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CIVIC POSITION OF THE GREEK CATHOLIC CLERGY IN THE ELECTIONS TO THE POLISH SEJM AND THE SENATE IN GALICIA (NOVEMBER OF 1922)

Abstract. *The purpose* of the study is to elucidate the civic position of the Greek Catholic clergy during the elections to the Polish Sejm and the Senate in November of 1922. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, systematization, scientificity, objectivity, use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization), special and historical (historical and genetic, historical and typological, historical and systemic) methods. **The novelty** of the study is that there has been done a substantive analysis of the Polish authorities policy against the Greek Catholic clergy before and under conditions of the elections to the Polish Sejm and Senate in November of 1922; there has been clarified the attitude of the Polish authorities to the activities of Father Mykola Ilkiv, who supported the participation of the clergy in the elections. **The Conclusions.** The majority of the Greek Catholic clergy strongly boycotted the elections to the Polish Sejm and the Senate on November 5 and 12, 1922.

Priests suspected of anti-Polishness were subjected to various persecutions and repressions by the Polish law enforcement agencies. Priests were often fined, the Polish police searched the homes of the clergy, and conducted audits in the Greek Catholic churches. Dozens of priests from different parts of Galicia were arrested. Only a small part of the Greek Catholic clergy supported the pro-Polish Ukrainian Farmers' Party (UCP) in the elections, which was headed by the priest Mykola Ilkiv. The boycott of the parliamentary elections of 1922 by the Ukrainian population showed that the majority of its inhabitants did not recognize the legitimacy of the Polish government. The Greek Catholic Church, with its consistent position, confirmed the reputation of the national Church.

Key words: *the Greek Catholic clergy, the Polish authorities, elections to the Sejm and Senate in 1922, elections boycott, repressive policy, priest Mykola Ilkiv.*

ГРОМАДЯНСЬКА ПОЗИЦІЯ ГРЕКО-КАТОЛИЦЬКОГО ДУХОВЕНСТВА ПІД ЧАС ПРОВЕДЕННЯ ВИБОРІВ ДО ПОЛЬСЬКОГО СЕЙМУ І СЕНАТУ В ГАЛИЧИНІ (листопад 1922 р.)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* полягає у розкритті громадянської позиції греко-католицького духовенства під час проведення виборів до польського сейму і сенату у листопаді 1922 р. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, об'єктивності, використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Новизна дослідження** полягає у тому, що здійснено предметний аналіз політики польських органів влади проти греко-католицького духовенства напередодні і в умовах проведення виборів до польського сейму і сенату у листопаді 1922 р.; з'ясовано ставлення польських властей до діяльності отця Миколи Ільківа, що підтримав участь духовенства у виборах. **Висновки.** Більшість греко-католицького духовенства рішуче бойкотували вибори до польських сейму і сенату 5 і 12 листопада 1922 р. Священники, запідозрені у антипольськості, піддавалися різним переслідуванням і репресіям з боку польських правоохоронних органів: їх нерідко штрафували, польська поліція проводила обшуки у їх помешканнях, здійснювала ревізії у греко-католицьких церквах. Було арештовано десятки парохів із різних куточків Галичини. Лише незначна частина греко-католицького духовенства підтримали на виборах пропольську Українську хліборобську партію (УХП), яку очолив священник Микола Ільків. Бойкот парламентських виборів 1922 р. українським населенням продемонстрував, що більшість його мешканців не визнають законності польської влади. Греко-католицька церква своєю послідовною позицією підтвердила реноме національної Церкви.

Ключові слова: *греко-католицьке духовенство, польська влада, вибори до сейму і сенату 1922 р., бойкот виборів, репресивна політика, священник Микола Ільків.*

The Problem Statement. Traditionally the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church played an important role in the socio-political life of Galicia. Without a priest of this denomination, in our opinion, it is impossible to imagine, let's say, a national revival in the region during the XIXth century or the national movement of the first half of the XXth century. In fact, there was no significant Galician-Ukrainian politician of that time who was not directly or indirectly of a priestly origin. On the other hand, largely for this reason, the Austrian and later Polish authorities tried to manipulate the influence and authority of the GCC (we will use the shortened period under analysis) in their interests, realizing that cooperation with priests – to some extent is the key to a controlled ethno-political situation in the region.

In our opinion, the issue we will discuss below also belongs to these series. In July of 1919, after the retreat of the UGA behind the Zbruch territories, the ruling circles of Poland, tried at all costs to establish the “Polishness” on the occupied lands, eliminating any signs of their Ukrainian origin, calling Galicia “Eastern Małopolska” and the Ukrainians – the “Rusyns”. The elections to the Sejm and the Senate, scheduled for November of 1922, were to

play a significant role in consolidating the process of Eastern Galicia annexation. By holding elections, government agencies sought to formalize Poland's jurisdiction over the region and persuade the international community, that the very fact of the participation of the Ukrainian population in them is evidence of the Ukrainians' tolerant attitude to the new government and manifestation of the population's desire to remain the part of the restored Polish state.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. According to the apt words of Lviv historian Oleksandr Zaitsev, unwilling to hold a real plebiscite in Eastern Galicia, the Polish ruling circles sought to replace the plebiscite with elections" (Zaitsev, 1999). Lviv researcher Oleksandr Turchak studied the historical and legal aspects of the elections of 1922 (Turchak, 2014). Ternopil historian Lesia Aleksiyevets focused on the activities of the Sejm and the Senate of the first convocation of the Second Commonwealth (Aleksiievets, 2010). Lviv historian Orest Krasivsky analyzed the issue of the elections of 1922 in the context of the activities of the Ukrainian political parties in Galicia during the formation of the Polish state (1918 – 1923) (Krasivskyi, 2006). Ivano-Frankivsk scholar Ruslan Deliatynsky is the author of a number of articles that elucidate the socio-political activities of priests of Stanislaviv Eparchy during the period of 1919 – 1922 (Deliatynskyi, 2003; Deliatynskyi, 2005; Yehreshii & Deliatynskyi, 2020). Drohobych scholars Mykola Haliv and Anna Ohar suggested the idea of analyzing a representative document that sheds light on the Polish government's attitude toward the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy in Drohobych County in the mid-1920s (Haliv & Ohar, 2018).

In Polish historiography, the issue of the election of 1922 in the context of the normalization of the Ukrainian-Polish relations in Poland, was analyzed by famous historians Myroslava Papezhynska-Turek (Papierzyńska-Turek, 1979) and Ryszard Tożeczki (Torzecki, 1989). The Ukrainian historian-scholar Vasyl Futala analyzed and expressed his point of view on the works written by the Polish scholars on the Ukrainian issues (Futala, 2020).

An important monographic study by Lviv historian Liliانا Hentosh deserves attention among domestic scholars who do research on church issues (Hentosh, 2015). We will also single out the work of Ivano-Frankivsk scholars Vasyl Marchuk (Marchuk, 2001) and Ihor Pylypiv (Pylypiv, 2011), Kyiv historian Vitaliy Pereveziiy (Perevezii, 1998; Perevezii, 2004). However, the problem of the role of the Greek Catholic clergy in the preparation and conduct of the elections of 1922 is elucidated by them, in our opinion, superficially, and therefore the topic has not been the subject of a special study in the Ukrainian and foreign historiography yet.

The Purpose of the Research. In the article we will try to explain the position of the Greek Catholic clergy before the elections to the Polish Sejm and Senate in November of 1922.

The Results of the Research. The Polish government considered the successful holding of elections in Galicia to be one of its strategic objectives for the year of 1922. In case of their failure, Poland's jurisdiction over the entire territory of Galicia could be called into question (Zaitsev, 1999, p. 3). Thus, the Ukrainian politicum faced a difficult problem to solve: to take part in the elections (which meant the de facto recognition of the Polish government in the region), or to boycott the election (but to lose the opportunity to defend the rights of the Galician Ukrainians in parliament). Finally, on September 10, 1922, the emigration government of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR), headed by E. Petrushevych, accepted the appeal "To the Population of the Galician Land!" calling for a boycott of the election: "The Ukrainian people of Galician Land cannot and must not take part in the elections to the Polish Sejm, because the Ukrainian people must not renounce their sovereignty on their own land at any cost..." (Z vidozvy, 1922).

The exile government also appealed to the Greek Catholic clergy: “Priests! The closest leaders of the people! ... You, as servants of the Christ, are obliged and must serve the truth and only the truth! Can you, by participating in the elections, witness the Polish lie that Poland-occupant has the right to hold the elections in Galicia? Can you advise your priests’ fold to take part in this violence? Wouldn’t be in vain the sacrifices of the tortured lives in Thalerhof, stoned by a savage crowd of servants of the God – priests? Or a blood victim of Fathers Pidliashetsky, Halibey, Nizhankonsky (*Nyzhankovskoho* – the authors) and other priests who gave their lives for the state’s law, should it be in vain? Honestly and boldly proclaim the truth to your fold devoted to your spiritual care! Do not go to the polls and do not allow your fold to go to the election! To suffer for the truth is a sacred duty of the Christian idea bearers. Be cheerful and exemplary! The whole Galician land turns its eyes to you, as in times of persecution of the leaders of the God word” (Z vidozvy, 1922).

The elections to the Sejm and the Senate scheduled for November of 1922 provoked a strong opposition not only from the exile government of the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic, almost all Ukrainian parties, but also from a significant number of the clergy. The Galician Ukrainians did not consider themselves citizens of the Polish state, hoping to restore their own statehood.

A graduate of the Lviv Theological Seminary Ilko Kubarych from Obelnytsia, Rohatyn County, under the pretext that Galicia does not belong to Poland, resigned as a member of the election commission in his native village and began to conduct anti-election campaigning in the county (in the communes of Obelnytsia, Yunashkiv, and Kunychi), called for a boycott of the upcoming elections. The Polish police considered I. Kubarych’s behaviour “unworthy” because he “disturbed public peace”. On October 8, 1922, he was taken to the county police department in Rohatyn. Explaining his position during interrogation, the seminary graduate referred to Article 25 of the law on elections to the Polish Sejm of July 28, 1922, according to which a member of the commission may be a person who has the right to vote and “can read and write in Polish”. According to Ilko Kubarych, he is not a citizen of Poland (because legally Eastern Galicia did not belong to the Polish state at that time) and does not speak Polish, then, accordingly, he cannot be a member of the election commission. I. Kubarych was soon arrested (SALR, f. 1, d. 14, c. 1552, pp. 28v., 30; Dilo, 1922). Mykola Klement Dubnitsky, a graduate of the Lviv Seminary from Lavochne in Skoliv Region, was accused of being a member of a secret Ukrainian university (SALR, f. 1, d. 14, c. 1552, p. 31).

The clergy often persuaded the Ukrainians not to go to the “polling station”, and in the case of nominating the Ukrainian candidates called to vote for the Ukrainians (Farther Roman Isaichuk, Lisko near Sanok). There were cases when the clergy during the sermon in the Church warned the Ukrainians against participating in elections, advised to expel the communal because they call for “evil and abyss” (Topilnytsia commune, Filariy Ortynsky) (Archiwum Akt Nowychw Warszawie (AAN), Numer zespolu 14, sygnatura 928, kartka 163, 165, 166). Pastor from the village of Hordynia in Sambir region – Fr. Theophilus Chaikovsky was accused of treason because of “public mourning near the church in Kropyvnyky, that a Ruthenian has no right to participate in elections to the Senate and the Sejm of Poland”. The priest insisted that “Poland had no right to force the Ukrainians to vote, because Małopolska in the East is Ukraine and must be joined to Greater Ukraine”. Soon the priest was accused at the district criminal court in Sambir (AAN, nr. zesp. 14, sygn. 928, k. 125). It happened that supporters of the election boycott posted anti-election campaigns on bulletin boards near churches (Church in the village of Oleksychi near Dashava, Stryi County). Excusing himself,

the local priest, who was the head of the election commission in Dashava, said that he was “afraid of being abused” by his (priest’s) fold (SAIFR, f. 2, d. 1, c. 128, pp. 15, 16, 16v.).

The Greek Catholic Father Viktor Lapychak delivered anti-election speeches at the “Prosvita” branch in the village of Sukha Volia, near Lubaczów (nowadays – the Republic of Poland). Andriy Bentsin, the dean-father from Staryi Sambir, Sokal County, insisted that the Ukrainians not sign election letters, threatening that the signatories would be threatened with “revenge by insurgents members”. Fathers Mykhailo Stasyshyn, a parish priest from Horyntsi, and Hryhoriy Shchyryba, a parish priest from Tymtsi, in Liubachiv region called the Ukrainians who were ready to take part in the voting “traitors to the Ukrainian people” (AAN, nr. zesp. 14, sygn. 928, k. 147). Father-chamberlain Stefan Horodetsky urged the Ukrainians not to take part in the elections during the speech at the People’s Chamber, which took place in Rohatyn on September 13, 1922 (Polski wybory, 1922).

A number of priests (Fr. Kypriyan Yasenysky – parish priest in Zhovtantsi, Zhovkva district, Fr. Semen Spitzer – parish priest in Solukov, Dolyna district, Fr. Ivan Shlemkevych – parish priest of Snovidov, Buchach district, Fr. Theodosius Hrynyk – parish priest in Sokolivka, Bobretsk district, Fr. Konstantin Konchevych – pastor in Holohory, Zolochiv district, Fr. Mykhailo Osadtsa – pastor in Khodachkiv Malym – Ternopil district) and the others voluntarily resigned from the members of election commissions (Polski wybory, 1922, p. 2).

This position of the majority of the Greek Catholic clergy caused serious concern to the Polish government agencies, which, apparently, on the contrary in the elections to the Sejm and the Senate, in November of 1922, hoped to use the authority of the priests of the GCC among the people. The authorities hoped that the negation of the clergy concerning holding the census of 1921 in Galicia had passed and that the majority of clergymen of the Eastern Rite would be able to become law-abiding citizens of the Polish state. Some priests were even invited to become members of polling stations. However, these were supposed to be fathers who did not “betray their position” and did not compromise themselves with anti-government work during previous years. The Polish secret services were tasked with monitoring the activities of the Greek Catholic clergy for their “political commitment” and attitude toward the Polish state. This fact is evidenced by the correspondence between senior officials from the Ministry of Religious and Public Education and the Ministry of the Interior with local authorities, including Lviv and Stanislaviv voivodes.

A separate mission to promote the elections of 1922 in Galicia was assigned by the Polish authorities to the highest clergy, Bishop Josaphat Kotsilowski of Przemyśl and, especially to Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn of Stanislaviv, who at that time gained the reputation of a profound clergyman concerning his attitude to Poland. According to the high-ranking Polish officials, the Ukrainian bishops should have encouraged ordinary clergy to be priests, not politicians, not to “hide behind the epitrachel” and under the guise of “burial on the graves of the dead souls” to make speeches on politics (AAN, nr. zesp. 14, sygn. 451, k. 269, 272, 288, 302) (it was plausible to talk about the traditional for interwar Stanislaviv march of the Ukrainian community of the city and surrounding villages to the city cemetery and services at the graves for the dead soldiers of the UGA. – *the authors*). According to government officials, the leaders of the GCC must support the Polish state, because owing to the latter the church is “strong in economic terms” and has reasonable benefits (AAN, nr.zesp. 14, sygn.450, k. 181, 182–186, 219–222, 228, 284–289).

High-ranking ministers were concerned that priests became anti-Polish who were not selected by competition but were ordained bishops “from above”. At the same time,

voivodship officials complained that they did not have the leverage to influence the situation because a concordat was needed (*the concordat between the Polish state and the Church is known to have been signed only in February of 1925.* – the authors).

The Polish officials stated that the Ukrainian public environment is in a dire need of “healthy forces that can be relied on” and that the Ukrainian public is “obsessed with nationalism”. The Polish authorities were concerned that the heart of nationalism “became St. Yura”, which administratively persuades some Greek Catholic priests who are tolerant for the Polish government to “sharpen their spears”. According to officials, the absence of Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky in Galicia (during the years of 1921 – 1923, the head of the GCC travelled to Europe and America to address a number of important church, religious and socio-political issues) did not solve the problems, because he raised the generation of clergy in an anti-Polish spirit. Priests are “not weak in the tongue and strong in the fist”, and are against the Polish authorities – it was stated in the correspondence.

Numerous archival documents testify that during October of 1922, the Polish secret services significantly revived their work in investigating the public and clerical activities of the Greek Catholic clergy. The police monitored the fathers, who had gained a reputation as “politically unreliable” for the period: showed an active civil position during the Polish-Ukrainian war, were chaplains of the Ukrainian Galician Army, refused to worship for the Polish government, to correspond in Polish, and etc. Priests suspected of anti-Polishness were subjected to various persecutions and repressions by the Polish law enforcement agencies.

Authorities tried to remove such persons from the position of pastors (Father Volodymyr Sterniuk was removed from the position of parish priest of Pustomyty due to suspicion of the anti-Polish activities) (SALR, f. 1, d. 14, c. 1030, p. 110). There was a search for graduates of the Greek Catholic seminaries, palamars, who carried out sabotage against the Polish government in the autumn of 1922, (Petro Bilinsky from Mykulychyn was persecuted for this very reason) (SALR, f. 1, d. 14, c. 1552, p. 22).

The Polish special services often imposed fines on priests who voluntarily resigned from election commissions (Vasyl Duba, the parish priest of Lesivka from Stryi region, who paid 60 000 Polish marks (mkp), was punished. Tadei Halkevych from Holovetsko-Skoliv County paid a similar amount of the fine; Father Yulian Halkevych from Rozhanka Verkhnia – 20 000 Polish marks (mkp); Yevhen Chubaty from Svarychev in Dolyna region – a fine of 80 000 Polish marks (mkp) (CSHAUL, f. 408, d. 1, c. 47, pp. 43, 44; Dilo, 1922). Father Dr. Volodymyr Pellikh from Radekhiv was fined for not “recognizing himself as a Polish citizen” and, according to the words of the Polish authorities, was “an enemy of Poland”. Dozens of the Greek Catholic priests were fined on similar charges (SAIFR, f. 231, d. 1, c. 295, p. 82).

It happened that the Polish police, looking for compromising literature, books, magazines, photographs, conducted searches in the houses of the clergy, carried out audits in the Greek Catholic churches, monasteries, etc. Father Dmytro Shulia, the parish priest of the village of Bilka in Peremyshliansky region, was soon interned due to the availability of such literature (Archiwum Panstwowew Krakowie (APK), nr. zesp. 217, sygn. 23, k. 44). During the search in the house of Father Josyp Marynowicz from Huisko (nowadays Novi Sad – the Republic of Poland), on October 29, 1922, in the village of Kalvaria-Patslavaska, where he was the pastor, a number of materials were found (correspondence with the consistory of the GCC in Lviv, documents supporting the Ukrainian cooperation, the book “True to him”) which, according to the Polish police, testified to the anti-Polish attitude of Fr. Josyp Marynowicz. The priest was eventually arrested in Dobromyl (AAN, nr. zesp. 14, sygn. 928, k. 132).

A demonstrative search was conducted by the Polish gendarmes on October 23, 1922 in the Greek Catholic Church in the village of Myszkowice, Lesko County (nowadays – the Republic of Poland) on suspicion of the anti-Polish agitation (AAN, nr. zesp. 14, sygn. 928, k. 125). Soon the pastor of the church, a fifty-two-year-old Fr. Dmytro Chertezhynsky was arrested. Father Mykola Hoshovsky – a pastor of the village Falish near Stryi was robbed and later arrested because on election day, November 5, 1922, he conducted liturgy instead of participating in the vote and agitating the faithful. Father Vasyl Hlibovytsky from the village of Jabie-Ilci (nowadays – Verkhovyna) was looted by the Polish uhlans (hay was burned, mantle was stolen) because during the sermon in the Church he allowed himself to arbitrarily interpret the Fourth Commandment of the God (accused the Ukrainians who do not love their motherland, in “betrayal of the native land”) (Dilo, 1922). There are known cases of searches by the Polish police in the Greek Catholic monasteries in Zolochiv, Yavoriv (CSHAUL, f. 408, d. 1, c. 47, pp. 46, 47).

The arrests of the Greek Catholic priests for their active citizenship during the election of 1922 soon became widespread. Dozens of priests from different parts of Galicia were arrested. In particular, well-known fathers were arrested: Omelian Kovch from Przemyśl, Ivan Fedevych – a catechist from Turka, Yulian Herasymovych from Kosovo, Petro Babyn from Drohobych, Hryhoriy Moroz from Borynia, Turkiv district, Mykhailo Hanushevsky from Dora, Oleksa Lutsiv from Mykulychyn, a father of ChSVV Severyn Baranyk from Zhovkva, Andriy Strilchuk from the village of Strilche from Horodenkivshchyna (CSHAUL, f. 408, d. 1, c. 47, pp. 4; Dilo, 1922) and the others. In total, 76 priests and 2 theologians were arrested for anti-election campaigning in October – November of 1922 (CSHAUL, f. 408, d. 1, c. 47, pp. 11, 41, 42, 49–50).

Only a small part of the Greek Catholic clergy supported the pro-government Ukrainian Farmers' Party (UCP), led by Mykola Ilkiv, a priest from the village of Babyn (nowadays – the village of Seredniy Babyn in Kalush district) who was punished by a church court (Deliatynskyi, 2002; Dilo, 1922, p. 3). With the support of the negotiating forces, the Polish administration sought to increase the number of people seeking to take part in the elections. The Polish magazines “Gazeta poranna”, “Kurjer Lwowski”, “Gazeta Lwowska” and the others periodically included lobbyist information about the above-mentioned priest Mykola Ilkiv and Father Tokar, who “showed understanding of the situation and will vote in the election” (Jak Podhajce broniły się przedbandą, 1922, p. 3; Dalszy pochód bandy opryszków, 1919, p. 1). The Polish authorities tried to help those who were “prisoners” of Father Ilkiv’s activities and the Ukrainian Farmers' Party (Onufriy Tsylnyk, a native of the village of Trudovach in Zolochiv region who was a former Ukrainian army officer released from Kalisz prisoner-of-war camp, could count on the administration’s dividends) (SATR, f. 231, d. 1, c. 7, p. 40). Conversely, opponents of the “farmers” policy were at risk of persecution by the authorities (AAN, nr. zesp. 14, sygn. 928, k. 191).

Correspondence between the Polish government officials suggests that the Polish landowners were to provide material support to the pro-Polish forces among the Ukrainian politicians. The thesis that the Polish lords could support pro-Polish Ukrainian candidates financially for parliament is also indirectly confirmed by the information which was periodically published by the Ukrainian magazine “Dilo” during the period of September – October of 1922. Father Mykola Ilkiv was described by “Dilo” correspondents as “the protagonist of Count Viktor Rozvadovsky” (Masovi trusy, 1922). The Polish landowner from the village of Troitsa, Sniatyn County, Dobyk, was ready to support the Ukrainians financially who will go to the polls during the Polish elections (Dilo, 1922).

Fr. Ilkiv's personality became another "stumbling block" between the Ukrainian and Polish periodicals during the autumn of 1922. The magazine "Dilo" compromised the priest in the eyes of the Ukrainian public, covering some controversial episodes of father's election activities (Masovi trusy, 1922). The Polish periodicals supported Farther M. Ilkiv (Jak Podhaj ce broniliysie przedbandą, 1922, p. 3; Dalszy pochód bandy opryszków, 1922, p. 1). The Polish press also set an example for the Ukrainians of certain Polish priests (Fr. Okunia, Fr. Lutoslavsky), who agitated the faithful to participate in the elections of 1922 and did not forbid them to vote (Nadzieje wyborcze posła ks. Okonia, 1922, p. 3; Sytuacja przedwyborcza, 1922, p. 1).

The Greek Catholic parishes in Bibrka, Dobromyl, Drohobych, Chisan, Bereziv, Yaroslav, Yavoriv, Mostyska, Rudky, and Rava Ruska were criticized by the Polish magazines correspondents, where priests sabotaged the elections (Zakaz sabotowania wyborów 1922, p. 4). Instead, the Polish press called the Ukrainian national movement nothing more than "bandy opryszków", "morderstwo", "terror ruskiy", "mord ukraiński", and etc. The Polish magazines noted that the clergy in Kresy did not fulfill their duty – did not interfere with the sabotage of "the Rusky khlop", and supporters of the Polish-Ukrainian agreement are in the minority (Sytuacja w Małopolsce Wschodnie niezmieniona, 1922, p. 2; Dalszy pochód bandy opryszków, 1922, p. 1).

The majority of the clergy of the GCC and supporters of the normalization of the Ukrainian-Polish relations S. Tomaszowski and Bishop H. Khomyshyn dissociated themselves from the "negotiators" sharply (CSHAUL, f. 408, d. 1, c. 1205, pp. 1, 2). On November 5, 1922, Bishop H. Khomyshyn of Stanislaviv, together with representatives of the GCC and the Ukrainian politicians, signed a joint appeal "To the Whole Cultural World". The appeal drew attention to the anti-Ukrainian policy of the Polish authorities (Svoboda, 1922, p. 1).

The elections to the Sejm and the Senate were held according to the appointed date – November 5 and 12, 1922. According to the above-mentioned historian Oleksandr Zaitsev, only 38.2% of voters in Eastern Galicia took part in the elections to the Sejm, to the Senate – 35.3% (For comparison: in ethnically Polish voivodships people voted from 68 to 87%). The lowest percentage of voters in the elections to the Sejm was in Sniatyn County (18.7%), the highest – in Turka County (61.7%). In the city of Lviv, by the way, 57.1% took part in the elections. A comparison of these data with the ethnic composition of the region's inhabitants (over 60% of the Ukrainians) shows that the vast majority of the Ukrainian population avoided participating in the elections (Zaitsev, 1999).

The Conclusions. Thus, the socio-political position of the Greek Catholic clergy during the election was in solidarity with the majority of the Ukrainian population – strongly to boycott the elections to the Sejm and the Senate on November 5 and 12, 1922, respectively. The Ukrainians in Galicia and the Ukrainian clergy did not consider themselves citizens of the Polish state, hoping to restore their own statehood in the future. The repression of the priests by the Polish police before and after the elections did not prevent them from changing their position.

The presence of a small group of the Greek Catholic priests in support of cooperation with the Polish state did not deepen the division of the clergy. Gradually the "negotiators" found themselves in isolation and were boycotted by the entire Ukrainian public. The Polish government's support for the agreement group only compromised them in the eyes of the Galician-Ukrainian society.

In general, the elections of 1922 did not live up to the government's expectations and showed that the Polish rule in Western Ukraine was maintained only by administrative

resources and military force. The boycott of the parliamentary elections of 1922 by the Ukrainian population of Galicia thwarted the Polish government's plans to create the appearance of "voluntary accession" to the region, demonstrating that the majority of its inhabitants did not recognize the legitimacy of the Polish rule. The Greek Catholic Church, with its consistent position, reaffirmed the reputation of the national Church.

On the other hand, modern geopolitical realities in Eastern Europe require consolidation under Ukrainian and Polish partners, because the slogan – "without an independent Ukraine there is no independent Poland" as never seems relevant today (Doroshko & Matviyenko, 2021; Reient & Velykochyi, 2020). Due to these circumstances, the problem we have proposed above is not without a certain historical didactics.

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