The Austrian province of Galicia saw the most severe battlefield experiences of the Great War. The sufferings of its inhabitants, though still underrepresented in historiography, made it a topic for new research focusing upon the question of violence. The subsequent Austro-Hungarian withdrawal, Russian occupation and Austro-Hungarian re-conquest of the province were accompanied by mass repressions against local populations. Though the perpetrator was usually the Russian or Habsburg military, the situation was far from being the dichotomist division into local victims and foreign culprits. One of the most intriguing facets of this phenomenon is the active role played by locals: Poles, Ukrainians and Jews. This chapter will investigate the political, cultural and scientific dimensions of Polish-Ukrainian relations both during and immediately after the war.

Both Polish and Ukrainian political activists saw the First World War as an opportunity to improve their international position, if not by gaining full independence then by renegotiating the status of territories inhabited by Poles and Ukrainians. In the case of Poland, whilst there were significant political factions supporting both the Central Powers and the Entente, a pro-Austrian, and then pro-German orientation clearly prevailed, at least up to the political crisis in Summer 1917. Ukrainian politicians were restricted in their choices of an ally due to the fact that Russia denied the very existence of the Ukrainian nationality. Here, the domination of active adherents to the Central Powers lasted at least until the declaration of the creation of the Kingdom of Poland in

2 I would like to thank Anna Veronika Wendland for her insightful comments on my paper and for the time we spent talking in Jena.
November 1916. As a consequence, the Polish Naczelny Komitet Narodowy (Supreme National Committee) formed the most active group, with its own military unit, the Legiony, serving as a part of the Austro-Hungarian army. The Ukrainian political representation in Austria, Holovna Ukrain’ska Rada (Chief Ukrainian Council), was formed in parallel and also possessed its own unit within the Habsburg armed forces – the Ukrain’ski Sičovi Stril’ci (Ukrainian Sič Shooters). In addition to this, the representation of Russian Ukrainians called Sojuz Vyzvolenniia Ukrainy (Union for Free Ukraine) was formed, which was much less conservative in its political profile than its Austrian compatriots, and mostly aimed at having closer cooperation with Germany than anywhere else. Both Ukrainian organizations were united into Zahal’na Ukrain’ska Rada (Universal Ukrainian Council). From the German side and with German financial support, Polish and Ukrainians activists were involved in the Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands (League of the Foreign Peoples of Russia), along with the politicians representing other non-Russian nationalities of the Empire. The activities of the League culminated in the Nationalitätenkonferenz in Lausanne in June 1916. To complete the picture, some of the Polish and Ukrainian deputies of the Austrian diet ran their own political actions.

The organizational basis sketched roughly here has been an object of historical interpretation since the end of war in east-central Europe. In the Polish as well as in the Ukrainian historiography, those activities were perceived as being stages on the path toward the solution of the national question. Only the Polish political actions led to immediate victory, but otherwise the similarities prevail over differences. The main arenas of Polish and Ukrainian war activity were: a) military actions directed against Russia; b) attracting the support of Polish and Ukrainian prisoners of war; and c) propagandistic activities among domestic and foreign opinion in support of their own case, and against Russia. Two of those points were fulfilled with the help of the cream of Polish and Ukrainian political pamphleteers and esteemed scholars. This allows us to see the Polish and Ukrainian activities in the context of Krieg der Geister, a conflict

