

DOI: 10.21847/1728-9343.2019.4(162).177249

KOMAR VOLODYMYR,

Prikarpaton Vasil Stefanik National University (Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine)
e-mail: wolodymyr.komar@gmail.com, ORCID 0000-0002-5475-5084

KOMAR IRYNA,

Prikarpaton Vasil Stefanik National University (Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine)
e-mail: komaririna79@gmail.com, ORCID 0000-0002-6354-9274

EASTERN EUROPE IN POLISH POLITICAL CONCEPTIONS DURING 20-30-s of the 20th century

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 from 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.

Introduction

The Republic of Poland was the first that recognized Ukraine's independence in 1991. The event did not have an accidental character; still an idea of independent Ukraine creation was included into Polish conceptions of federalism and prometheism during the interwar period. The main attention was drawn to them in the study.

Having restored the independent state - Rzecz Pospolita on the 11th of November 1918, Polish nation felt a threat from German and Soviet Russia. The Polish leadership headed by J. Pilsudski, viewed the Soviet Union as an empire of a new type and was aimed at separating it on national states which were planned to unite into a federation with Poland. The adherents of Polish prometheism considered that a threat of "Russian imperialism" in Europe could be eliminated by the separation of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Ukraine from the Soviet Union.

The creation of independent Ukraine above Dnipro and inclusion the Western lands of Ukraine into Poland were in plans of Polish politicians headed by J. Pilsudski. Taking into account that the elements of prometheism are distinctive for the further periods of history of Poland and are noticed nowadays, the study of the presented theme is an urgent research issue.

The aim of the research is the scientific analysis of ideology and policy of federalism and prometheism which

are realized into the camp's policy of Polish sanitation shared J. Pilsudski's political views. The following **objectives** have been set according to the aim, namely to study a role and place of Ukrainian problem in Eastern policy of Poland.

The object of study is Polish geopolitical conceptions during the interwar period; **the subject** is the regularities of formation and mechanisms of federalism and prometheism realization in Poland.

The pioneering study of prometheism policy in Rzecz Pospolita II belonged to Polish scientists of Polish National Republic, particularly to S. Mikulicz (*Mikulicz, 1971: 314*). The distinctive place in national conceptions' analysis during the interwar period occupied the monography of A. Chojnowski (*Chojnowski, 1979: 262*). The issue of political prometheism was supposed to be exhausted after the enumerated publications.

The issue of Polish prometheism was described in the monography of U. Slyvka, who analyzed the role and place of Ukraine and the Ukrainians, in the Soviet historiography (*Slyvka, 1985: 272*).

The crucial attention in modern Polish historiography is paid to the traditions of Polish and Ukrainian military cooperation and the fate of military and political emigration from Ukraine National Republic (UNR) in Poland during the interwar period. The special studies of J. Bruski (*Bruski,*

2004: 600) and J. Pisuliński (*Pisuliński, 2006: 444*) are devoted to the issue. The prometheism studies in the Russian Federation are forced under the influence of Polish historiography (*Bylinin V. K., Zdanovich A. A., Korotaev V. I., 2007*).

To conclude the historiographical review, it should be mentioned that a prometheism conception in Polish policy in 1921-1939-s has not been fully studied by Ukrainian historians; consequently it is urgent and needs to be fundamentally reconsidered, in particular within the presented study.

Methods

The methodological base of the study included the principles of historicism and scientific objectivity. Particularly, the principle of historicism was applied to the investigation of ideological sources of a prometheism conception. The principle of scientific objectivity was based on the complete analysis of the factors which provided an opportunity to reveal the prometheism influence on domestic and foreign policy of a state.

The usage of abstraction method forced a researcher to partial idealization of an object, i.e. the prometheism phenomenon in Poland; however it obliged to return from the abstract notions to the particular ones, i.e. to the real imperial idea which was hidden under the name of "prometheism".

Among the special scientific methods, the genetic method was productively applied to study the origins and development of a prometheism conception. The typological method was used to order and generalize the historical facts. Thus, the application of methods and principles of historical research provided an opportunity to highlight all main components of federalism and prometheism conceptions.

Results and Discussions

The revival of an independent republic of Poland (on the 11th of November 1918) was characterized by the intensive activity in the Eastern policy, in particular according to the new states on the Eastern borders. On the 22nd of November 1918, J. Pilsudski became the Temporary Head of the State with the retention of a title of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Poland. Hence he was a head simultaneously of the civil and military power and as a result had a profound influence on foreign policy of Poland.

J. Pilsudski endeavored to embody the principles of federalism conception in his Eastern policy. Even though his interpretation was not clearly shaped, Pilsudski's federalism and federalism of his adherences from so called "Belvederskyi camp" implied a solution of twofold question: Russian weakening as it was a threat to independent Poland existence and nations' application to the intended objective realization that were under the threat of Russian imperialism (*Materski, 2005: 26; Nowak, 1994: 12*). Having considered the East direction to be perspective, J. Pilsudski planned "to divide soviet Russia according to the national components"¹, that should lead to its collapse as well as to the union states creation on the territory between Baltic and Black Seas. The ultimate goal was "the restoration of ancient historical Poland on the principles of modern federalism in the form of the union with Poland, Lithuania, Belorussia and Ukraine" (*Deruga, 1919: 19*). The minimum program of the federation concept realization implied the incorporation of the West Belorussia and the

West Ukrainian lands to Poland. Furthermore, Poland in the union with Lithuania, Belorussia and Ukraine should be the secure guardian in Eastern Europe.

J. Pilsudski was supposed to be inclined to the idea of federation. Actually he was an adherent of the strong Polish State. He was adamantly convinced that only such state had a chance to exist between Russia and German. Any federation was a secondary thing for him compared to the idea of independent states' creation based on the principles of freedom and independence from Finland to Black Sea.

According to J. Pilsudski, federalism was only an instrument of Polish status renewal as a great state which ought to seize the important role in the region of Eastern Europe from Russia. Polish state interest was predominantly in elimination of dangerous Russian neighborhood which could be achieved by the buffer zone of half-independent states (from Poland) establishment on the territory from Baltic to Black Seas. Therefore socialism was an instrument for Polish independence gain; federalism became an instrument for the independence preservation.

The common ground for Polish and Ukrainian cooperation in the political structure should be an idea of Ukraine above Dnipro creation. The new state ought to be under Polish political influence which secured the borders of Poland from the main enemy - Soviet Russia. That was the core of Pilsudski's conception about the Soviet Union's division and the spreading of Polish influences to Dnipro that responded most comprehensively to the interests of Polish state² (*Charaszkiwicz, 1974: 251*).

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 to due to the conception of incorporation. As a result Lithuania, a part of Belorussia with Minsk, Polissia, Volyn and Podillia should be within the borders of Polish State. The rest of the disputed territories were to be given to Russia (*Brzoza, 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 Trotskyi 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 Kremlin (*Mateviev, 2004: 4; Grygajtis, 2006: 19-20*). Consequently, the

¹ Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe (CAW) [Central Military Archive], Oddział II Sztabu Głównego (Od.II Sz. Gł.), sygn. I.303.4.5538, k. 17 ("Mit Prometheus").

² Российский государственный военный архив (РГВА) [Russian State Military Archive], ф.461/к, оп.1, д.533, л.11-12. (Koreferat do Memoriału "Problem Polsko-Ukraiński" dowódcy DOK VI. 17.III.1937 r.)

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. Petlura³. A treaty was signed by A. Livytskyi and Y. Domboskyi⁴. Poland was committed to keep from signing the anti-Ukrainian agreements and furthermore, guaranteed the minimum of cultural rights to the Ukrainians. Galitchina 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 Galitchina 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 definitively recognized the inclusion of Galitchina into Poland.

S. Petlura considered the Polish actions according to the issue of Eastern Galitchina 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 Galitchina. Admittedly the Treaty of Warsaw had split the weak communion front of Ukraine. The tension was strengthened by the emigrational government of Galicia who proclaimed that S. Petlura "sold" Galitchina 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. Andzevich, and by Ukrainian General and Horunzhy V. Sinkler and Lieutenant-Colonel M. Didovskyi⁵. 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: 28-31*).

³ Komunikat Urzędowy MSZ Polski, "Monitor Polski. Dziennik Urzędowy RPP" [Regional Correspondence of Poland], 1920, 23 kwietnia, nr 97.

⁴ РГВА, ф.461/к, оп.2, д.43, л.13-15 (Секретное соглашение между правительством Польши и петлюровской директори-ей украинской независимой республики о признании УНР и сотрудничестве, заключенное 21.IV.1920 г. (фотокопии)) [The Secret agreement between Polish government and Directory's government of Ukrainian Independent Republic about State's recognition and cooperation, signed on 21.IV.1920].

⁵ CAW, Od. II Sz. Gł., sygn. I.303.4.5520, k. 29 (Opracowanie historyczne na temat historii Ukrainy od 998 do 1931 r., 1931-1933) [The collection of historical works about Ukraine in 1931-1933].

"The Tractate of Peace between Poland, Soviet Russia and Ukraine"⁶ was signed by the delegations headed by A. Ioffe and Y. Domboskyi in Riga at 9:30 on the 18th of March 1921. J. Pilsudski pretended that he was not interested in the event. Nevertheless, it was he who was enduring personal tragedy. A Commandant, as he was known among the Polish, understood that the life dream was failed. Still J. Pilsudski as a professional conspirator did not leave any memoirs, but he was seen to be mostly frowning and disturbed than smiled from that time. The fact was noticed by the people from his environment, in particular by A. Kavalkovskyi. He stated in his memoirs that the signing of Riga's treaty led to the defeat of 1939.⁷

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 state⁸.

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 independence⁹. 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 Nations¹⁰.

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

⁶ Podpisanie Traktatu w Rydze. Przebieg uroczystego posiedzenia, "Rzeczpospolita" [The Description of celebrations at Riga's Treaty signing], 1921, nr77, s.1.

⁷ Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu (BPP) [Polish Library in Paris], Akta Aleksandra Kawałkowskiego (AAK), sygn. 1183, k. 142 (A. Kawałkowski. Przyczyny kłęski (1964 r.)).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ CAW, Od. II Sz. Gł., sygn. I.303.4.5477, k.278 (ИДЕОЛОГИЯ борьбы поработанных Россией народов, объединенных в обществе "Прометей") [The ideology of enslaved by Russia nations' struggle united in the community "Prometheus"].

¹⁰ CAW, Od. II Sz. Gł., sygn. I.303.4.5477, k.210-212 (PROMETEUSZ).

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. Goluvko and T. Schetzel, without whom the Prometheus movement could not be imagined¹¹.

The further development of a conception of prometheism was after the May Coup when a sanitation regime headed by J. Pilsudski 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 Stachevich who was the favorite officer of Marshal Pilsudski and had his boundless credibility¹²: "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 powerful Russia and simultaneously will serve the element of strengthening of Poland's state might"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 Poland¹⁴. According to Y. Stachevich: "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 separation of Bolshevik Russia via the buffer of partially independent countries meant that it was transformed into the secondary country enclosed on the Asian continent. Due to that fact, prometheism should become an instrument of slogan realization "Poland from sea to sea" and had anti-Soviet and anti-Russian character (*Charaszkiewicz, 1955: 136*). It became the essence of Poland domestic and foreign policy, despite the fact that it was not declared in the official doctrine of foreign policy of Polish Republic¹⁶.

Compared to the federation program, a concept of prometheism implied the inclusion to the orbit of Polish influences considerably more nations. The Ukrainians, the nations of the Southern Caucasus: the Georgians, the

Azerbaijanis, the Armenians; the numeral nations of the Northern Caucasus; the Crimean and Volga Tatars; the nations of Central Asia; the Kozaks; the nations of the Western Finland: the Karelians and the Ingrian Finns were among them¹⁷. It should be mentioned that the nations of Central Asia were brought to the common denominator - the Turkestanian, also the nations of The Northern Caucasus were considered as the highlanders without any differences of national or tribal affiliation in the documents of exposition №2. The so called nations of Prometheus should create the united anti-Soviet front headed by Poland.

The key role belonged to Ukraine in the struggle with Russia and in creation of the system of federation agreements. The thesis was persuasively interpreted by one of the rulers of Prometheus movement, talented editor and publicist V. Bonchkovskiy: "Georgia, Azerbaijan, the Northern Caucasus, Turkestan, Ukraine and others have created the so-called Prometheus front, and are the powerful force that can change political scenario of Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, Ukraine is a key for problem solving and the main element of the whole front which can cardinaly transform political equation..." (*Bączkowski, 1932: 11*). According to that it was mentioned in a report to department II that High Command of Polish Army seriously considered only the Ukrainian potential, since the others "... were the decorations and tactical appendixes for the regulation of Ukrainian issue" (*Lewandowski, 1958: 130*). A board member of "Prometheus" G. Iskhaki was convinced that "Ukrainian victory over the Russians would become the victory of all nations; however the defeat would be their defeat" (*Iskhaki, 2004: 18-19*). The creation of Independent Ukraine should be the beginning for solving a national issue in the Soviet Union. Moreover, the Ukrainians were interested in the national liberation of the Caucasus, Turkestan and Crimea nations as the potential allies in national liberation struggle.

Owing to the policy of prometheism, the unifying goal for the Polish and Ukrainians was Polish State defense under the circumstances of a constant threat from the Soviet Union and the establishment of independent Ukraine above Dnipro¹⁸. Prometheus front of the nations was supposed to be the only one which could change the situation in Eastern Europe in favor of Poland that obtained a role of coordinator of national liberation movements of the Soviet Union's enslaved nations. Ukrainian issue was considered as a mean for the neutralization of "...Moscow imperial policy"¹⁹. The carefully considered national policy of Poland 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-Poland to anti-Soviet which should secure the credible support in the future war with the Soviet Union (*Hołowko, 1927: 27*).

Eastern Galitchina was supposed to be eternal Polish land by the adherences of Pilsudski and Polish national

¹¹ Ibidem, k.3 (Przemówienie prezesa "Prometeusza" dr R. Smal-Stockiego na pierwszej sesji ujamionych przez Moskwę narodów w dn. 7.XII.1932). [The speech of the Head of "Prometheus" dr R. Smal-Stockiego on the first session about enslaved by Russia nations].

¹² BPP, AAK, sygn. 1186, k.25 (Instytut jednego człowieka) [The University of a personality].

¹³ РГВА, ф.461/к, оп.1, д.1, к.15 (Ogólny zarys działalności prometejskiej) [The general description of "Prometheus" activity].

¹⁴ CAW, Oddz. II Sz. Gł., sygn. I.303.4.5742, k.31 (О Грузии и грузинской политике) [About Georgia and its politics].

¹⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁶ РГВА, ф.461/к, оп.1, д.1, к.16 (Ogólny zarys działalności prometejskiej) [The general description of "Prometheus" activity].

¹⁷ CAW, Od. II Sz. Gł., sygn. I.303.4.5561, k.8 (Stosunki Polsko-Prometeuszowskie. Referat polityczny, obrazujący genezę sprawy, założenia ideologiczne i formy organizacyjne współdziałania Polsko-Prometeuszowskiego) [Polish-Prometheus relations. The political essay of general activity, ideological bases and organizational forms of Polish-Prometheus cooperation].

¹⁸ РГВА, ф.308/к, оп.1, д.40, л.6 (Dyspozycja referatu o zagadnieniu prometeuszowskim. Referat opracowuje Szef Ekspozytury 2 na Konferencje u Szefa Oddziału II Sztabu Głównego w dniu 19.11.1937 r.) [The essay's presentation of Prometheus issue].

¹⁹ CAW, Od. II Sz. Gł., sygn. I.303.4.5577, k.3 (Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński); W. Bączkowski Problem problemów Polskich, "Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński", 1938, nr9, 27 lutego, s.101 [Polish-Ukrainian Newsletter].

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" (Hołówko, 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 Naddnpirianskaya 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 (Wasilewski, 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, Belorussia 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 federalational 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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ISSN 1728-9343 (Print)
ISSN 2411-3093 (Online)

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Комар Володимир,

ДВНЗ "Прикарпатський національний університет імені Василя Стефаника" (м. Івано-Франківськ, Україна)
e-mail: wolodymyr.komar@gmail.com, ORCID 0000-0002-5475-5084

Комар Ірина,

ДВНЗ "Прикарпатський національний університет імені Василя Стефаника" (м. Івано-Франківськ, Україна)
e-mail: komaririna79@gmail.com, ORCID 0000-0002-6354-9274

СХІДНА ЄВРОПА В ПОЛЬСЬКИХ ПОЛІТИЧНИХ КОНЦЕПЦІЯХ 20-30-х РОКІВ ХХ СТ.

У статті зроблено спробу проаналізувати роль і місце Східної Європи в польських геополітичних концепціях міжвоєнного періоду. Метою дослідження є науковий аналіз ідеології та політики федералізму й прометеїзму, що реалізувалися в політиці частини табору санації Польщі, який поділяв політичні погляди Ю. Пілсудського. Відповідно до мети поставлено завдання: дослідити роль і місце українського питання в східній політиці Польщі. У статті підкреслено, що протягом міжвоєнного періоду в геополітиці Польщі найбільше уваги приділялося східному напрямку. Польські національні демократи пропагували концепцію інкорпорації, що передбачала залучення до Польщі земель на сході з польською етнічною або культурною перевагою. Прихильники Ю. Пілсудського об'єдналися навколо концепції федералізму, за якою незалежна Україна, Литва і Білорусь мали утворити спільну з Польщею державу на зразок давньої Речі Посполитої. Поразка федераційної ідеї, що засвідчив Ризький договір 1921 р., дала поштовх до формування концепції прометеїзму Польщі. Від федераційної програми вона відрізнялася фактом існування Радянського Союзу й залученням в орбіту польських впливів національної еміграції не лише зі Східної Європи, а й із Середньої Азії та Далекого Сходу. У статті вперше в українській історіографії здійснено спробу комплексного дослідження концепції прометеїзму в зовнішній і внутрішній політиці Польщі; з'ясовано ідейні витoki й традиції східної політики Польщі, що стали складовими концепції прометеїзму, зокрема федераційної програми польських соціалістів; проаналізовано еволюцію ідеї прометеїзму Польщі в міжвоєнний період; запропоновано авторське розуміння специфіки становлення й розвитку міжнародного прометеївського руху, який під егідою Польщі об'єднав емігрантів з колишньої Росії.

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

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Надійшла до редакції: 03.06.2019

Прийнята до друку: 22.07.2019