against the UOC is being launched in the country by popular mass media, right-wing radicals, MPs from various parties, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Security Service of Ukraine and executive officers.

¹⁰⁴ В Киеве неизвестные пытались сжечь церковь (+ФОТО, ОБНОВЛЕНО) // Сайт Синодального информационного отдела УПЦ. 05.01.2016. URL: <http://news.church.ua/2016/01/05/v-kieve-neizvestnye-pytalis-szhech-cerkov-foto/?lang=ru>

¹⁰⁵ В Киеве неизвестные подожгли храм УПЦ // Союз православных журналистов. 05.01.2016. URL: <http://uoj.org.ua/novosti/sobytiya/v-kieve-neizvestnye-podozhgli-khram-upts>

3. Shelling of churches in Donetsk Region

During the so-called 'anti-terror operation' (ATO) in the Donetsk and Lugansk Regions, units of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (AFU) and the Ministry of Internal Affairs have repeatedly shelled UOC churches with large calibre artillery and mortars. A number of churches were completely destroyed by the shelling. No doubts that anything can be damaged during hostilities and all parties are guilty. However, as it will be proved below, in many cases shelling of churches by the Ukrainian army pursued the aim to intimidate local population (which is terrorism), motivated by xenophobia towards the Moscow Patriarchate (this attitude is also typical of civil servants, for example, an officer of Mariupol Secret Service of Ukraine speaking with a Ternopol accent asked in an offensive manner a detained celibate priest Feofan (Kratirov) what Moscow Church is doing in Ukraine¹⁰⁶), and witch-hunting denunciations made by popular mass media of alleged military bases and weapons stored in churches¹⁰⁷.

On **May 26, 2014**, during shelling of Slavyansk (the Donetsk Region) by the National Guards of Ukraine, church of Holy Virgin of State in Artem district was deteriorated by a nearby shell explosion. Five windows were broken and one side of the façade was damaged and a woman near the church was killed¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁶ Пытки в плену // Канал пользователя «Анатолий Шарий» на YouTube. 10.04.2015 URL: <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=qKTS3V18Ko8>

¹⁰⁷ Обстрел монастыря у аэропорта // Сайт Донецкой епархии УПЦ. 17.09.2014. URL: <http://www.donetsk.eparchia.ru/aeroport/>

¹⁰⁸ В Славянске мина разорвалась рядом с храмом, есть погибшие // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 26.05.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparchia.com.ua/v-slavyanske-mina-razorvalas-ryadom-s-hramom-est-pogibshie-1/>

Overnight into June 2, 2014, Ukrainian military shelled a church of St. Andrew the First-Called located in Mirny district on the south outskirts of Luhansk (the Lugansk Region). The church fence was riddled with bullets, the dome and windows were broken¹⁰⁹.

On **June 8, 2014**, Ukrainian military shelled a church of Holy Spirit in the centre of Slavyansk¹¹⁰.

Overnight into June 16, 2014, Ukrainian military shelled a church of St. Serafim of Sarov with 122mm howitzers in the town of Cherevkvovka near Slavyansk. Direct hits completely destroyed a chapel, a refectory and a custodian's house¹¹¹.

On June 16, 2014, the Ukrainian Army shelled the cathedral of St. Aleksandr Nevsky in Slavyansk¹¹². 'After the Night Mass an artillery shelling began from Karachun mountain,' says archpriest Nikolay Fomenko, dean of Aleksandr Nevsky district. There are no any checking-points or militia positions around us. I'm sure that they aimed at the church, one of the shells flew just between the bell tower and the central dome. 'the explosion wave tore a fragment on the roof of the bell tower, but, thanks God, nothing else

¹⁰⁹ Храм под огнем // Православие и мир. 02.06.2014. URL: <http://www.pravmir.ru/hram-pod-ognem/>

¹¹⁰ Несмотря на объявленное перемирие, в Славянске вновь обстрелян собор // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 21.06.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/nesmotra-na-obyavlennoe-peremirie-v-slavyanske-vnov-obstrelyan-sobor/>

¹¹¹ Украинские военные разбомбили церковь под Славянском // LifeNews. 16.06.2014. URL: <http://lifenews.ru/news/135085> Попал под обстрел храм преподобного Серафима Саровского в Славянске // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 16.06.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/ukrainskie-voennye-obstrelyali-eshhyo-odin-hram-v-slavyanske/>

¹¹² Несмотря на объявленное перемирие, в Славянске вновь обстрелян собор // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 21.06.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/nesmotra-na-obyavlennoe-peremirie-v-slavyanske-vnov-obstrelyan-sobor/>

was damaged, even the windows were not broken,' the priest adds¹¹³.

On June 19, 2014, the Ukrainian artillery deliberately shelled the oldest Orthodox church of Slavyansk, the church of Resurrection, which was built in 1775. 'The shells fell just near it: one flew a meter from the dome and the other one burst near the church premises on the road,' said archpriest Fomenko. 'The whole south façade was deteriorated, but the church itself was not damaged. The real tragedy is that the church custodian was killed. He was going to open the gates when a fragment of the shell hit him right in the head. He was taken to hospital, but doctors could not save his life'¹¹⁴.

On June 21, 2014, on the second day of a one-week ceasefire declared by President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko, shells of the Ukrainian Army again hit the cathedral of St. Aleksandr Nevsky in Slavyansk. 'One of them traveled over the premises... of the cathedral and hit a five-storey building behind it,' says archpriest Fomenko. 'Fragments deteriorated the altar wall. The explosion wave broke stained-glass and ordinary windows. The building itself is safe'¹¹⁵.

On June 29, 2014, violating the declared ceasefire, the Ukrainian army shelled residential areas of Slavyansk, the target was again the cathedral of St. Aleksandr Nevsky. 'The

¹¹³ Александрo-Невский кафедральный собор Славянска подвергся обстрелу собор // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ, 17.06.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/aleksandro-nevskiy-kafedralnyy-sobor-slavyanska-podvergsya-obstrely/>

¹¹⁴ Украинская армия обстреляла Воскресенский храм в Славянске, убит сторож // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ, 19.06.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/ukrainskaya-armiya-obstrelyala-voskresenskiy-hram-v-slavyanske/>

¹¹⁵ Несмотря на объявленное перемирие, в Славянске вновь обстрелян собор // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ, 21.06.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/nesmotrya-na-obyavlennoe-peremirie-v-slavyanske-vnov-obstrelyan-sobor/>

artillery attack began at 10 a.m., during the [Sunday] liturgy. Parishioners were singing Lord's Prayer when the first salvo came from Karachun mountain. Then there were several more salvos and one of them hit *Palyanitsa* bakery located a few meters from the church. The shop was torn to shreds and burnt to ashes. The saleswoman ran out when she heard the first salvo and it saved her life. During the shelling up to 1,000 persons gathered in the premises of the church,. There were a lot of prayers in the church who attended the service and of those who were waiting for relief aid in the yard. When the shelling began, people ran into the church.. It was overcrowded with people who prayed God on their knees, weeping . The explosion wave smashed stained windows glasses of the dome and it made people to pray even more ardently. The shelling continued for about half an hour. Artem district and the central market were also shelled. At last we heard a return fire from the city. Several salvos. We are convinced that we were the main target of the fire.¹¹⁶

'It seems that they want to intimidate people and spread panic among them,' says archpriest Nikolay Fomenko, dean of Aleksandr Nevsky district, referring shelling of residential houses and Orthodox churches by the Ukrainian Army and the National Guard¹¹⁷. It should be noted that information presented by Ukrainian mass media (refer to *Libel in Mass Media* chapter) in the second half of May and the first half of June 2014 invariably blamed the Orthodox Church of that its priests inspired 'separatists', that weapons were allegedly

¹¹⁶ Александрo-Невский собор Славянска обстреляли во время воскресной литургии // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ, 29.06.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/aleksandro-nevskiy-sobor-slavyanska-obstrelyali-vo-nbsp-vremya-voskresnoy-liturgii/>

¹¹⁷ Несмотря на объявленное перемирие, в Славянске вновь обстрелян собор // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ, 21.06.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/nesmotrya-na-obyavlennoe-peremirie-v-slavyanske-vnov-obstrelyan-sobor/>

stored in the churches, which provided shelter to the militants, that the Ukrainian military are allegedly attacked from there. As a result of this escalation of hatred, Orthodox churches of Slavyansk could have been deliberately shelled by the Ukrainian Army and the national Guard battalions.

From June 17 to June 30, 2014, the church of Holy Virgin Nativity was also deteriorated by repeated shelling in the village of Zakotnoye (the Donetsk Region). The web-site of UOC Horlivka and Slavyansk Eparchy presents a detailed register of destructions in the church, 'Fragments of mortar and artillery shells hit the church, doors and windows were damaged with bursts of sub-machine gunfire... doors of baptism house caught fragments of shells... The dome and walls of the bell tower were hit through with shells, frescos were partly damaged and doors in sacristy were shot through'¹¹⁸.

On July 6, 2014, Ukrainian artilleryists attacked a chapel of St. Nikolay the Wonderworker in Molodogvorgeysk (the Lugansk Region). According to a video released in the Internet, the chapel roof was completely destroyed, windows were broken, icon and interior of the chapel were damaged¹¹⁹.

On July 18, 2014, a church of St. Sergy of Radonezh was shelled in Lugansk. 'During the solemn Liturgy, 'God-loving' Ukrainian warriors sent "congratulations" on the church holiday to the clerics and parishioners of the church located in the edifice 49 a, Krasnoznamennaya Street, Lugansk, and once again demonstrated incredible accuracy of hitting the target,' celibate monk Ilarion (Yestkov), administrator of

¹¹⁸ Прихожане в селе Закотное восстанавливают храм Рождества Богородицы, пострадавший от обстрелов // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 10.09.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/prihozhane-v-sele-zakotnoe-vosstanavlivayut-hram-rozhdestva-bogoroditsy-postradavshiy-ot-obstrelov/>

¹¹⁹ В Краснодоне украинская артиллерия расстреляла церковь, построенную в честь 80 погибших шахтеров // Русская весна. 06.07.2014. URL: <http://rusvesna.su/news/1404700073>

Luhansk Eparchy web-site, wrote in Facebook commenting pictures and a video of damages caused by the shell. 'By the grace of God no one of those praying in the church at that moment was injured'. The exploded shell deteriorated only the church roof. Our believers send a low bow to the authorities and the army for the attention granted'¹²⁰.

On July 19, 2014, the roof of a new building of Ivesky convent burned down after the Ukrainian artillery attack. The convent is situated not far from the Donetsk airport¹²¹.

On July 20, 2014, the church of St. Gurias, Samon and Aviv was shelled in the centre of Lugansk during a service. 'The Sunday Liturgy was underway and the church was full with people,' archpriest Aleksey Slusarenko, a cleric of the church, reported to one of Orthodox web-sites. 'When preparing for the Holy Sacrament we heard a piercing howl of a mine and an explosion. Icons fell from the walls, the people tumbled down on the floor, the chorus got silent... Then we heard two more explosions. Fortunately, the Ukrainian artillerymen didn't get the building. As a result of the shelling, Sunday school under construction, the refectory and the fence were damaged'¹²².

On July 27, 2014, the Ukrainian Army shelled centre of Horlivka with heavy artillery. As a result of shelling, church of St. Pantaleon located on the premises of city hospital N2. Archpriest David Solomonishvily, the senior priest of the hospital church reports that the altar part of the church façade

¹²⁰ Запись в аккаунте «Иларион Иеромонах» в соцсети Facebook. 17.04.2014. URL: https://www.facebook.com/lg.eparxia/media_set?set=a.249961725214203.1073741974.100006011312770

¹²¹ В Донецке пострадал от пожара Иверский женский монастырь // Православие и мир. 20.07.2014. URL: <http://www.pravmir.ru/iverskiy-zhenskiy-monastyir-v-donetske-postradal-ot-pozhara/>

¹²² «На возгласе «Примите, ядите, Сие есть Тело Мое» послышался резкий свист мины и взрыв» - протоиерей Алексей Слюсаренко о приходской жизни военного Луганска // Вера и дело. 07.10.2014. URL: <http://veraidelo.org/na-vozglase-priimite-yadite-sie-est-t/>

was partly damaged, as well as the stone church wall, and windows were broken. The explosion wave beat out doors of the town-bell, one of the shell fragments got into the altar¹²³.

On **July 28, 2014**, a shell volleyed by the Ukrainian artillery burst on the premises of Gorlovka Eparchy Administration. Outer stairs, the façade and windows of the two-storey building were damaged. A man who was passing by the building was killed, he had his legs torn off¹²⁴.

On **July 29, 2014**, the Ukrainian artillery attacked the centre of Gorlovka and the shells fell several metres from a wooden Church of Annunciation and a nearby playground in Gorlovka¹²⁵.

On **August 6, 2014**, a church in honor of Our Lady Affection icon in the centre of Lugansk was deteriorated with artillery fire from the Ukrainian part. Archpriest Aleksandr Ponomarev, Prior of the church, recalls 'On August 6, a shell burst two meters from the façade'¹²⁶. It is confirmed by video from the incident scene released in the Internet¹²⁷.

¹²³ Обстрелян центр Горловки, много жертв, пострадала ГБ № 2 и храм при ней // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 27.07.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/obstreljali-tsentr-i-zhilye-kvartaly-goroda-postradal-hram-est-zhertvy/>

¹²⁴ Под обстрел попало Горловское епархиальное управление // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 28.07.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/pod-obstrel-popalo-gorlovskoe-eparhialnoe-upravlenie/>

¹²⁵ Вновь обстрелян центр Горловки, снаряды разорвались возле деревянного Благовещенского храма // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 29.07.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/vnov-obstreljan-tsentr-gorlovki-snaryady-razorvalis-voze-derevyannogo-blagoveshhenskogo-hrama/>

¹²⁶ Сбор помощи пострадавшему от обстрелов украинской артиллерии храму иконы Божией матери «Умиление» (г. Луганск) // Храм Живоначалной Троицы на Воробьевых горах. URL: http://hram-troicy.prihod.ru/zhizn_prikhoda/view/id/1188102

¹²⁷ Луганск 24. От обстрелов пострадал Храм «УМИЛЕНИЕ». 6 августа 2014 г. // Канал пользователя «Луганск24» на YouTube. 29.07.2014. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5UPSUNJBT1o>

On August 7, 2014, as a result of direct hit of artillery shell, a wooden church of Annunciation in Gorlovka was burned down to ashes¹²⁸.

On August 10, 2014, six people near the church were injured during shelling of the Epiphany Cathedral in Gorlovka. The wounded were taken to hospital. One of the women lost her hand, another man suffered shrapnel wounds of the legs and one more man had a cranial injury.

On August 11, 2014, church of St. Kiprian and Iustina in the Lugansk Regional Psycho-neurological Hospital was substantially damaged. 'The altar was damaged, windows were broken and a fragment got into paten... For the moment it is impossible to hold services in the church,' reports the web-site of Lugansk St. Olga convent, administrating the church. A number of icons was damaged with shell fragments. The church was restored only by November 2014¹²⁹.

Overnight into August 17, a projectile of missile launcher *Grad* struck through St. Peter and Paul's church in Mospi-no village (the Donetsk region) and fell on the church floor without exploding¹³⁰.

On August 20, 2014, the Church in honor of Our Lady Affection icon in Lugansk was shelled once again. As a result, according to the Prior, 'an explosion affected the roof of an outbuilding and burned it down completely. The event is documented with a video from the incident scene¹³¹. The web-

¹²⁸ В результате артиллерийского обстрела сгорел Благовещенский храм в Горловке // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ, 07.08.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/v-rezultate-artilleriyskogo-obstrelya-sgorel-blagoveshhenskiy-hram-v-gorlovke-1/>

¹²⁹ Архив летописи монастырской жизни // Сайт Луганского Свято-Ольгинского женского монастыря. URL: <http://cerkovnoe.church.ua/arhiv/25/>

¹³⁰ Донецкая область: в поселке Моспино из «Града» обстрелян храм // Православие.ру. 17.08.2014. URL: <http://www.pravoslavie.ru/news/73001.htm>

¹³¹ Church building hit by Ukraine military shelling // Канал пользователя «Graham Phillips» на YouTube. 20.08.2014. URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QiRk>

site of Holy Trinity church at Vorobyevy Mountains district in Moscow which Prior since June 2014 has been archpriest Andrey Tkachev who was forced to immigration from Odesa Region by the SSU, reports 'Apart from a water-boiling unit also used for heating of the cellar where local residents hide during shellings, there were also damaged the majority of stained-glass windows with holy images, nearly a half of the church façade, shells deteriorated domes, the entire premises and the roof'¹³².

On **August 21, 2014**, the premises of St. Olga convent in Krasnoye village (the Lugansk Region) were shelled. 'The projectiles fell right on the convent territory,' the convent web-site reports. 'Farming equipment and outbuildings were damaged, windows were broken. Nobody was injured, everybody remained alive'¹³³.

On **August 23, 2014**, the Ukrainian artillery shelled the church of St. John of Kronshtadt in the village of Kirovskoye (the Donetsk Region). 'The church is completely destroyed,' the web-site of the UOC Horlovka and Slavyansk Eparchy reports. According to archpriest Georgy Tsyganov, Prior priest of the church, the shelling occurred on the Sunday evening Mass at about 16.30. We were singing when a shell struck through the center of the roof and brought down the ceiling on the prayers. Candle-seller Olga Radchenko and parishioners Zinaida Meluga and Viktor Chernyshov died right on the spot. The second archpriest Sergiy Piven, his wife Ludmila and parishioners

7wbysLQ Novorossiya Militia Rush to Get Oxygen Canisters out of Building // Канал пользователя «Graham Phillips» на YouTube. 20.08.2014. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tWBJ78y4AwI>

¹³² Сбор помощи пострадавшему от обстрелов украинской артиллерии храму иконы Божией матери «Умиление» (г. Луганск) // Храм Живоначальной Троицы на Воробьевых горах. URL: http://hram-troicy.prihod.ru/zhizn_prikhoda/view/id/1188102

¹³³ Архив летописи монастырской жизни // Сайт Луганского Свято-Ольгинского женского монастыря. URL: <http://cerkovnoe.church.ua/arhiv/30/>

Ludmila, Nadezhda, Lubov and Lubov were taken to hospital with injuries of varying severity¹³⁴.

On August 23, 2014, archpriest Georgy Gulyaev, press-secretary of the Donetsk Eparchy, reported that the Church of Intercession of the Holy Virgin in Donetsk was partly damaged by artillery fire of the Ukrainian army. Fragments of the shells deteriorated the dome and stuck in the façade¹³⁵.

On August 25, 2014, the Ukrainian artillery damaged the Temple of St. John of Kronshtadt in the village of Trudovskiy in the western outskirts of Donetsk (the Donetsk Region). 'As a result of a direct hit... the building burned down to ashes with sacred utensils and clerical garments,' the web-page of the UOC Donetsk Eparchy reports. 'Nobody was killed. Archpriest Aleksandr Matveev, Prior of the church, and parishioners took refuge in the cellar for the whole day'¹³⁶. In October 2014, the church, still not repaired, appeared in the documentary *Open Letter without Name*, the Prior showing four-metre craters from the shells. 'It's likely to be *Uragan*, rather than *Grad*,' he said referring to the type of the missile launchers¹³⁷.

On August 28, 2014, during the shelling of Makeevka village with 155mm guns of the Military Forces of Ukraine,

¹³⁴ В Кировском в результате прямого попадания снаряда разрушен храм, есть жертвы (+фото +видео) // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 23.08.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/v-kirovskom-v-rezultate-pryamo-popadaniya-snaryada-razrushen-hram-est-zhertvy-1/>

¹³⁵ В Донецке в результате обстрела пострадал Покровский храм // Православие и мир. 26.08.2014. URL: <http://www.pravmir.ru/v-donetske-v-rezultate-obstrela-postradal-pokrovskiy-hram/>

¹³⁶ В Донецке снарядом разрушен храм святого праведного Иоанна Кронштадского // Сайт Донецкой епархии УПЦ. 25.08.2014. URL: <http://donetsk.church.ua/2014/08/25/v-donetske-snaryadom-razrushen-khram-svyatogo-pravednogo-Iohna-kronshtadskogo/>

¹³⁷ «Открытое письмо без названия» // Канал пользователя «Мирслав Бамбуков» на YouTube. 09.10.2014. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y7PGnx14Usk>

shells hit a boulevard near a kindergarten on September 8¹³⁸. Windows were also broken in St. Serafim of Sarov church located nearby.

On September 10, 2014, St. Nikolay church in the Lugansk village (the Lugansk Region) was shelled. The Lugansk deanery web-page reports, 'Four shells fell in the church premises... As a result, nearly all windows were broken in the church, walls and building coatings were also deteriorated. A custodian's house and administrative building were partly damaged (windows and doors were smashed)'¹³⁹.

On September 17, 2014, the Ukrainian military attacked Holy Iversky Convent near Donetsk. According to the UOC Donetsk Eparchy website, 'The UAF shell Holy Iversky Convent located right in front of the Donetsk airport, churches and other buildings of the convent are bombed'¹⁴⁰.

Shelling of Holy Iversky convent continued for a long time. On October 18, 2014, a documentary filmed in the convent was shown on *Zvezda* TV-channel. Journalists report that 'the convent located nearby the Donetsk airport is being shelled every day, numerous signs of shelling can be seen on facades of buildings ... inside the building there are piles of stones and shell fragments, some of them stuck in the icons'¹⁴¹. 'Not far from the Donetsk airport we finally see the church, or better to say, what has left of it. The Ukrainian military have destroyed the Holy Iversky convent in a month,' says the TV report broadcasted by *Pyaty*

¹³⁸ Макеевка, 29 августа: раны родного города глазами макеевчан (фоторепортаж) // Сайт города Макеевки. 29.08.2014. URL: <http://www.0623.com.ua/news/607826>

¹³⁹ «Беда не обошла и нас», - на Донбассе пострадал от обстрела еще один храм // Православие.ру. 10.09.2014. URL: <http://www.pravoslavie.ru/news/73496.htm>

¹⁴⁰ Обстрел монастыря у аэропорта // Сайт Донецкой епархии УПЦ. 17.09.2014. URL: <http://www.donetsk.eparchia.ru/aeroport/>

¹⁴¹ Бог с ними / God with them // Канал пользователя «Телеканал ЗВЕЗДА» на YouTube. 19.10.2014. URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wpCZbl4WaDo>

Russian TV-channel on October 28, 2014. 'The façade is cut with shrapnels. Several shells hit right into the building, made holes and almost destroyed the dome... At any moment it can collapse. The ceiling is covered with wide cracks... A few shell fragments hit the icon of Our Lady of Iversk... The church is in the center cemetery. There is no intact gravestone left. The craters are on the graves'¹⁴². The same scene was shown by the Channel One. 'The entire church was riddled with shell fragments. The church dome was deteriorated worst of all, several shells hit there and the other parts of the church are no better. The Altar and the walls - bullets holes and signs of damage are everywhere'¹⁴³.

The fire was conducted from the Ukrainian side and was, which was not accidental. Moreover, these actions were supported by a number of high-ranking officials in Kiev. For example, on March 20, 2015, President's assistant Yuriy Birukov published a video on Facebook made by the Ukrainian side, demonstrating the shelling of cemetery of Holy Iversky convent. The shelling of graves was sarcastically commented by a Ukrainian military as if he were playing a war game. Later Birukov deleted the video but it had already widely spread on the Internet¹⁴⁴.

On **October 11, 2014**, the Ukrainian military shelled the convent with incendiary projectiles from 120mm mortars¹⁴⁵. It should be noted that Protocol III of Convention on Con-

¹⁴² Свято-Иверский женский монастырь разрушили украинские силовики // Пятый канал. 28.10.2014. URL: <http://www.5-tv.ru/news/91188/>

¹⁴³ 2014 Новости сегодня - Разрушенный монастырь. Ополченцы ставят свечи за погибших друзей // Канал пользователя «Пограничная зона» на YouTube. 28.10.2014. URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3VFW28CRA0c>

¹⁴⁴ Разгром монастырского кладбища. Скандальное видео Юрия Бирюкова в Фейсбуке. // Канал пользователя «Mr. Valdemar» на YouTube. 20.03.2015. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cvhr3KB4J9M>

¹⁴⁵ Силовики обстреляли фосфорными бомбами женский монастырь // LifeNews. 11.11.2014. URL: <http://lifenews.ru/news/144732>

ventional Weapons of 1980 prohibits the use of incendiary weapons against civil targets.

On November 21, 2014, two shells from *Grad* multiple missile launcher hit the territory of St. Aleksandr Nevsky church in Debaltsevo. The dome roof was deteriorated, windows were broken. Doors and windows were also broken in a nearby chapel¹⁴⁶.

On October 18, 2015, as a result of shelling St. Nikolay church near the railway station of Donetsk was deteriorated. The explosion broke windows, damaged the façade and the icon of St. Nikolay Wonderworker over the church entrance door¹⁴⁷.

Overnight into January 27, 2015, church of Intercession of the Holy Virgin built in 1811 was shelled from *Grad* rocket launchers in the village of Luganskoye (the Donetsk Region). The shell fell right in front of the church. Windows and the façade were partly damaged, as well as the sacristy where the roof and doors were heavily damaged¹⁴⁸.

On January 26, 2015, three mortar mines burst near the church of Icon of Joy of All Sorrowers in Uglesnab settlement (the Donetsk Region). Windows of the church, baptism chapel, Sunday school and the custodian's house were broken, the façade and the church fence were deteriorated¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁶ Храм в Дебальцево подвергся артиллерийскому обстрелу // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 21.10.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/v-debaltsevo-hram-by-l-obstrelyan-iz-ustanovok-grad/>

¹⁴⁷ Свято-Николаевский храм. Донецк. ТВ СВ-ДНР Выпуск 320 // Канал пользователя «Суть Времени» на YouTube. 18.01.2015. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j4DqU6EMCsE>

¹⁴⁸ Из установок «Град» обстрелян старинный храм в посёлке Луганское // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 19.02.2015. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/iz-ustanovok-grad-obstrelyan-starinnyy-hram-v-posyolke-luganskoe/>

¹⁴⁹ В результате миномётного обстрела посёлка Углеснаб в Горловке пострадал Всехскорбященский храм (обновлено) // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 26.01.2015. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/v-rezultate-minomyotnogo-obstrelya-posyolka-nikitovka-v-gorlovke-postradal-vsehskorbyashhenskiy-hram-1/>

On January 31, 2015, Epiphany Cathedral in the centre of Gorlovka was deteriorated with artillery shelling. A direct hit caused fire, the refectory was partly damaged. The people in the building were not injured. Windows of the cathedral and nearby buildings were broken¹⁵⁰.

At the end of January 2015, (the exact date is not known) the church of St. Ignaty in Donetsk located near the airport was shelled. A video from the place was published on YouTube on February 7, 2015. The date is not specified, the church itself can be recognised by its silhouette and the airport not far from it¹⁵¹. On March 10, pictures of the church, ‘hit by with shelling’ (without specifying the responsible party) were published by *RIA-Novosty in Ukraine* news agency. They reported that the shelling resulted in ‘damaging of two domes of the church, broken roof, frescos and a side wing’¹⁵². On April 12, 2015, NTV TV-channel made a story about the celebration of Easter in this restored church in the Donetsk Region. ‘This Easter for the first time in the last several months St. Ignaty church welcomes parishioners. The Ukrainian military shelled the church in January. The explosions were so strong that two domes were literally torn off for a dozen metres away, there was no unbroken window left’¹⁵³. (It

¹⁵⁰ Артиллерийским снарядом повреждена трапезная Божоявленского кафедрального собора Горловки // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 19.02.2015. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/artilleriyskim-snaryadom-povr-ezhdena-trapeznaya-bogoyavlenskogo-kafedralnogo-sobora-gorlovki/> ВСУ среди бела дня устроили массированный обстрел Горловки [Эксклюзив КП] // Канал пользователя «Комсомольская Правда» на YouTube. 31.01.2015. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pk-YAM0bTKs>

¹⁵¹ Фашисты ВСУ НАТО обстреляли церковь в Донецке Январь 2015 - NATO destroyed the church in Donsk // Канал пользователя «gus31news» на YouTube. 07.02.2015. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sL9ViM4Bzsg>

¹⁵² Донецкий храм, пострадавший от обстрелов // РИА Новости Украина. 10.03.2015. URL: http://rian.com.ua/photolents/20150310/364598457_364598289.html

¹⁵³ Жители Донецка встретили Пасху под обстрелом // НТВ. 12.04.2015. URL: <http://www.ntv.ru/novosti/1392297>

is confirmed by the video where one can see two torn away domes). Finally, an article published on the UOC Donetsk Eparchy web-site in May 2015 says, 'The church was damaged, the explosions hit the dome, the bell tower, broke windows, but the church resisted. So did the people, who had repaired the church by Easter, cleared up the premises, though craters and holes in the brick walls still remind about the sorrows of war'¹⁵⁴.

On **February 19, 2015**, a shell launched by the Ukrainian military burst near the chapel of St. Viktor in the Public Garden of Gorlovka Heroes. Splinters deteriorated the roof, façade and windows of the chapel¹⁵⁵.

On **August 25, 2015**, Administration of the UOC Gorlovka and Slavyansk Eparchy were deteriorated during an artillery attack of the centre of the city. Windows, entrance doors and façade were damaged¹⁵⁶.

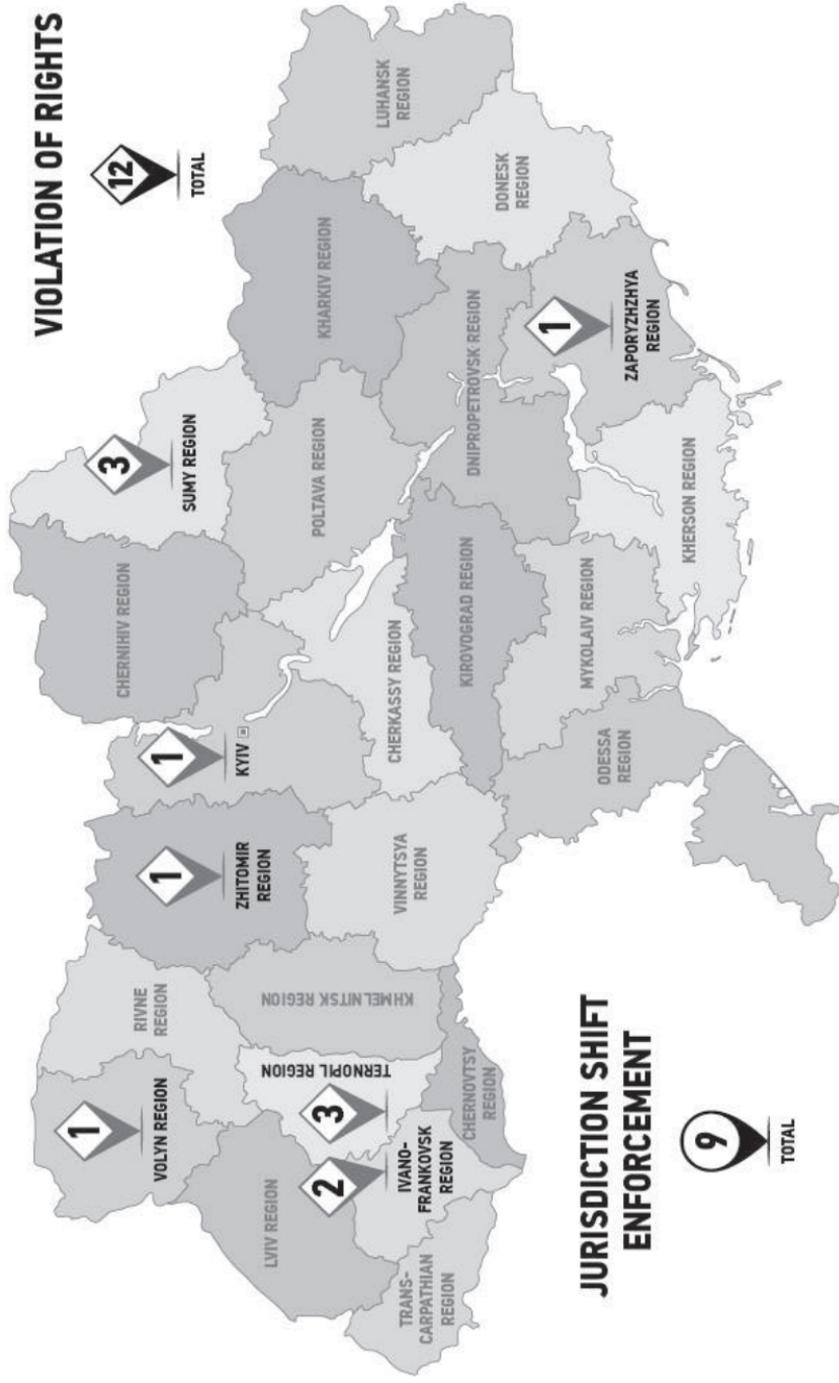
¹⁵⁴ Храм-страдалец отметил свой престольный день // Сайт Донецкой епархии УПЦ. 13.05.2015. URL: <http://donetsk.church.ua/2015/05/13/khram-stradalec-ot-metil-svojj-prestolnyj-den/>

¹⁵⁵ Часовня мученика Виктора в Горловке повреждена осколками снаряда // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 19.02.2015. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/chasovnya-muchenika-viktora-v-gorlovke-povrezhdena-oskolkami-snaryada/>

¹⁵⁶ Горловское епархиальное управление пострадало от артобстрела // Сайт Горловской и Славянской епархии УПЦ. 25.08.2015. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/gorlovskoe-eparhialnoe-upravlenie-postradalo-ot-artobstrelya/>

4. Attacks on Priests

VIOLATION OF RIGHTS



JURISDICTION SHIFT ENFORCEMENT

Religious purges in Ukraine which began after the coup in Kiev in 2014 expressed in the form of attacks on clerics of the Moscow patriarchate. Their practical aim is to intimidate the Church, make it obey the new authorities and to suppress any dissidence in the Ukrainian society by threats and tortures. It does not matter whether the attacks are committed by officers of the Security Service of Ukraine or members of various radical organisations (though they are proved to have close cooperation, for example, in 2012, Valentin Nalivaychenko, Head of the SSU since February 24, 2014 to June 18, 2015, had run for the Ukrainian Parliament and his official deputy had been one of the leaders of *Stepan Bandera* *Trizub* right-wing radical organisation and the future leader of the Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh).

4.1. Persecution by SSU

Odessa mass media report that in the morning on **April 1, 2014**, ‘SSU officers, ten sub-machine gunners and an investigator from Kiev... broke into’ the house of archpriest Oleg Mokryak, chairman of Eparchy department of the UOC Odessa Eparchy for religious education, missionary work and catechism, ‘and searched it over’¹⁵⁷. Later, it was specified in the official announcement of the eparchy, that ‘In compliance with the decision of Shevchenkovsky court of Kiev dated March 24, 2014, and in response to application of V.Y. Furik, investigator of the Central Department of the SSU, a search was conducted in the house of archpriest Oleg Mokryak, Prior of St. Tatyana church, chairman of Eparchy department of the UOC Odessa Eparchy for religious education, missionary work and catechism, father of three children. Priest Andrey is accused of a crime stipulated by Rule 110, part 1 and part 2 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine, that is activity hostile to national security of Ukraine. The search was conducted by an investigator from Kiev accompanied by six officers of *Alfa* special battalion, armed with sub-machine guns. According to the protocol the witnesses were two citizens of Ukraine, one of them was from the Cherkassy city and the other from the Volyn Region, both arrived together accompanied by special agents. The tactics of the SSU demonstrate that security services oppressing population of the South-East of Ukraine can not rely on the support of their criminal activity by residents of Odessa and therefore bring with them both witnesses and investigators from other regions. Armed to the teeth elite force officers ordered to search over of a house of an unarmed and defenceless

¹⁵⁷ В дом одесского священника ворвались 10 автоматчиков // Odessit.ua. 01.04.2014. URL: <http://www.odessit.ua/news/odessa/26651-v-dom-odesskogo-sv-yaschennika-vorvalis-10-avtomatchikov.html>

priest evoke circumstances of the arrest of Our Lord Jesus Christ by Pharisees and high priests¹⁵⁸.

On April 4, 2014, armed officers of the UOC broke into the Holy Transfiguration church in Gusintsy village of the Kiev Region. 'Armed people in balaclavas calling themselves officers of the SSU desecrated the Altar and searched over the church, press-service of the UOC of the MP reports,' journalists quote the press-service of the UOC. 'The sacrilegious abuse was made under the pretense of searching weapons which had allegedly been bought by Moscow Patriarchate and stored in the church to support Russian aggression'. The fact of the search had been confirmed by the police solicited by the clergy. 'Clerics called the police saying that some armed people irrupted in to the holy place. The police squad corroborated the fact of investigation procedure in the church. The search was conducted by the SSU and the prosecutor's officers,' Nikolay Zhukovich, spokesman of the Ministry of internal Affairs of Ukraine Department in the Kiev region, told *Vesty* newspaper¹⁵⁹.

Having dealt with Mokryak the SSU turned their attention to archpriest Andrey Novikov, secretary of the UOC Odessa Eparchy. 'I got a phone call from that very investigator of the SSU who had already become notorious for an attempt to detain the cleric of our Eparchy archpriest Oleg Mokryakov with the help of armed gunners of *Alfa* special battalion. I asked them if they were going to arrest me and he answered that it would be decided after an interrogation,'

¹⁵⁸ Открытое обращение духовенства и верующих Одесской епархии Украинской Православной Церкви к председателю Верховной Рады Украины А. В. Турчинову // Сайт Одесской епархии УПЦ. 02.04.2014. URL: http://eparhiya.od.ua/sobyitiya/sobyitiya/1999-otkryitoe-obraschenie-duhovenstva-i-veruyuschih-odesskoy-eparhii-ukrainskoy-pravoslavnoy-tserkvi-k-predsedatelyu-verhovnoy-radyi-ukrainyi--a_v_turchinovu

¹⁵⁹ СБУ нагрязнула с обыском в церковь Московского патриархата // Вести. 08.04.2015. URL: <http://vesti-ukr.com/kiev/95548-sbu-nagrjanula-s-obyskom-v-ckrkov-moskovskogo-patriarhata>

Novikov confessed to *Vzglyad* web-site on April 15, 2014¹⁶⁰. The threatened priest had to flee from Ukraine on April 11 and never came back fearing repressions.

On **May 25, 2014**, combatants of the National Guard detained 41-year-old archpriest Vladimir Maretsky, Prior of St. Nikolay church in Raygorodok village in the Lugansk Region, accused of violating Rule 258 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (terrorism), and brought him to Kharkov detention center with a bag on his head.

This is how Maretsky describes his arrest: ‘Some militaries stopped me, forced me lie on the road, beat me, put sacs on my head and took me to their base, and beat me all the time.’¹⁶¹. ‘My husband was taken prisoner by the National Guard with a group of 13 men,’ says the priest’s wife Ingatskaya. ‘Simultaneously, they shot a self-defence combatant and two civilians. Other people were taken to the village of Polovinkino in Novoaydarsk district [the Lugansk Region] where they were beaten and tortured’¹⁶². ‘It was far more than an ordinary thrashing. The punishers were killing us. They fired at us, broke bones, hit not only with fists and legs but with rifle butts and other objects,’ the released priest related later of the tortures at the SSU base¹⁶³. According to unofficial information, on May 27, Maretsky balancing between life and death, ‘in a critical state, with swollen kidneys’ was secretly brought to Khar-

¹⁶⁰ Сергеева Кристина. «Из СБУ уже никто не возвращается» // Взгляд. 15.04.2014. URL: <http://www.vz.ru/world/2014/4/15/682187.html>

¹⁶¹ Пытки на Украине: над священником издевались за сочувствие к ополченцам // Программа «Вести». 30.05.2014. URL: <http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1635800>

¹⁶² Владимирова Алина. Отец Владимир Марецкий - террорист или мученик? // Украина.ру. 29.06.2014 URL: <http://ukraina.ru/interview/20140629/1009650554.html>

¹⁶³ Предлагала нашу группу сдать на органы - освобожденный из плена священник о Савченко // Телеканал «Звезда». 16.09.2014. URL: http://tvzvezda.ru/news/vstrane_i_mire/content/201409161327-lnnq.htm

kov detention center of the SSU¹⁶⁴. It is confirmed with official reports that on May 30, 2014, Maretsky was taken to Kharkov court where he lost consciousness and taken to hospital where the doctors confirmed the fact of tortures¹⁶⁵. 'Father Andrey an hardly stand,' journalists who took pictures of him related¹⁶⁶. The priest was released only on September 16, 2014 (after nearly four month in the captivity of the National Guard and the SSU) and thanks to prisoners exchange program concerted with the self-defence forces¹⁶⁷.

On **November 13, 2014**, it turned out that the SSU issued an arrest warrant against Sergey Kushnir, Prior of Holy Trinity church in Pasechnoye village in the Kyiv Region, on a charge of separatism¹⁶⁸. Two months earlier, militants of the Right Sector and priests of the Kiev Patriarchate failed to take over this church (see *Forcible occupations of Religious Buildings* chapter). On this occasion the SSU once again supported the nationalists.

On March 3, 2015, celibate monk Feofan (Kratirov) was abducted from St. Nikolay monastery in the Donetsk Re-

¹⁶⁴ «Священник Владимир Марецкий находится в тяжелом состоянии, ему нужна срочная операция» // Русская народная линия. 02.06.2014. URL: http://ruskline.ru/news_rl/2014/06/03/svyawennik_vladimir_mareckij_nahoditsya_v_tyazhelom_sostoyanii_emu_nuzhna_srochnaya_operaciya

¹⁶⁵ Священник из Луганской области заявил о пытках со стороны украинских военных // Интерфакс. 31.05.2014. URL: <http://www.interfax.ru/world/378922>

¹⁶⁶ Пытки на Украине: над священником издевались за сочувствие к ополченцам // Программа «Вести». 30.05.2014. URL: <http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1635800>

¹⁶⁷ Задержанный по делу о нападении на избирательные участки в Луганской области священник спустя почти четыре месяца отпущен на свободу // Интерфакс-Религия. 15.09.2014. URL: <http://www.interfax-religion.ru/?act=news&div=56456>

¹⁶⁸ Скандал под Киевом: священнику-сепаратисту светят 15 лет тюрьмы за антиукраинские проповеди // Joinfo.ua. 13.11.2014. URL: http://joinfo.ua/society/1051573_Skandal-Kievom-svyaschenniku-separatistu-svetyat.html

gion. ‘I came home which is near the monastery, a group of people in black burst in, they threatened me with arms and accused me of being accomplice of the enemies, such as Russians and Chechens,’ he narrated later to the Anatoly Shary. ‘They took from the house everything they could reach for, and escorted me to a mini-bus and put me in the boot. They took me to Blagodatnoye and there they put me into another car to bring to the SSU in Mariupol. The SSU in Mariupol is a disgusting place. I was imprisoned in the basement near a shooting-gallery. There was a large pool of blood moped up in a hurry - someone was tortured or killed’. Later it became clear whose blood it was.

‘Self-defence combatants (they were often taken in and out of that place) told me what happened in that shooting gallery. They saw people being placed against the shooting targets and interrogated at gunpoint. If they didn’t like the answer, they put a bullet through a person’s leg or arm¹⁶⁹. Celibate monk Feofan spent in the SSU over a month and was released only on April 8. Right after being released, the cleric told journalists of the tortures which he had suffered in the SSU. ‘It looks like a story about tortures in Guantanamo where they dip your head in a bucket of water to choke you. Sometimes they beat you with bats indiscriminately, while your hands are cuffed behind. They pull out confessions from you- for example they say - it was this way - confirm it, if not - they pour water on you or beat you with a club until you confirm...’¹⁷⁰. On March 10, a well-known Ukrainian journalist Anatoly Shary¹⁷¹ published a detailed

¹⁶⁹ Пытки в плену // Канал пользователя «Анатолий Шарий» на YouTube. 10.04.2015 URL: <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=qKTS3V18Ko8>

¹⁷⁰ Священник украинской православной церкви Московского патриархата обвинил силовиков в пытках // Первый телеканал. 08.04.2015. URL: <http://www.1tv.ru/news/world/281430>

¹⁷¹ Пытки в плену // Канал пользователя «Анатолий Шарий» на YouTube. 10.04.2015 URL: <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=qKTS3V18Ko8>

story of celibate priest Feofan on his page in YouTube (for the moment, the video has over 284 thousand viewers), the same did on his own page in Youtube Georgy Kotenok, editor-in-chief of *Segodnya* independent news web-site, on April 25¹⁷².

‘The most fearsome thing I remember,’ the monk told Shary, ‘is when they drag you out of the basement, put a bag on your head and cuff your hands behind, which means a coming torture... Once they took me to the other side of the passage, - the shooting-gallery. First, a man from western Ukraine (from Ternopol region judging by his accent) sat down beside me. And he said that if I didn’t tell everything they wanted, - you get it? - they would take me to the airport where volunteer battalions would give me a proper handling’¹⁷³. The priest’s story reaffirms contacts between the SSU and nationalists, a lot of whom serve in the National Guard or units of special forces.

In his interview monk Feofan recalls a question asked by the SSU officer with a ‘special anxiety’,: ‘And what the Moscow church does on our land?’ This kind of rhetoric is common for nationalists from western Ukraine.

Then, according to the cleric, a new SSU officer came (neither he was local) who in his turn accused him of keeping contacts with separatists. Tortures started. ‘At first I sat on a bench with a bag on my head, hands were cuffed behind. The cuffs were not of ordinary type, which can be rotated, these ones were like stocks, which move only forwards and backwards. They started to ask me questions. If I did not answer what they wanted to hear, I got a blow to

¹⁷² Отец Феофан: мучения и пытки в тюрьме укронацистов // Канал пользователя «Георгий Котенок» на YouTube: интернет-сайт. 25.04.2015 URL: <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=mMXEg3Joipk>

¹⁷³ Пытки в плену // Канал пользователя «Анатолий Шарий» на YouTube. 10.04.2015 URL: <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=qKTS3V18K08>

the kidneys. First they beat me with a plastic baton, not a rubber one. Then they worked a baseball-bat, beating me on the legs and liver. When it had no effect, they said they would talk me in another way. They put me on the floor, back down on my cuffed hands, the cuffs cutting in painfully. Then they put on me two low benches, the kind you have in a sports gym, and sat on them. Then they started to beat my legs with a truncheon. What followed was like they torture in American prison of Guantanamo, as people say. They put a cloth on your face and pour water from a bucket, and they do it in such a way you cannot breathe or resist. You try to take a breath but you inhale water. You gasp for breath. And it goes on for a hour or more, until you have convulsions, or probably it continues longer, you lose a notion of time. It was unbearable, of course... There were two more men in my cell, some criminal hooks, as I understood. I looked so awful that even they were afraid. I could not sit properly, I suffocated, then hallucinations began. They knocked on the door, saying they were afraid I would die right now, asking for help. A guard came in and asked, 'are you pretending, look me in the eyes'. I tried to look but could not even raise my head. He said that he would call a doctor but if I was pretending, he would break my head right then and there... It was just 10-11 grades below zero in the cell and in the shooting gallery it was even colder, I was drowned like a rat, drying the clothes with heat of my body. This is what I was like when they told me to write down evidence. Later I asked a doctor on duty and he said that I was taken to hospital from the shooting gallery about half to midnight. I filled in the papers for two or three hours, and I wrote whatever they told me as when I told the truth, they said that it was a lie, it was not that but this way. They beat me and shed water, and discharged an electric shocker in the legs and back. This is how they

interrogated me¹⁷⁴. In another interview the monk specifies that he was beaten on the knee cups with a plastic baton and after the electric shocker he had 'a burn, and a smell of scorched flesh could be felt', while after the water torture 'he had enormous spasms as if he suffered tetanus,' though they placed heavy benches on him¹⁷⁵.

¹⁷⁴ Пытки в плену // Канал пользователя «Анатолий Шарий» на YouTube. 10.04.2015 URL: <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=qKTS3V18Ko8>

¹⁷⁵ Отец Феофан: мучения и пытки в тюрьме укронацистов // Канал пользователя «Георгий Котенок» на YouTube: интернет-сайт. 25.04.2015 URL: <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=mMXEg3Joipk>

4.2. Terror of Volunteer Battalions

Combatants of volunteer battalions, a lot of whom were recruited in spring 2014 among militants of national organisations, repeatedly demonstrated violence towards priests of the Ukrainian Orthodox church in the anti-terror operation region. It was partly a result of the atmosphere of hatred created by popular Ukrainian mass media, depicting the UOC as ‘accomplices of terrorists’ and ‘agents of Moscow’.

Information about an entire range of such cases was provided in an open letter sent by Metropolitan of Kiev and the whole Ukraine Onufry (Berezovsky) to Petro Poroshenko, the Ukrainian president, on July 31, 2014:

‘On July 2014, unknown armed people in camouflage entered St. Michael church in the city of Krasnoarmeysk in the Donetsk Region during a liturgy and hindered the service. Parishioners begged them to leave the church. The intruders asked parishioners if the church paid taxes and why there was guards on the territory and promised to come back.

On the same day, archpriest Aleksandr Kondratuk, Prior of St. Michael church in Krasnoarmeysk, solicited V.V. Polyakha, chief of Krasnoarmeysk city police to help to identify the armed people who intruded the church. The priest was assured that he would receive help. In the evening archpriest Aleksandr got a phone call from V.V. Galuzinets, the city chief of the SSU, and was asked for a personal meeting. During the meeting V.V. Galuzinets said that Pavel Kishkar, director of informational department for the ATO of *Donbass* volunteer battalion, contacted him and said that he was going to arrive at the St. Michael church with masked men and have a small talk with the Prior archpriest Aleksandr Kondratuk and even to abduct him.

The chief officer of the SSU in Krasnoarmeysk asked them to settle all the questions with the priest at a personal meeting and they agreed. The meeting took place on July 14 in the City

police department of Krasnoarmeysk. Pavel Kishkar attended the meeting accompanied by unknown armed men one of whom was in a mask. They questioned the priest on the internal life of the congregation, such as: how the church funds are distributed, why there is a guard on the church premises and many others. On top of all, groundless accusations were raised against the Church and its clerics. At the end of the so-called discussion, P. Kishkar noted that as the director of information department for the ATO of *Donbass* battalion he is authorized to inspect any organisations and institutions and do whatever is essential for the welfare of Ukraine.

Another vexatious case occurred on July 30, 2014 in the village of Krasnoarmeyskoye in Novoazovsky district of the Donetsk Region. A car with “Dnepr” inscription pulled up to the house of archpriest of St. Aleksander Nevsky church, a group of unknown armed people wearing camouflage uniform got out. Archpriest Igor in his clerical garb went to meet them. They insulted him personally and offended his clerical dignity, asked him how much money he sent to Moscow and accused him of complicity to bandits.

After that those people made an illegal search in the cleric’s house, forced him to admit his participation in some underground organisation and threatened to take him ‘to a place where he would confess of everything’. After that they required that archpriest Igor Sergienko would leave Ukraine in two days and bring to the village council the constituent documents for St. Aleksandr Nevsky church and an act of donation of all its property.

An similar case occurred on July 30, 2014, with archpriest Yevgeny Podgorny, the dean of Amrosyevsky district, at a checking point on the intersection of Amvrosiyevka, Blagodatnoye and Rodniky roads in Amrosyevsky district in the Donetsk Region.

While searching over the priest’s car they uttered obscenities and accused him of sponsoring the Donetsk Peo-

ple's Republic, the former president of Ukraine V.F. Yanukovich, claimed that "Moscow popes" were informants of enemies and advisers on their military activity. During the search nothing was found in the car, still it was purposefully damaged. Then they took archpriest Yevgeny Podgorny to the checking-point, tied up his hands and threw him on the ground. They started to beat him up with rifle butts on the chest and kidneys, hit on the head with their feet, making him to confess that he was a corrector of the enemies' artillery fire and other groundless accusations. They humiliated the priest and forced him to take off the cross, but he rejected. After that they tore off the cross from the tumbled down and tied up priest and continued to humiliate and intimidate him. Then they drove the priest's car to his house in Rodniky village. With a bag on his head they put him into a pit, made an unauthorized search in the house, intimidated his wife and children and accused his 16-year-old son of compliance to bandits and threatened to kill him. During the search they confiscated his personal decorations, church money (3,000 hryvnas, approximately 120 USD) and the car. Fortunately, parishioners and other clerics intervened, so they the priest was after all released. The cleric told that he used to cross that checking point every day visiting parishes he was responsible for, the soldiers knew that he was a priest and asked him for crosses and icons. The clergyman is convinced that he and his family are in a real danger¹⁷⁶.

More similar cases were cited in a message of Patriarch of Moscow and the whole Russia Kirill addressed to the heads of Orthodox churches all over the world on August 14, 2014:

¹⁷⁶ Місцєблєуститєль Київськї митрополїчї катєдрї звєрнувсѧ до Прєзїдєнтѧ Укрѧїни // Сѧйт УПЦ, 31.07.2014. URL: <http://news.church.ua/2014/07/31/misceblyustitel-kijivskoji-mitropolichoji-kafedri-zvernuvsya-do-prezidenta-ukrajini-2/>

‘On July 19, [2014], His Reverend archpriest Andrey Chicherinda, dean of Nikolayevsky district of Gorlovka Eparchy, was exposed to insults and interrogation with his hands cuffed and threatened of murder.

On July 20, [2014], persons armed with submachine guns made archpriest Vadim Yablonsky to dig a grave for himself, and on the same day they cuffed archpriest Viktor Stratovich and took him to a forest with a bag on his head where they put him on the knees and interrogated him in this position¹⁷⁷.

‘On November 23, 2014, combatants of *Zolotyey Vorota* battalion of the Ministry of Internal Affairs physically abused archpriest Aleksandr Mikheev, Prior of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin church in Trekhizbenka village in the Lugansk Eparchy, and his wife Vera,’ popular web-site *Sedmitsa* reported on December 2. Eye-witnesses say that they saw officers taking away documents and I-phones from the 55-year-old priest and his wife. The documents and phones were never returned. In fact, father Aleksander was under home arrest. The Ukrainian officers explained their illicit actions with far-fetched suspicions of the priest being involved with ‘terrorists of the LPR’¹⁷⁸.

The fact of the attack by combatants of one of the volunteer battalions was officially admitted by the SSU. Valentin Nalivaychenko, the head of the Service, wrote a letter to Gennagiy Moscal, the chairman of Lugansk district administration, which was published on March 3, 2015 in mass media where he wrote that ‘four men in military uniform with arm-bands of the *Aydar* battalion’ took part in the described inci-

¹⁷⁷ Святейший Патриарх призвал Предстоятелей Поместных Православных Церквей возвысить голос в защиту православных христиан востока Украины // Сайт Отдела внешних церковных связей Русской православной церкви. 14.08.2014. URL: <https://mospat.ru/ru/2014/08/14/news106782/>

¹⁷⁸ Настоятель храма в Луганской епархии подвергся преследованию со стороны украинских силовиков // Седмица. 02.12.2014. URL: <https://www.sedmitza.ru/text/5261351.html>

dent. For some reason Nalivaychenko of the four men named in person only Ruslan Arsaev, native of Chechnya Republic, who (according to him) 'is not a combatant of the *Aydar* battalion but remains with this unit since 17.08.2014'. According to Moscal, *Aydar* combatants that introduced themselves as 'reconnaissance' of the battalion, took away from the priest's wife not only a phone but also 50,000 hryvnas belonging to the church and a video camera¹⁷⁹.

On December 18, 2014, the National Guards attacked Holy Iversky convent in the village of Pesky in Yasinovatsky district of the Donetsk Region. This is how the incident is described in the statement of Metropolitan of Donetsk and Mariupol Ilarion (Chukalo) released the same day:

'In the morning of December 18, at about 10.30 a.m. ten armed persons burst onto the church premises in a military truck and identified themselves as combatants of the Ukrainian National Guard. These people demanded access to a residential building, allegedly for 'inspection' what was done implicitly. When an examination of the Eparchy residence, they wanted to check up auxiliary buildings and when nuns and the custodian came into the building, the Ukrainian military took away their passports, cell phones, locked the door from the outside and blocked it. The nuns and the guard could not see what happened next as they were locked in the corpus.

By the grace of God and fortune clerics the Donetsk Eparchy arrived to the convent several hours after. They brought food and essential things for the nuns and the custodian. They saw that the gates open, the guard dog killed with a bullet and there were tire tracks of a large vehicle. Over time the Eparchy members found the nuns and the custodian locked

¹⁷⁹ Стало відомо, хто пограбував православний храм в Трьохізбенці і яке відношення він має до «Айдару» // Новий Погляд. 04.03.2015. URL: <http://www.pohlyad.com/news/n/78456>

in the building and released them. When they looked around the eparchy residence, they found out that it had been robbed by the military, who stole valuables, icons, electronic gadgets, dinner sets, utensils and a lot of other things. Soon after it they contacted me and told me about the outrageous and illicit act of the Ukrainian military. I made a decision to evacuate the nuns from the convent so far as they had repeatedly been exposed to humiliations and physical and moral pressure by the Ukrainian military and the Right Sector. The nuns filled a report to Krasnoarmeysk city police department on the today's incident and illicit expropriation of their passports of the Ukrainian citizens'¹⁸⁰.

¹⁸⁰ Обращение митрополита Донецкого и Мариупольского Илариона к президенту Украины в связи с актом мародерства в действующем монастырском ските // Сайт Донецкой епархии УПЦ, 18.12.2014. URL: <http://donetsk.church.ua/2014/12/18/obrashhenie-mitropolita-doneckogo-i-mariupolskogo-ilariona-k-prezidentu-ukrainy-v-svyazi-s-aktom-maroderstva-v-dejstvuyushhem-monastyrskom-skite/>

4.3 Attacks of Radicals

Nationalistic groups persecute and attack priests beyond the area of the anti-terror operation on the Ukrainian territory, since they were granted a *carte blanche* and impunity after the victory of the Maidan.

On **May 6, 2014**, UOC Metropolitan of Odessa and Izmail Agafangel (Savvin) released an open letter on the Eparchy web-site addressed to the Regional and state authorities and international organisations in which he refers to the threats he was exposed to: ‘Some priests of the Orthodox church were threatened of physical violence, the Dean of the Odessa Eparchy among them’¹⁸¹. Obviously, the cleric refers to intimidations by right-wing radical organisations. Here is the evidence of archpriest Aleksandr Novikov, secretary of the Odessa Eparchy who had to flee from Ukraine on April 11 because of threats of the Right Sector to clerics of the Odessa Region:

‘Once, they marched through the city, shouted their slogans and went inside a church. And they asked a priest: ‘Why don’t you serve in the Ukrainian language?’ He answered: ‘The language of the Church is Church Slavonic, this is the language of serving’. Then they said, ‘you won’t stay for long here’ and began to threaten him’¹⁸².

‘Father Andrey Tkachev is leaving Ukraine,’ Dmitry Marchenko, an Orthodox journalist, wrote in Facebook on **June 11, 2014** about the head of missionary department of the UOC Kiev Eparchy. Several weeks ago the cleric handed over all his duties to the Metropolia and today said goodbye to his parish.

¹⁸¹ Открытое обращение Одесской епархии Украинской Православной Церкви // Сайт Одесской епархии УПЦ. 06.05.2014. URL: <http://eparhiya.od.ua/sobyitiya/sobyitiya/2077-otkryitoe-obraschenie-odesskoy-eparhii-ukrainskoy-pravoslavnoy-tserkvi>

¹⁸² Православные священники заявляют о давлении на юго-востоке Украины // РИА Новости. 15.04.2014. URL: <http://ria.ru/society/20140415/1004046815.html>

It is known that he had received threats, however he doesn't like to speak about it'¹⁸³. Marchenko added that parishioners of the church where Tkachev had served, previously had 'a watch', and protected their priest practically for 24 hours a day' from possible attacks¹⁸⁴ (the most likely danger were nationalists, as unarmed believers could not prevent an arrest of the priest by the SSU). 'Six priests have left the country for the same reason since March', said Marchenko¹⁸⁵.

On **June 22, 2014**, several hundreds of right-wing radicals (200-400, according to different estimates) and priests of the Kiev Patriarchate tried to break into Kiev Pechersk Laura, under the pretext of 'separatists entrenched inside'. The nationalists beat police officers who blocked the entrance to the monastery.

On **August 14, 2014**, several dozens of activists of *Svoboda* and the *Radical Party of Ukraine* nationalist parties arrived from Kiev by cars and broke into the Holy Virgin and St. Tikhon church in Chervona Motovilovka village in the Kiev Region and interrupted the service held by archpriest Vladimir Navozenko near the church. Among them was Igor Mosiychuk, who is not only Member of the Ukrainian Parliament from the Radical Party but also a deputy chief officer of Azov volunteer battalion. They surrounded the cleric and threat-

¹⁸³ Сообщение пользователя «Дмитрий Марченко» в соцсети Facebook. 01.06.2014. URL: <https://www.facebook.com/bizantinum/posts/633064043438059>

¹⁸⁴ Сообщение пользователя «Дмитрий Марченко» на странице пользователя «Дмитрий Марченко» в соцсети Facebook. 01.06.2014. URL: https://www.facebook.com/bizantinum/posts/633064043438059?comment_id=633192696758527&offset=0&total_comments=98&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D

¹⁸⁵ Сообщение пользователя «Дмитрий Марченко» на странице пользователя «Дмитрий Марченко» в социальной сети Facebook. 01.06.2014. URL: https://www.facebook.com/bizantinum/posts/633064043438059?comment_id=633065290104601&offset=50&total_comments=98&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D

ened him with physical violence unless he leaves Ukraine in a week. ‘Why is it written on the plaque ‘The Russian Orthodox Church’, why? You will repent it, swine!’ shouted Andrey Lozovoy, member of Kiev city council from *Svoboda* party¹⁸⁶. The cleric took these threats seriously and applied to the Eparchy administration for taking him off the staff list, the request was granted on September 9, 2014. The particular day of his flight from Ukraine is not known, however, it was reported that on September 22, 2014, archpriest Navozenko was appointed Prior of St. Nikolay church in Nizhniye Peny village of Belgorod Region¹⁸⁷.

In the afternoon on **August 22, 2014**, a group of young people in balaclavas from *Kievskoye Veche* organisation shouted ‘FSB-MP Off’ [the Federal security Service of Russia] and made inscriptions ‘Death to the enemies’, ‘Death to FSB! Death to Moscow Patriarchate’ and ‘Won’t forget 988’ (the year of baptising of ancient Russia which then included modern Ukraine). The graffiti were made on the wall of Holy Resurrection cathedral of the UOC being built in the centre of Kiev. In addition, one of drawers depicted with a practiced hand the Odal rune popular among neo-Nazis as a symbol of white race purity, undeniably the author was a right-wing radical. Moreover, activists of the *Kievskoye Veche* tried to force their way to the construction site, acclaiming that the UOC is headed by a ‘special agent of FSB Onufry’ and that ‘donations collected from our parishioners go to buy weapons as it happened in a church in the Donetsk Region where a priest kept weapons’¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁶ 14082014 4motovalovka 4erch MP orto // Канал пользователя «80506875170» на YouTube. 14.08.2014. URL: <http://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=boZCWK4x19E>

¹⁸⁷ Протоиерей Навозенко Владимир Петрович // Персональный сайт протоиерея Владимира Навозенко. URL: <http://proto-vladimir.cerkov.ru>

¹⁸⁸ 25.08.14 «Смерть московской церкви!» - атака на кафедральный собор УПЦ МП в Киеве // Канал пользователя «Polit Navigator» на YouTube. 25.08.2014. URL: <http://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=Wj4sjPZciUI>

On September 28, 2014, one of the UOC priests had his face injured with a bottle thrown at him during a takeover of the Church of Intercession of the Holy Virgin in the city of Turka Of Lvov Region. Andrey Kuzmechko, chief officer of Turka district police department, reported the incident to Zaxid.net, a local news website, on October 6, “On September 28, I was there and saw how they didn’t allow priest Andrey to enter the church... During the skirmish somebody threw a bottle of water and got in the nose of one of priests of a neighboring parish and a criminal case has already been launched for this fact under Rule 125, part 1 of the CCU [Criminal Code of Ukraine] – infliction of minor injuries¹⁸⁹.

On March 1, 2015, a group of radicals in masks and balaclavas wearing camouflage uniform with insignia of trident on the background of a red and black flag (this emblem is used by many nationalist organisations, including the Right Sector) and some other people looking like typical football fans attacked the UOC cathedral of Transfiguration in Sumy during a solemn liturgy. One of them, Vladimir Ganzin who proved to be an activist of *Svoboda* party, started a quarrel with a church custodian and beat him up. ‘A group of young people in masks assembled near the church, blocked the entrance and threatened the archpriest, clerics and parishioners,’ the web-site of the UOC Sumy Eparchy reports. ‘When the archpriest went out to the stairs, the young thugs tried to come nearer him shouting obscenities words and threats of physical violence... The crowd [of believers] did not let the attackers to come up to the archpriest... After that the attackers left shouting out patriotic slogans¹⁹⁰. Right-wing radicals

¹⁸⁹ Слюсарчук Тетяна. Як бойки попа виганяли // Zaxid.net. 06.10.2015. URL: http://zaxid.net/news/showNews.do?yak_boyki_popa_viganyali&objectId=1325093

¹⁹⁰ Сумські екстремісти влаштували чергову провокацію біля кафедрального собору в Сумах // Сайт Сумської єпархії УПЦ. 02.03.2015. URL: <http://portal-pravoslavie.sumy.ua/sumsk-ekstremsti-vlashtuvali-chergovu-provokaczu-blya-kafedralnogo-soboru-v-sumax.html>

of Sumy recognized their participation in the attack on the believers by a message on the page of their Sumy branch in Facebook, 'The Right Sector came and showed all those Moscow bastards who is the master in Sumy! We even did not have to use fists, slogans 'Glory to Ukraine!' sufficed'¹⁹¹.

The Regional Representative Office of the Monitoring Mission of the UN for human rights sent a letter to Archbishop of Sumy and Akhtyr Yevlogy in which it expressed concern about violation of right of the freedom of conscience and promised that the mission would take measures within the mandate of the UN High Commissioner Department for human rights for a comprehensive study of the situation and oppression of the Orthodox believers in the region¹⁹².

On March 18, archpriest Rostislav Sapozhnik, dean of the UOC community in Ugrinov village was beaten up on his head with a stick by, a major local businessman and member of the Volyn Regional Council from the People's Party Andrey Turak or some of his adepts. The priest had a brain concussion¹⁹³.

On October 1, 2015, graffiti 'Down with Moscow Priests!' were made with black paint; stickers accusing the UOC of financing paramilitaries were plastered on walls of UOC Transfigurashion church in Kiev¹⁹⁴.

¹⁹¹ «Мы показали всем москальским собакам, кто здесь хозяин», - «Правый Сектор» отчитался о нападении на архиепископа и охранников собора в Сумах // Политнавигатор. 02.03.2015. URL: <http://www.politnavigator.net/v-sumakh-pravyj-sektor-napal-na-arkhiepiskopa-i-okhrannikov-sobora-my-pokazali-vsem-moskalskim-sobakam-kto-zdes-khozyain.html>

¹⁹² Мониторинговая миссия ООН по правам человека в Украине выразила обеспокоенность в связи с провокацией 1 марта // Сайт Сумской епархии УПЦ. 10.03.2015. URL: <http://portal-pravoslavie.sumy.ua/monitoringovaya-missiya-oon-po-pravam-cheloveka-v-ukraine-vyrazila-obespoennost-v-svyazi-s-provokaciej-1-marta.html>

¹⁹³ На Вольни «орлам Авакова» не удалось замять дело об избииении священника // Украина сектантская. 13.08.2015. URL: <http://ukrsekta.info/news/2652-navolyni-orlam-avakova-ne-udalos-zamyat-delo-ob-izbieniisvyaschennika.html>

¹⁹⁴ КИЇВ. Скоено акт вандалізму над столичним храмом // Сайт Синодального інформаційного відділу УПЦ. 02.10.2015. URL: <http://news.church>.

Overnight into **October 22, 2015**, Anatoly Borisenok, the head of security of the religious centre, was severely beat up right in the Sumy cathedral, he got a cerebral haemorrhage and was hospitalized for a long term. The UOC Archbishop of Sumy and Akhtyr Yevlogy (Gutchenko) said in his address to his congregation on October 22, 2015, 'We ask for protection of the Orthodoxy from godless forces. We have repeatedly appealed to our authorities but got at best no more than formal response. . When we claimed that we were threatened with physical violence, they told us that it was 'just a peaceful demonstration'. And now when the blood is shed and nobody wants to listen to us, we will appeal to the authorities through mass media: Stop the law violations in the Sumy Region! Stop killing and mutilating our Orthodox people!'¹⁹⁵.

On December 14, 2015, archpriest Nikolay Sisonuk, dean of the UOC community in Ptichya village of the Rovny Region, claimed being persecuted by radicals who threatened him with death. 'Once they brought me funeral wreaths with black ribbons, another day they stuck nails in the ground so that I would puncture tyres of my car when driving. Every night they keep intruding on the territory to play some new trick. For example, on December 11, a surveillance camera in the yard fixed a woman who scattered feathers a just killed hen... [On December 11], about 1 a.m., I heard tramping in the yard, looked through the window and saw young men doing something near the gates... In the morning... I saw an inscription made with large black letters 'Glory to Ukraine! Glory

ua/2015/10/02/kijiv-skojeno-akt-vandalizmu-nad-stolichnim-xramom/

¹⁹⁵ Герук Сергей. Избитый руководитель охранной службы Сумской епархии втяжелом состоянии. Комментарий архиерея // Православная жизнь. 22.10.2015. URL: <http://www.pravlife.org/content/izbityy-rukovoditel-ohrannoysluzhby-sumskoy-eparhii-v-tyazhelom-sostoyanii-kommentariy>

to heroes!¹⁹⁶. On the same day, Alina Dubovskaya (Khveshchuk) from Ptichya village, adept of the Kiev Patriarchate, published in a social net a picture of these offensive graffiti¹⁹⁷.

On **December 16, 2015**, believers leaving the UOC church of Resurrection after the evening service were attacked in Kiev. It started with two unknown men chanting out slogans demanding the church being transferred to the Kiev Patriarchate and then another six men attacked the church guards¹⁹⁸.

On **December 18, 2015**, activists of the Kiev Patriarchate and paramilitaries of the Right Sector attacked believers of the UOC who tried to enter the church which had been previously seized by their opponents in the village of Ptichya in the Rovny Region. A video registered parishioners and priests of the UOC being beaten with sticks and rubber batons and attacked with tear gas¹⁹⁹. 'Activists of the Kiev Patriarchate started to beat us with bludgeons, used fire-extinguishers and tear gas canisters against us, a woman had an electric shocker. A man launched at us a burning bottle of Molotov cocktail,' archpriest Viktor Zemlyanoy, an official spokesman of the Rovny UOC Eparchy, told 112 TV-channel²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁶ В селе Птичья организовали жестокую травлю священника УПЦ // Союз православных журналистов. 14.12.2015. URL: <http://uoj.org.ua/novosti/sobytiya/v-sele-ptichya-organizovali-zhestokuyu-travlyu-svyashchennika-upts>

¹⁹⁷ Сообщение в аккаунте пользователя «Аліна Дубовська» в соцсети ВКонтакте. 14.12.2015. URL: https://vk.com/wall25110807_7793

¹⁹⁸ В Киеве неизвестные радикалы напали на охрану храма УПЦ // Союз православных журналистов. 19.12.2015. URL: <http://uoj.org.ua/novosti/sobytiya/v-kieve-neizvestnye-radikaly-napali-na-okhranu-khrama-upts>

¹⁹⁹ Птичья. Первый религиозный погром в Украине (ВИДЕО) // Союз православных журналистов. 20.12.2015. URL: <http://uoj.org.ua/novosti/sobytiya/pticha-pershiy-rel-g-yniy-pogrom-v-ukra-n-v-deo>

²⁰⁰ Конфликт между прихожанами Киевского и Московского патриархатов храма в с. Птичья Ровенской обл. накаляется искусственно, - отец УПЦ МП //

Pictures and videos registered combatants of the *Right Sector* Volunteer Ukrainian Corps in their uniform with chevrons. Their leader Roman Kovel threatened believers of the UOC²⁰¹. As Archpriest Zemlyanoy affirms, 'the Right Sector was solicited by supporters of the UOC of the KP. They arrived and started to menace us with taking over our churches in the rest of the Rovny Region and not only in Dubinsky district. Combatants of the Right Sector were seen in a nearby village and as our people affirm they were armed'²⁰². The video shows that one of the UOC clerics had his head hit to blood²⁰³. Officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs again helped the nationalists. 'According to the priest, a police group arrived at the place at 10.00,' the web-site of the Synodic Informational Department of the UOC reports. Instead of protecting interests of the church owners and the peaceful parishioners, the law enforcement agents pushed aside believers of the UOC and joined the church raiders'²⁰⁴.

Телеканал 112. 18.12.2015. URL: <http://112.ua/obshchestvo/konflikt-mezhdu-prihozhnami-kievskogo-i-moskovskogo-patriarhatov-hrama-v-s-ptichya-rovenskoy-obl-nakalyaetsya-iskusstvenno-otec-upc-mp-279753.html>

²⁰¹ Глава Правого сектора Ровенщины угрожает захватить все храмы УПЦ в Дубенском районе // Союз православных журналистов. 15.11.2015. URL: <http://uoj.org.ua/novosti/sobytiya/glava-pravogo-sektora-rovenshchiny-ugrozhaet-zakhvatit-vse-khramy-upts-v-dubenskom-rayone>

²⁰² Конфликт между прихожанами Киевского и Московского патриархатов храма в с. Птичь Ровенской обл. накаляется искусственно, - отец УПЦ МП // Телеканал 112. 18.12.2015. URL: <http://112.ua/obshchestvo/konflikt-mezhdu-prihozhnami-kievskogo-i-moskovskogo-patriarhatov-hrama-v-s-ptichya-rovenskoy-obl-nakalyaetsya-iskusstvenno-otec-upc-mp-279753.html>

²⁰³ с. Птича. Перший релігійний погром в Україні // Канал пользователя «СІДЖ І Спілка Православних Журналістів» на YouTube. 20.12.2015. URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PGyWBUCWoYs>

²⁰⁴ У Птичі кидали у віруючих УПЦ «коктейлі Молотова» та погрожували масовими захопленнями храмів на Рівненщині (+ФОТО, ВІДЕО) // Сайт Синодального інформаційного отдела УПЦ. 18.12.2015. URL: <http://news.church.ua/2015/12/18/u-ptichi-kidali-u-viryuyuchix-upc-koktejli-molotova-ta-pogrozhuvali-masovimi-zaxoplenniyami-xramiv-na-rivnenshshini/>

Overnight into **December 20, 2015**, windows were broken in two houses belonging to active participants of the local UOC community in the village of Ptichya, and tyres were punctured and car glasses knocked out with shots from pneumatic or gunfire arms²⁰⁵. This fact was confirmed by local supporters of the Kiev Patriarchate who identified the victims as e Valentina Dyachuk and Irina Gorchuk²⁰⁶, and networks detailed information about the cars (colour, lice spread through socialnce plates) and their location.²⁰⁷

On **January 9, 2016**, supporters of the Kiev Patriarchate in the village of Ptichya attacked participants of religious procession of the UOC. Several people knocked down Irina Gorchuk, a woman-parishioner of the local UOC church, beat her up and threatened to kill her. The victim was taken to hospital²⁰⁸.

²⁰⁵ Віряни Української Православної Церкви села Птича Дубенського району ранок неділі зустріли із побитими вікнами та погрозами на свою адресу // Сайт Ровенської єпархії УПЦ. 20.12.1015. URL: <http://rivne.church.ua/2015/12/20/viryani-ukrajinskoji-pravoslavnoji-cerkvi-sela-pticha-dubenskogo-rajonu-ranok-nedili-zustrili-iz-pobitimi-viknami-ta-pogrozami-na-svoyu-adresu/>

²⁰⁶ Сообщение в аккаунте пользователя «Аліна Дубовська» в соцсети ВКонтакте. 22.12.2015. URL: https://vk.com/wall25110807_8061

²⁰⁷ Сообщение в аккаунте пользователя «Аліна Дубовська» в соцсети ВКонтакте. 22.12.2015. URL: https://vk.com/wall25110807_8055

²⁰⁸ Интервью с Ириной Горчук, пострадавшей // Канал пользователя «СПЖ І Спілка Православних Журналістів» на YouTube. 09.01.2016. URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=adHc8t3Su2w>

4.4. Murders of UOC Clerics

Fanning hatred and unbridled campaign against UOK clergy and indifference of the authorities to radicals' attacks on persecuted clerics and their churches could not but lead to disastrous results - murders of priests. They began in Kiev in the summer of 2015 and nearly coincide in time with an ill-famous murder of journalist Oles Buzina in Kyiv (April 16).

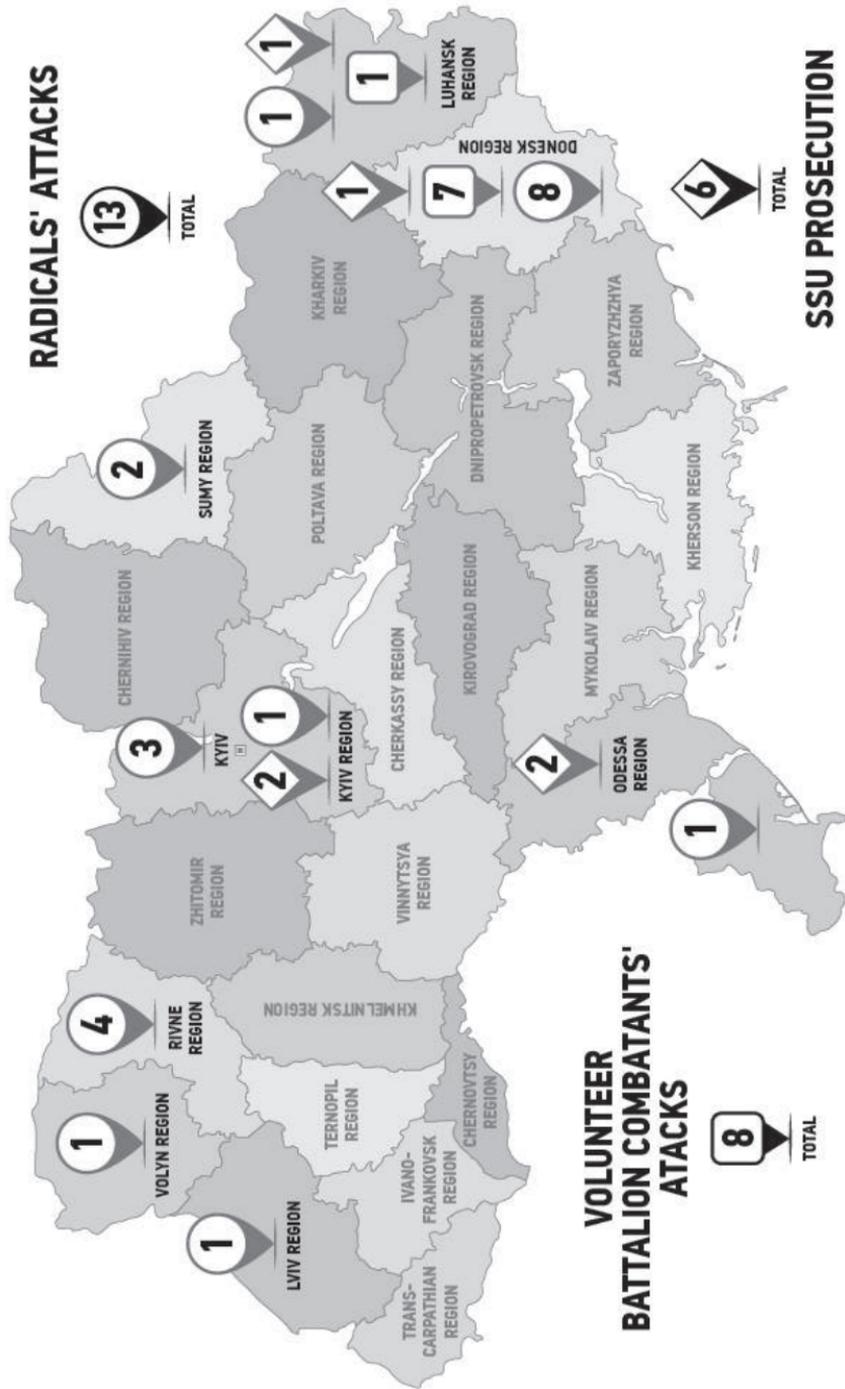
Overnight into **July 26, 2015**, priest Roman Nikolayev, Prior of St. Tatyana church was shot to death in his own house (two gunshots into his head). He died in hospital on the morning of July 29 without regaining consciousness. According to his neighbours, two men stayed in wait for him at the entrance door [of his flat on the third floor]. 'According to the neighbors the murderers were about 30 years old, of middle height, in balaclavas. 'It was not a robbery attempt, as they took nothing of Father Roman's belongings. And they were not amateur killers, since few people can make two accurate shots into the head at nighttime,' says Bishop Kliment Iversky (Vecherya), head of the Synodic Information Department of the UOC²⁰⁹. It should be noted that the corner stone of the church, (the late priest was in charge of the construction), was desecrated (smeared with paint) on January 27, 2014, which proves hatred as motive of the subsequent murder²¹⁰.

²⁰⁹ Дерий Дмитрий. Соседи о покушении на : «Преступники ждали его под дверь // Комсомольская правда в Украине. 26.07.2015. URL: <http://kp.ua/incidents/507147-sosedy-o-pokushenyy-na-sviaschennyka-prestupnyky-zhdaly-eho-pod-dverui>

²¹⁰ В Киеве расстреляли священника: версии и мнения // Православие и мир. 29.07.2015. URL: <http://www.pravmir.ru/v-kieve-rasstrelyali-svyashhennika-versii-i-mneniya>

5. Persecution by State Bodies

RADICALS' ATTACKS



VOLUNTEER BATTALION COMBATANTS' ATTACKS

8 TOTAL

SSU PROSECUTION

6 TOTAL

In addition to attacks of nationalists and security agencies, state bodies of various level oppress the UOC (being the largest religious organisation of the country). Hindering activities the canonical Ukrainian Orthodox church is being practiced even at the highest level since its clerics are allegedly blamed being ‘agents of influence of the Kremlin’. ‘The notion of ‘the Russian world’ is polysemantic, yet currently, in the modern social and political discourse, it is usually interpreted as a certain community connected with Russia by language and culture, the Orthodox faith, the genesis of historical memory of those who are loyal to Russia and its authorities,’ argues an analytical research worked out for the President and the Parliament of Ukraine in 2015 by the National Centre for Strategical Research. ‘The Russian establishment quite often use concepts of ‘Holy Russia’ and ‘Eastern Orthodox civilization’ which are semantically close to the notion of the ‘Russian world. It is another myth coined by the Kremlin and clerical-spun political technologists according to well-known patterns in order to be employed in ideological war’²¹¹. This position is supported by the Ukrainian authorities at the highest level. President Piotr Poroshenko said in his address to the Ukrainian Parliament on November 27, 2014, that ‘The national security implies also church problems... Our recent experience shows

²¹¹ Аналітична доповідь до Щорічного Послання Президента України до Верховної Ради України «Про внутрішнє та зовнішнє становище України в 2015 році». Київ: Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень, 2015. С. 41. PDF-версія на сайті Національного центру стратегічних досліджень, URL: http://www.niss.gov.ua/public/File/2015_book/POSLANNYA-2015_giper_new.pdf

that sometimes preparation for annexation of a country starts with some innocent praying or religious processions, and we must be aware of it²¹². Ukrainian nationalists hold to the same position. On December 4, 2014, members of the Ukrainian Parliament from *Svoboda* Party suggested bill № 1244 'On Introducing Amendments to the Law on the Freedom of Consciousness and Religious Organisations' Concerning Names of Organisations, Administrative Centres of which are Situated Abroad'. The commentary to the bill says, 'At the moment, there are religious organisations in Ukraine which are used to indoctrinate people and spread ideals and dogmas that often contradict the very vision of the world by a person. It is even worse when religious organizations fuel international conflicts and undermine independence of Ukraine under the guise of good intentions'. The reference to 'Religious administrative centres situated abroad' unequivocally mean the UOC²¹³.

Docile to this policy of high-ranking officials, local authorities persecute the UOC or oppress it striving to join it to the 'patriotic' Church.

²¹² Позачергове послання Президента України до Верховної Ради України // Сайт Президента України. 27.11.2014. URL: <http://www.president.gov.ua/news/pozachergove-poslannya-prezidenta-ukrayini-do-verhovnoyi-rad-34118>

²¹³ Проект Закону про внесення змін до Закону України «Про свободу совісті та релігійні організації» щодо назв організацій, керівні центри яких знаходяться за межами України // Сайт Верховної Ради України. 04.12.2014. URL: http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?pf3511=52698

5.1. Infringements of UOC Rights

On June 3, 2014, the Executive Committee of Lutsk declined the application of UOC Bishop of Volyn and Lutsk Nifont (Solodukha) in which he asked for providing advertising space for promoting a charity concert. The Eparchy was going to place the social advertisement on 13 advertising and informational stands and it would have cost the city budget just 1801 hryvna (about \$73 USD). During the discussion, Bogdan Klimchuk, member of the Executive Committee, urged his colleagues to decline the request of the Volyn Eparchy bringing forward as an excuse the unwillingness of the Moscow Patriarchy to honour ‘heroes of the Divine Hundred’²¹⁴.

On July 3, 2014, following an unsuccessful attempt to take over the UOC Pochaev Laura (monastery) by nationalists and clerics of the Kiev Patriarchate, members of the Ternopol Regional Council approved the Act №1736 ‘On Appeal to Prime-Minister of Ukraine Arseny Yatsenuk on nationalization of Pochaev Laura’. The deputies motivated their decision by the following: ‘Due to perennial occupation of the sacred place by commissars of the ‘Russian world’, the shrine has turned into a hotbed of anti-Ukrainism, confessional hatred, discords and conflicts in the Ternopol Region... The Ukrainian Christian centres, such as Zarvanitsa (a Greek-Catholic centre of pilgrimage), Pochaev, Svyatogorsk and Kiev-Pechersk Lauras, St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev are spiritual heritage of the Ukrainian people. Pilgrims from all over the world come to Ukrainian sacred places and that is why they must be owned only by the Ukrainian people’²¹⁵.

²¹⁴ УПЦ МП у Луцьку відмовили у безплатній соцрекламі // Волинские новости. 03.06.2015. URL: <http://www.volynnews.com/news/society/upts-mp-u-lutsku-vidmovyly-u-bezplatniy-sotsreklami>

²¹⁵ Про звернення депутатів Тернопільської обласної ради до Прем'єр-міністра України Яценюка А.П. щодо скасування розпорядження Кабінету Міністрів України від 17 липня 2003 року № 438-р «Про виключення із

On **August 14, 2014**, members of Kolomiysky city council (in the Ivano-Frankovsk Region) requested the owners of *Siyaniye* Radio to stop broadcasting of Sunday service of the UOC. Deputies said that in their opinion the church “was hostile force acting inside the country”²¹⁶.

On **August 19, 2014**, Nikolay Polinovsky, member of Malinov city council from *Svoboda* political party in the Zhytomyr Region, ‘approved’ a local residents’ petition to close the UOC church of Intercession of the Holy Virgin and its Prior’s impeachment for ‘separatism’, the web-site of *Svoboda* nationalist organisation reports²¹⁷.

On **October 14, 2014**, the administration of the Khortitsa National Preserve forbid local UOC Eparchy to hold a solemn service in honor of the Intercession of Our Lady in the church on the island of Khortitsa. ‘It [serving a Liturgy on that day] has already become a good old tradition, but this year we received a letter from the preserve saying that they would not allow us to conduct a service since they were fixing up a stage [for the festival of Intercession on Khortitsa], so it would be noisy and prayers would not feel comfortable there. Everything was normal in the previous years, but this time they find it uncomfortable,’ complains archpriest of Zaporyzhie and Melitopol Luca (Kovalenko). ‘And they did not invite us for any

складу Кременецько-Почаївського державного історико-архітектурного заповідника споруд Почаївської Свято-Успенської лаври» // Сайт Тернопольской областной рады. 03.07.2014. URL: <http://www.obl-rada.te.ua/wp-content/uploads/oblradate/2014/07/%D0%A0%D1%96%D1%88%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%BD%D1%8F-%E2%84%961736.zip>

²¹⁶ Рішення сорок четвертої сесії Коломийської міської ради шостого демократичного скликання // Сайт Коломийського городского совета. 14.08.2014. URL: <http://ww2.gov.if.ua/kolomiyskiy/ua/catalog/item/3330.htm>

²¹⁷ Громада Малина вимагає закрити церкву в райвійськоматі // Сайт житомирського відділення партії «Свобода Житомир». 31.07.2014. URL: <http://www.zhytomyr.svoboda.org.ua/diyalnist/novyny/053113/>

other events at all. We haven't received an invitation from secular authorities'²¹⁸.

On December 5, 2014, the Ivano-Frankovsk city council approved a petition to the mayor of Ivano-Frankovsk on 'Eviction of the Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate from edifice 6 on Chernovol Street'²¹⁹. At the same time the deputies solicited the city mayor to confer the church building to the KP²²⁰.

On January 28, 2015, members of Kiev city council adopted the Act N 58/923 'On introducing amendments to Resolution N 242/529 of the Kiev city council of June 23, 2011' in which they deprived the UOC of land tax exemptions. 'All city religious institutions will have tax exemptions, said Aleksandr Kharchenko, member of Land commission of the Kiev city council, with the exception of the UOC of the Moscow Patriarchate who practises open anti-Ukrainian and anti-state propaganda'²²¹. On January 28, Mayor of Kiev Vitaly Klichko asserted this decision.

This discriminating initiative was supported by the Ternopol city council which approved Act № 6/57/17 on **February 27, 2015**: 'To exempt religious organisations of Ukraine from paying the tax in the first half of the year 2015... except for

²¹⁸ Владыка Лука прокомментировал запрет на проведение богослужения в храме на Хортице. Видео // Репортер. 13.10.2014. URL: <http://reporter-ua.com/2014/10/13/vladyka-luka-prokommentiroval-zapret-na-provedenie-bogosluzheniya-v-hrame-na-hortice>

²¹⁹ В Івано-Франківську депутати хочуть виселити Московський Патріархат // Галицький кореспондент. 05.12.2014. URL: <http://gk-press.if.ua/x16801>

²²⁰ Рішення № 1449-33/2014 Про депутатський запит Я. Ульяновської // Сайт Івано-Франківської обласної ради. 05.12.2014. URL: http://www.orada.if.ua/fileadmin/documents/Rishennja/06_33/1449-33.pdf

²²¹ ретмаКиевсовет лишил УПЦ Московского патриархата льгот на недвижимость // Укринформ. 28.01.2015. URL: http://www.ukrinform.ru/rubric-lastnews/1808763-kievskie-deputati-lishili-moskovskiy-patriarhat-logoti-na-nedvigimost_1707651.html

the Ternopol Eparchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate²²².

It should be noted that there are no such discriminative measures against the UOC in the Tax Code approved by the Ukrainian Parliament on May 14, 2015, and that local legislation is subordinate to federal laws²²³. However, the fact of discrimination of the UOC on the level of regional judicial and executive bodies is obvious and it is motivated ideologically.

On March 20, 2015, the authorities of the Sumy Region prohibited to the UOC believers to make a large religious procession in honor of the Day of Fedorovskaya Icon of Our Lady on March 27. The decision was made at an extraordinary meeting of Sumy city executive committee, and Maksim Galitsky, member of the committee from Svoboda Party, suggested to forbid the religious procession of the UOC 'due to a tense social and political situation in the country', other deputies considered a traditional religious procession a political event²²⁴.

On May 14, 2015, Pochaev city council rejected a project of land tenure presented by Pochaev Lavra, for it suggested a permanent leasing of land allotments occupied by three monasteries. According to the local media, the deputies 'made a decision on approving the listed projects after the end of the hostilities in the East of Ukraine and of the anti-terror operation'²²⁵.

²²² 27.02.15 // Сайт Тернопольской городской рады. 27.02.2014. URL: <http://www.rada.te.ua/normativnie-dokument/rishennya-miskoi-rad/33882.html>

²²³ Рада освободила религиозные организации от налога на недвижимость // Зеркало недели. 14.05.2015. URL: http://zn.ua/UKRAINE/rada-osvobodila-religioznye-organizacii-ot-naloga-na-vedvizhimost-176011_.html

²²⁴ Исполком запретил УПЦ МП проводить масштабный крестный ход в Сумах // TopГород. 20.03.2014. URL: <http://topgorod.com/news/sumy/obschestvo/17754-ispolkom-zapretit-upts-mp-provodit-masshtabnyj-krestnyj-khod-v-sumakh.html>

²²⁵ Земельні потреби Почаївської Лаври задовільнять після закінчення АТО? // Новости Тернополя. 21.05.2015. URL: <http://te.strichka.com/article/26315847>

On December 15, 2015, it became known that Artem Semnikhin, Mayor of Konotop city in the Sumy Region, member of nationalist *Svoboda* party, prohibited a religious procession in the city on December 26, held by local Eparchy of the UOC. However, Mayor's decision was canceled by court²²⁶.

On December 16, 2015, the Sumy city council refused to prolong a tax exemption for renting a building in the city by St. Ksenia of St. Petersburg church of the local UOC Eparchy. This decision was made on the initiative of members of the council from *Svoboda* party, one of whom, Maksim Galitsky, said, 'Voting for this project [prolongation of favourable tax rate] means playing into the hands of the political structure which calls itself the Moscow Patriarchate. In fact, it's a business project and supports those separatist elements who kill our soldiers in the East of Ukraine. I call everyone to reject this project'²²⁷.

²²⁶ Мэр Конотопа препятствует крестному ходу УПЦ // Союз православных журналистов. 15.12.2015. URL: <http://uoj.org.ua/novosti/sobytiya/mer-konotopa-prepyatstvuuet-krestnomu-khodu-upts>

²²⁷ У Сумах скасували «халявну» оренду для церкви московського патріархату // Депо Сумы. 17.12.2015. URL: <http://sumy.depo.ua/ukr/sumy/u-sumah-skasuvahalyavnu-orendu-dlya-tserkvi-moskovskogo-17122015145800>

5.2. Coercion for Jurisdiction Shift

On May 23, 2014, the Volyn regional council approved Resolution № 25/83 worked out by Vitaly Sobko, a member of *Svoboda* party, who urged to unify Orthodox Church in Ukraine in a kind of some homogeneous organisation. ‘Our fatherland is going through very hard times and in fact suffers a foreign intervention. Thus, today, more than ever is appreciable this artificial and dangerous character of a more that 20-year split of the Orthodox church of Ukraine which we have to overcome as soon as possible and establish a unified national Ukrainian Orthodox Church’²²⁸.

On August 21, 2014, ‘members of Kolomyisk city council (the Ivano-Frankovsk Region) adopted a public appeal to believers of the UOC: ‘Today, the OUC MP is an inimical force acting in our country as the ‘fifth column of the Kremlin’... flagrant facts testify that the UOC MP acts in Ukraine not as a church but as a hostile political force... We hope that it will stimulate residents of Kolomyisk to opt for another Patriarchate’²²⁹.

On October 1, 2014, the whole-Ukrainian social and political Union *For the Unified national Orthodox Church* applied to Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew asking him ‘to protect the Ukrainian people from the ‘Russian world’ which is ‘imposed in the UOC by the Moscow Patriarchate’. Authors of the appeal signed by Viktor Yushchenko, who was Ukrainian president in 2005-2009, and Vyacheslav Brukhovesky, honoured president of Kiev-Mohyla Academy, asked Bartholomew ‘to recognise the Ukrainian Orthodox

²²⁸ Про звернення Волинської обласної ради щодо необхідності невідкладного // Сайт Волинської обласної ради. 28.03.2014. URL: <http://volynrada.gov.ua/session/25/83>

²²⁹ У Коломиї закликали радіо «Сяйво» не транслювати богослужіння УПЦ МП // Окна. 21.08.2014. URL: <http://vikna.if.ua/news/category/if/2014/08/21/21108/view>

church of Kiev Patriarchate as a national Orthodox church in Ukraine which is to become a basis for integration of all Orthodox believers of the country'²³⁰.

Since an attempt to produce a split in the UOC and to transfer its parishes and churches to the 'legitimate' (as seen by the new authorities) Churches has failed, local officials resorted to direct pressure in order to change their jurisdiction and assisted raider takeovers of the UOC churches.

'On **October 29, 2014, archpriest** Svyatoslav Levandovsky, dean of the parish of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in the village of Peregonovka in Golovanevsky district of Kirovograd Region was summoned to the village council where Vladimir Kozak, deputy chairman of the district administration, compelled the priest to alter the jurisdiction of the parish he was responsible for from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the unrecognised by the world Orthodox Church UOC of the KP,' says the report published by the press-service of the UOC on October 29. The official psychologically pressured archpriest Svyatoslav Levandovsky and threatened to expel him from the church and leave him 'without work and salary if he refused to change the jurisdiction'²³¹.

On **November 14, 2014, Sergey Rybachko**, governor of the Rovny Region (a member of *Svoboda* nationalist party),

²³⁰ Патріарха Варфоломія попросили врятувати Українську церкву від «руського міра» // Укринформ. 01.10.2014. URL: http://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-iac/1713080-patriarha_varfolomiya_poprosili_vryatuvati_ukraiinsku_tserkvu_vid_ruskogo_mira_1977155.html

²³¹ Заява Відділу зовнішніх церковних зв'язків Української Православної Церкви щодо втручання органів державної влади Голованівського району Кіровоградської області в діяльність Хрестовоздвиженської парафії с. Перегонівка з метою зміни конфесійної приналежності // Сайт Отдела внешних церковных связей УПЦ. 29.10.2014. URL: <http://vzcz.church.ua/2014/10/29/zayava-viddiluv-zovnishnix-cerkovnix-zvyazkiv-ukrajinskoji-pravoslavnoji-cerkvi-shhodo-vtruchannya-organiv-derzhavnoji-vladi-golovanivskogo-rajonu-kirovogradskoji-oblasti-v-diyalnist-xrestovozdvizhensk/>

signed up the ‘Rovny Referendum’ initiated by he himself, which was also backed up by four confessions of the Region, such as UOC, KP, UGCC and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC). The Memorandum says that the parties ‘advocate for establishing a unified Ukrainian national Orthodox Church, condemn aggressive actions of Russia and other countries occupying Ukrainian territories’. The local mass media vociferously reported that ‘the Ukrainian national Orthodox Church takes birth in the Rovny Region’²³². However, few days later, bishops of the UOC who had signed the document, called their signatures back and the same did the UGCC, saying, ‘The document was signed by a local priest, dean of UGCC parish in Rovny. He had no powers to sign up the text which was not approved by the senior church authorities. ‘It should be noted that... the Memorandum itself was improvised by the regional state administration,’ said exarch Lutsky Iosafat on November 20, 2014²³³.

Rybachko’s efforts were fruitless and soon he was dismissed from his office as Svoboda recalled its members, however the regional deputies continued persecuting the UOC.

On **December 3, 2014**, People’s council of Kivertsy city in the Volyn Region adopted an appeal to the UOC believers, saying ‘In fact, the UOC is now a hostile force in our country, some of its clerics take part in hostilities on the occupant’s side, store weapon in churches and refuse to administer funeral services for the killed Ukrainian soldiers, propagate ideas of the ‘Russian world’, support oc-

²³² Українську помісну церкву починають створювати з Рівненщини // Рівне вечірне. 14.11.2014. URL: <http://gordonua.com/news/culture/V-Rovno-podpisi-Memorandum-o-edinoy-ukrainskoy-pomestnoy-cerkvi-51379.html>

²³³ Заява Луцького екзархату УГКЦ з приводу підписання Меморандуму у м. Рівному // Луцький екзархат УГКЦ; інтернет-сайт. 20.11.2014. URL: <http://lutsk-ugcc.org.ua/zavantazhennia/117-zleugcczp>

cupants materially and morally but not the liberation struggle of our people... Patriarch Kirill, in fact, calls the Orthodox world for a crusade against Ukraine... Supporting our army who defend independence and freedom of Ukraine in the Donetsk Region, and do everything possible sacrificing their health and lives to drive out Russian occupants from the territory of Ukraine, we, members of the Kivertsy district and city councils, militants of the Maidan and the Anti-terror operation are calling you, dear believers, to stop supporting those who bless murderers of our dearest and ruin our state. Think it over and join our native UOC KP'²³⁴.

On **April 29, 2015**, the city council of Lutsk in the Volyn Region approved Resolution №73/11 containing similar arbitrary and denigrating accusations, 'The Russian Orthodox Church plays a special role in an undeclared war of Russia against Ukraine, the leaders of which call occupation of Ukraine a 'holy war' or a 'crusade of the Orthodox faith'... Thus, we're addressing you, dear compatriots - clamor the priests of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church for an immediate withdrawal from the Russian Orthodox Church and establishment of the national church which would not be an instrument of the Russian aggression. If this option is too painful for you, there is another one - join the Ukrainian National Church '²³⁵. After that, the district councils adopted 'An Appeal of Deputies of the Lutsk district council to parishioners of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church which is part

²³⁴ Депутати райради просять вірян так званої «московської церкви» перестати її підтримувати і об'єднатись навколо рідної УПЦ Київського патріархату // Киверці. 03.12.2014. URL: <http://www.kivertsi.in.ua/townnews/index.php?n=3307>

²³⁵ Про звернення Луцької міської ради до православних лучан - прихожан Української Православної Церкви, яка є частиною Російської (Русскої) Православної Церкви // Сайт Луцької городской ради. 29.04.2015. URL: <http://www.lutskrada.gov.ua/prescription/pro-zvernennya-luckoyi-miskoyi-rady-dopravoslavnyh-luchan-pryhozhan-ukrayinskoji>

of the Russian Orthodox Church', the text of which is nearly identical of the one of the Lutsk city council²³⁶.

On **June 10, 2015**, the Gorokhov district council of the Volyn Region signed up Resolution № 39/34 'Supporting the Appeal of the Lutsk city and district councils to local parishioners of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church being part of the Russian Orthodox Church' similar to the appeal of the Lutsk district council²³⁷.

On **August 28, 2015**, the Ternopol regional administration registered a jurisdiction shift of a church in Kolosovo village from the UOC to the KP, though it was a violation of the court decision. Meanwhile, militants of the Right Sector openly intimidated parishioners of the UOC church²³⁸.

²³⁶ Про звернення депутатів Луцької районної ради до православних прихожан Луцького району Української Православної Церкви, яка є частиною Російської (Русской) Православної Церкви // Сайт Луцької районної ради. 08.05.2015. URL: <http://r-rada.lutsk.ua/session/pro-zvernennyyadeputativ-luckoyi-rayonnoyi-radi-do-pravoslavnih-prihozhan-luckogo-rayonu>

²³⁷ Про підтримку звернень луцьких міської та районної рад до місцевих прихожан Української Православної Церкви, яка є частиною російської (русской) православної церкви // Сайт Гороховської районної ради. 10.06.2015. URL: <http://www.goradm.gov.ua/files/RADAdoc/Rishennya/2015/39.34.15.doc>

²³⁸ Тернопільська ОДА використовує радянські методи боротьби з Церквою (+ВІДЕО, ДОКУМЕНТИ) // Сайт Синодального інформаційного відділу УПЦ. 04.09.2015. URL: <http://news.church.ua/2015/09/04/ternopilaska-oda-vikoristovu-je-radyanski-metodi-borotbi-z-cerkvoyu/>

6. Defamations in Mass Media

Attacks of nationalists and discrimination by local authorities were supported, if not prompted, by a mass media campaign, depicting the UOC and its clerics as enemies of Ukraine. This campaign was supported by major mass media, as well as by regional ones, adhered to nationalist ideas. The accusations were banal and notorious. Like in Medieval Europe where the Jews were blamed for human sacrifices, now priests of the UOC were accused of slaughtering civilians.

‘Weapons now used by separatists to kill participants of a march for an integrated Ukraine and other civilians was distributed yesterday’s evening in one of the city churches. Vladimir Nemirovsky, governor of the Odessa Region, was told about this when he came to support them on the barricades,’ Segodnya newspaper reported on **May 2, 2014**. ‘During a morning praying for the Holy Russia, one of the priests handed out submachine guns and assault rifles to parishioners, reported the locals’²³⁹. However, the anonymous ‘eye-witnesses’ failed to name a particular church in which it had allegedly happened. Moreover, journalists studied photos and videos taken on the incident scene and came to the conclusion that Narodnaya Druzhina who opposed the Maidan activists in clashes on May 2 had neither submachine guns nor assault rifles, but one Sayga or a Vulkan hunting carbine, a civil version of Kalashnikov submachine, another gun for strike-ball (shooting with plastic

²³⁹ Автоматы и снайперские винтовки одесским сепаратистам выдали в церкви - очевидцы // Сегодня. 02.05.2014. URL: <http://www.segodnya.ua/regions/odessa/avtomaty-i-snaiperskie-vintovki-odesskim-separatistam-vydali-v-cerkvi-ochevidcy-517397.html>

balls, Uzi pistol-carbine, several pistols and revolvers²⁴⁰. According to Maidan activists, Vitaly Budko, one of the leaders of the *Narodnaya Druzhina*, carried around this Sayga (or Vulkan) long before May 2²⁴¹.

‘According to the Ukrainian intelligence service, militants are allegedly planning to set up a hospital in Svyatogorsk Laura,’ *Televizionnaya Sluzhba Novostey (TSN)* TV-programme reported on 1+1 channel on **May 6**²⁴². This TV-channel owned by an oligarch Igor Kolomoysky, who financed *Dnepr*, *Donbass* and *Azov* battalions would later become the main source of defamatory myths about the UOC.

On **May 7, 2014**, the Sumy Eparchy officially announced, ‘Rumors have been spread among residents of Sumy, that people, involved in separatist activity are allegedly sheltering in the Holy Transfiguration Cathedral where weapons are stored and priests hand them out to separatists. Until recently, the parishioners and clergy haven’t taken these rumours seriously, since the situation in the country is tense, people are irritated and tend to believe unconfirmed information. Everything changed when a man in the uniform of territorial defence unit came to the cathedral and told the priest that he would shoot to kill separatists, who were hiding in the church, only then the consequences of such rumours became clear. What is more, archpriest of Sumy and Akhtyr Yevlogy was asked to comment on separatists who allegedly were present on the cathedral prem-

²⁴⁰ Хронология событий в Одессе 2 мая 2014 года (часть 1) // StopFake.org. 04.06.2015. URL: <http://www.stopfake.org/hronologiya-sobytij-v-odesse-2-maya-2014-goda-chast-1/>

²⁴¹ Кто на самом деле стрелял в центре Одессы 2 мая: доказательства // VGorode.ua. 06.05.2014. URL: <http://od.vgorode.ua/news/sobytyia/221778-kto-na-samom-dele-strelial-v-tsentre-odessy-2-maia-dokazatelstva>

²⁴² Колокольни захваченной Святогорской Лавры боевики используют как снайперские позиции // ТСН. 06.05.2014. URL: <http://ru.tsn.ua/ukrayina/kolokolni-zahvachennoy-svyatogorskoj-lavry-boeviki-ispolzuyut-kak-snayperskie-pozicii-364156.html>

ises and on his own participation in handing out weapons.’ He declared, ‘There is none and have never been any weapons or munitions either in the Sumy Holy Transfiguration Cathedral or in its maintenance facilities. This information is false. This is confirmed by an SSU official who inspected all the premises of the cathedral himself, accompanied by the Eparchy secretary,’ the press-service of the Sumy Eparchy literally cried out trying to reach out for the society obsessed by hysterical witch-hunting²⁴³.

On May 8, 2014, *Podrobnosti* news programme of a popular Inter TV-channel told a story about Holy Trinity Koretsky stavropegial convent in the city of Korets in the Rovny Region, where ‘men in green’ Russian saboteurs) allegedly hid. From the very the beginning the hate-mongering story is typical of the genre, ‘This convent is subordinate to Moscow. The inscriptions on the churches and around the premises are made only in Russian’. The insinuation continues without presenting facts to confirm it, ‘It is here where the aliens were seen, someone told they ‘men in green’ others believe they were sportsmen. Maybe they didn’t see them, but surely heard them’²⁴⁴. Mother Superior Rafaila (Khilchuk) related to *Pravoslaviye v Ukraine* news web-site that the accusations were brought by the local radicals who in fact sieged the convent. ‘Activists of self-defence stayed for a while in front of the convent to prevent, as they said, saboteurs from getting inside. It was they who told journalists about a bus with pilgrims, men

²⁴³ ОФІЦІЙНА ЗАЯВА ПРЕС-СЛУЖБИ СУМСЬКОЇ ЄПАРХІЇ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ПРАВОСЛАВНОЇ ЦЕРКВИ з приводу поширення чуток про причетність Спасо-Преображенського кафедрального собору до діяльності сепаратистів та зберігання зброї // Православная Сумщина. 07.05.2014. URL: <http://portal-pravoslavie.sumy.ua/ofczjna-zayava-pres-sluzhbi-sumsko-parx-ukranksko-pravoslavno-czerkvi.html>

²⁴⁴ На Западній Україні очікують провокацій 9 мая // Подробности. 10.05.2014. URL: <http://podrobnosti.ua/975138-na-zapadnoj-ukraine-ozhidajut-provokat-sij-9-maja.html>

and women, which arrived to the convent and left it only with women. These people and an eye-witness from a video (filmed from the back, so it's impossible to identify her) say that the men spoke with a Russian accent and are still staying on the convent territory where the nuns hide them²⁴⁵. It means that the witch hunting began just because of Russian speech heard by Maida activists and the fact that the convent subordinates canonically to the Moscow Patriarchate!

On **May 18, 2014**, Sunday programme *TSN-Nedelya* featured a long story called 'Fratricidal war in the East of Ukraine is blessed by the Russian Patriarch Kirill. In the programme, religious centres of the UOC were accused of giving shelter to Russian saboteurs and storing of weapon.

'A subversive group in Slavyansk, a hotbed of terrorism in the Donetsk Region, was patronaged by the Russian church.

The journalists' investigation tries to prove that a substantial segment of the Orthodox church of the Moscow Patriarchate has become an important element of the so-called 'hybrid war' of Russia against Ukraine. There is an entire net of priests who actively assisted to Russian combatants in the East... Religious buildings, churches and even Svyatogorsk Laura were used as bases for sabotage groups. The Security Service of Ukraine confirmed the information after checking phone calls of frightened citizens who reported on hitmen and weaponry²⁴⁶.

²⁴⁵ Ще одна провокація в ЗМІ: Спростовує ігумена Корецького ставропігійного монастиря // Православие в Украине. 09.06.2014. URL: <http://orthodoxy.org.ua/data/shche-odna-provokaciya-v-smi-sprostovuie-igumena-koreckogo-stavropigijnogo-monastirya.html>

²⁴⁶ Братоубийственную войну на Востоке Украины благословил российский патриарх Кирилл // ТСН. 19.05.2014. URL: <http://ru.tsn.ua/politika/bratoubiystvennuyu-voynu-na-vostoke-ukrainy-blagosloivil-rossiyskiy-patriarh-kirill-366179.html>

None of these claims based on testimony of anonymous priests and SSU officers were proved later. Nevertheless, escalation of hatred towards the UOC by one of the most popular TV channels is an irrefutable fact, that resulted in a further escalation of hate towards believers. The TV feature claimed one more thing:

‘It turns out that Girkin repeatedly traveled with Orthodox delegations to Ukraine. It is obvious that he visited South and East Eparchies of the UOC on purpose. In fact, it can be called a reconnaissance and preparatory mission²⁴⁷.

On **June 6, 2014**, a popular web-site Tsenzor.net associated with Igor Kolomoysky, published an article titled *Terrorists Shelled Security Forces from Mortars on Church Premises in Slavyansk, People Killed and Wounded* where they quoted a report of the press-service of the National Guard of Ukraine subordinate to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, ‘It has recently turned out that terrorists set up a 120mm mortar system in the church yard in Slavyansk and heavily shelled check-points of the Ukrainian military. As a result of the mortar fire several law enforcement agents were killed and wounded... Confronted by the described actions, the Ukrainian law enforcement agents ‘reserve the right to take all the appropriate measures to stop the aggressors’²⁴⁸. This and alike claims motivated the military to start shelling churches of the UOC in Slavyansk which soon became more intensive. At the same time, it is surprising that the press-service of the National Guard did not specify either the precise time or even the date of the shelling which had

²⁴⁷ Братоубийственную войну на Востоке Украины благословил российский патриарх Кирилл // ТСН. 19.05.2014. URL: <http://ru.tsn.ua/politika/bra-toubiystvennuyu-voynu-na-vostoke-ukrainy-blagosloivil-rossiyskiy-patriarh-kirill-366179.html>

²⁴⁸ Террористы открыли минометный огонь по силовикам с территории храма в Славянске, есть убитые и раненые // Цензор.Нет. 06.06.2014. URL: http://censor.net.ua/news/288812/terroristy_otkryli_minometnyyi_ogon_po_silovikam_s_territorii_hrama_v_slavyanske_est_ubitye_i_raneny_e

allegedly occurred. Strangely, the church from where the fire was delivered was also omitted. 'During an inspection all Priests were interrogated, and there are over ten churches in the city,' the UOC Gorlovka and Slavyansk Eparchy reported on the same day. 'The priests testify that no shelling was delivered from either of the churches or its premises'²⁴⁹.

On **June 13, 2014**, chairman of the SSU Valentin Naliyaychenko asserted in *ShusterLive* TV-programme on the First National TV-channel, 'It is important to understand the motivation of armed units... in Gorlovka, Donetsk and Slavyansk... Their leaders and their kin are nursed and poisoned with ideology of Euro-Asian fundamentalism... This plague spreads under the guise a new form of the Orthodox faith, which is the Orthodox fundamentalism. I believe that this is the greatest menace coming from those prepare, recruit volunteers and ideologically justifies this war against Ukraine'²⁵⁰.

On **June 21, 2014**, *Galichina*, a newspaper of the Ivano-Frankovsk regional council published an article in the *Fifth Column* titled 'Cunning Russian World: Much of War, Little of Christianity' which stated, 'One thing comes clear: as Bishop Yevkharisty Zorya says, 'if you are with Moscow Patriarchate, then you join the aggressor and the forces that strive to destroy Ukraine, the UOC MP among them, now turned into an obvious instrument of aggression against Ukraine'²⁵¹. On June 24, Roman Ivasiv, the editor of scientific and religious information, published an article titled *His Beatitude*

²⁴⁹ В Славянске с території храмів не стреляють // Сайт Горловської і Славянської єпархії УПЦ. 06.06.2014. URL: <http://gorlovka-eparhia.com.ua/v-nbsp-slavyanske-s-nbsp-territorii-hramov-ne-nbsp-strelyayut/>

²⁵⁰ Шустер LIVE 13-06-2014 // Канал користувача «SavikShusterStudio» на YouTube. 17.09.2014. URL: <http://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=n9h0XzdrByo>

²⁵¹ Роман Івасів. Лукавий «руський мір»: багато війни і мало християнства // Галичина. 21.06.2014. URL: <http://www.galychyna.if.ua/publication/society/lu-kavii-ruskii-mir-bagato-viini-i-malo-khristijanstva>

Svyatoslav: recognise Ukrainian dignity, in which he comments on the letter of the head of UGCC archbishop Svyatoslav (Shevchuk): ‘The Synod of UGCC bishops also reminds the people of Ukraine that in the face of new dangers the people should pull together ‘to protect Motherland, stand for its unity and the right of each citizen to live in a free, European and democratic country’. Unfortunately neither the Kremlin nor the authorities of the Russian Orthodox Church can accept it’²⁵².

On **August 1, 2014**, Channel 5, owned by president Piotr Poroshenko presented a feature *Moscow Priest Spreading Anti-Ukrainian Propaganda*, in which the clerics of a church in Glevakha village of the Kiev Region were groundlessly accused of printing separatist leaflets (‘locals say that’)²⁵³. However, local believers refuted it immediately. ‘We, parishioners of the Intercession of Our Lady Church of the UOC declare that neither in our church nor by our priest (Father Superior Arkady) the leaflets with the information shown by Channel 5 have ever been handed out or spread on 01.08.2014’, says an announcement published on August 4 and singed up by 121 local parishioners²⁵⁴.

On **August 5, 2014**, TSN news TV-programme of 1+1 channel featured a story *X-files: Moscow Patriarchate Fuelling Hatred in Ukraine*, the lead of which on the programme webpage says: ‘Russian special services systematically launch

²⁵² Роман Ивасив. Блаженнейший Святослав: визнати гідність українців // Газета Галичина: інтернет-сайт. 24.06.2014. URL: <http://uamonitoring.com/ru/news/2014/06/26/na-zapadnoj-ukraine-gosudarstvennye-smi->

²⁵³ На Київщині під Московського патріархату веде антиукраїнську пропаганду // 5 канал. 01.08.2014. URL: <http://www.5.ua/ukrayina/na-kyivshchyni-pip-moskovskoho-patriarkhatu-vede-antyukrainsku-propahandu-5331.html>

²⁵⁴ СПРОСТУВАННЯ. Віруючі Покровського храму с. Глеваха - про сюжет «5 каналу»: «З нашої церкви від нашого батюшки ніколи не роздавалися такі листівки» // Православие в Украине. 04.08.2014. URL: <http://orthodoxy.org.ua/data/sprostuvannya-viruyuchi-pokrovskogo-hramu-s-glevaha-pro-syuzhet-5-kanalu-z-nashoyi-cerkvi-vi-d>

propaganda campaigns through the UOC of the Moscow Patriarchate, spreading separatism and hatred among Ukrainians'²⁵⁵.

On **August 9, 2014**, 1+1 TV-channel showed a 52-minute documentary '*Kremlin Agents*' divided into parts titled *Who Killed Metropolitan Vladimir, How Priests Bless Terrorists to Kill Ukrainians, Occupation of Crimea and Gifts of the Magi* and *Who may Become a New Metropolitan*²⁵⁶.

On **August 17, 2014** another story of TSN about the UOC was released, it was called *Moscow Patriarchate Remains Servant of Two Masters*²⁵⁷. The story tells about the election of a new UOC Metropolitan of Chernovtsy and Bukovina Onufry (Berezovsky) and journalists raise a question, whether the elect was a patriot of Ukraine or a Kremlin agent. The story exposes Metropolitan Onufry as a supporter of the 'Russian World' and an agent of anti-Ukrainian forces.

On **November 30, 2014**, Sunday episode of TSN news TV-programme at 1+1 channel featured a story '*Tortures, Humiliation and urders in Russian Orthodox Church*', with a caption 'Orthodox terrorists'²⁵⁸. In this story clerics of the UOC and ROC were accused of participation in religious persecutions and murders in the Donetsk Region.

On **January 17, 2015**, TSN news TV-programme at 1+1 channel reported that a UOC priest refused to read a burial

²⁵⁵ Секретные материалы: как Московский патриархат разжигает рознь в Украине // ТСН. 06.08.2014. URL: <http://ru.tsn.ua/video/video-novini/sekretnye-materialy-kak-moskovskiy-patriarhat-razzhigayet-rozn-v-ukraine-1.html>

²⁵⁶ Українські сенсації. Запроданці Кремля // 1+1. 09.08.2014. URL: http://int.1plus1.ua/video/programy/?media_id=384042393

²⁵⁷ Московський патріархат залишається слугою двох панів // ТСН. 17.08.2014. URL: <http://tsn.ua/video/video-novini/moskovskiy-patriarhat-zalishayetsya-slu-goyu-dvoh-paniv.html>

²⁵⁸ Пытки, издевательства и убийства в рядах российской православной церкви // ТСН. 30.11.2014. URL: <http://ru.tsn.ua/video/video-novini/pytki-izdevatelstva-i-ubiystva-v-ryadah-rossiyskoy-pravoslavnoy-cerkvi.html>

service for a Ukrainian soldier killed in the anti-terror operation region. Ilya Sagaydak, head of Svyatoshinsky district administration, was also quoted: 'During the burial service for the hero who died in the anti-terror operation region... the priest began to sermon the people on the 'Russian World', saying that it was soldier's own fault as he went to fight against his brothers'. Then Sagaydak said, 'the community suggests that this church should be transferred to the Kiev Patriarchate' and he 'will support this decision' since 'hostile propaganda' is spread in the church²⁵⁹. 'Non-Christian behavior of the priest of the Moscow Patriarchate is a vivid example of callous and heartless spin technologies of the Kremlin, spreading the Russian propaganda through their biased clerics,' told Sagaydak to *Gazeta* news web-site²⁶⁰. However, as it cleared up later the motive for the provocation was too far-fetched. 'I have been confessor for this family for many years,' said archpriest Adam Kuchmy, Prior of John the Baptist Conception church, who had been accused of a refusal to read a burial service for the killed Roman Korzun. 'The tragedy shocked me ... In reality during the funeral I sermoned my flock on the Christ's world we seek after and no other thing. Unfortunately, the journalist distorted my message²⁶¹.

²⁵⁹ У Києві попросились із загиблим в АТО мінометником Романом Корзуном // ТСН. 07.01.2015. URL: <http://tsn.ua/video/video-novini/u-kiyevi-poproschalis-iz-zagiblim-v-ato-minometnikom-romanom-korzunom.html>

²⁶⁰ Столичную церковь Московского Патриархата могут передать УПЦ КП // *Gazeta.ua*. 19.01.2015. URL: http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/kyev-life/_stolichnyu-cerkov-moskovskogo-patriarhata-mogut-peredat-upc-kp/604538

²⁶¹ Прот. Адам Кучмій: «Трагедія з загибеллю Романа вразила моє серце і душу». Відбулось засідання комісії Київської єпархії УПЦ щодо обставин відспівування бійця АТО Романа Корзуна // Сайт Киевской митрополии УПЦ. 21.01.2015. URL: <http://mitropolia.kiev.ua/prot-adam-kuchmij-tragediya-z-zagibellyu-romana-vrazila-moye-serce-i-dushu-vidbulos-zasidannya-komissii-kiyevskoy-eparxii-upc-shhodo-obstavin-vidspivuvannya-bijcy-a-to-romana-kor/>

On **March 6, 2015**, Vasily Panteluk, a UGCC cleric, said at the briefing with journalists in Odessa crisis media-centre, ‘Churches of the Moscow Patriarchate hid terrorists in Slavyansk, they called it a ‘patriotic club’. They stored weapons there and when Girkin came to Slavyansk, these arms served to kill Ukrainians’²⁶².

On **March 23, 2015**, 1+1 channel featured a story ‘How Separatism Roots in Western Ukraine’. The story begins with a journalist’s statement, saying that ‘a publication edited by Pochaev Lavra contained direct references to web-sites of separatist Novorossiia’²⁶³. Another story was featured on the same day by the same channel in TSN programme ‘Pochaev Community is Ready to Defend Holy Icon from being Smuggled to Russia’²⁶⁴. The story claims that monks of the Pochaev Laura intend to take Pochaev Icon of Our Lady to Russia. As mentioned above, this subject has been exploited by the Kiev Patriarchate and nationalists connected with it since early 2014 in order to have a legal pretext for a takeover of this religious centre. So the rumour launched on March 21 was a good occasion for mobilizing all combatants of the *Right Sector of Ternopolshchina* to protect the Laura²⁶⁵. Still on March 21 the Ternopol Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine refuted the rumour, ‘Officers of Kremenets district

²⁶² «В тебя стреляют, но нужно раздавать хлеб», – донецкий священник УГКЦ в Одессе // Маяк. 06.03.2015. URL: <http://mayak.org.ua/news/v-tebya-strel-yayut-no-nujno-razdavay-hleb-doneckiy-svyaschennik-ugkc-v-odesse/>

²⁶³ Как сепаратизм пускает корни в Западной Украине // ТСН. 23.03.2015. URL: <http://ru.tsn.ua/video/video-novini/kak-separatizm-puskaet-korni-v-zapadnoy-ukraine.html>

²⁶⁴ В Почаєві готуються захищати святиню від вивезення до Росії // ТСН. 23.03.2015. URL: <http://tsn.ua/video/video-novini/v-pochayevi-gotuyutsya-zahischaty-svyatinyu-vid-vivezennya-do-rosiyi.html>

²⁶⁵ ПОЧАЇВ. На Тернопільщині «Правий сектор» організовує бойовий виїзд на Почаївську Лавру // Сайт Інформаційного отдела УПЦ. 21.03.2014. URL: <http://religions.unian.net/orthodoxy/1058554-na-ternopolschine-pravyiy-sektor-zayavil-o-boevom-vyiezde-na-Pochayvskuyu-lavru.html>

police department verified this information and found no proofs. Law enforcement agents clarified the issue with the Father Superior and clerics of the Pochaev Holy Dormition Laura. They refuted the information about the eventual taking off the icon from the monastery. The monks asserted, they learned about it from the Internet²⁶⁶.

On **September 29, 2015**, Ludmila Filipovich, head of the Department for contemporary religious processes of the Philosophy Institute of the National Science Academy, said in the interview to the country's Religious Informational Service about the danger of 'Orthodox extremism' which she compared with the Mongol-Tatar horde (an image associated with a race war of Mongols and Europeans intensively used by the propaganda of the Third Reich). 'Apart from military aggression which found both religious and ideological support, the Orthodox extremism has partly reached its aim creating a conflict which pushed the Ukrainians to the brink of fratricidal war... Now Ukraine is obviously shielding Europe against another incursion of another horde. It's like in 1240, though nobody thanked us for that, neither then, nor now... Any country is strong enough to resist the 'Russian World'... I believe the Germans are sensitive to the subject of fascism. If they saw a film about Russian orthodox fascism, they would know where the danger comes from'²⁶⁷. Right-wing radicals express similar ideas. At a press-conference in Dnepropetrovsk on February 10, 2015, dedicated to the chaplain service a UGCC priest Petr Buryak, head chaplain of 5th battalion of

²⁶⁶ Інформація щодо можливого незаконного вивезення з Почаївської Лаври чудотворної ікони не відповідає дійсності // Сайт УМВД в Тернопільській області. 21.03.2015. URL: <http://www.mvs.gov.ua/mvs/control/ternopil/uk/publish/article/134114>

²⁶⁷ Людмила Филиппович: Православный экстремизм достиг своей цели в виде конфликта, довел украинцев до состояния внутренней агрессии / Разговаривала Татьяна Калениченко // Религиозно-информационная служба Украины. 25.09.2015. URL: http://risu.org.ua/ru/index/expert_thought/interview/61244/

the Volunteer Ukrainian corps of the Right Sector, said about hostilities in the Donetsk Region: ‘It’s a merciless enemy, an Asian horde has come... to destroy us’²⁶⁸. The man who openly expresses such ideas holds an high state office and regularly attends OSCE events as member of the Ukrainian delegation!

On **October 1, 2015**, *Ukrinform* Ukrainian national informational agency published an article titled *Shift Parade* by observer Lana Samokhvalova who had been recently nominated ‘journalist of the year’ by this mass medium²⁶⁹. In this article Samokhvalova brought the most grotesque charges against the UOC who at the national and international level had called to protect its parishioners after a massacre in Katerinovka, ‘The situation with the Metropolia is clear. They want escalation of the conflict. Moscow has ordered them to wage a religious war... in fact, the Metropolia of Kiev makes it clear that it does not stand on the position of its own country. What is more, it calls for civil disobedience. Exactly the same as in the Donetsk Region. (And why should they submit to the state if they are connected with the Moscow Patriarchate and the FSB). At the same time the journalist does not conceal that she stands for pressing the UOC in order to split it and reform (‘The ideal scenario for me is: ...to coerce the UOC MP to negotiate with the Kiev Patriarchate, to create a pro-Ukrainian wing in the UOC MP and as a result, to knock the heads together of the MP and KP supporters in one Church, around one Cup’). The journalist has no scruples of being connected with radical nationalists (‘Some of my experts assume that... soft force in the talk with the

²⁶⁸ Днепр Post 10 02 2015 13 00 // Канал пользователя «DNEPR POST» на Youtube. 10.02.2015. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GtyGc-VnkaE>

²⁶⁹ Журналистом года в Укринформе стала Лана Самохвалова // Укринформ. 27.07.2015. URL: http://www.ukrinform.ru/rubric-lastnews/1869018-gurnalistom_goda_v_ukrinforme_stala_lana_samohvalova_1769436.html

Metropolia ruled by Moscow will not help. 'We raised the siege of the Laura [Monastery] in 1992. We did not storm it in 2014 during the Maidan obeying Patriarch Filaret's summon. We won't make the third mistake,' says one of regular TV guests. 'We ceded them the Ternopol Region, the whole Pochaev Monastery to these rogues and they made a small Moscow there, we won't let them repeat it in the capital'²⁷⁰. The position of Dmitry Korchinsky, the former leader of right-wing UNA-UNSO which sieged Kiev-Pechersk Laura on June 18, in 1992, now a leader of no less radical Bratstvo organization, has become popular with respectable Ukrainian mass media, and, as already said, with high-ranking officials in charge of religious organizations. .

On **October 21, 2015**, article *First Church of Kiev Patriarchate in our Town* was published in *Provintsia* newspaper edited in Konstantinovka town in the Donetsk Region. The Temple of Candlemas was built with funds of a businessman Yury Shapranov and registered under the jurisdiction of the the Kiev Patriarchate. Here is the explanation: 'Before the construction began in 2013, the city council had allocated a land lot for a church of the Moscow Patriarchate and it was registered as an MP church. But then the well-known events occurred, the war, the occupation, members of the MP discredited themselves, they blessed Girkin, made weapons caches in churches... Thus, funally, the church council decided to shift for the Kiev Patriarchate. And the city council granted the land to the church being already under Kiev Patriarchate '²⁷¹.

²⁷⁰ Самохвалова Лана. Парад переходов: московские батюшки сменили рясы на судейские мантии // Укринформ. 01.10.2015. URL: <http://www.ukrinform.ru/rubric-community/1891753-parad-perehodov-moskovskie-batyushki-smenili-ryasyi-na-sudeyskie-mantii.html>

²⁷¹ Дaнькo B. Пepвый храм Киевского патриархата в нашем городе // Прoвинция. 21.10.2015.

On **October 23, 2015**, a popular newspaper Zerkalo Nedely published an article by experts of the National Institute for Strategic Research under the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine. The authors Sergey Zdiоруik and Vladimir Tokman, didn't spare slanderous attacks against the UOC: 'It is indicative that Metropolitan Onufry as the Head of the UOC (MP) instigates separatist hysteria in Ukraine by his own actions... In fact, the present-day clergy of the UOC (MP) is actively supporting separatists both spiritually and physicaly,, help them in their activities, participate in provocations and even sabotage acts, glamorize the imperial past, etc. In the Ukrainian-Russian war the UOC (MP) supports the aggressor in various ways, being an important instrument of ideological and spiritual intervention,' etc. Experts of the Institute developing the strategy for the Ukrainian authorities openly suggest discriminative measures against the UOC (MP): 'It is necessary to adopt a law at the national level in order to deprive the UOC (MP) of any property rights to the main national religious centres, such as Kiev-Pechersk Laura of the Dormition, Pochaev Laura of the Dormition, Svyatogorsk Laura of the Dormition... Pro-Russian Archpriests of the UOC (MP) discrediting the Ukrainian people and authorities, should not be admitted to public celebrations'²⁷².

On December 7, 2015, 1+1 channel featured a report 'Paramilitaries in Cleric Garbs' insinuating that 'The Russian Orthodox Army has been shooting Ukrainians on the Eastern front for a long time already. It looks like the Moscow Patriarchate is now ready to extend warfare to Western Ukraine too'²⁷³. Young seminarians from the Pochaev Monastery are

²⁷² Здиоруик Сергей, Токман Владимир. Выдавливая Москву капля по капле // Зеркало недели. 23.10.2015. URL: <http://gazeta.zn.ua/internal/vydavlivaya-moskvu-po-kaple-.html>

²⁷³ Боевики в рясах: Московский патриархат отправляет на Западную Украину семинаристов-«титушек» // ТСН. 07.12.2015. URL: <http://ru.tsn.ua/politika/boe>

depicted as formidable combatants, and for the Chief Prosecutor stands Vasily Labaychuk, head of the *Right Sector in Ternopilshchina* modestly introduced as a ‘civil activist’. Labaychuk seems to ‘forget’ how he and his followers traveled all over the Ternopol Region, instigating and participating in shifting jurisdiction of local churches with the help of right-wing radicals. Evidently, this strange statements presented by him and 1+1 channel are connected with that scandal which was caused abroad after beating UOC believers by nationalists and police officers in Katerinovka village in the Ternopo Region on September 15, 2015. As a result, the authorities and mass media bring the most preposterous charges against the victims saying that it was they who were aggressors.

On December 11, 2015, 1+1 channel continued this propaganda and accused the UOC of establishing groups of pro-Russian militants in the Ukrainian capital, ‘The Kiev-Pechersk Laura has been headed by a protege of Patriarch Kirill for 20 years. This man is guarded by a private army of ‘Cossacks’²⁷⁴.

On December 17, 2015, a press-conference *Russian Propaganda and Religious Radicalism as Key Factors of Destabilization of the World* was held in the press-centre of the Ukrainian National Information Agency. At the conference a number of high-ranked officials brought libellous and groundless accusations against the UOC. For example, president of European Christian Congress Vladimir Averyanov said that ‘invasion of Ukraine was backed up ideologically by the Church which violated all the canons of the Holy Scripture. ‘The Orthodoxy is a substantial threat to the national security, due to its links with a national religious centre

wiki-v-ryasah-moskovskiy-patriarhat-otpravlyaet-na-zapadnuyu-ukrainu-semi-naristov-titushek-539084.html

²⁷⁴ Власть готова прислушаться к петиции о передаче Киево-Печерской Лавры УПЦ-КП // ТСН. 11.12.2015. URL: <http://ru.tsn.ua/kyiv/vlast-gotova-prislushat-sya-k-peticii-o-peredache-kievo-pecherskoy-lavry-upc-kp-542765.html>

abroad,' says Aleksandr Sagan, professor of the Institute of Philosophy. In his opinion, this 'ideological message' invigorates the separatist movement not only in the East but also in the centre and in the West of Ukraine'. As stated above, such assertions nourish right radicalism motivated by ideological hatred to the UOC and oftenly inspired by the Nazi ideals. Alla Boyko, professor of the Institute of Journalism, another participant of the press-conference, claimed that the Orthodox 'Church in the Donetsk Region is playing the role of a fascist organisation', and called to find 'ways to defeat this Orthodox fascism'.

As for these "ways", a statement of another participant of the press-conference, Tatyana Derkach, should be quoted, 'The Russian Orthodox Church manifests itself as a civil religion... It's nearly impossible to speak to its adepts in the language of Evangelic values. The practice shows that they do not understand this language'²⁷⁵. This statement can be interpreted as a straightforward appeal for a forced administrative oppression of the UOC.

An interview of Viktor Yelensky, Councillor of the Ukrainian President for Matters of Religion, published by the Religious Information service of Ukraine on December 30, 2015, contains the following negative statements against the UOC: 'Since the death of Metropolitan Vladimir, the new authorities of the UOC (MP) are tightly controlled by the Moscow Patriarchate. In fact, the Archpriests of the UOC act within a framework designed in Moscow, which is a civil war rhetoric, demonstrative lack of support to the Ukrainian Army and sometimes an outright hostility to the country whose name the Church bears'²⁷⁶.

²⁷⁵ Нивкин Ярослав. Религиоведы круглого стола: РПЦ и УПЦ - «фашистские церкви» // Союз православных журналистов. 22.12.2015. URL: <http://uoj.org.ua/tochka-zreniya/zashchita-tserkvi/religiovedy-kruglogo-stola-rpts-i-upts-fashistskie-tserkvi>

²⁷⁶ Виктор Еленский: «В этом году Церковь впервые за долгое время получила серьезных конкурентов в сфере доверия и любви людей» / Разговаривала

Petr Kraluk, provost of the Ostrog Academy (Ostrog, the Rovny Region) repeats the same in an article published on the web-site of Ukrainian office of Svoboda Radio on January 3, 2016, ‘...The so-called Ukrainian Orthodox church (UOC) is virtually a branch of the Russian Orthodox church administered by the Moscow Patriarchy. In reality this confession is an agent of a foreign power. Moreover, this power has occupied our territory and is waging a war against us... Since Russia had occupied the Crimea and started a war in the Donetsk Region, the UOC (MP) has not been hiding its pro-Russian position and some of its clerics openly support pro-Russian separatists... The UOC (of the Moscow patriarchy) is a result of a colonial dependence on Russia²⁷⁷, etc.

As demonstrated above, defamations of a kind have become *comme il faut* among the most popular Ukrainian mass media and relevant figures of the Ukrainian academic community, and high-ranking Ukrainian officials responsible for the religious policy. There is no surprise in the fact that as the hatred towards the UOC churches escalates, clergy and believers of this Church are increasingly becoming victims of right-wing radicals or of ordinary people poisoned by this propaganda.

This situation must become a subject for constant monitoring both by the OSCE and other institutions of the EU civil society as to provide a quick to violation of the rights of the UOC believers

Татьяна Калениченко // Религиозно-информационная служба Украины. 30.12.2015. URL: http://risu.org.ua/ru/index/expert_thought/interview/62091

²⁷⁷ Кралюк Петро. Чи втратить Московський патріархат в Україні свої парафії? // Українська редакція Радіо «Свобода». 03.01.2016. URL: <http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/article/27465223.html>