# ATGIMIMO ISTORIJOS STUDIJOS

3

Lietuvos valstybės idėja (XIX a.-XX a. pradžia)

## LIETUVIŲ ATGIMIMO ISTORIJOS STUDIJOS

Simono Daukanto 200 - osioms metinėms

3

Lietuvos valstybės idėja (XIX a.-XX a. pradžia)

## ŽALTVYKSLĖ

Vilnius

Redakcinė kolegija: Egidijus Aleksandravičius, Antanas Kulakauskas, Rimantas Miknys, Egidijus Motieka, Antanas Tyla

Recenzavo; Gediminas Rudis

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## STUDIES OF THE HISTORY OF THE LITHUANIAN REVIVAL

T. 3. The ideas of the Lithuanian State at the beginning of the 19-20th cent.

#### SUMMARY

#### I. The articles

Vladas Sirutavičius

#### CONSTITUTIONAL PROJECTS IN LITHUANIA 1811-1812

In the beginning of the 19th century the Lithuanian nobility and especially the aristocracy promoted the idea of the statehood of GPL. M. K. Oginskis and his adherents tried to implement this idea in the form of political autonomy within the framework of the Russian Empire. Moreover, the Lithuanian nobles viewed the political autonomy of GPL as the important step towards restauration of statehood of Poland and Lithuania. Acquisition of guarantees for the creation of politically autonomous GPL from the Czarist administration was the task of utmost importance. The constitution of GPL the project of which was prepared in 1811-1812 had to secure them. However, the change in the political situation in Europe and within Russia put an end to the implementation of those attempts.

Egidijus Aleksandravičius

REBELLION OF 1863 AND THE POLITICAL PROGRAM OF LITHUANIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

There is no common agreement in historiography as to the attitude of activists of Lithuanian national movement towards the rebellion of 1863: opinions oscillate from the statement about total approval of anti-Russian movement to the idea that political aims of rebels were alien to Lithuanians. Though investigations indicate that the political program of Lithuanian national movement was not prepared in written form, indirect sources enable us to make a statement that the progressive part of Lithuanian society cherished the idea of Lithuanian state united with Poland and Gudija (the Ukraine) which was one step off the archaic model of union, but not a notion of modern independent Lithuanian state yet.

David Fajnhauz

#### THE SECRET STATE OF 1863 IN LITHUANIA

In the Lithuanian historiography the problem of the secret state institutions which were established by the intelectual Lithuanian and Polish forces, has not been thoroughly discussed so far. Whereas the greatest armed uprising of the XIX <sup>th</sup> century in Lithuania was unique in the sense that secret state institutions were established. Their activity was rather efective all through the year of 1863. The rebels set up the structures of their power in the villages and state machinery in Vilnius and Kaunas established the system of finance and communication; formed the police. The symbolic function of these institutions to preserve and maintain the living idea of the Lithuanian state should also be noted, for it helped in strengthening the ideals of the fight against the Russian annexation

Arūnas Vyšniauskas

## POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION OF LITHUANIAN SOCIAL DEMOKRAT MOVEMENT IN 1898

The article (study) investigates into political consciousness of Vilnius workers and the conception of

social demokrats on the basis of information produced by "Cyranek", the gendarme agent, and the LSDP case made up in 1899. other material including information contained in Moscow and Leningrad archives has also been used.

A. Domaševičius, and A. Moravskis, the founders of the Lithuanian Social Demokrats Party promoted the idea of statehood of modern Lithuania among Vilnius workrs as soon as in 1894. Later, in their attempt to accomodate themselves to the real interests of workers and to get into compromises with other social democrats A. Domaševičius and A. Moravskis had to give up propagation of Lithuanian statehood among workers. With the creation of RSDWP in 1898, its supporters in Vilnius (Leon Goldman, Michail Goldman, Mieczysław Kozłowski and others) opposed LSDP and urged workers to join the "Russian" party. On the other hand, in 1898 LSDP was attacked in press by Polish socialists. Thus, supporters of RSDWP and Polish socialists tried to fill in the vacuum that appeared among workers because of lack of promotion of the idea of Lithuanian statehood. Under existing conditions A. Domaševičius resumed a wide propagation of a demand for the Lithuanian statehood in the second part of 1898, whereas A. Moravskis started to promote it in the European press.

## Rimantas Miknys

- P. VIŠINSKIS AND THE IDEA OF INDEPENDENCE LITHUANIA
- P. Višinskis, one of the leaders of the "varpininkai" trend, i. e. the public and political movement in 1902 and the leader of the Lithuanian Demokrats Party (LDP), for the first time in the history of Lithuanian political thought defined the idea of political independence of Lithuania on the official political level. His article "Credo" published in the fifth number of the "Varpas" magazine, a draft program of LDP (1902) prepared with his assistance promoted his idea of independent, free Lithuania within its etnographic boundaries and the Seimas (Parliament) in Vilnius. On the

way to future democratic state, the achievement of political autonomy of Lithuania, united actions of all nations oppressed by Czarism, the spread of democratic and liberalization processes in Europe were attributed and independent role by P. Višinskis.

### Arvydas Gaidys

#### RISE OF LITHUANIANS CDP IN 1905-1907

Attempts to establish the Lithuanian Christian Democrats Party (LCDP) took place in the period between 1905 and 1907. The process was supported by the spread of ideas of Christian democracy, revolutionary and national upheaval in Lithuania and the encouragement of political activity in public life. Disapprobation of Lithuanian bishops as well as the upswing of Czarist reaction interfered with the creation of the party. Though in the organizational sense LCDP could not be considered established, its core made of democratically minded clergymen was preserved to continue ideological and organizational work.

### Rimantas Miknys

## VILNIUS AUTONOMISTS AND THEIR PROJECTS OF POLITICAL AUTONOMY OF LITHUANIA IN 1904-1905

In conferences that were held in Vilnius in the period between December, 1904 and June, 1905 Lithuanian, Polish, Bielorussian and Jewish democratic intelligentsia discussed the problem of political and administrational autonomy of Lithuania within the Russian Empire. We think that the initiators of this activity were Lithuanian and Polish democrats (J. Vileišis, F. Bortkevičienė, P. Višinskis, J. Jablonskis, ... and T. Vróblewski, L. Abramowicz, B. Krzyzanowski, L. Krzywicki...).

Representatives of Poles, Bielorussians, Jews basing upon historic, cultural and economic unity of the territory,

raised their voices for their historic and geographic autonomy of Lithuania, whereas Lithuanian voiced for the etnographic autonomy. The first ones, in their attempt to project into the future of Lithuania, followed the principle of citizenship, while the others were guided by the national principle. This indicates that in the period of the activity of Vilnius autonomists two conceptions of Lithuanian independance became the object of an official political discussion, or, to be more precise, opposed each other. The first one was a modified and modernized sequel of GPL tradition, the second one propagated the idea of modern national state aimed at building up guarantees for the existence of the Lithuanian nation. The first official contacts did not yield any real results on principal problems, however, the beginning of the dialogue between adherents of the two conceptions was made.

## Egidijus Motieka

PRELUDE TO THE GREAT VILNIUS SEIMAS (PARLIAMENT): MEMORANDUM TO THE GOVERMENT OF RUSSIA

The article investigates into the reasons that made Lithuanian public figures send the memorandum to the government of Russia (November, 1905) and presents the textologic analysis of the document. Reaction of the ruling walks of Lithuanian sociaty to the document is discussed as well. The article tries to prove that the Memorandum was preventive step made by Lithuanians that prepared the soil for the main event of 1905-1907, i. e. the Lithuanian Congress in Vilnius.

### Raimundas Lopata

POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF LITHUANIAN INTELLIGENTSIA IN 1914-1915

The article reviews political activity of Lithuanian intelligentsia in 1914-1915. Tactics of this activity as well as

the problems of establishment of Lithuanian political centers among Lithuanian emigrés in USA, Switzerland and other problems are investigated.

### Raimundas Lopata

INTERACTION OF LITHUANIAN POLITICAL CENTERS IN 1914-1916

With the beginning of World War I, political activity of Lithuanian intelligentsia experienced an upswing. Problematic implementation of political aspirations into life forced them not only to consolidate their strengths and to form up organizations able to control political activity but also to coordinate the activity of separate Lithuanian political centers in Lithuania, Switzerland, Russia, USA. The article gives an outlook of the process of interrelation of those centers in the period between 1914 and 1916.

#### Česlavas Laurinavičius

PONDERINGS OVER THE PROBLEM OF RECOGNITION OF MODERN LITHUANIAN STATE

The recognition of independence of Lithuania is usually linked with the Peace Treaty of July 12, 1920, in accordance with which the Bolshevik Government headed by V. Uljanov-Lenin renounced its sovereign rights to the people and territory of Lithuania. As the Bolshevik Government performed that basing not only on the right of nations to self-determination but also in the name of the Russia, it is accustomed to think that the recognition of Lithuania rests both on natural and state law.

However, the analysis of the historic events of 1918-1922, indicates that international community of the time viewed the recognition of Lithuania made by Soviet Russia only as aformal legalisation of actual situation. The article tries to give the answer to the question: could just the

natural right to self-determination deduced from actual situation suffice for the complete secession from the Russian Empire?

### II. An aged debate. Where is the continuation?

On the essential question of the Lithuanian history.

Polemical remarks by V. Sruogienė and V. Trumpa on the idea of Lithuanian's independence in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

#### III. Publication

PROJECT OF ESTABLISHMENT OF GPL IN 1811. Prepared by Vladas Sirutavičius

Sigitas Jegelevičius

#### PRECEDING THE DAWN OF THE REBIRTH

This is a publication of documents of 1815 contained in Vilnius Governor-General's Archives supplemented by a short introduction wherein the most general considerations of civic and state orientations of the Lithuanian nobility are presented. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Poland distributed in the milieu of Mykolas Oginskis as well as the accusatory material about this fact is presented here. Attempts to identify descendants of Jurgis Soroka, a nobleman charged with distribution of the text of the Constitution are made in the introduction.

PROJECT OF PROGRAM OF LITHUANIANS CHRISTIAN DEMOKRACY UNION (1905-1906?). Prepared by Arvydas Gaidys

A draft program of the Lithuanian Christian Democrats Party (LCDP) was created by professors of Petersburg Clerical Academy with the aid of Lithuanian clergymen. It reflects political, national and social problems caused by the situation of 1905 in Lithuania. Though the bishops did not confirm the draft, it exercised certain influence upon the development of theoretic thought and practical work of Lithuanian christian democrats. The draft program was published for the first time in the "Draugija" magazine in the 1907, later it appeared in the press of the Republic of Lithuania and in that of emigration.

LITHUANIAN MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF RUSSIA COUNT S. J. VITTE (1905, November). Prepared by Egidijus Motieka

PROJECTS OF LITHUANIAN CONSTITUTIONS OF 1916-1918. Prepared by Algirdas Grigaravičius

Three projects of the restoration of Lithuanian statehood prepared in the years of World War I presented: the idea to proclaim the Great Principality of Lithuania (1916), the project of Lithuanian autonomy (P. Leonas, 1916) and the project of constitutional Monarchy (July-September?, 1918).

PROJECTS OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY LITHUANIAN CONFERENCE IN VILNIUS ON THE 18-22ND OF SEPTEMBER, 1917. Prepared by Raimundas Lopata

"The problem of Lithuanian policy" gained major attention during the Lithuanian Conference that took place in Vilnius on the 18th-22nd of September, 1917. A

resolution concerning that problem was passed by the presidium and adopted by the conference. Besides that, members of the conferece discussed four more projects of the resolution prepared by Maironis, rev. V. Jarulaitis, rev. A. Šmulkštys, rev. P. Prunskis (withdrawn), A. Žmuidzinavičius. All of them are presented to the reader's attention.

MYKOLAS RÖMERIS. JUOZAS PILSUDSKIS. Prepared by Egidijus Motieka

This article was written in 1935 in commemoration of J. Pilsudskis, the just deceased Polish political figure, a Lithuanian by origin. It was published in the "Mūsų rytojus" weekly. J. Pilsudskis' political activity, his merits to Polish and Lithuanian nations are discussed. M. Riomeris investigates into certain aspects of J. Pilsudskis' "Eastern policy", that were insuffisiently touched upon in historiography, his attempts to create the "Empire of East Dominions" embracing Poland, Lithuania, Bielorussia and the Ukraine.

Vertė: Miranda Navickienė