



The Lithuanian Riflemen's Union and the Ukrainian Radical Liberation Movement in the Mirror of Ukrainian Historiography

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Abstract. The interwar years became a period of active struggle for the restoration of statehood in Ukraine. The mission to revive the state in a revolutionary way was undertaken by the military circles of the Ukrainian emigration who found themselves outside the homeland after the defeat in the War of Independence of 1917–1921. Lithuania was the country that responded most actively to helping the Ukrainian movement. Support was provided mainly through the paramilitary Lithuanian Riflemen's Union and public organizations associated with the Riflemen's Union. This article provides a historiographical review of the scientific massif that was created by Ukrainian science in the context of studying the problems of establishing and developing relations between the Ukrainian liberation movement and Lithuania through the connecting role of the Union of Riflemen. The work reflects and analyzes studies on this issue, divided into two conditional periods: 1) works published outside Ukraine, in a chronological interval from the end of World War II to the restoration of the Ukrainian state in 1991, the authors, who were mainly participants Ukrainian liberation movement; 2) studies on the problem, published in Ukraine after 1991.

Keywords: *Lithuanian Riflemen's Union, Ukrainian military organization, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Ukrainian Historiography, Lituanistic studies.*

Anotacija. Tarpukario periodas buvo pažymėtas aktyvios ukrainiečių kovos už Ukrainos nepriklausomybę. Po pralaimėto 1917–1921 m. Ukrainos Nepriklausomybės karo emigracijoje atsidūrusi buvusi Ukrainos karininkija prisiėmė sau misiją – atkurti Ukrainos valstybę revoliuciniu, sukilimo būdu. O Lietuva tarpukariu buvo ta šalis,

kuri aktyviai teikė pagalbą ukrainiečių judėjimui, siekusi Ukrainos suvienijimo ir nepriklausomybės. Lietuva paramą ir pagalbą ukrainiečių kovotojams teikė per savo paramilitarinę organizaciją – Lietuvos šaulių sąjungą ir lygiagrečiai sukuriant visuomenines organizacijas, kurios buvo susijusios su šauliais ir rėmė Ukrainos nepriklausomybės idėją. Taigi šiame straipsnyje pateikiama Ukrainos istoriografijos, susijusios su Ukrainos išsilaisvinimo judėjimo ir Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos tarpukariu ryšių palaikymu, apžvalga. Taip siekiama atskleisti Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos vaidmenį Ukrainos išsivadavimo judėjimo veiklai tarpukariu, kuris suformuluotas ukrainietiškoje istoriografijoje. Tai sudarys prielaidas ir platesniems tyrimams Lietuvoje, analizuojant Lietuvos bendrai ir Šaulių sąjungos konkrečiai ryšius su Ukrainos išsilaisvinimo judėjimu tarpukariu. Kūrinyje atspindimi ir analizuojami studijos šia tema, suskirstytos į du sąlyginius laikotarpius: 1) darbai, paskelbti ne Ukrainoje, chronologiniu intervalu nuo Antrojo pasaulinio karo pabaigos iki Ukrainos valstybės atkūrimo 1991 m., autoriai, daugiausia Ukrainos išsivadavimo judėjimo dalyviai; 2) tyrimai, paskelbti Ukrainoje po 1991 m.

Raktiniai žodžiai: *Lietuvos šaulių sąjunga, Ukrainos karinė organizacija, Ukrainos patriotų organizacija, Ukrainos istoriografija, publikuoti šaltiniai, lituanistikos tyrimai.*

Introduction

On January 22, 1918, the Fourth Universal of the Central Rada proclaimed the independence of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR, ukr. УНР – Українська народна республіка). Just three weeks later, on February 16, 1918, the Lithuanian Taryba announced the restoration of the State of Lithuania. For both peoples, this meant the continuation of a bloody struggle for sovereignty and independence. The result of this struggle was more successful for Lithuania. It resisted hostile geopolitical projects.

At the same time, the defeat of Ukraine in the struggle for independence led to forced emigration of a huge number of representatives of intellectual and military elites. The struggle for the restoration of the state was shifted to a different plane. Several directions were formed among the Ukrainian national movement abroad. Having deep political differences. Including there were monarchist and social democratic groups.

The *Ukrainian Military Organization* (hereinafter – UVO, ukr. УВО – Українська військова організація) created in August 1920 by former Ukrainian officers showed itself as the most radical force, aimed at restoring the independence of Ukraine by force of arms. In 1921, Colonel Yevhen Konovalts, an active participant in the War of Independence of 1917–1921, joined this union. The members of the UVO (who were already about 2,000 one year after the start of the activity)¹ refused to recognize the liquidation

¹ ДАРОВАНЕЦЬ, Олександр. Організаційні початки УВО і та формування її структури (1920–1922). Український Визвольний рух, Збірник 11, 2007, с. 51.

of the Ukrainian state and the division of Ukrainian lands between the puppet Ukrainian Socialist Republic and Poland, according to the Treaty of Riga, 1921. The UVO proclaimed: “We are not defeated! The war is not over! ... Victory is ahead!”² the UVO was in search of allies. Among them, one of the priorities was given to Lithuania, the state that regained its independence simultaneously with Ukraine, historically close and also having territorial claims against Poland – one of the two main opponents (according to ideology) of the Ukrainian radical liberation movement.

For the reasons stated above, in our study we will concentrate on reflecting in the Ukrainian historiography the cooperation of the Lithuanian side precisely with the radical, nationalistic organizations of the Ukrainian movement (hereinafter also referred to as *Ukrainian Liberation Movement*, or *Ukrainian radical Liberation Movement*). Separately, we note that among the Ukrainian emigrants in the interwar period, a conflict arose over the question of the perception of the main enemy. While the nationalist wing, led by Colonel Konovalets, saw this to be Poland, another group of Ukrainian emigration – the so-called *UPRists* (mainly led by figures from the era of the Ukrainian People’s Republic 1917–1920, positioning themselves as the government of the UPR in exile) – occupied significantly more loyal positions with respect to Warsaw. This caused a flurry of criticism and allegations of treason by nationalists.³ It was the consistency, rigidity and focus on practical actions in the fight against Poland, that were shown by the radical Ukrainian patriots from the UVO, which became the main factors that contributed to the choice of cooperation with them as a strategic vector for the Lithuanian side.

Collaboration started in 1922 and was in an active phase during the interwar period. The Lithuanian Riflemen’s Union (LRU) played a crucial role in establishing contacts between the Ukrainian movement and Lithuania. Due to political circumstances, the State of Lithuania could not advertise direct financial and organizational support for Ukrainians, therefore the LRU took over the implementation of such cooperation. In addition to this aspect of the relationship, the LRU played an important role in the development of the cultural life of the Ukrainian emigration, and also contributed to the implementation of civic initiatives of the Ukrainian movement. These also included

² КИРИЧУК, Ю.А. Терор і тероризм у Західній Україні. Політичний терор і тероризм в Україні. XIX–XX ст. Історичні нариси, Київ, 2002, с. 556.

³ Olexandr Shulgin, one of the leaders of the *UPRist*, formulated their attitude to the problem of relations with the Polish state under forced circumstances and the need to reconcile with Poland for the survival of the Ukrainian movement (See: ОНАЦЬКИЙ, Євген. У вічному місті. Записки українського журналіста. Рік 1930. Буенос-Айрес, 1954, с. 527). However, the OUN directly accused opponents of trying to establish control over the entire Ukrainian movement. *UPRists* united around the *Livitsky group* (supporters of Andrii Livitsky - the head of the UPR Directory in exile) were accused by nationalists of collaborating with the Polish secret services and the government (See: СЦІБОРСЬКИЙ М. До акції О.Шульгина в Женеві. Розбудова нації. Прага, 1929, Число 6-7(18-19), с. 217–219).

joint Ukrainian-Lithuanian organizations, such as the Lithuanian-Ukrainian Society created in 1928.⁴

In our study, we aim to conduct a review of the material provided by Ukrainian historiography regarding the role and participation of the LRU in the implementation of cooperation between the Ukrainian radical liberation movement and Lithuania in the interwar period.

Modern Ukrainian historical science has significant experience in Lithuanian studies dating back to the Middle Ages, devoted to the stay of Ukrainian lands as part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. However, recent times, the twentieth century, and especially the interwar period are practically poorly represented in academic studies. Indirectly, a number of works reflect the problem of relations between the Ukrainian movement and Lithuania in the indicated period, however, only in the context of a narrative reflecting the history of Ukrainian revolutionary ultra-nationalist organizations – UVO/OUN (*Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists* – ukr. ОУН – Організація українських націоналістів).

Our study will be the first historiographical analysis in the context of the stated problem.

The relevance of the study is argued by the need to reflect the poorly understood aspects of both the international activities of the Ukrainian liberation movement and the foreign policy of the Lithuanian state of the interwar era, as well as the phenomenon of participation in its implementation of the paramilitary organization of the LRU, including through the perspective of the Ukrainian side.

Using thematic and chronological principles, we can arguably distinguish two stages in the study of the relationship between the LRU and the Ukrainian liberation movement:

⁴ Створення Литовсько – Українського Товариства в Каунасі (Ковно) в Литві. *Сурма*, січень 1928, Ч. 6–1, с. 8.

The first stage (1940s–1990)⁵

After the end of World War II, materials began to appear that reflected some aspects of the relationship between the Ukrainian radical patriots and Lithuania, which was involved in the Ukrainian issue and provided assistance to Ukrainians through a kind of *triumvirate*: The LRU – the *Union of Liberation of Vilnius* – the *Lithuanian-Ukrainian Society*, which took shape in 1930s.

The authors of such works often became active participants in the Ukrainian liberation movement of the interwar era. These are mainly memoirs, such as for example the memoirs of Alexander Boikiv – the personal secretary of Colonel Konovalts – published in 1974

⁵ It should be noted that the first, single publications telling about the cooperation between the UVO/OUN and Lithuania, as well as the role of the LRU began to appear in the interwar period. These include articles published, first of all, in the periodicals of the Ukrainian nationalist movement – the *Surma* and the *Rozbudova Natsii*. They published articles that covered for the first time in Ukrainian-language periodicals the problem of Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations in the interwar period, the active participation of the LRU in establishing ties between the Ukrainian movement and Lithuania. For example, the article *Celebration of November 1 in Lithuania* published in 1928 described the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the formation of the West Ukrainian People's Republic in Kaunas. On October 31, the celebrations of the *Decade of the Restoration of Ukrainian Statehood in the Western Lands* opened with the big Ukrainian Evening, with the participation of the Lithuanian intelligentsia and Ukrainian guests. The organizer was the LRU. Juozas Purickis proclaimed a long complimentary speech about the history and modern pages of the struggle of Ukrainians for independence, and their high level of national consciousness. The lecture part flowed smoothly into the performance of the bandura players. The next day, a joint Lithuanian-Ukrainian concert was held, with the participation of the choir and orchestra of the LRU (See: Святування 1-го листопада у Литві. Сурма, грудень 1928, с.7). Two years later, the *Surma* wrote about the celebrations on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the ZUNR (West Ukrainian People's Republic - ukr. ЗУНР – Західно-Українська народна республіка), which acquired even greater proportions. This time, the events lasted as long as 10 days. On October 21, they were opened with a meeting hosted by the Lithuanian-Ukrainian society and the LRU. Lecturers made speeches in Lithuanian and Ukrainian, all was documented by correspondents of the central press. On November 1, at the Church of Vytautas the Great or the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the poet, publicist, public figure, priest Father Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas began a funeral service for the fallen and tortured fighters for the freedom of Ukraine. Musical accompaniment was provided by the choir of the State Opera of Lithuania and the solo vocals of the singer Gražina Matulaitytė, as well as the Orthodox Church choir. The program of the *November Revolution* holiday was broadcast by the central radio of the Lithuanian Republic (For more information see: Протестна акція української еміграції в Європі. Сурма, Ч.1(40), січень 1931, с.8–9). It must be remembered that during interwar period, for the first time, articles reviewing the achievements of the State of Lithuania in the first years of independence were published in Ukrainian. For example, the article Matas Šalčius *The Achievements of Lithuania in the First Decade of Independence*, published in 1929 (See: ШАЛЬЦІЮС, М. Здобутки Литовської республіки за перше десятиліття незалежності. Розбудова нації. Прага, травень 1929, Число (17), с.150–152), and especially the article by Vilnietis entitled *Lithuania*, published in 1930 (See: ВІЛЬНІЄТІС. Литва. Розбудова нації. Прага, січень – лютий 1930, Число 1–2(25–26), с.28–35). This work particularly described various aspects of the state construction in Lithuania for 1918–1928. This publication for many years could be considered the best of those that appeared in Ukrainian on the interwar Lithuanian state. In general, all publications, in the periodicals of Ukrainian nationalists, related to the interwar period are distinguished by an extremely positive image of Lithuania, the Lithuanian armed forces, and especially the LRU. Through the eyes of Ukrainian contemporaries, the Lithuanian state was seen at the same time as a “miracle” and a “result of great labor” of the Lithuanian people.

under the title *My Cooperation with the Colonel* in the collection *Yevhen Konovalets and His Era*.⁶ Also, the book *In the Eternal City: Notes of a Ukrainian Journalist*, which was published in four volumes, in 1954,⁷ 1981,⁸ 1985⁹, 1989,¹⁰ authored by Yevgen Onatsky, a well-known Ukrainian journalist, an active participant in the Revolution of 1917–1921, head of the press bureau of the diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Rome, as well as an active member of the OUN.

A number of articles of that period described in great detail the first stage, from the beginning of cooperation between the UVO and the LRU until 1930. These include, first of all, the articles of Osip Dumin and Vladimir Martynets.

Dumin, an officer of the UPR army, headed the intelligence department of the UVO, and therefore had all the information about cooperation. In fact, he was responsible for the implementation of such a union from the Ukrainian side. We would like to dwell on his work *The Truth About the Ukrainian Military Organization* published in 1974 in Paris in Polish¹¹ (actually, this is a translation of an analytical note of 1926 made by Dumin for the German government). Here we find information on the joint plan of the UVO and the LRU to organize an uprising of Ukrainians and Belarusians in the territories controlled by Poland. Also, the LRU and UVO considered the possibility of creating a Belarusian analog of the UVO in the lands of Western Belarus, which were transferred to Poland according to the Treaty of Riga. At the same time, it was decided that the Ukrainians would take on the organizational work, and the LRU would provide the financial support.¹² We must say that these plans were not implemented, but the LRU, as noted by Dumin, continued funding the UVO.¹³ It is known that in the mid-1920s subsidizing Ukrainians came to the fore compared with financial support to Belarusian and Lithuanian organizations in Poland – which were paid less than Ukrainians,¹⁴ The exact amount intended for the UVO is still unknown, but there is evidence that the total quota for Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian organizations in 1927 in the budget of the LRU was \$1 million (according to the data cited by the Polish historian B. Kosel

⁶ БОЙКІВ, Олекса. Моя співпраця з полковником. Євген Коновалець та його доба. Мюнхен, 1974, с. 621–653.

⁷ ОНАЦЬКИЙ, Євген. У вічному місті. Записки українського журналіста. Рік 1930. Буенос-Айрес, 1954. 533 с.

⁸ ОНАЦЬКИЙ, Євген. У вічному місті. Записки українського журналіста. Роки 1931–1932. Торонто, 1981. 632 с.

⁹ ОНАЦЬКИЙ, Євген. У вічному місті. Записки українського журналіста. Том 3. 1933 рік. Торонто, 1985. 512 с.

¹⁰ ОНАЦЬКИЙ, Євген. У вічному місті. Записки українського журналіста. 1934 рік. Торонто, 1989. 401 с.

¹¹ DUMIN, O. Prawda o Ukraińskiej organizacji wojskowej. *Zeszyty historyczne*, Paryż, 1974, Z. 30, s. 103–137.

¹² Ibid. s. 108.

¹³ Ibid. s. 108–109.

¹⁴ ПАРФИРЬЕВ, Д.С. Антипольское сотрудничество Литвы и УВО-ОУН в межвоенный период. Славянский альманах, 2016, Вып. №1–2, с.101.

in the article *The Lithuanian Plan for the Liberation of Vilna from Polish Hands*).¹⁵ The information on the joint plans of the LRU and the UVO contained in Dumin's diaries was published in the Soviet era, in particular in Andriianov and Moskalenko's book *The Wormwood of a Foreign Land*, published in Moscow in 1987.¹⁶

The works of Vladimir Martynets, a brilliant publicist who is called the *golden pen* of the Ukrainian liberation movement, can be considered basic for studying the history of the UVO/OUN. He known as an author of the famous article *A Few Days in Lithuania*.¹⁷ The topic of cooperation is also covered in the author's main works – the first study of the history of the UVO/OUN – *From the UVO to the OUN: memories and materials to the prehistory and history of Ukrainian organized nationalism*, published in 1949.¹⁸ Two paragraphs of this work are directly or indirectly devoted to the cooperation of the Ukrainian movement with Lithuania.

As an eyewitness and participant in the events, Martynets describes such moments as personal meetings of the leaders of Ukrainian nationalists and the leadership of the Lithuanian state and the LRU, including Colonel Konovalts with Mykolas Biržiška and the command of the LRU in 1928, during the celebration of the 10th anniversary of Lithuania's independence.¹⁹

Collaboration is also mentioned in the first volume of a major work by Ivan Mirchuk *The Essay on the History of the OUN* (published in 1968).²⁰

Speaking about the coverage of the special activities of the UVO and the OUN in the interwar period, one should also first of all refer to the works of a “veteran of the nationalist movement, one of the leading publicists of the OUN”,²¹ Zinoviy Knysh (he was an activist of the OUN, a historian translator from Esperanto). The most capacious content of his works was described by Ukrainian researchers D. Vedeneev and G. Bystrukhin, describing the author himself as “the author of several dozens of books and brochures,

¹⁵ KOSEL, Bogusław. Litewski plan oswobodzenia Wilna z rąk polskich. *Studia Podlaskie*, Białystok, 2013, T. XXI, s. 331–342.

¹⁶ АНДРИЯНОВ, Виктор, МОСКАЛЕНКО, Анатолий. *Польнь чужбины: политический роман*. Москва: Правда, 1987. 348 с.

¹⁷ The article *A Few Days in Lithuania*, published in 1928, is still important today in studying the culture of public holidays in the interwar Lithuanian state. Moreover, this publication is important because it is detailed. Through the eyes of an eyewitness, a Ukrainian contemporary, the general patriotic upsurge of the population was shown during the celebration of the 10th anniversary of independence. The military parade, participation in the celebrations of the LRU units was covered in detail (See: A. B. Кілька днів у Литві. Розбудова нації. Прага, 1928, Число 6, с. 258–260). It is important to note that it was in those days that the leaders of the UVO/OUN invited by the LRU participated in the celebrations.

¹⁸ МАРТИНЕЦЬ, В. Українське підпілля. Від УВО до ОУН. Спогади й матеріали до передісторії та історії українського організованого націоналізму. Вінніпег, 1949. 349 с.

¹⁹ Ibid. с. 263–265.

²⁰ МІРЧУК, Петро. Нарис історії ОУН. Перший том. Мюнхен-Лондон-Нью-Йорк: Українське видавництво, 1968. 639 с.

²¹ ВЕДЕНЕЄВ, Д. В., Б ИСТРУХИН, Г. С. Меч і тризуб. Розвідка і контррозвідка руху українських націоналістів та УПА. 1920–1945. Київ, 2006, с. 27.

numerous articles on a wide range of problems of the history of the UVO/OUN. Among the works on the history of Ukrainian nationalists in the 1920–1930s, based on documents from Polish law enforcement agencies and the underground UVO and OUN, press materials and foreign sources, he paid a lot of attention to the organization, the priorities of the UVO and OUN”,²² including, in some detail, dwelling on the issue of cooperation with the Lithuanian side in the intelligence aspect.

The second stage in the research of the claimed problem began in the 1990s. It is connected with the restoration of the Ukrainian state and the spiritual *restitution* of the activity of the Ukrainian national liberation movement in the first half of the 20th century.

In general, Ukrainian historiography, both foreign and the one in the period after the restoration of independence in 1991, has a large number of works devoted to the UVO/OUN and, of course, to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (or UPA – ukr. УПА – Українська повстанська армія). Actually, we can talk about more than 4 thousand works on this issue by the year 2000, as noted by the Ukrainian researchers Zdioruk and Grinevich.²³

But, far from all the academic works published in Ukraine in the last 28 years, we see a full coverage of our issue. Dwelling on the mention of cooperation between Lithuania and Ukrainian patriots, the authors basically limited themselves to stating this fact, relaying the facts based on the work of the post-war period. Ukrainian-Lithuanian cooperation was described in the context of international activities of the UVO/OUN as a whole, or using parallels with similar contacts with Germany. At the same time, the priority in the description and analytics was given to relations with Berlin.

Among the general array of studies, we highlight several fundamental works in which Ukrainian-Lithuanian cooperation of the interwar era was covered, with indirect coverage of the participation of the LRU.

These include the work by Anatoly Kentiy. First of all, among the array of works of this author, when studying our issue, we should note the work *The Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) in 1920–1928*,²⁴ published in 1998 in Kiev, which covered the poorly studied period of the first contacts between the Ukrainian movement and the LRU in 1922, through the mediation of Yakov Olesnitsky – a diplomatic agent of the ZUNR (West Ukrainian People’s Republic – ukr. ЗУНР – Західно-Українська народна республіка) government in exile.

We would like also to note the fundamental monograph by Ivan Patryliak *The Military Activities of the OUN in 1940–1942*, published in 2004. Here, in the fourth section, which is

²² Ibid. c. 27.

²³ ГРИНЕВИЧ, Л. В., ЗДІОРУК, О. І., ЗДІОРУК, С. І. Показчик публікацій про діяльність ОУН та УПА (1945–1998 рр.). Київ: Ін-т історії України НАН України, 1999. 172 с.

²⁴ КЕНТІЙ, А. В. *Українська військова організація (УВО) в 1920–1928 рр. Короткий нарис*. Київ, 1998. 81 с.

entitled *Creation and Activities of Ukrainian Nationalist Units*, the author also conducted an excursion into the aspect of cooperation of the UVO/OUN with the Lithuanian side.²⁵

In 2006, the monograph *The Sword and the Trident: Intelligence and Counterintelligence of the Movement of Ukrainian Nationalists and the UPA (1920–1945)*, published by co-authors Dmitro Vedeneev and Gennady Bystrukhin. This work provided the first comprehensive coverage of the activities of the special services of the Ukrainian liberation movement from the period of the War of Independence to the end of World War II. A special place is given to cooperation with the Lithuanian side. The second section of the book, entitled *The First Organizational Forms of Special Forces in the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement (1920 – June 1941)* provides information on the circumstances of the beginning of cooperation between the UVO and Lithuania through the LRU and Lithuanian special services. Attention was paid to the signing of a cooperation agreement between the UVO and the Lithuanian representative J. Purickis in April 1928 in Berlin. According to this, the UVO pledged to provide intelligence information to Lithuania on the movement of Polish troops along the Lithuanian borders. The book also describes important aspects of creating a reconnaissance residency of the UVO in Kaunas, as well as enhanced financial support from Lithuania to the Ukrainian liberation movement in the second half of the 1930s.^{26,27}

Separately, it is worth noting the work by Alexander Kucheruk, who can be considered the first among modern Ukrainian researchers who began to develop a local problem of the relationship between the Ukrainian revolutionary movement and Lithuania. Among the works of this author, we can single out the article *The Last Passport of Yevhen Konovalets: Towards the Genesis of Ukrainian-Lithuanian Relations Between the World Wars*. In this work, published in 2000, the circumstances of establishing contacts between the UVO and Lithuania and the essence of cooperation between the Ukrainian nationalists and the Lithuanian side were revealed for the first time.²⁸ Special focus was on the participation in the establishment of such relations of the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania (1920–1921) Juozas Purickis, a well-known public figure. Kucheruk's work highlighted some aspects of the main reconnaissance operations of the UVO in 1925–1928 in favor of Lithuania, such as the transmission of information about a hypothetical Polish invasion in 1926. Thanks to information received from Ukrainians, the Lithuanian side managed

²⁵ ПАТРИЛЯК, І.К. Військова діяльність ОУН(Б) у 1940–1942 роках . Київ, 2004, с. 256–258.

²⁶ ВЕДЕНЕЄВ, Д. В., Б ИСТРУХІН, Г. С. Меч і тризуб... с. 104–111.

²⁷ The UVO residency was located in the temporary capital of Lithuania – Kaunas, headed by Colonel I. Reviuk (Jonas Bratvičius). It consisted of 15 employees who spoke, apart from Polish, Lithuanian and Belarusian. They collected information in the Vilnius-Grodno-Lida-Minsk region, facilitated the purchase and transfer of weapons to Galicia, maintained contact with the UVO cells in Berlin, Vienna, Paris, transmitted the received information through the LRU's channels or directly to the Lithuanian special services (See: ВЕДЕНЕЄВ, Д. В., Б ИСТРУХІН, Г. С. Меч і тризуб... с. 105).

²⁸ КУЧЕРУК, О. Останній паспорт Євгена Коновальця (до генези українсько-литовських стосунків між двома світовими війнами). Пам'ять століть, 2000, № 5, с. 59–60.

to quickly respond by using diplomatic channels in Britain and Germany to eliminate the threat by peaceful means.

In general, we can say that not only Kucheruk's work mentioned above, but also his speech with the same name at the conference *The Ukrainian Historical Science on the Threshold of the 21st Century* which took place in the summer of 2000,²⁹ had a kind of a pilot character and opened a qualitatively new stage in Ukrainian studies of Lithuanian-Ukrainian cooperation in the interwar era.

Among the topical issues related to the problem of interaction between the LRU and the Ukrainian national movement, but more broadly concerning the Ukrainian emigration as a whole, the cultural activities of the LRU can be attributed. A pioneer in this context was Aldona Vasiliauskienė, whose work *News of Lithuanian-Ukrainian Society: Contribution to Lithuanian Culture* was published in

Ukrainian in Lviv in 2007.³⁰ The author, in addition to covering the general history of the Lithuanian-Ukrainian society and the content of the bulletin numbers of the *Ukrainian-Lithuanian society*³¹ (the official periodical of the society), paid considerable attention to the participation of the LRU in the creation and work of the *Lithuanian-Ukrainian society*, headed as we know by Mykolas Biržiška. It was even indicative of the fact that the first meeting of the society was held in Kaunas, in the celebration hall of the LRU, and we should note that there was nobody among the top representatives of the society who would not be directly related to the activities of the LRU. Professors of Kaunas University M. Biržiška and Vincas Krėvė-Mickevičius were members of the Central Bureau of

²⁹ КУЧЕРУК, О. Останній паспорт Євгена Коновальця (до генези українсько-литовських стосунків між двома світовими війнами). Українська історична наука на порозі XXI століття Міжнар. наук. конгрес, Чернівці, 16–18 травня 2000 р. : доповіді та повідомлення, 2001, с. 391–395.

³⁰ ВАСІЛЯУСКЕНЕ, Алдона. «Відомості Литовсько – Українського товариства»: внесок до литовської культури, Вісник Львівського університету, 2007, Вип.2, с. с. 95–105.

³¹ In 1932, a bulletin of the *Lithuanian-Ukrainian society* began to be published in two languages, with about 70% of the texts in Lithuanian. The magazine published information about the history and culture of Ukraine. A special place was given to the Ukrainian statesmen of the past and, of course, the Ukrainian-Lithuanian cooperation of the present. They talked about the situation in Galicia, the internal affairs of Lithuania, the countries of Western Europe, America, etc. (See: ВАСІЛЯУСКЕНЕ, Алдона. «Відомості Литовсько – Українського товариства»... с. 97). The magazine also can be regarded as a valuable source of information about the relationship of the LRU with Ukrainian patriotic organizations and the revolutionary movement in the first half of the 1930s. Thus, thanks to the magazine, we learn about such extremely little-known episodes as, for example, the participation of the Ukrainian delegation in the celebration of the 60th anniversary of Antanas Smetona in 1934, when, during the solemn audience on September 9, 1934 the President was presented with the box made by the Carpathian Hutsuls from the grateful Ukrainian people for helping the Ukrainian movement (See: Політична громадянська й літературна діяльність президента Антанаса Сметони. *Lietuvių Ukrainiečių Draugijos Žinios*, spalio 1934, №15, p. 7, 9). It was the magazine that first published an article in Ukrainian devoted to the history of the LRU, its military career during the War of Independence, structure and organization. Here we mean the article *From the Life of the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union: on the Occasion of the 15th Anniversary of the Union* (See: З життя Союзу Литовських Стрільців. 3 нагоди 15-ліття існування Союзу. *Lietuvių Ukrainiečių Draugijos Žinios*, liepos 1934, №14, p. 2–6).

the LRU since 1922; somewhat later V. Krėvė-Mickevičius became the Chairman of the Central Bureau. J. Purickis, a former foreign minister, was never a member of the LRU, but had a great influence on the LRU's ideology and was often published in the *Trimitas* magazine owned by the LRU. Ludas Vailenis and Rapolas Skipitis were members of the Central Bureau of the LRU and at various times served as an executive editor of the *Trimitas*. Vincas Daudzvardas headed the Information Bureau of the LRU in the first half of the 1920s.³²

In 2016, the world finally saw the first Ukrainian-language work dedicated to the history of the LRU – the article *Participation of the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union in the struggle for independence and unity of the State of Lithuania*, which dealt with the combat path of the Riflemen during the War of Independence and participation in the annexation of the Klaipėda Territory in 1923.³³

Also, over the past few years, the issue of Ukrainian-Lithuanian interwar cooperation has been mentioned in various aspects in the articles by Taras Gunchak,³⁴ Oleksandr Darovanets,³⁵ Marta Gavrishko,³⁶ Vladimir Muravskiy,³⁷ etc.

At the same time, over the past ten years, publications of a popular scientific and popular nature began to appear, which directly or indirectly covered the cooperation of the LRU and the UVO/OUN. Thus, the participation of the LRU in providing financial support to the OUN in 1937–1938 was noted in 2011 in the article *The OUN, Lithuania and the USSR in the 1930s. Friendship against Poland*,³⁸ in the context of a review of the history of Lithuania's contacts with the Ukrainian movement (about 35 thousand dollars, while the aid from Germany was about 50 thousand dollars). As is known, money tranches of Lithuania were of great importance, and in the mid-1930s accounted for up to 25% of the budget of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (I. Dereviany).³⁹ The issue of the provision of assistance by the OUN to the Lithuanian side in the form of intelligence information, which, inter alia, was carried out through the functionaries of the LRU, was reflected in the publications of such researchers as Marta Gavrishko, Igor

³² ПАРФИРЬЕВ, Д. С. Антипольское сотрудничество Литвы и УВО-ОУН... с. 101–102.

³³ ПЕТРИК, А. М. Участь «Союзу Литовських стрільців» («Шауліс») у боротьбі за незалежність та соборність Литовської держави в 1919–1923 рр. *Scriptorium nostrum. Електронний історичний журнал*, 2016, Вип. 2 (5), с. 247–261.

³⁴ ГУНЧАК, Тарас. ОУН і нацистська Німеччина: між колабораціонізмом і резистансом. *Український визвольний рух*, 2007, Збірник 11, с. 61–80.

³⁵ ДАРОВАНЕЦЬ, Олександр. Організаційні початки УВО і та формування її структури (1920–1922). *Український визвольний рух*, 2007, Збірник 11, с. 5–60.

³⁶ ГАВРИШКО, Марта. Заходи ОУН на міжнародній арені у справі «пацифікації» в Галичині у 1930 р. *Український визвольний рух*, 2014, Збірник 19, с. 174–201.

³⁷ МУРАВСЬКИЙ, Володимир. Документи Міністерства закордонних справ Чехословаччини про так званий «архів Сеника». *Український визвольний рух*, 2006, Збірник 6, с. 5–29.

³⁸ ФЕДЕВИЧ, Климентій. ОУН, Литва та СРСР у 1930-ті. Дружба проти Польщі. *Історична правда*, 19.07.2011. [Date of appeal 10.09.2018]. URL: < <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/research/2011/07/19/46112/>>.

³⁹ ПЕТРИК, Артем. «Свет и тени» Первой республики: Литовское государство в 1918–1940 годах. Херсон: Гилея, 2018, с. 256.

Dereviany, published on resources aimed at popularizing history in 2011–2018. Here, first of all, we note the articles of following authors: *The Hero of not only Ukraine: Yevhen Konovalets and Lithuania* (M. Gavrishko),⁴⁰ *International Cooperation of the UVO in the 1920s* (I. Dereviany).⁴¹

The period of 2017–2019 gave the Ukrainian reader new opportunities to get acquainted with the history of Lithuania of the twentieth century. There were books that covered the interwar period to varying degrees, and also touched on the issue of interaction between Kaunas and Ukrainian radical patriots. The first of this series is the book by Ivan Gomeniuk, *The Harbingers of the Second World War*, dedicated to cross-border conflicts in Central and Eastern Europe from 1918 to 1939.⁴² A separate section is devoted to the Lithuanian-Polish relations of this period.⁴³ In the context of the confrontation over the Vilnius Territory and the provision by Lithuanian of aid to the UVO/OUN, the image of the LRU is also reproduced. Contacts between the LRU and the Ukrainian movement are covered in greater detail in the book by Alexander Kucheruk *Lithuania and Ukraine: Episodes of Common History*, published in 2019.⁴⁴ Here we can find information about such little-known facts as joint meetings of the leaders of the UVO and the leadership of the LRU in 1925, the LRU's initiatives to provide funding to the Ukrainian movement in exchange for providing intelligence information, as well as such an important aspect as the participation of the LRU in organizing personal meetings between the leaders of the UVO, Colonel Konovalets and members of the Lithuanian government including Prime Minister Augustinas Voldemaras. Also, the book dwells on such aspects of cooperation as the issuing of the periodicals of the UVO/OUN in Lithuania, support in the creation of Ukrainian civic organizations in Lithuania during the interwar period.⁴⁵

The appearance of such publications is a manifestation of an important, positive trend, which indicates an increase in interest in Lithuanian history as a whole, and the history of Ukrainian-Lithuanian relations, including among the broad circles of the Ukrainian reader. We hope that the interwar era in the history of Lithuania, as part of the common history of Central-Eastern and Northern Europe, will become a trend for Ukraine.

⁴⁰ ГАВРИШКО, Марта. Герой не тільки України: Євген Коновалець і Литва. Історична правда, 29. 06. 2011: [Date of appeal 16.09.2018]. URL: < <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/columns/2011/06/29/44380/>>.

⁴¹ ДЕРЕВ'ЯНИЙ, Ігор. Міжнародне партнерство УВО у 1920-х роках. Історична правда, 18.02 2014 [Date of appeal 23.09.2018]. URL: < <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2014/02/18/141489/>>.

⁴² ГОМЕНЮК, Іван. Провісники Другої світової. Прикордонні конфлікти в Центральній-Східній Європі. Від розпаду імперій до Гляйвіцької провокації. Харків: Книжковий клуб «Клуб Сімейного Дозвілля», 2017. 352 с.

⁴³ Ibid. с. 181–254.

⁴⁴ КУЧЕРУК, О. Литва і Україна: епізоди спільної історії. Київ, 2019. 118 с.

⁴⁵ Ibid. с. 84–101.

Conclusions

At the same time, summing up, we note that at the moment in Ukrainian historiography, as before, there is no comprehensive academic work on the history of relations between the State of Lithuania and the Ukrainian radical patriotic movement, which would reflect the connecting and mediating role of the LRU.

Thus, when we talk about the prospects for studying this issue, we are forced to recognize the relevance of the words of the famous Ukrainian historian Professor Yaroslav Kalakura, who in his article *The Foreign World as a Subject of Research in the Latest Ukrainian Historiography*, published in 2012, noted the very small representation of research on the history of Lithuania.⁴⁶

This moment is very atypical for the Ukrainian historiographical tradition, which traditionally refers attentively to the history of neighboring countries and peoples. Even Mikhaïlo Grushevskiy, calling for understanding the integrity of the Ukrainian historical process, including cultural, political, religious, economic, social and educational development, emphasized that it can only be understood in the context of the world historical process.⁴⁷

Dwelling on the relationship between the LRU and the Ukrainian liberating movement, the future promising research segments that can fill in the “blanks” in the interwar history of both peoples are clearly visible. We can relate to such promising issues as, for example, the mediating role of the Ukrainian military organization in the negotiations between Lithuania and Weimar Germany during the Klaipeda Issue in 1922. However, at the moment, Ukrainian scientists are only beginning to show interest in this issue, although now we can observe positive dynamics in this matter.

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⁴⁶ КАЛАКУРА, Ярослав. Зарубіжний світ як предмет дослідження новітньої української історіографії. *Український історичний журнал*, 2012, №5, с. 131.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* с. 120.

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Lietuvos šaulių sąjunga ir Ukrainos radikalusis išlaisvinimo judėjimas ukrainietiškoje istoriografijoje

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Santrauka

Straipsnyje analizuojamas Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos ir Ukrainos išlaisvinimo judėjimo ryšių, buvusių tarpukariu, problemos atskleidimas ukrainietiškoje istoriografijoje.

Bendradarbiavimas tarp Lietuvos ir Ukrainos išlaisvinimo judėjimo prasidėjo 1922 m. ir tęsėsi visą tarpukarį. O Lietuvos šaulių sąjunga suvaidino svarbų vaidmenį užmezgant ryšius tarp Lietuvos valstybės ir Ukrainos išlaisvinimo judėjimo lyderių. Atsižvelgiant į tarptautinės politikos padėtį (pirmiausia Lietuvos konfliktą su Lenkija ir ryšius su SSRS), Lietuvos vyriausybė negalėjo tiesiogiai teikti paramos ukrainiečiams, todėl šią užduotį atliko visuomeninė, sukarinta organizacija – Lietuvos šaulių sąjunga. Greta paramos kovojant už Ukrainos nepriklausomybę, šauliai prisidėjo prie ukrainiečių kultūrinės veiklos puoselėjimo emigracijoje.

Remiantis chronologiniu metodu, straipsnyje yra išskirti du sąlyginiai Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos ir Ukrainos išlaisvinimo judėjimo ryšių tyrimų ukrainiečių istoriografijoje etapai.

Pirmas etapas apima 1940–1990 m., kai darbai buvo publikuoti už Ukrainos ribų. Tai daugiausia Ukrainos išlaisvinimo judėjimo aktyvistų prisiminimai arba darbai, nušviečiantys Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos ir Ukrainos išlaisvinimo judėjimo ryšių pradžią, bei informacinio pobūdžio publikacijos apie įvairius ukrainiečių ir lietuvių ryšių tarpukariu aspektus. Antras etapas prasidėjo po 1990 m. ir yra susijęs su Ukrainos valstybingumo atkūrimu bei po to prasidėjusia „moraline restitucija“ XX a. pirmosios pusės Ukrainos išsilaisvinimo judėjimo aktyvistų atžvilgiu. Plačiau vėl susidomėta ir santykių tarpukariu užmezgimu tarp Ukrainos išlaisvinimo judėjimo bei suverenių Europos valstybių – Lietuvos ir Vokietijos.

Šiuolaikinis Ukrainos istorijos mokslas jau turi reikšmingos patirties vykdant lituanistinius tyrimus, apimančius pirmiausia viduramžius ir laikotarpį, kaip ukrainietiškos žemės buvo Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės sudėtyje. Tačiau XX a. ir ypač tarpukario Lietuvos istorijos periodas menčiau paliestas Ukrainos istoriografijoje. Daugumoje Ukrainos istorikų darbų, kuriuose analizuojama Ukrainos išsilaisvinimo judėjimo veikla, tik kontekste paliečiamas santykių su Lietuva ir Lietuvos šaulių sąjunga klausimas, bet nėra tyrimo objektas. Šis tyrimas – tai pirma analizė, apimanti Lietuvos ir Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos bei Ukrainos išlaisvinimo judėjimo santykių tarpukariu problemos atskleidimą Ukrainos literatūroje ir istoriografijoje.

Šio tyrimo aktualumas grindžiamas akademinio, visuomeninio bei politinio poreikiu kuo plačiau atskleisti menkai žinomus faktus apie Lietuvos ir Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos su Ukrainos

išsilaisvinimo judėjimu bendradarbiavimą. Tai padės atskleisti ir Lietuvos užsienio politikos tam tikrą kryptį, ir Ukrainos išlaisvinimo judėjimo veiklos, siekiant tarptautinio bendradarbiavimo, pobūdį.

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