An endeavor to analyze the role and place of Eastern Europe in Polish geopolitical conceptions during the interwar period was made in the issue. The aim of the research was the scientific analysis of ideology and policy of federalism and prometheism which were realized into the camp’s policy of Polish sanitation shared J. Pilsudski’s political views. A role and place of Ukrainian problem in Eastern policy of Poland was considered according to the identified aim. The scientific article emphasized that the main attention was paid to Eastern geopolitical direction of Poland during the interwar period. Polish national democrats promoted a conception of incorporation which implied lands inclusion in Poland at the East with Polish ethnical and cultural priority. The adherents of J. Pilsudski united on the ground of federalism conception due to which Ukraine, Lithuania and Belorussia had to establish a united country with Poland, for instance Rzecz Pospolita. The federal idea’s defeat that was certified by Riga agreement of 1921 gave impetus to the concept of prometheism formation in Poland. It was distinguished form a federational program by the fact of the Soviet Union existence and national emigration from Eastern Europe as well as from Central Asia and the Far East which was involved into the orbit of Polish influences. An endeavor of a complex study of prometheism concept in domestic and foreign policy of Poland was initially made in Ukrainian historiography. The ideological sources and traditions of Polish Eastern policy which were the base of prometheism concept, in particular the federational program of Polish socialists were considered. The evolution of Polish prometheism idea during the interwar period was analyzed in the issue. The author’s understanding of specific nature of the international prometheism movement establishment and development, which united the emigrants from Russian under the aegis of Poland, was offered in the article.

Key words: geopolitics; Poland; conception of incorporation; federalism; prometheism.
The fate of Eastern Galitchina was beyond any debates, even despite the proclamation of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (WUNR) on the 13th of November 1918. The supporters of J. Pilsudski, the members of Polish national democrats (endeks) considered it to be an integral part of Polish State. The rest of the disputed territories were to be given to Russia (Brozoa, 2003: 30).

The contrary views were supported by R. Dmowski who was the main ideologist and the most authoritative figure of Polish national democrats (endeks) and a political opponent of J. Pilsudski. An idea of including all the territories with the ethnical predominance of the Polish or the lands with their cultural and economic dominance was considered to be rational due to the conception of incorporation. As a result Lithuania, a part of Belorussia with Minsk, Polissia, Volyn and Podilia should be within the borders of Polish State. The rest of the disputed territories were to be given to Russia (Brozoa, 2003: 30).

The fate of Eastern Galitchina was beyond any debates, even despite the proclamation of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (WUNR) on the 13th of November 1918. The supporters of J. Pilsudski, the members of Polish national democrats (endeks) considered it to be an integral part of Polish State. The war between Poland and Ukraine (started during the battles for Lviv in 1918) became the first step in the Eastern policy realization aimed at Polish Republic revival (Veryha, 1998: 430).

The idea of the global revolution carried by Soviet Russia counteracted to the Polish geopolitical conceptions. An idea of the member of Bolshevik government Lev Trotsky was in the "export of revolution" into Europe based on the forces of the Red Army of Workers and Peasants (RAWP) (Trotsky, 1990: 34). The Bolsheviks were convinced in the necessity of keeping under their control all national outskirts of the country, especially the Western ones, as they were the gates to the European proletariat and a key to the successful end of the work of global social revolution which began in October 1917. The territories of Ukraine and Belorussia, where local political elite was willing to build national states, gained importance for Kreml (Matveev, 2004: 4; Grygajtis, 2006: 19-20). Consequently, the
Bolsheviks were unstoppable even before the military actions to establish the Soviet rule in the states. The political relations between Polish Republic and Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) had gradually evolved from the military confrontation to the signed union agreements. On the 21st of April 1920 the Treaty of Warsaw was officially signed, according to which Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) was recognized and given assistance in the fight against the Bolsheviks for independence. The Supreme Council of Ukrainian National Republic accepted Directory headed by the Chief Ataman S. Petlura. A treaty was signed by A. Livytskyi and Y. Dombskyi. Poland was committed to keep from singing the anti-Ukrainian agreements and furthermore, guaranteed the minimum of cultural rights to the Ukrainians. Galichina was not mentioned in the text of a treaty; however the borders between Ukrainian National Republic and Poland were on Volyn. It was completely understandable for the Polish that Eastern Galichina was included to the Polish territory, nevertheless during the negotiations the representatives of Galicia expected to an equitable solution of the issue in the League of Nations. Regardless, on the 15th of March 1923 the Council of the ambassadors of the grand states definitely recognized the inclusion of Galichina into Poland.

S. Petlura considered the Polish actions according the issue of Eastern Galichina as a forced tactical step which was crucial for the establishment of stable connection with Europe and for further struggle support. Concurring with S. Lytvyn in the reasons of the step, that S. Petlura had signed an unequal treaty with an expectation to normalize the situation, but after peace would obtain, he planned to return all the Ukrainian lands, including Eastern Galichina. Admittedly the Treaty of Warsaw had split the weak common political organization of Ukraine. The tension was strengthened by the emigrational government of Galicia which proclaimed that S. Petlura "sold" Galichina to the Polish (Lytvyn, 2001: 362-364).

The Polish and Ukrainian military convention was signed on the 24th of April 1920 and became an integral part of the treaty (Tynchenko, 2007: 139). It was an addition to the treaty and represented a secret agreement about military and economic assistance to Ukrainian National Republic in the common war against Soviet Russia. The convention was signed by Polish Major V. Slavek and Captain V. Andzeевич, and by Ukrainian General and Honruthzy V. Sinkler and Lieutenant-Colonel M. Didovsky. The convention concerned only Right-bank Ukraine; Left-bank Ukraine was omitted as if it did not exist. In lieu of obtaining military and material support for the army units of Ukrainian National Republic, the Ukrainians had to accept the severe circumstances. In the light of the act S. Shelukhin noted: "A character of the military treaty was akin to the political one, namely everything was for the Polish and nothing left for the Ukrainians... The treaty established the Polish authorities above Ukrainian army; moreover, Ukrainian victories, lives and deaths were given into their hands" (Shelukhin, 1926: 26-31).

5 Komunikat Urzędowy MSZ Polski, "Monitor Polski. Dziennik Urzędowy RPP" [Regional Correpondence of Poland], 1920, 23 kwietnia, s.97.
6 PTTA, f.461/1, op.2, d.43, p.13-15 (Secret testament between the government of Poles and the national state).

The results of Riga's treaty were of paradoxical character. The new Poland was established under the leadership of J. Pilsudski, a state about which dreamt R. Dmowski. The border of Riga coincided with the state borders even despite some shift to the west. The territory of Poland after Riga's treaty was too small for establishing a state of nationalities and too big for creating a national state.

The further development of prometheism conception was within the Organization "Prometheus" established due to the energetic activity of T. Golyvka in Paris at the end of 1925. It united the representatives of political emigration from the Soviet nations who were eager to gain independence. The ideology of the Organization "Prometheus" was based on the following principles: all nations enslaved by Bolshevik Russia had a right of free development; only the independent nations that built their future in a sovereign state were able to unite in states' alliance on the base of democracy; the main ideological enemy was Russia regardless of its status imperial or communist; the nations in the struggle against a common enemy protected the national rights as well as achievements of the world civilization, the principles of freedom and democracy; the nations united under the aegis of "Prometheus" ought to strive for establishment of the national sovereign states; any government opposed to the dictatorship of one class, group or party could be named the national one, as it formed the equal attitude to all categories of citizens despite gender, nationality, religious or any other affiliation as well as guaranteed free development of all social spheres according to the laws; the national governments should embody the radical reforms in favor of the working class and farmers, etc.; "Prometheus" supported solidarity of the sovereign republics united on the principles declared by the League of Nations.

The term "prometheism" was spread at that time. It happened due to the initiative of T. Schetzel, who was a military attaché of Polish Embassy in Turkey and according to Pilsudski's order, established contacts with the political emigrants in Istanbul. Here, in 1926 during the secret meeting T. Schetzel proposed to name the common struggle against Bolshevik Russia "the Prometheus struggle" (Podowski, 1972: 180). The proposition was commendable accepted and the term "prometheism" became

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5 Podpisanie Traktatu w Rydze. Przebieg uroczystego posiedzenia, "Rzeczpospolita" [The Description of celebrations at Riga's Treaty signing], 1921, nr77, s.1.
6 Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu (BPP) [Polish Library in Paris], Akta Aleksandra Kawalskiego (AAK), sygn. 1183, k. 142 (A. Kawałkowski. Przyczyny klęski (1964 i.)).
7 Ibid.
8 CAW, Od. II Sz. G1, sygn. I.303.4.5477, k.278 (IDEOLOGIJA borbvy porabochnych Rossijskoy narodov, obyedinennykh v obshchestve "Prometey") [The ideology of enslaved by Russia nations' struggle united in the community "Prometheus"].
9 Ibid.
10 SKHID No. 4 (162) July-August 2019
common for the description of Polish policy focused on the support of the national liberation movements of the Soviet nations from that time. The name of the conception had the origins in the name of mythological hero Prometheus who sacrificed his life for the liberation of humanity. According to the analogy, Poland as Prometheus accepted a mission to bring a light of European civilization to the East and rescued the enslaved nations by Russia. The significant contribution to the creation of organization "Prometheus" and ideas' definition was made by T. Golukvo and T. Schetzel without whom the Prometheus movement could not be imagined 11.

The further development of a conception of prometheism was after the May Coup when a sanitation regime headed by J. Pilsudska came to power in 1926. The facts of cooperation between the government authorities and the representatives of Paris "Prometheus" were not hidden during the many years of "Prometheus" conception establishment in the eastern policy of Poland. The ultimate goal of Poland policy was formulated most clearly in the report of General Julian Stachewich who was the favorite officer of Marshal Pilsudska and had his boundless credibility 12. "The aim accumulated all our efforts will be the establishment of the national states in the East. Their liberation will be considered in the light of weakening power of Russia and simultaneously, we promote the element of strengthening of Poland's state mighty" 13.

During the process of the concept of prometheism realization, the special importance was attached to the national emigration from the Soviet Union which generated interest from the ruling class of Poland 14. According to Y. Stachewich: "the realization of prometheism concept is in the conditions' creation and enforcement of the non-central tendencies which serve to the intended objective and become an instrument of emigration. Any direct access to the territories, population is impossible for us, nevertheless it is unnecessary for the goal achievement" 15. The victory over the Soviet Union was supposed to be possible under the condition of Poland integration into federation with non-Russian nations. As a result territorially limited Russia was not a severe and dangerous neighbor any more. The Ukrainian nationalism was based on the conceptions of prometheism was aimed at persuading the Ukrainians of the necessity of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation. The perspective was in re-focusing vector of Ukrainian nationalism from Anti-Polish to anti-Soviet which should secure the credible support in the future war with the Soviet Union (Hojłowko, 1927: 27).

Eastern Galicia was supposed to be eternal Polish land by the adherences of Pilsudska and Polish national...
democrats (endeks). In comparison with the national democrats, ideologists of prometheism admitted that Ukrainian population lived on the lands, however their right for self-determination was denied. In contrast to the policy of Polish national democrats of national assimilation, the adherences of Pilsudski offered the state policy of Ukrainian assimilation "... with the aim of the formation of conscious feeling of Polish state affiliation under the circumstances of nationality preservation" (Paprocki, 1949: 10). The government's concessions should unite the Western lands with Poland in order to eliminate all the attempts "of changing its Eastern borders even after the creation of Ukraine above Dnipro" (Hoźówko, 1924: 359).

The disputed character of J. Pilsudski's policy in Ukrainian issue was obvious, even in his blindness of organic unity between Galicia and Naddniprianska Ukraine before it was legally recorded in "The Act of Reunification" on the 22nd of January 1919. They pretended to support independent Ukraine which would become a barrier on the way of Russian expansion; nevertheless they considered Galitchina to be an integral part of the second Rzecz Pospolita as the vast majority of the Polish population (Wassilewski, 1932: 4).

Conclusions

Therefore, the Eastern direction was a crucial one in Polish geopolitical conceptions during the interwar period. Eastern Europe was an arena of ideological struggle between Poland and the Soviet Union. The predominant attention in the process of federation conception realization was paid to Lithuania, Belorusia and Ukraine in an alliance with which Poland endeavored to exercise hegemony in Eastern Europe. Federalism was an instrument of embodiment an idea of Great Poland creation from Baltic to Black Seas for J. Pilsudski. The foreign vector of prometheism conception was aimed at the division of the Soviet Union according to the national features and establishment a federation of democratic states on its base under the aegis of Poland. The components of Prometheus ideology had anti-Soviet and anti-Communist directions.

The scientific novelty of the results is defined according to the following pioneering vectors of Ukrainian historiography: an endeavor of a complex study of prometheism concept in domestic and foreign policy of Poland and in the social life during the interwar period was made; the ideological sources and traditions of Polish Eastern policy which were the base of prometheism concept, in particular the federalizational program of Polish socialists were considered; the evolution of Polish prometheism idea during the interwar period was analyzed; the author's understanding of specific nature of the international prometheism movement's establishment and development, which united the emigrants from Russian under the aegis of Poland, was offered.

The study of J. Pilsudski's Eastern policy during 1920-s and the endeavors of a revival of Poland-Ukraine military cooperation in 1930-s obtained the further development in the issue.

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У статті зроблено спробу проаналізувати роль і місце Східної Європи в польських геополітичних концепціях міжвоєнного періоду. Метою дослідження було вивчення польського підходу до теми Східної Європи, зокрема відносин з колишніми Російською імперією та Центральною і Східною Європою. Створення концепції інкорпорації, що відтворила ідеїмитця Польщі, зокрема федераційної програми польських соціалістів, було один з багатьох етапів в геополітичній політиці Польщі. Концепція інкорпорації була створена у рамках геополітичної концепції, яка надавала геополітичному сплатання й господарському розвитку країни національно-етнічної приналежності. Стаття відображає, що польська держава на зразок давньої Речі Посполитої. Поразка федераційної ідеї, що зазначився у 1920-х роках, привела до зміни концепції інкорпорації.

Ключові слова: геополітика; Польща; концепція інкорпорації; федералізм; прометеїзм.

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СХІДНЯ ЄВРОПА В ПОЛЬСЬКИХ ПОЛІТИЧНИХ КОНЦЕПЦІЯХ 20-30-Х РОКІВ ХХ СТ.