
МЕМЛЕКЕТ ЖӘНЕ ҚҰҚЫҚ ТЕОРИЯСЫ МЕН ТАРИХЫ ТЕОРИЯ И ИСТОРИЯ ГОСУДАРСТВА И ПРАВА

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Józef Pilsudski's state and political activity in the formation of sovereign state in Poland

This article shows the public-political activity of Jozef Pilsudski in the formation of a sovereign state in Poland. Jozef Pilsudski is both one of the major socio-political public figures in Poland late XIX beginning of XX century. Also, the article shows the life of Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, whose main task was to preserve all that Poland has achieved during that period in the territorial and political terms and to become an independent country.

Key words: Marshal Jozef - Klemens Pilsudski, the Polish state, the Polish Socialist Workers' Party, Warsaw.

Józef Pilsudski (1867–1935) was one of the great political statesmen of Poland at the end of the XIX–the beginning of the XX century. His name is connected with the restoration of independence of Poland, reunion of its lands, formation and strengthening of its state and legal institutes.

It is known that persons play a significant role in the history of a state, in particular on critical stages of its development. Therefore Józef Pilsudski, as well as other patriots of the Polish state, did his best to release his country from colonial oppression. He became the leader of the people and the country's spiritual leader in the most difficult situation, when the question of its freedom and independence was resolved.

The state, huge by its territory and human resources, which was called the Republic or the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as a result of a number of wars with the neighboring powers was divided between large empires of that period — Austria, Prussia and Russia [1; 169]. East part of Poland which was near Russia was called the Kingdom Polish. It may be noted that unlike other colonial suburbs of Russia as Steppes, Turkestan, Transcaucasia, etc., the Kingdom Polish had a special status that was connected with a number of historical, cultural and legal values of the region. At the same time, the Polish part was in worse social and economic state than those territories in the neighboring European states where their compatriots lived.

It is known that Poland was divided and a single ethnos with its peculiar language, culture and religion was forced to become the colonial suburb of large European powers. There was the infringement and suppression of basic rights and freedoms in the Kingdom Polish, as well as in other parts of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the public raising anger for many years was restrained by means of threat and force.

It should be noted that in the XIX century in Europe the industrial revolution gained momentum, there were new technologies, large imperialistic powers accumulated forces for the repartition of territories and acquisition of new colonies, sales markets what required modernization of the army, fleet, increase the number of troops. All this laid down on the shoulders of subject territories, including Poland where the revolts rose repeatedly against the increased taxes and a drafting in the army. The imperial administration cruelly suppressed public protests with the help of Russian active armed forces.

Many scientists think that in the process of fight of the Polish people for independence, the autocracy strengthened repressions and in a legislative order began to limit the state and legal institutes operating in the

territory of autonomous Poland. For example, instead of the Constitution of 1815 operating in the territory of Poland another Law «Organic Statute» was introduced. It stated that all Polish lands were considered as a part of the territory of the Russian Empire [2, 3].

After suppression of revolt in 1830–1831 which was caused by the requirement to return a special status to the autonomy, the imperial government with arms and other methods tried to draw nearer the pro-Russian part of the szlachta (Polish nobility) and influential layers of the Polish population for cooperation in region management. However, in practice, the biggest part of the population including the szlachta, demanded the recovery of the former special status. In the course of time, Poland liberation from colonial dependence, Russianizing policy and repressions from the colonial authorities became the main idea of the advanced part of the nobility and intellectuals.

Later, in 1863–1864 during the reign of the emperor Alexander II, there was a new large revolt which was connected with questions of abolition of serfdom in Poland. It is known that the serfdom in Russia was abolished in 1861, however the democratic principles of this act of the world significance exempting the people from century slavery, ignorance and opportunity to live freely, in Poland this document had some features.

Trying to suppress the revolt and being afraid of its transformation into agrarian revolution, the imperial government was compelled to issue the decrees on February 19 (March 2) to recognize and confirm the relations which developed during revolt in the village — the peasants were returned their lands, illegally taken away and exchanged after 1846, and the part of landless peasants was allocated with small sites from country empty and state lands [3; 347].

It should be noted that Alexander II's reforms, which certainly had the democratic character, lost their useful to the people qualities in the process of their distance from the mother country, as the imperial authorities didn't consider it necessary to carry out full transformations on suburbs. For example, the introduction of Territorial establishments according to Alexander II's reform, were not entered neither in Turkestan, nor in Steppes, it also concerned judicial system and municipal government. The government recognized that a colony had to be content with what it was given; therefore many reforms came to suburbs only after Nicholas II's overthrow.

The scientists investigating this problem note that at the emperor's court there was an opinion that management of the region by means of liberal methods inevitably led to revolt, therefore the Russian government chose a rigid course towards their subjects and started the policy of its accelerated assimilation and russification [2; 5].

As it was stated above, the industrial revolution activated political life of Europe. The working class and the peasantry were not that frightened and illiterate population which could be ruled with old methods [2; 5–6]. In this environment there appeared various revolutionary movements, such as social democratic, national and socialist and others. In these rough, critical years for the country and all Europe, on December 5, 1867 in a family of prosperous land owners Pilsudski the fourth child Józef Clemens was born. The Pilsudski family belonged to the Polish szlachta (nobility). His father Józef Vincent Pilsudski was not a politician, he had an agricultural education, and his mother Maria was from the famous Polish family of Billevichies, she devoted all the life to her children. Twelve children were born in their family [4; 7].

Józef's father and close relatives were the opponents of the colonial regime and sympathized with revolutionaries. Józef's cousin Alexander Pilsudski died in the revolt of 1863 and some members of his family served sentence in prisons [2; 6].

Since childhood, and later in youthful years, all these events left their prints on Józef's attitude to power, existing regime and the order of things, forming in him the patriotic feelings and desire to liberate the people from colonial dependence.

In 1874 the Pilsudski family was forced to leave for the city of Vilna (modern Vilnius) because of the fire which destroyed their crop and estate. In the same city in 1877 Józef Pilsudski entered a gymnasium. During the study Józef's hostility to Russianizing policy in school education aggravated, that is why he did not have a strong desire to study, though he was a clever and talented grammar-school boy. Józef had a great interest for military history, especially to Napoleonic epoch [2; 9].

As the scientists note, during the years of study Józef had a strong character, organizing abilities and ambitions. During this period, among other grammar-school boys he began attending groups of closed type, such as «Spuiya» that meant «Communication».

As a rule, such groups had a peaceful character where pupils discussed various questions of philosophy, natural sciences and other achievements of scientific and technical revolution of Europe of that time. Later,

Pilsudski stopped attending the groups as he was more interested in political questions in which Europe participated.

In Pilsudski's life, his mother Maria played a special role. Thanks to her he knew history, culture and religion of the country well, and her death on September 1, 1884 came as a big shock and loss for him.

After graduation from a gymnasium in 1885, Pilsudski entered medical faculty of Imperial Kharkov University. He studied well, however he was punished twice for unauthorized participation in students' demonstrations. Trying to leave Kharkov, he submitted the documents to the University of Dorpat. His documents delayed, so in this free time Pilsudski attended illegal clubs where Marxist ideas popular at that time in Europe were spread. However, it should be noted that the Marxism and its ideas about creation of classless society attracted young Józef only because he intended to use them against the autocratic regime and achievement of the main goal — obtaining independence for Poland.

In that period of history terrorism was popular in revolutionary movement, where the revolutionaries tried to change the existing system by explosions and murders of tsars. Józef's elder brother Bronisław, together with his companions prepared such an attempt at Alexander III, for which in 1887 he was arrested and sent for 12 years of penal servitude. Józef, being a witness in this case, was exiled to Eastern Siberia for 5 years [2; 12].

From the exile, communicating with professional revolutionaries democrats, Józef returned the mature and skilled person ready to combat tsarism and its regime. In this period Pilsudski and his companions approached the revolutionaries who arrived from abroad. In particular in 1893 he met Stanislav Mendelssohn.

It should be noted that in Warsaw there already existed the Unions of Polish workers, the Polish Socialist Labour Party — «Great Proletariat» [4; 375–376], which soon got the name «Second Proletariat». The main issue of negotiations with the foreign Union of the Polish socialists formed in Paris in 1892 where the PSP program, the Polish Socialist Party, was accepted, was the involvement of the Poles in Russian territory to revolutionary activity. As a result, Polish «Second Proletariat» and «The Union of Polish workers» agreed to enter PSP.

It is necessary to tell that in the course of discussing the questions of merging and uniting the party, not all its participants agreed with the creation of independent democratic republic, not proletarian. Many authors of the program considered the national independence of the Polish state a priority task, i.e., in the beginning it was necessary to receive national release, and then to liquidate a social inequality [2; 18].

Józef Pilsudski, understanding a political situation, gets into the work of PSP; his role in this political movement he defined briefly: the independence Poland – first, then the problems of the proletariat [2; 20].

Except the mentioned parties in Poland among other social groups were popular the parties of social democratic direction, in particular, the Polish Social Democratic Party which was later renamed into the Social Democracy of Polish Kingdom. Its ideological inspirer Rosa Luxemburg considered the integration of Poland with Austro-Hungary, Germany and Russia to be useful, and on the contrary, the separation of Poland would only do much harm to its economy [2; 20, 21].

A big underground work in the territory of Poland was carried out by the Jewish socialist party — «Bund». As the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was multinational, in each ethnic group there were leaders who demanded the improvement of vital conditions for their people from the colonial authorities.

In July, 1893 the first congress of PSP was held where the main problem was discussed — what political relationship to develop with the Russian revolutionaries and democratic parties, as the future of their country depended on it [2; 21].

This congress at which there was a close cooperation of various democratic forces of Europe, exchange of opinions about the forms of struggle against autocracy and dictatorship, solution of a number of political problems of future construction of the national states in the territory of the Kingdom Polish became the first and main stage in the revolutionary democratic movement of Polish and other people for their independence. Revolts of 1830–1831, 1863–1864 showed that it was possible to struggle with tsarism, and only the competent preparation of the underground movement, training of the population and propaganda activity could result in desirable independence.

By this time Pilsudski was already acquainted with the famous Polish revolutionaries Stephane Belyak, Alexander Sulkevich, Ludwig Zaykovsky and others, and had an authority among them. In the August issue of «the Pshedsvita» of 1893 in the article «Attitude to the Russian Revolutionaries» Pilsudski accurately defined the attitude of the Polish socialists towards the Russian revolutionaries. On behalf of the Polish

democrats he supported the Russian revolutionaries in the struggle against tsarism, however specified that they did not have a uniform attitude to the independence of Poland and recognition of the rights and freedoms to the peoples of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth [2; 21].

The same opinion Pilsudski had about a global or socialist revolution. In general, it is possible to admit that he didn't reject it completely; however, his main goal was the liberation of Poland from colonial dependence and gaining the sovereignty [2; 21].

Józef Pilsudski's party and revolutionary career began in 1894 at the II Warsaw congress of PSP where the organizational structure of party was elected, the order of its activity and perspective tasks were defined. Pilsudski became the Head of the Central working committee. The congress charged him with the organization of the underground printing house and issuing the main part of «the Rabotnik» newspaper [5]. The governing bodies of the congress included also Strozhetsky Ya., Grabovsky Ya., Klimovich P. and two candidates for members of Central Revision Committee — Petkovic K. and Naake-Nakenski V. [6; 50].

Life proved that the creation of the publication was not a simple task under the rigid repressions and a constant control from the imperial gendarme authorities. Nevertheless, J. Pilsudski organized the printing house with the help of his companions. The form of its distribution, possibility of its evacuation and other important underground problems were solved.

The editors tried to inform the people and to show the real colonial Russianizing policy of the imperial government, and its attitude to the Polish language, religion and culture. The newspaper was printed once a month, however in 1894 the underground newspaper with a circulation of 10 000 copies was closed [2; 22–24].

Another important problem was that the territory of Poland was divided between the three empires which also created certain difficulties in the development of the general questions, in particular, in coordination of actions, coherence of events, etc. These elements were considerable obstacles in J. Pilsudski's work on joining the Polish democratic forces in the United National Movement.

In June 1895 the III congress of PSP was held in Ponary (Paneriai) where the question of support of other revolutionary movements which independently combatted the imperial regime for their liberation. At the congress Pilsudski was elected into the Central Working Committee together with L. Kulchitski and A. Sulkevich.

Knowing Pilsudski's abilities the congress assigned him to continue the work on issuing the illegal newspaper «Rabotnik», support the contacts with Polish students who studied in Russian higher education institutions, and also with the Russian socialists accepting the idea of Poland independence. In the autumn of the same year Pilsudski again was arrested for illegal work [2; 25].

As scientists note, Pilsudski mistrusted the revolutionary movement of Russia; he considered the Russian proletariat not to be able to help to Poland gain national independence because it was weak and politically disorganized. Officially Pilsudski declared that only the Poles would be able to solve this problem, and only as a result of Polish-Russian war, or participation of Austro-Hungary against Russia or Germany, it was possible to achieve the real independence [5; 56].

One of the largest events of considered period was the preparation and carrying out the IV Congress of the II Communistic International which was arranged on July 27, 1899. The Polish delegation was represented by ten representatives, among them were Mostsitski, Dashinski, Endzhevski, Yodko-Narkevich and Dembovski. Pilsudski was registered under the name of Victor Kostsesha [2; 26].

Unfortunately, in the Draft resolution of Komintern in which the general idea consisted in uniting and activation of labor movement, the offer of the Polish delegation to include the question of Poland independence was rejected [2; 27]. It confirmed Józef Pilsudski's opinion to go his own way, using any methods and opportunities up to military, for obtaining desirable independence of Russia. Gradually, through communications with political emigres, Pilsudski became an outstanding figure among the Polish revolutionaries abroad.

On July 15, 1899 Józef Pilsudski got married to Maria Yushkevich and some time they lived with the counterfeit documents under the name Dombrovski. It is interesting that many famous representatives of the Polish intellectuals of that time sought the hand of Maria Yushkevich, for example Roman Dmovski who subsequently became the leader of large political party of Poland.

Later, we will see that these personal relations will find the reflection in political affairs as Pilsudski was the ardent opponent of the Polish National Democrats (endeks) of whom Dmovski was the head [2; 29].

As a result of active investigation of detective police in 1900 in February the Pilsudski couple was arrested, and the printing house and revolutionary literature was again confiscated. However, as a result of

malingering a mental illness Pilsudski was transferred to a psychiatric clinic of St. Petersburg where on June 20, 1901 he managed to escape abroad [2; 34].

The Polish socialist party of which Pilsudski was a member, after suffering losses in its ranks, confiscation of printing house and leaving of a number of vigorous figures like L. Kulchitski, still remained afloat. It is possible to note that L. Kulchitski, being exiled to Siberia, met with the Russian social democrats and was fond of their ideas about world proletarian revolution. He gathered a group of revolutionaries who considered it was possible to achieve Poland independence only in the conditions of joint fight of the Polish and Russian proletariat [7; 369, 370].

With the help of foreign party colleagues, the Polish social democrats continued to issue their political newspaper. The party began to gain strength again, and in 1900 the V congress of PSP was held in Skernevitsa [2, 35]. It should be noted that instead of «old» party members, the new revolutionaries came to PSP so it took a lot of Pilsudski's effort to unite the party and to solve internal problems [2; 39].

By this time in there were some changes in the development of revolutionary movement. It is well-known that V. I. Lenin, the leader of the Russian Social Democratic Labour party (RSDLP), began to unite the separate political movements opposing autocracy in a single union. In this sense, the II congress of RSDLP which took place in July-August 1903 in London was a historical event, since it became the beginning of the new political movement which would subsequently overthrow the monarchy in Russia, create the state of new socialist type and leave a noticeable trace in the geopolitical world map.

Among the Polish revolutionaries there were the organizations which followed Lenin's idea, however their larger part including Pilsudski's PSP, didn't agree with the program of Bolsheviks, for what Lenin often criticized them in his articles and speeches.

The leader of the Russian proletariat tried to show the class nature of the ruling forces of Poland which struggled for the state independence and sovereignty in the article «Ethnic Question in Our Program» which was printed in the Iskra newspaper in July, 1903 No. 44. According to Lenin, the Polish proletariat needed to become the ally of the Russian workers, whose purpose was a victory of proletarian revolution in Russia. Therefore, it was told in article, it was necessary to think not of the sovereignty of Poland which was brought every day by the bourgeoisie to the proletarians, and to look for cooperation and the general methods of struggle against the imperial regime in Russia up to the change of the existing system [8; 21, 22].

In the speeches Lenin repeatedly tried to uncover the nationalism in the Polish socialist party, he compared them to the Russian socialist revolutionaries who brought harm to the Polish labor movement. According to Lenin, only the union of proletarians of all countries can ensure their victory over autocracy [9; 69].

The first years of the XX century marked the beginning of large political changes on the world scene. The conflict of Russia and Japan became one of the first problems which arose between the countries. Pilsudski believed that the military conflict promised a prospect to the large military companies, and not only belligerent parties, but also a number of the European states would be involved into it as each of them had claims to each other. He propagandized among the Polish the idea to be ready to an armed revolt against imperial Russia. Only military defeat of Russia, as Pilsudski noted, could give the full independence of Poland, the party would achieve not begging of some autonomy but the full independence [2; 41].

In this period for underground activity Pilsudski takes the pseudonym «comrade Mieczyslaw» [2; 41]. It should be noted that Pilsudski and his party fellows tried to hold spontaneous revolts which could develop into the armed conflicts with the imperial Russia. Revolt, in their opinion, had to happen simultaneously with the weakening of Russia on the Russian-Japanese front.

Preparation of new armed revolt required the weapon and money. Pilsudski on behalf of the Polish socialist party visited Tokyo for negotiations on interaction of his party with Japanese armed forces. Pilsudski offered the project of financing of the anti-Russian armed revolts and various insurgent actions of the Polish socialist party, and also holding the sabotage on mobilization in army and other actions organized by the Russian authorities. These purposes required financing and arms.

Unfortunately, Pilsudski's plan wasn't carried out as at the same time in the leader of the Polish national democrats Roman Dmowski came Tokyo by their invitation. According to Dmowski, Poland wasn't ready to a serious armed revolt either with moral, or from the military point of view, therefore the large military forces which the tsarism held on the Vistula River, would simply suppress the revolt and many people would suffer. The Japanese government accepted these arguments as it was intended to fight with Russia in the East, but not in the West. As a result, Pilsudski's plan about the union with Japan failed, though he received the financial aid promised by the Japanese [4; 35, 36].

The weapon bought with the Japanese money was used by Pilsudski on November 13, 1904 in a large demonstration which developed into armed conflict. As scientists note, it was one of debuts of the Poles with weapon in their arms after suppression of the revolt of 1863–1864 [2; 53]. Certainly, in spite of the fact that performance was suppressed by the imperial authorities, it had important moral and psychological value for the Polish people as it lifted their spirit and strengthened belief in a victory for the independence and sovereignty of the country.

Another considerable event of the Polish socialist party was that Pilsudski set the main task not in the participation in the all-Russian revolution, but in the internationalization of the Polish question, that is involvement of all the Poles into it, and also other peoples living in the territory of Poland.

The Russian revolution of 1905 which happened suddenly after execution on January 9 of peaceful demonstration by the imperial authorities, forced revolutionary parties and the movements of national suburbs to revise their strategic plans and programs.

In the ranks of social democrats of Poland after revolution of 1905, the relation between the old and younger generation of revolutionaries became more complicated as young revolutionaries demanded association with the Russian revolutionary movement and to postpone the question of the sovereignty until the overthrow of tsarism. Pilsudski and his colleagues, on the contrary, considered that it was necessary to use this favorable situation to get independence.

One of the Russian revolutionaries and democrats M. Sokolski recollected the conversation with Pilsudski which took place in November, 1905, about PPS attitude to the Russian revolution. Pilsudski answered the asked question that it was necessary to act, it was not possible to win the enemy without fight. What can we achieve with small strikes, or termination of work of some enterprises? «... on the contrary, we will only weaken own society and the country, we will have less forces for struggle» [2; 56].

In 1907 there was a final split between young and old revolutionaries of PSP, the party was divided into two camps.

Pilsudski devoted a lot of his time to creation of the fighting organization for carrying out acts of terrorism and expropriation of money, and also to the creation of a basis for the future Polish army. Creation of the fighting organizations and fighting squads, undoubtedly, played a significant role in the future struggle for independence as Pilsudski understood that it was useless to hope for the external help or liberal reforms in that political situation. Pilsudski's party colleagues, as well as other democratic and revolutionary forces of the Kingdom Polish, were dissatisfied with the organization of future army considering it a dangerous deed. For example, national democrats (endeks) under the leadership of R. Dmovski, held the opinion that was provocation and violation of the fragile balance between Russia and the Kingdom Polish. R. Dmovski, who was the deputy of the State Duma of Russia, and his colleagues hoped to gain the independence for Poland in the form of an autonomy by peaceful parliamentary reforms.

But Pilsudski understood that the State Duma, where the Polish deputies including R. Dmovski participated, couldn't achieve any real reforms as the tsarism used the Parliament for strengthening of its autocracy and carrying out the large political, military and economic reforms.

Pilsudski's insight and forecasting of future political situation will bring subsequently positive results in formation of the Polish state.

Pilsudski didn't waste time in that political situation, he and his companions tried to establish the relation with another rival of Russia — the Austro-Hungary empire of the Habsburgs. In September, 1906 Pilsudski offered 200 thousand people from his party in case of the war between Austro-Hungary and Russia. During the negotiations the questions of military ammunition and delivery of the weapon were discussed [2; 62].

He didn't receive an affirmative answer from the Austro-Hungarian General Staff, however the relations of the party with the top military management were established.

The organization of army, despite all difficulties, proceeded due to the financing of Japan, and mainly by means of expropriation of banks, post trains, etc.

Pilsudski with a great patience and persistence prepared the country for future war. He thought that the tsarism gave the Constitution and Parliament not to change the existing order of things and moreover it would never change its attitude to the national suburbs. He also believed that the all segments of the population living in the territory of Poland had to participate in the struggle for independence of the country.

Gradually by the beginning of the World War I in the territory of Poland there were special divisions, such as UAS, the union of active struggle, where the young people with experience of military service entered. PSP created the similar organizations in each city, they had the Charter and signs of distinction. In

1909 the congress of UAS where the achievements were demonstrated and the forthcoming tasks were defined [2; 81].

As Pilsudski couldn't fulfill the plans without the support of political party, in August 1909 in Vienna was held the XI congress of PSP revolutionary fraction. At the congress the decision to return to the initial name the Polish Socialist Party was made. The main goal of party was to create the independent Polish bourgeois-democratic republic, and in the long term the Polish socialist state as a part of all Polish lands [2; 81].

The Congress declared the break of collaboration with other socialist parties in the Kingdom Polish, first of all with the former PSP and Social Democracy of the Kingdom Polish and Lithuania (SDKPL). In their opinion, they denied the importance and the first priority of the solution of an ethnic question for the proletariat of Poland. The Congress also pointed at possibility of the union with bourgeois parties if they were ready to struggle against tsarism. The Congress practically expressed Pilsudski's idea about a new stage of a national democratic revolution in Poland [2; 82].

At the Pilsudski's initiative in 1912 the conference of supporters of independence of the Kingdom Polish took place. The authoritative political and public activists were present at it. The main decision of the conference was the creation of the Polish military treasury which had to finance the army created in Poland. The military treasury facilitated the fund raising as each patriot considered a duty to bring the contribution into the independence of Poland [2; 86].

By the beginning of the World War I the Polish shooting squads represented rather large military formations in various cities of the Kingdom Polish. However, for the creation of official Polish army, some formalities were necessary: these divisions had to be considered as a part of Austro-Hungarian or German armed forces. Pilsudski used the given opportunity, the draft in the armed forces of Poland was declared, the new weapon and military ammunition was received [2; 99]. Under tough military conditions Pilsudski constantly had to manoeuvre between Germany and Austro-Hungary to keep mobility of the divisions.

It should be noted that years of the World War I were hard for Poland. From the first day it turned into a military camp as it was compelled to be at war with several countries simultaneously because it was in the center of military events. Transport, school, finance, industry were in an awful disorder. Typhus and other epidemic diseases raged in rural areas. However, the hope to become the independent state gave force to the people to resist difficulties of war [10; 255].

During the war in August 1914 the Chief National Committee (CNC) was formed and became the central body of the risen Poles. Eminent persons were a part of the CNC from the cities of Krakow, Lviv, Western Galicia, etc., so they executed the decisions of the Chief National Committee in different cities [2; 117].

Józef Pilsudski headed the Polish military legion which was in the ranks of Austro-Hungarian army. It should be noted that in the conditions of the cruel war in the territory of Poland, the legionaries showed unprecedented valour and courage. Pilsudski was called the Chief Commandant by the soldiers.

In 1916 in his troops Pilsudski organized the act of renunciation of Protestantism and transition to Catholicism [2; 126]. Prolonged war showed not only heavy miseries, deprivations and losses in the ranks of soldiers and civilians, but also that fact that the Chief Commandant understood: neither Austria, nor Germany would give independence to Poland [2; 128].

The revolution of February 1917 in Russia brought serious changes to the plans of the Chief Commandant, as well as all belligerent parties. The tsarism failed and a new state began to arise, on its place. The address of the Petrograd Council of workers and soldier's deputies on March 27, 1917 which was called «To the Polish people» had a historical value for Poland. The document stated that Poland could consider itself the independent state, and with the arrival of the Soviet power in Russia on August 29 1918 the Declaration on refusal of the Poland division concluded by the Russian Empire was published.

These events gave a positive impetus to other states with traditional democracy. The slogans about the independence of Poland in January 1918 were put forward by America, on January 5 of the same year this idea was supported by Britain, after them the governments of France and Italy supported.

After defeat of Austro-Hungary and Germany, their authorities transferred the command of the Polish military forces to Józef Pilsudski [1; 406]. By the way, at that time Pilsudski was serving a prison sentence in the Magdebourg prison where he was put by the allies for the sharp criticism of their policy towards Poland.

This eventful period of history was of great importance for Poland, and especially for J. Pilsudski. The World War I ended, however the borders division between the winners and the won still proceeded. Even the

Bolsheviks, who got matters off the ground, giving an example to other states to pay attention to the Polish problem, more than once violated the arrangements on borders with Poland.

In its turn, the beginning of the II Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth encouraged the Polish politicians on the same aggressive actions in the territory of Baltics, Belarus and Ukraine. One of such large campaigns nearly ended a crash when the Soviet troops appeared at the walls of Poland. Only the pressure in Russia of the countries of the Entente — the USA, England and France, and a number of military failures of the Bolsheviks forced them to return to their former borders.

The new Polish state was formed as the bourgeois-democratic republic. First of all the Polish Constituent Congress – the Sejm was called. For special merits before the Fatherland the Polish Sejm left Pilsudski on the post of the Chief of the State.

On March 17, 1921 the Constitution of the revived Poland was adopted. It should be noted that after the long-term stay in a colonial dependence, weakness and lack of practice of political parties led to the frequent fights that distracted them from the solution of the urgent social, economic, political and legal questions of the country.

In these severe conditions J. Pilsudski made the right decision. In 1926 he organized a military coup which made a number of changes and additions to the existing Constitution of Poland of March 17, 1921 [11].

Pilsudski's main task was preservation of everything that Poland had achieved for that period in the territorial and political sphere. Therefore Marshal Pilsudski assumed the government of a state to neutralize the left-wing destructive forces wishing to turn the democratic reforms back. The new elections to the supreme body of legislature, the Sejm, were declared.

Later in 1927, after the resignation of the President, Józef Pilsudski was elected the Head of State [4, 160]. First of all, Pilsudski was afraid of penetration of the Bolshevik ideas on the territory of Poland from border regions. He tried to keep the traditions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth where the person could live free under the state protection.

Marshal Józef Clemens Pilsudski died on May 12, 1935 in Warsaw. He was buried in Vavel, and his heart was buried in his mother's grave on a cemetery in Vilnius [11]. The whole life of this extraordinary person was devoted to the revival of Poland; he is an example of patriotism and love to the Fatherland. Pilsudski created a strong state for the short period while he was a head of Poland. Nevertheless he understood that the race of arms amplified all around the world, and parallel with it grew the intensity and political ambitions of large powers for the world supremacy. Nazi Germany and the Stalin regime systematically prepared for war, but, despite all the circumstances, Józef Pilsudski tried to keep strong Polish army until the end of his life, and not only by weapon, but also by his policy he avoided the conflict situations with neighboring states.

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Юзеф Пилсудскийдің Польша мемлекетінің егемендігін қалыптастырудағы мемлекеттік-саяси қызметі

Мақалада ірі тарихи тұлға Юзеф Пилсудскийдің Польша мемлекетінің егемендігін қалыптастырудағы мемлекеттік саяси қызметі көрсетілген. Юзеф Пилсудский XIX ғасырдың аяғы мен XX ғасырдың басындағы Польшадағы қоғамдық-саяси мемлекеттік қайраткерлердің бірі болып табылады. Сондай-ақ, Польша мемлекеттілігіне төнген аумақтық және саяси тұрғыдағы қауіптерге қарамастан, билікті өз қолына алып, елінің тәуелсіздігі үшін барын салған күрескердің өмірі жайлы баяндалған.

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Государственно-политическая деятельность Юзефа Пилсудского в формировании суверенного государства в Польше

В данной статье изучены государственно-политическая деятельность Юзефа Пилсудского, его роль в формировании суверенного государства в Польше. Юзеф Пилсудский является одним из крупных общественно-политических государственных деятелей Польши конца XIX начала XX в. Авторами отмечено, что главной целью маршала Юзефа Пилсудского было сохранение всего того, чего добились Польша за рассматриваемый период в территориальном и политическом отношении и чтобы она стала независимой страной.

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