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THE UKRAINIAN RADICAL PARTY IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS TO THE AUSTRIAN REICHSRAT IN 1907 AND 1911

The purpose of the article is a comprehensive analysis of the participation of the Ukrainian Radical Party (URP) in the election campaigns to the Austrian Reichsrat in 1907 and 1911. The principles of objectivity, historicism, consistency, and problematicity served as the methodological basis of the article. There have been applied the methods of analysis and synthesis, problem-chronological, prosopographic, comparative, statistical methods for studying the role of the URP in the election campaigns of 1907 and 1911, the method of internal criticism of sources. The scientific novelty consists in the processing of a significant number of primary sources and scientific literature, owing to which it was possible for the first time to analyze the forms and content of the URP pre-election campaign in 1907 and 1911, to compare the participation of radicals in the two pre-war election campaigns. The Conclusion. The introduction of universal suffrage to the Reichsrat significantly improved the position of Galician political parties, which

was evident during the election campaigns of 1907 and 1911. In order to bring its representatives to the parliament of Cisleytania, the URP joined the electoral movement actively. The key forms of agitation during these two campaigns were the organization of a secular movement and the publication of the party's printed organ, the newspaper "The Hromadsky Holos", which published detailed information about the prerequisites, course and consequences of the elections of 1907 and 1911. The core of the URP's electoral base was the peasantry and rural intelligentsia. The highest level of support for radicals was observed in Kolomyisky, Tovmatsky, Horodenkivsky, Nadvirniansky, Kosivsky, and Stanislavivsky districts of Eastern Galicia. During the 1911 election, compared to the previous campaign, there was a slight decline in the popularity of the URP, which was caused by intra-party misunderstandings, financial difficulties and a decrease in enthusiasm among the rank-and-file members of the party. Conflicts between the leading Ukrainian political parties of the region had a negative impact on the election results. In some cases, there were attempts to cooperate with the Ukrainian National Democratic Party (NDP) and the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USDP) by radicals in order to join forces in opposing the Polish political forces. According to the results of the elections on the eve of World War I, with an electoral core of 8.5–9% of the region's voters, it was the third most influential Ukrainian political force in Eastern Galicia after the UNDP and the Muscophiles.

Key words: Ukrainian Radical Party, Reichsrat, rural constituencies, Eastern Galicia, "The Hromadsky Holos".

УКРАЇНЬКА РАДИКАЛЬНА ПАРТІЯ У ВИБОРЧИХ КАМПАНІЯХ ДО АВСТРІЙСЬКОГО РЕЙХСРАТУ 1907 і 1911 рр.

Метою статті є комплексний аналіз участі Української радикальної партії (УРП) у виборчих кампаніях до австрійського Рейхсрату 1907 і 1911 рр. **Методологічною основою** статті послужили принципи об'єктивності, історизму, послідовності, проблемності. У роботі використано методи: аналізу і синтезу, проблемно-хронологічний, просопографічний, порівняльний, статистичний, для вивчення ролі УРП у передвиборчих кампаніях 1907 і 1911 рр., а також метод внутрішньої критики джерел. **Наукова новизна** полягає в опрацюванні значної кількості першоджерел та наукової літератури, завдяки чому вперше вдалося проаналізувати форми та зміст ведення УРП передвиборчої боротьби у 1907 і 1911 рр., здійснити порівняння участі радикалів у двох передвоєнних виборчих кампаніях. **Висновки.** Запровадження загального виборчого права до Рейхсрату значно поліпшило становище галицьких політичних партій, що проявилось під час виборчих кампаній 1907 і 1911 рр. З метою проведення своїх представників до парламенту Цислейтанії УРП активно долучилася до виборчого руху. Ключовими формами агітації під час цих двох кампаній були організація вічевого руху та випуск партійного друкованого органу – газети "Громадський голос", в якій публікувалася детальна інформація про передумови, хід та наслідки виборів як 1907, так і 1911 р. Ядром електоральної бази УРП стало селянство та сільська інтелігенція. Найвищий рівень підтримки радикалів спостерігався у Коломийському, Товмацькому, Городенківському, Надвірнянському, Косівському та Станіславівському повітах Східної Галичини. Під час виборів 1911 р., порівняно з попередньою кампанією, спостерігалось незначне зменшення популярності УРП, що було спричинено внутріпартійними непорозуміннями, фінансовими труднощами та зниженням ентузіазму серед рядових членів партії. Негативно впливали на результати виборів конфлікти між провідними українськими політичними партіями краю. В окремих випадках спостерігалися спроби співпраці радикалів із Українською національно-демократичною партією (УНДП) і Українською соціал-демократичною партією (УСДП) задля об'єднання зусиль у протистоянні польським політичним силам. За результатами виборів УРП напередодні Першої світової війни із електоральним ядром 8,5–9 % виборців краю була третьою за впливовістю українською політичною силою Східної Галичини після УНДП та москвофілів.

Ключові слова: Українська радикальна партія, Рейхсрат, сільські виборчі округи, Східна Галичина, "Громадський голос".

The Problem Statement. The URP – the first European-style Ukrainian political party in Eastern Galicia – was one of the most influential forces in the region at the beginning of the 20th century. The URP's participation in the election campaigns for Parliament of

Cisleithania – the Austrian Reichsrat in 1907 and 1911, which took place on the basis of universal suffrage, remains an understudied page. Special attention should be paid to the form and content of pre-election campaigns conducted by the radicals and relationship between the URP and other Ukrainian political forces during the election period.

The Analysis of Recent Research Papers and Publications. Separate aspects of the study of the URP's participation in the election campaigns of 1907 and 1911 were reflected in the papers of Ukrainian researchers, in particular: Mykola Kuhutiak (Kuhutiak, 1993), Oleksiy Sukhyi (Sukhyi, 1999), Viacheslav Yaremchuk (Yaremchuk, 2012), Andriy Korolko (Korolko, 2014), Yuriy Yakovliev (Yakovliev, 2014), Hanna Paska (Paska, 2017; Paska, 2019), A. Korolko and Ihor Fedoryshyn (Korolko & Fedoryshyn, 2020), among foreigners – Ryszard Tomczyk (Tomczyk, 2007). Political activity of the Ukrainian parties in the Russian part of Ukraine at the beginning of the 20th century were analyzed by Oleksandr Donik, Bohdana Opria and Oleksandr Fedkov (Donik, Opria & Fedkov, 2021), as well as by Viktor Kolesnyk and Oksana Cheberiako (Kolesnyk & Cheberiako, 2022). The key forms and methods of social and political struggle of the Ukrainian peasantry of the same period, whose interests were actively defended by the URP, are analyzed by Dmytro Kudinov and Vladyslav Parkhomenko (Kudinov & Parkhomenko, 2021). The Ukrainian deputies activities in the Reichsrat at the end of the 19th century are presented in the research of Dmytro Kavatsiuk (Kavatsiuk, 2020). A large number of materials on the researched issues are contained in the periodicals of that period, namely in the URP periodical “The Hromadsky Holos”, the UNDP newspapers “The Dilo” and “The Svoboda”, and memoirs of contemporaries.

The purpose of the article is a comprehensive analysis of the URP's participation in the election campaigns to the Austrian Reichsrat in 1907 and 1911.

The Results of the Research. In January of 1907, a new election law was adopted in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. According to it, regular elections to the Reichsrat in May of the same year were to be held on the basis of universal, equal, direct and secret voting. On the basis of this law, 34 urban single-mandate and 36 rural two-mandate constituencies were formed in Eastern Galicia. In the case of the latter, 51% of voters' votes were required to elect the first deputy (majority), while 26% of votes were required for the second deputy (minority). This principle of suffrage was introduced only on the territory of Eastern Galicia and significantly limited the opportunities of the Ukrainians for equal participation in electoral contests compared to other peoples of the empire. The adoption of the new law prompted the Ukrainian political parties to start an active pre-election campaign in order to elect their representatives as deputies. In this situation, the URP, which was headed by Lev Bachynskiyi from December of 1905, was no exception (Makukh, 2001, p. 52; Paska, 2017, pp. 343–344; Paska, 2019, p. 69).

The upcoming elections to the Reichsrat were discussed at the URP Congress on December 22 – 23, 1906. Volodymyr Bachynskiyi, a delegate from the UNDP, was present at this meeting, who tried to convince the radicals of the need to form a bloc of the URP together with the UNDP and the USDP during the election campaign. In response to this, the URP member Pavlo Volosenko demanded the need to divide the UNDP into two camps – secular and clerical. He claimed that in the event of such division, the URP would be able to cooperate with representatives of the first direction only. However, the head of the party L. Bachynskiyi expressed a more moderate position on this matter. He stated that the URP would participate in the elections independently, but he did not deny a possible alliance between these parties, provided there was a compromise on the issue of nominating candidates in electoral districts. The leader

of the radicals stated that the URP would not cooperate with the Galician Muscophiles and representatives of the Christian social movement in Eastern Galicia, represented by Oleksandr Barvynskyi. This position of L. Bachynskyi was supported by other members of the party, including Kyrylo Tryliovskiy, Severyn Danylovych, Osyp Nazaruk, Martyn Koroliuk, and the others. In his speech, L. Bachynskyi emphasized the need to enlist the support of education employees during the upcoming elections, which had a significant impact on the masses. In his opinion, to achieve support, it was necessary to demand from the government circles of the empire an increase in salaries of teachers, their training at state expense, division of schools into Ukrainian and Polish, as well as a ban on the church interference in educational affairs (Spravozdanie zizdu, 1907a, pp. 1–2; Spravozdanie zizdu, 1907b, pp. 2–3; Paska, 2019, p. 71; Tomczyk, 2007, pp. 402–403). The adopted resolutions echoed slogans of unity and restoration of national statehood of all Ukrainian lands. It was claimed that the URP would nominate only those candidates for deputies whose goal in parliamentary work would be the struggle for political and economic independence of the Western Ukrainian lands, and in the future – their unification with Naddnpirianska Ukraine (Kuhutiak, 1993, p. 105; Rezoliutsii zizdu, 1907, p. 2; Sukhyi, 1999, pp. 122–124; Levytskyi, 1926, p. 430).

In view of the lack of funds for pre-election campaigning, the URP appealed to the population of the region to help improve the party's financial situation, and to send monetary contributions to the address of L. Bachynskyi in Stryi. In order to strengthen the radicals' influence in the districts of Eastern Galicia, the URP called on the population to organize village and district public election committees and attract as many of their supporters as possible to their presidiums. In particular, in January of 1907, Tovmatsky povit election committee was created. It was headed by a member of the URP, a lawyer from Tovmach Ivan Makukh, who was distinguished by an active participation in the pre-election campaign and contributed to the strengthening of the radicals' positions in the povit (Hotovmo sia do vyboriv, 1907, p. 2; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907a, p. 3).

At the beginning of March of 1907, the URP finally approved candidates for Parliament in three rural electoral districts of Eastern Galicia. Thus, in District No. 59 (Stanislaviv, Tysmenytsia, Bohorodchany, Zoloty Potik, Obertyn, Tovmach, Halych; hereinafter referred to as District No. 59) the candidacy of L. Bachynskyi was approved, and his deputy M. Koroliuk, from the village of Cherniiv, Stanislavivsky povit. For electoral Districts No. 55 (Voynyliv, Dolyna, Rozhniativ, Kalush, Nadvirna, Deliatyn, Solotvyn; hereinafter – District No. 55) and No. 56 (Pechenizhyn, Kolomyia, Zhabye (nowadays – the village of Verkhovyna, Ivano-Frankivsk region), Kutu, Kosiv, Yabluniv, Zabolotiv, Hvizdets, Otyniya; further – District No. 56) K. Tryliovsky was nominated. Mykola Lahodynkyi and Yuriy Solomychuk became his deputies (Do vybortsiv okruhiv, 1907, pp. 1–2). Deputies of candidates of the National Democrats were also elected from among the radicals. Thus, as deputies of Volodymyr Okhrymovych in District No. 58 (Borshchiv, Zalishchyky, Horodenka, Sniatyn, Tluste (nowadays – Tovste township of Chortkivsky district, Ternopil region), Melnytsia (nowadays – Melnytsia-Podilska township of Chortkivskyi district); further – District No. 58), Sydor Holubovych in District No. 68 (Kozova, Ternopil, Zbarazh, Nove Selo; hereinafter – District No. 68) and T. Voinarovskiy in District No. 56, Vasyl Stefanyk, Severyn Danylovych, and Pavlo Lavruk were nominated, respectively (Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907c, p. 4; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907d, p. 2; Peredvyborchyi rukh, 1907a, p. 2).

The newspaper “The Hromadsky Holos” played an important role in the URP pre-election campaign. In order to acquaint the population of Eastern Galicia with the political

programme of candidates for deputies from the URP, numerous notes, appeals and messages were published on the pages of this periodical. Thus, on March 22, 1907, in “The Hromadsky Holos” an appeal to the voters of the region was published, in which the main demands of the radicals to the government were presented. In this document, the URP demanded the division of Galicia into Eastern (Ukrainian) and Western (Polish), its inclusion in the Ukrainian part of Northern Bukovyna, and the granting of autonomy to these lands as part of Austria-Hungary. It was supposed to create its own Sejm in the western Ukrainian lands and to introduce the Ukrainian language as the state language in a political and cultural life of the region. The need to introduce democratic rights for the population of Eastern Galicia, as well as freedom of religious beliefs, was emphasized. In the economic sphere, the need for the transfer of landlord lands to peasants’ use was established. The URP informed that it would strive to raise the level of the population’s national self-awareness of Western Ukraine and Naddniprianshchyna region through the spread of Ukrainian literature, activities of associations, organization of manifestations, demonstrations, etc. (Do vybortsiv!, 1907, pp. 1–2). In the majority of other appeals, the URP appealed to population of electoral districts to support the radical candidates L. Bachynskiyi and K. Tryliovskiyi during the parliamentary elections (Vybortsiv!, 1907, p. 2).

The organization and holding of national meetings became the most important component of the URP’s campaigning work. Based on the reports of “The Hromadsky Holos” periodical, it is possible to do research on approximate statistics of the number of such gatherings organized in support of the radicals. In particular, from March to the first half of May 1907, in District No. 59, L. Bachynskiyi’s candidacy was approved at meetings of almost forty villages of this district. In his memoirs, I. Makukh gave a much higher number. He noted that in Tovmachchyna, the URP organized at least 60 meetings during the election campaign. It is worth noting that District No. 59 was unfamiliar to L. Bachynskiyi, because until that time he had lived and worked in a lawyer’s office in the town of Stryi. That is why, his fellow party members I. Makukh and M. Koroliuk provided active assistance to the radical during the parliamentary elections. L. Bachynskiyi was one of the best orators among Galician politicians, and he enjoyed high authority in Ukrainian society. Therefore, the events held with his direct participation often numbered several thousand people. More than 40 people’s meetings were held in electoral Districts No. 55 and 56, at which the candidacy of K. Tryliovsky was supported. It is worth noting that only in District No. 55, on May 5 and 6, 1907, Deliatyn election committee organized 16 meetings, at which active campaigning for K. Tryliovsky and his deputy M. Lahodynsky took place. The growth of the radicals’ positions in this district was caused by the activity of a non-party lawyer from the town of Deliatyn, M. Lahodynsky, who was distinguished by an active participation in the organization of public meetings and was a supporter of the ideology of the URP (CSHAUL, f. 309, d. 1, c. 2177, p. 3; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907b, p. 3; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907e, pp. 1–2; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907f, pp. 1–2; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907g, pp. 2–3; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907h, p. 1; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907i, pp. 2–3; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907j, pp. 1–2; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907k, pp. 1–2; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907l, p. 2; Makukh, 2001, p. 69).

The election campaign of 1907 was accompanied by separate conflicts between radicals and national democrats. In particular, in District No. 59, L. Bachynskiyi from the URP and Yevhen Levytskyi from the UNDP, who had the greatest authority among the population, were appointed candidates of the Ukrainian political forces. The cause of misunderstandings

was the nomination of another candidate, Aloizius Olesnytsky, by the National Democrats. With the aim of undermining the authority of their rivals, a number of mutually critical articles were published on the pages of the URP periodical “The Hromadsky Holos” and the UNDP newspaper “The Dilo”. Thus, the radicals accused Ye. Levytsky of the fact that he renounced membership in the URP and joined the ranks of the UNDP, which is evidence of the instability of his political views. In turn, the National Democrats accused L. Bachynskyi of trying to undermine Ye. Levytsky’s position in this district (Nashi posolski kandydatyry, 1907, p. 1; *Peredvyborchyi rukh*, 1907b, pp. 2–3; *Khto kyrynyt?*, 1907, 12 kvitnia, p. 1; Tomczyk, 2007, p. 410).

Controversies in electoral District No. 56 between K. Tryliovskyi and the National Democrat, Greek-Catholic priest T. Voinarovsky were caused, first of all, by the radicals’ negative attitude towards the Greek-Catholic Church (GCC) (*Peredvyborchyi rukh*, 1907c, p. 1). In electoral Districts No. 55 and 56, there were misunderstandings between K. Tryliovskyi and the leader of the Muscophiles, Volodymyr Dudykevych, who was a candidate for deputies in these districts. In front of those organized in his favour, he called on the population not to vote for a radical (*Z peredvyborchoho rukhu*, 1907i, p. 2). This state of affairs among the Ukrainian Galician parties was in favour of the Poles and Muscophiles, which undermined the chances of the national forces to obtain deputy mandates.

During the first round of voting on May 14, 1907, in electoral District No. 56, K. Tryliovskyi became the majority deputy, who received 29,270 votes. However, no minority deputy was elected, so the second round of elections took place on May 21, in which candidates T. Voinarovsky and V. Dudykevych competed. According to the results, T. Voinarovsky was elected a member of Parliament. Stefan Moysa-Rosokhatsky, a landowner of the Armenian origin, who was supported by representatives of the authorities and the Polish press, decided not to nominate his candidacy during the second round of elections (*Vybory*, 1907a, p. 1; *Vyslid vyboriv*, 1907, p. 4; Shevchenko, 2012–2013, p. 482).

Voting in District No. 55 between K. Tryliovskyi, National Democrat Yulian Romanchuk, V. Dudykevych, and Pole Tsipser took place in three stages – May 14, 21, and 28, 1907. In the last round of elections, Yu. Romanchuk became the majority deputy, who scored 14,948 votes, and the deputy of the minority was K. Tryliovskyi, for whom 13,577 thousand voters cast their votes. Due to his victory in two constituencies at once, the radical was forced to give up one deputy mandate in District No. 55 in favour of his deputy M. Lahodynkyi (*Vybory*, 1907a, p. 1; *Zahalnyi vyslid ponovnykh i tisiishykh vyboriv*, 1907, p. 1; *Zahalnyi vyslid tisiishykh vyboriv*, 1907, p. 2; *Ruski posly*, 1907, p. 1; *Makukh*, 2001, pp. 71–72; *Yakovliev*, 2014, p. 74).

In electoral District No. 59, voting took place in three stages – on May 16, 24, and 31, 1907. In this district, the candidates for deputies from the URP and the UNDP were significantly ahead of the Muscophile candidate Lev Alekseyevych and the representative of the Polish forces Adolf Tsensky. Social democrat Max Seinfeld, who received 2,426 votes in the first round of the elections, was weaker. According to the results of the last round of elections, L. Bachynskyi became the majority deputy, gaining 19,385 votes, and Ye. Levytskyi, who was supported by 16,732 voters, became the minority deputy (*Zahalnyi vyslid vyboriv z 17 maia*, 1907, p. 1; *Vyslid vyboriv*, 1907, p. 4; *Yeshche raz!*, 1907, p. 1; *Vybory v 1907-im rotsi*, 1911, pp. 4–5; *Paska*, 2017, p. 346; *Kapushchak & Korolko*, 2019, pp. 17–18).

According to the newspaper “The Dilo”, in the territory of Eastern Galicia, as a result of the elections of 1907, the Ukrainian political forces received a total of 534,213 votes (73.7%

of the total); including candidates from the URP won 64,897 votes (9% of the total). At the same time, the Polish and Jewish political forces scored only 184,302 votes (25.4%). Among the Ukrainian parties, the first place was taken by the UNDP (293,409 votes and 54.9%), the second place was taken by the Muscophiles (149,988 votes and 28.1%), the third place – by the Ukrainian People’s Party of Ukraine (64,897 votes and 12.1%), and the fourth place – by the USDP (25,919 votes and 4.9%) (Lozynskyi, 1911, pp. 1–2).

According to the results of all three rounds of elections, the Ukrainian political forces of Eastern Galicia received 27 deputy mandates (17 – the UNDP, 5 – the Muscophiles, 3 – the URP, 2 – the USDP), and 5 – Northern Bukovyna. As a result, L. Bachynskyi, K. Tryliovskiy and M. Lahodynskyi became deputies from the URP. In the spring of 1908, after the refusal of V. Okhrimovych’s deputy mandate, V. Stefanyk became the fourth URP representative in the Reichsrat. Such representation was great success for the URP. In “The Hromadsky Holos” it was noted that the URP deliberately did not nominate many candidates in order not to disperse its own forces, but to focus exclusively on a few candidates. This decision was also due to the lack of party finances, which were not enough to conduct pre-election campaigning at an appropriate level. The newspaper “The Dilo” reported on a rapid growth of the radicals’ positions on the territory of the Hutsul region, which, together with neighbouring counties, formed the so-called “mountain bastion” of URP dominance (Baran, 2013, p. 104; *Pered vyboramy*, 1907, p. 1; *Po vyborakh*, 1907, p. 1; 32 *ruskykh posliv*, 1907, p. 1; Korolko, 2014, p. 80; Korolko & Yakovliev, 2014, p. 41).

The Ukrainian deputies founded a joint faction in Parliament – the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club, whose leader was Yu. Romanchuk. This faction included 25 deputies, of which 17 were representatives of the UNDP, 3 – of the URP, and 5 – of Northern Bukovyna (Yaremchuk, 2012, pp. 262–263; Korolko & Paska, 2017, p. 92).

The next election campaign of 1911 to the supreme legislative body of Cisleithania was caused by a parliamentary crisis and national contradictions, which effectively paralyzed the activities of the Reichsrat. In particular, a number of draft laws, prepared by representatives of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club, related to current problems of Galician society, were not considered. Among them: introduction of a two-year military service, provision of safe working conditions for workers and permission for free activity of national and cultural associations. Therefore, on March 1, 1911, Emperor Franz Joseph I announced the dissolution of the Chamber of Ambassadors. In this situation, the Ukrainian political forces, including the URP, began preparations for the next elections. In his memoirs, Ivan Makukh noted that, compared to 1907, the URP organized this election campaign without much enthusiasm. The reason for this lack of enthusiasm, in his opinion, was the failure of the efforts of the Ukrainian deputies to achieve equality with the Poles in Eastern Galicia (Makukh, 2001, p. 143; Baran, 2013, p. 112).

On April 2, 1911, a meeting of the Main Board of the URP took place in Lviv, at which it was decided to start election campaigning and issue an appeal to the population of the region with a call to support the party during the elections. A corresponding appeal entitled “Appeal to our Peasant Voters!” was published in the newspaper “The Hromadsky Holos” on April 5, 1911. This document was signed by M. Lahodynskyi, L. Bachynskyi, K. Tryliovskiy, V. Stefanyk, S. Danylovykh, I. Makukh, Mykhailo Pavlyk, Pavlo Dumka, Ivan Sanduliak, Mykhailo Oliynyk, Mykhailo Yatskiv and Les Martovych. This message provided information about the reasons for the dissolution of the Chamber of Ambassadors and a brief description of the parliamentary work of radical deputies in 1907 – 1911. The

URP informed that during the new election campaign, compared to 1907, the number of candidates would be increased. To this end, the URP called on the population of the region to cast their votes for the radicals in order to obtain as many seats as possible in Parliament (Vidozva do nashykh selian vybortsiv!, 1911, p. 1; Zasedanie tisiishoho Zariadu, 1911, p. 2; Korolko, 2014, p. 80; Yakovliev, 2014, p. 76).

The list of candidates for URP deputies was agreed upon at the party meeting held on April 15, 1911 in Stanislaviv. Compared with 1907, the number of constituencies in which URP representatives were nominated increased from three to eight. Thus, in rural electoral Districts No. 55, party chairman (since December of 1910) M. Lahodynskyi (a deputy – Dmytro Kliufinskyi), No. 56 – K. Tryliovskyi (a deputy – Semen Valikhnovsky) and P. Lavruk (a deputy – Yuriy Melnychuk) were nominated as candidates. No. 58 – V. Stefanyk (a deputy – Ivan Raduliak), No. 59 – L. Bachynskyi (a deputy – M. Koroliuk), No. 64 (Lviv, Vynnyky, Shyrets, Horodok; hereafter – District No. 64) – L. Martovych, No. 65 (Sokal, Brody, Radekhiv, Zboriv, Mosty Velyki, Zalitsi, Lopatyn; hereafter – District No. 65) – S. Danylovych (a deputy of Oleksa Vynnykiv). Later, Ivan Tverdokhlib was nominated in District No. 60 (Buchach, Pidhaitsi, Monastyrska, Vyshnivchyk; hereinafter – District No. 60), L. Bachynskyi was nominated in District No. 68 (Kozova, Ternopil, Zbarazh, Nove Selo; hereinafter – District No. 68), and I. Makukh was appointed as his deputy (Nashi radykalni kandydatury, 1911, p. 5; Radykalni kandydatury, 1911, p. 1; Paska, 2019, p. 79; Tomczyk, 2007, p. 509).

In the pre-election political programme, the URP announced a course to achieve independence of the Ukrainian lands in the future; the introduction of socialism and complete elimination of the capitalist system; the transfer of landlord lands to the use of rural communities; suffrage for women; free access to education for all sections of the population. In the military sphere, the URP put forward demands for complete liquidation of the imperial army and creation of a people's militia for the defense of the region. The radicals proposed to resolve possible interstate conflicts through negotiations without the use of military force. The URP sought to achieve complete freedom of religion and independence of communities in the choice of clergy (Radykalna – a natsionalno-demokratychna programa, 1911, p. 1; Danylovych, 1911a, p. 1; Danylovych, 1911b, pp. 2–4).

For the URP, this election campaign, as in 1907, was accompanied by the holding of crowded public meetings, at which the candidates for deputies represented their election slogans. In one of the notes published in the newspaper “The Hromadsky Holos”, the URP called on its supporters to pay special attention to this form of campaigning. “Let our whole region make a noise with eyes!” – it was claimed in the periodical magazine (Berim sia do vyborchoi borotby!, 1911, p. 2). The increase in the number of candidates for deputies, compared to the previous parliamentary elections, required activation of the party forces and resources.

Based on the materials of the periodical “The Hromadsky Holos” the number of public meetings organized by the radicals was monitored. We found the least amount of information about the support of I. Tverdokhlib and L. Martovych in Districts No. 60 and 64, respectively. About ten meetings were held in support of K. Tryliovskyi and P. Lavruk in District No. 56. A similar situation was observed in District No. 58, where V. Stefanyk was a candidate for a deputy. The current leader of the radicals, M. Lahodynskyi, in District No. 55 won recognition at 15 public meetings. The largest crowd was organized in support of L. Bachynskyi and S. Danylovych, respectively, in electoral Districts No. 59 and 65 (more than thirty in each) (Z vyborchoho rukhu, 1911a, pp. 2–3; Z vyborchoho rukhu, 1911b, p. 5; Z vyborchoho rukhu, 1911c, p. 2; Z vyborchoho rukhu, 1911e, pp. 4–5; Z vyborchoho rukhu, 1911f, p. 7).

During the elections, the Christian-Social Union led by O. Barvinsky and the Galician Muscophiles appeared in the bloc with the Polish political forces (Baran, 2013, p. 113). The most influential Ukrainian Galician parties the UNDP and the URP could not reach a compromise between themselves. Instead, the radicals were able to come to an understanding with the Social Democrats and started a joint election campaign with them. For example, in District No. 70 (Skalat, Pidvolochysk, Kopychyntsi, Husiatyn), radicals campaigned for the USDP member Volodymyr Temnytsky, whose opponent was a national democrat Mykhailo Petrytsky. (*Z vyborchoho rukhu*, 1911d, pp. 3–4). On June 14, 1911, in electoral District No. 68, the radical L. Bachynskyi withdrew his candidacy in favour of the social democrat Yatsko Ostapchuk (*Z vyborchoho rukhu*, 1911g, p. 4).

The lack of mutual understanding between the URP and the UNDP led to contradictions in the coordination of candidates in election District No. 56. K. Tryliovsky and P. Lavruk were elected candidates of the URP. The National Democrats did not support such decision of the radicals and nominated their candidate Zakhar Skvarko in this district. The newspapers “*The Svoboda*” and “*The Dilo*” published a series of critical notes and articles directed against P. Lavruk. It was claimed that on one of the meetings the radical allegedly stated that the Ukrainians did not need to seek the opening of the Ukrainian university in Lviv. For the National Democrats, this was evidence of the alleged “great political immaturity” of the politician. In their opinion, the peasant could not be elected as a member of Parliament due to his lack of knowledge of the German language and lack of proper education. In turn, on the pages of “*The Hromadsky Holos*”, it was claimed that the UNDP tried to prevent a representative of the peasantry from entering Parliament in this way. In this situation, the URP called on the population not to vote for Z. Skvarko, but to support the candidates K. Tryliovskyi and P. Lavruk (*Radykalnyi kandydat*, 1911, p. 5; *Vyborchyi rukh*, 1911a, p. 7; *Chy posol mozhe buty nevchenyi?*, 1911, p. 2; *Novynky*, 1911, p. 6).

Similar misunderstandings were also observed in election District No. 59, where L. Bachynskyi was a candidate for a deputy from the URP. The National Democrats demanded from L. Bachynskyi to stop his campaigning in Bohorodchansky district, which, in their opinion, should have been only in the preference of Ye. Levytskyi (*Vyborchyi rukh*, 1911b, p. 4). The radicals and national democrats could not reach an agreement on the issue of nominating candidates in District No. 64. Former Reichsrat deputy, national democrat Yosyp Fols and a member of the USDP Mykola Hankevych were appointed the Ukrainian candidates. In turn, the URP nominated the third candidate – L. Martovych. According to the radicals, Yo. Fols did not enjoy high authority in society, and therefore his obtaining a deputy mandate was in great doubt. However, due to pressure made by the Polish candidate Davyd Abrahamovych, as well as in order to prevent the scattering of votes, L. Martovych withdrew his candidacy in favour of other Ukrainian applicants in District No. 60, before the first round of elections, I. Tverdokhlib also decided to withdraw from the election contest in favour of the UNDP representative Viacheslav Budzinovskyi (*Pro nashi kandydaty*, 1911, p. 2; *Po pershim holosovaniu*, 1911, p. 2; Korolko & Yakovliev, 2014, p. 45).

Elections to the higher legislative body of Cisleytania in 19 rural electoral districts of Eastern Galicia were held in three stages – on June 19, 26, and July 3, 1911. According to their results, National Democrat Yu. Romanchuk became the deputy of the majority in District No. 55, who in the third round of voting won 14,802 votes. M. Lahodynskyi, for whom 13,722 voters cast their votes, was elected a deputy of the minority. During the voting, there was a threat of losing the mandate of the head of the URP in favour of the Pole Jan

Zaranski, who received 1,375 votes less than M. Lahodynskyi. The URP achieved the best election results in District No. 56. In this district, in the course of three rounds of voting, two radicals won at once – K. Tryliovskiy (14,600 votes) and P. Lavruk (12,657 votes). However, due to a rather significant support of the Polish candidate Alois Svoboda, who was ahead of P. Lavruk in the first round of voting, there was still a danger of losing one Ukrainian mandate. Therefore, after two rounds of voting, the National Democrats called on the voters of Z. Skvarko to vote for P. Lavruk. National Democrat T. Okunevskiy (17,967 votes) was elected as the majority deputy in electoral District No. 58, and V. Stefanyk (12,767 votes) as the minority deputy. As in the two previous constituencies, the radical's mandate was in danger of being lost to the pro-Polish candidate Marcin Kaliszczak. In this situation, after the publication of the results of the first round of elections, the newspaper "The Dilo" called on the voters of T. Okunevsky to cast 600 votes for V. Stefanyk. In 1907, as a result of elections in District No. 59, the radical L. Bachynskiy and the national democrat Ye. Levytskyi won. The URP representative was elected as the majority deputy and received 15,637 votes, while the minority deputy Ye. Levytskyi received 262 fewer votes. As a result of this election campaign, out of eight radical candidates, five people were elected to Parliament – M. Lahodynskyi, L. Bachynskiy, K. Tryliovskiy, P. Lavruk and V. Stefanyk. In total, Galician political forces won 26 parliamentary seats. Of them, the UNDP received 18 mandates, the URP – 5, the Muscophiles – 2 and the USDP – 1 (Vybory, 1911b, p. 4; Vybory, 1911c, pp. 5–6; Po pershim holosovaniu, 1911, p. 2–3; Po druhim holosovaniu, 1911, p. 2–3; Po tretim holosovaniu, 1911, p. 3; Paska, 2017, p. 348).

According to the newspaper "The Dilo", in the territory of Eastern Galicia, according to the results of the 1911 elections, the Ukrainian political forces received 470,018 votes (69.1% of the total); including candidates from the URP won 56,897 votes (8.5% of the total). At the same time, the Polish and Jewish political forces – 203,109 votes (29.9%). Among the Ukrainian political forces, the first place was taken by the UNDP (279,093 votes and 59.4%), the second place – by Muscophiles (118,470 votes and 25.2%), the third place was occupied by the Ukrainian People's Party of Ukraine (56,897 votes and 12.1%), and the fourth place – by the USDP (15,558 votes and 3.3%) (Lozynskiy, 1911, pp. 1–2). As compared to the elections of 1907, there was a general decline in support for the Ukrainian political parties in favour of the Polish and Jewish ones. According to the researcher O. Sukhyi, this state of affairs was primarily connected with increased interference in the course of the election campaign on the part of the authorities that were under Polish control, with a greater number of election abuses and manipulations. The growing authority of the People's Democratic Party of Poland led by Roman Dmowski and the desire of the Poles to consolidate their position in Eastern Galicia were also important. A slight drop in the absolute and relative numbers of votes cast for the URP can be explained by the party's lower activity during the election campaign, lack of funding, and interpersonal conflicts within the URP. Nevertheless, even under such difficult conditions, despite the decrease in the number of votes cast for the radicals, the party managed to send even more ambassadors to Parliament than in 1907 (Lozynskiy, 1911, pp. 1–2; Sukhyi, 1999, pp. 178–180; Pro shcho radyv radykalnyi zizd u Lvovi?, 1912, pp. 3–4).

After being elected to Parliament of Cisleytania, the radical deputies created their own Ukrainian radical club, which was headed by M. Lahodynskyi, K. Tryliovskiy was elected as his deputy, and L. Bachynskiy as his secretary. This decision was caused by misunderstandings between the URP and the UNDP. The radicals criticized the National Democrats for their

efforts to cooperate with the government circles of Austria-Hungary. However, in order to prevent the final separation of the Ukrainian parliamentary faction, the radicals joined the Ukrainian Parliamentary Union, led by the member of the UNDP, Kost Levytskyi. In addition to national democrats and radicals, this association also included deputies from Northern Bukovyna (Ukrainskyi radykalnyi klub, 1911, 19 lypnia, p. 2; Korolko, Paska, 2017, p. 94).

The Conclusion. The introduction of universal suffrage to the Reichsrat improved the position of Galician political parties significantly, which was manifested during the election campaigns of 1907 and 1911. With the aim of sending its representatives to Parliament of Cisleithania, the URP joined the electoral movement actively. During these two campaigns the key forms of agitation were the organization of a secular movement (mainly in rural areas) and the publication of the party's printed organ, the newspaper "The Hromadsky Holos", which published detailed information about the prerequisites, course and consequences of the elections of 1907 and 1911. The core of the URP's electoral base was the peasantry and rural intelligentsia. The highest level of support for the radicals was observed in Kolomyisky, Tovmatsky, Horodenkivsky, Nadvirnyansky, Kosivsky, and Stanislavivsky districts of Eastern Galicia. In 1907 and 1911 the most active election campaigns were carried out by the radical candidates L. Bachynskyi, K. Tryliovskiy and M. Lahodynskyi. During the elections of 1911, compared to the previous campaign, there was a slight decrease in the popularity of the URP, which was caused by intra-party misunderstandings, financial difficulties and a decline in enthusiasm among rank-and-file party members. Conflicts between the leading Ukrainian political parties of the region had a negative impact on the election results. In some cases, there were attempts of the radicals to cooperate with the UNDP and the USDP in order to unite their efforts in opposing the Polish political forces. According to the results of the elections on the eve of World War I, with an electoral core of 8.5–9% of the region's voters, it was the third most influential Ukrainian political force in Eastern Galicia after the UNDP and the Muscophiles.

A promising direction for further scientific research is the study of the relationship between the URP and the Polish and Jewish political parties during the Reichsrat elections. The subject of comparison of pre-election tactics of various Ukrainian political forces in Eastern Galicia needs further research.

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