

## SOME FEATURES OF THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE NATIONAL IDEA OF E. KONOVALETS – THE LEADER OF THE OUN

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Evgeny Konovalts belongs to those iconic personalities, whose life and deeds still cause heated debate among professional historians. A military leader and a politician – this is how you can briefly describe him.

The object of this study is a wide selection of scientific papers on the activities of Konovalts at the head of the OUN. The historiography of his activities is quite rich and the variegated thoughts of researchers, which can be conditionally divided into two large branches: Soviet-dogmatic and modern. The negative image of Konovalts was created by Ukrainian Soviet and Polish historiography. Historians of the Ukrainian SSR did not study topics, but were mainly engaged in hanging labels, allegedly he was a staff agent of German scouting and became a victim of the Abwehr. This was done in order to dishonor the Ukrainian national liberation movement.

The first book of a positive nature about Konovalts' activities was published in Paris shortly after the Rotterdam tragedy in 1938. This edition did not yet contain documentary stories and scientific references, but could rather be considered a panegyric in honor of great people. But the first essay about Colonel E. Konovalts appeared 10 years later. It was a posthumous work by A. Kandyba – a famous Ukrainian poet, a member of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) since 1937. In this essay, E. Konovalts appears as "a man of great political talent, a sovereign strategist of the revolution" and a tactician of socio-political work (Oles O., Kandiba O. Є. (1948). *Konovalts. Naris pro zhyttya, chin i smert velikogo ukrainskogo patriota – na chuzhyni*: vid-vo Ukraïnskiy patriot. 31 p.).

In the postwar years, several more studies appeared. In particular, Boyko (Blokhin), a professor at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, considered the issue of Konovalts' leadership of the national underground in Dnieper Ukraine. Quite a few publications about E. Konovalts have appeared on the pages of the magazines "Liberation Way", "Avangard", "Almanac of the Voice of Ukraine". In the articles of A. Berits, A. Koval, M. Sumyatch, B. Livchak, A. Stetsiv and others, there is a lot of journalism about Konovalts, but little weighted estimates and factual data.

Since the beginning of the 90s of the 20th century, interest in the military and political activities of Konovalts in the independent Ukrainian state has been renewed. Modern Ukrainian historiography, in comparison with the diaspora, has made a certain step forward, creating a positive image of E. Konovalts, his participation in the national liberation struggle, his role in the creation of the UVO and the OUN, his leadership of the activities of underground organizations, the external activities of the OUN. However, some aspects require further scientific research. In particular, his vision of the prospects for the development of the national idea – the main idea of the OUN.

The future leader of the fighters for the national idea was born on June 14, 1892 in the village Zashkov in the Lviv region in a family of Ukrainian intellectuals. He received his secondary education at the academic gymnasium in Lviv. As a student at Lviv University, E. Konovalts received a "baptism of fire": he was arrested as an activist of the youth faction of the Peoples Democratic Party (UNDP), which advocated the Ukrainianization of higher education in Galicia. While studying jurisprudence, Evgeniy attended lectures on the history of Ukraine by M. Hrushevsky, who at that time headed the Department of Eastern Europe. In 1913, during the II All-Ukrainian Student Congress in Lviv, E. Konovalts met with the spiritual founders of the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism M. Mikhnovsky and D. Dontsov. It was they who, not just randomly, but significantly influenced the further development of his worldview, gave him the opportunity to understand the principle of conciliarity in Ukraine and be guided by it as the main principle in his future work. It should be noted that E. Konovalts later treated D. Dontsov very critically. He knew the zigzag evolution of D. Dontsov: from socialism to monarchism, from Germanophilia to the UPR-ovist orientation, since 1920 – an orientation towards Poland. He knew him as the director of the Ukrainian state press and information service of Hetman P. Skoropadsky, and as the one who made the decision of the Ukrainian National

Union in Kiev to declare an uprising against the Hetmanate. E. Konovalts respected the trait of D. Dontsov, which has never changed – hostility against Russia.

During his student years, E. Konovalts came up with the idea of creating a Ukrainian military formation to fight for an independent Ukraine. Brought up in a Spartan spirit, strong-willed, intolerant of idle talk, Eugene early recognized that national revival could not be carried out without an armed struggle to achieve the liberation of the Ukrainian lands. In 1914, with the rank of lieutenant E. Konovalts was appointed to military service in the Austrian army. In the First World War, he managed to smell the smell of gunpowder; in battles he shows personal courage. In the autumn 1915 he was captured by Russian. Under Tsaritsyn in a prisoner of war camp, he met future like-minded people and comrades-in-arms in the liberation struggle: Andrei Melnikov, Mikhail Matchak, Ivan Chmola, and others. The news of the February revolution and the creation of the Central Rada in Kiev inspires Yevgeny to escape. In November 1917, he arrived in Kiev, where he immediately joined the formation of the Galicia-Bukovina kuren of the Sich riflemen as part of the Ukrainian Doroshenko regiment and becomes his commander. In January 1918 kuren distinguished itself in the bloody battles of the Bolshevik uprising in Kiev. According to the sechevik Osip Dumin, "in the Kiev battles, the Sich archers saved the lives of not only members of the Central Rada government, but also the statehood of that time." In the era of the UPR E. Konovalts is aloof from political strife, does not belong to any of the political parties, because in his understanding, parties care about their own interests, instead of solving the common Ukrainian cause.

The failure of the Central Rada to resolve acute social problems led in April 1918 to the hetman coup, during which the Germans disarmed the regiment of E. Konovalts. But on the eve of the collapse of Kaiser's Germany, he recreates the military detachment of the Sich Riflemen. Later he supported the anti-hetman uprising, taking the side of the Directory. During 1919, he numerically increases his army of Sich riflemen, turning it first into a division, and later into a corps.

His corps takes part in fierce battles with Denikin's army, the Red Army, the Insurrectionary Army of Nestor Makhno and the Poles and wins a number of victories.

In November 1919, his army, exhausted in battles, was forced to leave Ukraine. Abroad E. Konovalts comes to the understanding that the past stage of the national liberation struggle has been lost and the next one must be prepared. In July 1920 in Prague, he created the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), the purpose of which was proclaimed the armed struggle for the liberation and statehood of Ukraine. In exile, he supervises the activities of the UVO, selects personnel, plans armed clashes. In the process of fighting enemies, he comes to the conclusion that purely terrorist activities can lead to the degeneration of the national liberation struggle. Therefore, he has the idea of creating a political organization.

It should be noted that the formation of the ideological principles of the Ukrainian national movement began in the early 1920s. This was facilitated by the creation of the nationalist magazines "National Thought", "State Nation", "Development of the Nation", on the pages of which the main ideological postulates of the movement were printed. The Prague magazine "Development of the Nation" later became the main theoretical and informational body of the OUN, around which a group of people – theorists and ideologists was formed, who formulated the main provisions of the political program of the future organization. In 1928, E. Konovalts set out its ideological foundations in his work "Causes to the Ukrainian Revolution", in which the nation is proclaimed the highest human community. The main idea is that a nation can develop only in its own independent country, which the people must create and preserve on their own. "It is impossible to build a strong state without a strong nation. We need to formulate the state ideology, define its essence through the prism of the national idea, which reflects the interests of the Ukrainian nation, especially during the period of tough political, economic and informational pressure from neighbors. Every nation of the world did not achieve either statehood, or a high level of scientific, mechanical, economic, social or other development without a progressive national idea, without the spiritual revival of the nation".

In February 1929, the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists was convened in Vienna, which creates the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) as a result of the unification of several radical nationalist organizations: UVO (Ukrainian Military Organization), the League of Ukrainian Nationalists, which was formed back in 1925 on the territory of Czechoslovakia, the Ukrainian

National Youth Group (Prague), the Union of Ukrainian Nationalists (Lviv). Its task is to proclaim ideological, political and revolutionary-terrorist activities with the aim of gaining independence for Ukraine. At this Congress, E. Konovalts was elected chairman of the board of the OUN.

For the first time, the decisions of the Congress revealed the worldview and ideological principles of the OUN. The nation was proclaimed as the highest type of social organization as an internal organic whole community of people. The state was proclaimed as the natural form of self-affirmation of the nation and the highest degree of its development. According to the program decisions, the stage of the "liberation movement" should end with the establishment of a national dictatorship, and the final decision on the question of the form of state structure of Ukraine was actually postponed to the future. The adopted program guidelines declared support for the right of private property, the transfer of land to peasants without redemption, a mixed public-private economy, freedom of trade, general social security, an 8-hour working day, and free compulsory secondary education. The first OUN program documents were more of a declaration than a detailed strategic program. But the process of adjustment and radicalization of the basic principles of the organization continued until the end of the 30s against the background of the victory of totalitarian regimes and movements in Europe, the gradual spread of interethnic relations in Western Ukraine.

Having emerged as an underground organization, the OUN has become a powerful force. Despite the repression of the authorities, the number of OUN ranged from 10 to 30,000 citizens. In the conditions that developed after the annexation of Western Ukraine to the USSR, all other non-soviet political forces were defeated, the OUN survived and successfully waged an underground struggle for independence by a significant part of the Western Ukrainian population. OUN structures were active in emigration as well. Five foreign organizations of the OUN were formed – Baltic (Lithuania), Central European (Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria), Balkan (Yugoslavia, Bulgaria), Roman (Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Italy, Switzerland), North American (USA, Canada). From the second half of the 30s, the OUN center was established in the Far East (Manchuria). E. Konovalts travels to the USA and Canada, where he tries to bring the Ukrainian issue to the Forum of the League of Nations (OUN). He fails to do this, but his attempt to raise the question is gaining international resonance.

He strongly denies rumors of collaboration with German Nazism. At the OUN conference (June 1933, Berlin), he spoke out against "imposing ties with the Nazis", citing the negative attitude of the National Socialist Party towards all the peoples of Eastern Europe – Slavs in general, Ukrainians in particular.

Trying to spread the national liberation movement in Eastern Ukraine, E. Konovalts sends his authorized functionaries there. Bolshevik Moscow closely followed the activities of the OUN and, especially, E. Konovalts, and is developing an operation to destroy him. Moscow was afraid of Ukrainian nationalism. Its goal was not only to prevent the emergence and spread of the OUN network in Soviet Ukraine. She wanted to break, destroy the OUN and the nationalist movement in general, not only in case, but also because she saw it as the main danger to Moscow-Soviet domination in Ukraine.

The death of E. Konovalts, who died in Rotterdam, had a negative impact on the OUN. This was enough for the OUN to split into two independent organizations headed by A. Melnik and S. Bandera. The authority of E. Konovalts was sufficient to contain internal divisions in the OUN. Having lost the leader of the OUN, it entered the Second World War split and quarreled. Instead of uniting around a single chance for liberation and gaining independence, the two leaders fought among themselves both in exile and on Ukrainian lands. It is this conflict, in our opinion, that will prevent the Ukrainians from creating a solid international lobby, which allowed Poland after the war to fight for the revival of the state and return the captured all ethnic lands.

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