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«Scientific research: a paradigm  
of innovative development of society»**

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# **SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH: A PARADIGM OF INNOVATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY**

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## **POLITICAL SITUATION IN POLISH LANDS BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

**Hryhoruk Nataliia**

Ph.D., Associate Professor  
Ternopil national pedagogical university  
named after Volodymyr Hnatyuk

The May 1907 elections to the Austrian Reichstag and the events of 3 June 1907 in Russia created a new political situation in the Polish lands of the Habsburg and Romanov empires. The Kingdom of Poland, where reaction prevailed and martial law remained in place until mid-1909, was fully exposed to the full brunt of tsarist repression. Political terror was established here, military field courts passed death sentences on members of the revolutionary movement, and thousands of them were exiled to hard labour and settlement or languished in prisons. As a result, the number of labour parties sharply decreased: in early 1908, the PPS united about 12,000 members, and the SDKPiL – several hundred. Two years later, the ranks of the Social Democrats increased to 5,000, but their political leadership was still in exile.

The autocracy took away all the rights won by the people during the revolution. Political, economic, cultural and educational organisations were crushed. The chauvinistic circles of the Russian bourgeoisie camp intensified their attack against “foreigners”, including Poles. The Duma bills on the redemption of the Warsaw-Vienna railway, on the annexation of parts of the Lublin and Sedlce provinces from the Kingdom and the creation of the Chełm province on their basis were aimed at restricting the interests of the Polish people. This caused great indignation in the society: the leader of the Endeks, R. Dmowski, resigned as a deputy and the head of the Polish Circle in the Third State Duma in protest. Nevertheless, on the eve of the war, the Endeks put forward a programme to resolve the Polish question through the unification of all Polish lands within the Russian Empire.

Meanwhile, in Silesia, Greater Poland and Pomerania, the masses continued to struggle against the offensive of Chancellor Bülow’s government against the national school, against the new encroachments of German chauvinists on the economic and political rights of the Polish people. Indignation was caused by the law of January 1908 on the alienation of Polish lands in the Grand Duchy of Poznan and Eastern Pomerania for sale to German colonists, which increased the fund of the Colonisation Commission by 275 million marks. A wave of mass protests forced the government to postpone the implementation of the law, but on the eve of the First World War, this issue became even more acute in the public life of the western Polish lands. Despite strong opposition in the Reich Council, the government was preparing not only to approve the law on alienation, but also to extend it to Silesia, Warmia, Masuria, and Western Pomerania, as well as to take measures aimed at restricting the rights of Poles to parcel out land.

Economic and political discrimination against Poles was not sufficiently taken into account by the SPD leadership, which led to increased separatist tendencies. After the

PPS formed a separate Polish trade union organisation in 1913, the German Social Democrats' congress in Jena cancelled the 1906 agreement that provided for the autonomous status of the PPS within the SPD. This led to the transition of the "Prussian capture" PPS to the side of J. Pilsudski.

By that time, the PPS faction, whose leadership had moved to Galicia, had transformed from a working-class party into a military and political organisation of a national liberation character. Its second congress, held in Vienna in August 1909, approved a plan to focus on military conflict and the preparation of an armed uprising against Russia. In search of political allies, the Fraks sought to establish contacts with all parties and organisations that opposed the tsarist regime.

In accordance with the decision of this congress, in 1910, the creation of "riflemen's" unions and squads began in Lviv, Krakow and other cities, the number of which reached 6,500 people. The Polish Military Fund and the Provisional Military Fund, established in 1912, acted in the same direction. The Polish Military Fund and the Provisional Commission of United Organisations for Independence, established in 1912, were also active in the same direction. It included 8 parties and organisations from Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland, and J. Pilsudski became its military commander. In the midst of the First Balkan War, the Provisional Commission adopted an appeal to the Poles, which stated that the interests of the Poles required their assistance to Austria-Hungary in the upcoming war with Russia. Just before the outbreak of the World War, the Central National Committee, established by the Endeks in Lviv on 28 July 1914, established contacts with the Commission of the United Organisations. However, no agreement was reached between the two rival camps.

The Provisional Commission, which was interpreted by some as a prototype of the future government, included the ISSD. In 1913, it had 15,000 members and ran trade unions, cultural and educational organisations, cooperative and hospital funds. It considered the liberation of the Kingdom of Poland from tsarist rule to be its immediate goal and was therefore ready to support Austria-Hungary in the future military conflict with Russia.

Between 1907 and 1914, Galicia remained a safe haven for members of illegal parties in the Kingdom of Poland. Sections of the SDKPiL and the 111th I.S. Left, the Bureau of Foreign Sections of the SDKPiL, and, since 1912, the leadership of the Razomovites functioned here. This was the name of the organisation of Bolshevik supporters that emerged from the split of the SDKPiL. It operated in the labour movement of the Kingdom of Poland in parallel with the "Zajadowiec" who supported the Main Board. Both led the political and economic struggle of the Polish proletariat, including the strike movement, which had significantly intensified since 1910 and reached a considerable scale on the eve of the First World War. In some cases, the PPS-Left participated in political actions together with the SDKPiL, but more often these parties' actions were parallel.

While in the Kingdom of Poland and the Polish lands of Germany, political parties that would reflect the interests of the peasantry practically did not exist, Galicia became the centre of the Ludowski movement in the period immediately before the First World War. The Ludovites' programme combined patriotic slogans with demands for social

and political reforms. In an effort to benefit concretely from the parliamentary success of 1907, the PSL entered into an alliance with the conservative forces that played a decisive role in Galicia. During the years of its alliance with the Conservatives (1908–1913), the party supported the Austrophilic policy of the new governor of Galicia, M. Bobrzynski, and gained some influence in the selection of personnel for institutions, especially for local self-government. The party was replenished with people from the landowners and clergy, which led to the strengthening of the right wing. The struggle for leadership and the question of maintaining the alliance with the Conservatives caused an internal conflict that ended in a split in early 1914. The minority, united around the party leader Jan Stapiński, took the name PSL-Left. The other part of the party, after the name of its new printed organ, became known as PSL-Piast. Its chairman was first a veteran of the Ludowski movement, J. Boiko, and then Vincent Vitos.

The majority of wealthy peasants and a significant part of the urban intelligentsia supported the PSL-Piast; they were notable for their intolerance towards Jews and Ukrainians. The PSL-Left was supported mainly by the middle peasantry, the majority of smallholders, and radical urban intellectuals. Demanding equal rights for Ukrainians and Poles, the latter condemned national oppression and the anti-Polish policies of Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary.

The political situation in Galicia was extremely complicated by Polish-Ukrainian contradictions, which in the last decade before the First World War escalated into a state of confrontation. In addition to the traditional peasant issue, fierce debate was waged over the idea of establishing a separate Ukrainian university in Lviv and expanding the voting rights of Ukrainians, who were limited by the existing curial system. Mutual intolerance reached a dangerous level after Ukrainian student M. Sichynskyi, protesting against manipulation of election results and political discrimination, killed the Austrian governor, a Pole named A. Potocki, on 12 April 1908. All attempts to reach a compromise and inter-ethnic harmony, repeatedly made by the official Vienna, Ukrainian and Polish socialists, failed.

The interests of the Ukrainian population were defended by the National Democratic Party, established in 1899, which proclaimed national independence as its long-term goal and autonomy within the Habsburg Empire as its short-term goal. In contrast, the Polish aristocracy supported the Russian National Party, which was generously funded from abroad. However, in the early twentieth century, Russophiles did not enjoy the sympathy of any significant part of the Ukrainian community in Eastern Galicia.

Thus, on the eve of the First World War, two camps emerged in Polish society, oriented towards one of the two military and political blocs that emerged in Europe. The political camp, which counted on the Entente's victory in the war and the unification of Polish lands under the Romanov scepter, included "realists" and endecs of the Kingdom of Poland. Most of the Galician parties, especially the PPSD, as well as some of the parties and political groups operating in the workers' and peasants' movement of the Kingdom of Poland, led by the PPS faction, relied on Austria-Hungary as the "best of the invaders". They hoped that the victory of the Austro-

German bloc in the war would lead, if not to Poland's sovereignty, then to the transformation of the Habsburg monarchy into a tri-alist state, where Poland (Galicia with the attached Kingdom of Poland) would receive a status similar to that of Hungary.

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