THE INFLUENCE OF THE UKRAINIAN POLITICAL ELITE ON SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE OF GALICIA IN THE LATE XIX – EARLY XX CENTURIES

Summary. The article considers the peculiarities of the political situation in Galicia in the late XIX – early XX centuries and demonstrates main directions and methods of governmental activity of Ukrainian political elites at the parliamentary and local levels, aimed at protecting the national interests of Ukrainians. Authors examine the role of the Ukrainian political elite, determined by the factors that had the impact on the formation of this social group and its influence on the development of the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia. The peculiarities of the evolution of the Austrian electoral system are revealed, as well as the role of political parties and church figures in the formation of Ukrainian parliamentarism. The factors that influenced the formation of the Ukrainian political elite and its influence on the development of the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia are identified. It has been established that correctly chosen goals and perseverance, close connection with the needs of the people allowed Galician Ukrainians to become an important player in the political struggle both in the empire overall and in Galicia in particular. The subject of research is – the influence of elites on public administration in Galicia.

Keywords: power, elite, political elite, Ukrainian intelligentsia, Galicia, parliament, Austrian empire, governmental policy.

Keywords: power, elite, political elite, Ukrainian intelligentsia, Galicia, parliament, Austrian empire, governmental policy.

Барциховська Л.Є., Шеремета О.М.
ФПО «Київський фаховий медичний коледж імені П.І. Гаврося»

ВПЛИВ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ ЕЛІТИ НА СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНЕ ЖИТТЯ ГАЛИЧИНИ КІНЦЯ XIX – ПОЧАТКУ XX ST.

Анотація. У статті досліджено особливості формування політичного середовища в Галичині наприкінці XIX – початку XX ст., вказано основні напрями та методи державної діяльності українських політичних еліт на парламентському та місцевому рівнях, спрямованої на захист національних інтересів українців. Авторами розглядається роль української політичної еліти, визначаються чинники, які вплинули на формування цього соціально-політичного середовища, визначено роль політичних партій та церковних діячів у формуванні західноукраїнського парламентаризму. Також розкрито особливості європейської демократії та її вплив на формування української національної держави. У Галичині відбувається розквіт державної діяльності, яка покликана змінювати суспільну психологію, передбачає розвиток української політичної еліти, що вплине на розвиток української держави.

Визначено фактори, які вплинули на формування української політичної еліти та її вплив на формування української національної держави в Галичині. Зазначено, що відсутність серед українців багатьох землевласників та представників буржуазії обумовлювало їх недолік в миттєвому здійсненні національної політики на рівні галицького сейму та Палати Послів австрійського парламенту. Життя вимагало від галицьких українців створення власної еліти, яка би була незалежна від австрійської влади, що змушувало його активно боротися за свої політичні і національні права. Визначено фактори, які вплинули на формування української політичної еліти та її вплив на формування української національної держави в Галичині.

Ключові слова: влада, еліта, політична еліта, українська інтелігенція, Галичина, парламент, Австрійська імперія, державна політика, політичні партії.
Polish and Ukrainian political parties in particular, what strategies would be preferable for the stability maintenance in a rather complex province such as Galicia. Only a few investigations have been made of these events, but there exist archive materials and the reminiscences of Ukrainian and Polish politics.

**Analysis of recent research and publications.** Historiography of this research is made up of the works of Ukrainian historians and jurists that contain important information on different aspects of parliamentarism in Galicia and Austrian-Hungarian empire, and they are the works of O. Arkusha, T. Tsiutsiura, Yu. Mykhalskyi, M. Mudryi and others.

**The purpose of the article** – justification of the theoretical statements and explanation of the practical actions of the political elite of Galicia aimed at the enforcement of the public influence on the government in Galicia.

**Presenting main material.** The revolutionary events in Central Eastern Europe and constitutional decentralisation reform in Habsburg monarchy in the second part of the XIX century contributed to enlivening of social and political life in the western Ukrainian territory. Galicia, being the most advanced Ukrainian province of the Austrian monarchy, enjoyed autonomy and the right of municipality. The political situation had a positive impact on western Ukrainians because after the revolution the constitution was proclaimed, which gave the folk of the empire some freedom.

As the election system was in its initial stage, Ukrainians looked at the election process as the usual whims of the rich. Ruthenians, as they then were called, didn't understand the importance of parliamentary methods of struggle for better life, more they counted on the Austrian caesar. They didn't realize that the central Austrian government would negotiate only with the party that would have won in the election. Ukrainian parliamentarians limited their speeches to the actualization of the problems of cultural, educational, religious and economic life. Ukrainian political parties had become the effective representatives of the national objectives, they used parliamentary methods as well as extra parliamentary ones to ensure social, economic, cultural, educational and religious needs of the Ukrainian statehood. Ivan Franko said that the young intelligentsia had begun its activity for the needs of its people [1, p. 128].

Later, due to the improvement of education, formation of the elite and growing of national consciousness, Galician Ukrainians woke up to political struggle.

Educational ideals of intelligentsia primarily had patriotic features.

The problem of first importance was the practical implementation of new education of people raised on traditional worldviews. The question of peasant children's education was very important, and so was the use of everyday Ukrainian language as a factor in national education.

Ukrainian intelligentsia faced fierce opposition from the Polish government while solving these problems. The Poles considered that preserving their power over Ukrainians on all levels in the province was the necessary condition of the state's revival in future. So they used any kind of abuse to save their government, especially in Eastern Galicia [2, p. 39].

The reality demanded that Galician Ukrainians created their own elite that would defend the interests of Ukrainians in Vienna court. Because the land was owned by Polish landlords, and the industry was still in its embryonic stage, Galicians decided to form an elite with the help of education. Therefore during 60-80ies of the XIX century Galician populists centered their efforts on the education of the Ukrainian people. They considered their task was to serve the Ukrainian people, and they believed it was a separate nation. The populists united the folk into communities and cultural educational institutions. The first professional theatre was founded in 1864 in Lviv, and in 1868 – the society “Prosivita”, which involved Ukrainians into social life, education and cultural heritage. Due to their activity new cooperatives and insurance companies were founded. In 1885 the populists founded a political organization – Narodna Rada. Their work was a success: the government agreed to give Ukrainians places in the Austrian parliament and Galician Sejm.

The famous Ukrainian historian Stepan Toshavskyi believed that science and education were the signs of a nation’s independence, the witness of its cultural maturity. More often Ukrainian intelligentsia raised the question of the development of native literature and the role of the language for Ukrainian identity. The Austrian government guided Ukrainian intelligentsia and Greek Catholic clergy in accelerating education up to the postulates of Ukrainian identity. Ukrainian intelligentsia played a significant role in the national cohesion and struggle for independence. Most clearly it was manifested in the activity of T. Shevchenko Scientific society, created in 1892 on the grounds of the literary community. It was an objective step to the foundation of the national science academy. The institution had become the main tool of national political development of Galicia.

But popular views of many Polish politicians were that Ukrainians (the so – called Ruthenians) didn’t exist as a nation, they were just the product of Austrian propaganda, aimed against the Poles. According to modern Polish scientists, it was the evidence that there existed fear that Vienna and Berlin would support Ukrainians, who sought the way to eliminate the Polish influence in Eastern Galicia. The policy of polonization had become one of the reasons that the Moscovite movement was formed in the second part of 1860ies, and it was oriented on the Russian empire.

They founded the political organization – Ruska Rada [4, p. 24].

At the same time, the Polish oppression mobilized Ukrainians for the defence of their rights. The political struggle of Ukrainians in the second part of the XX century was centered around solving two main questions: increasing the number of Ukrainian deputies to the Galician regional Sejm and Austrian reicherrat, and the reforming of the existing curial elective system into the universal suffrage.

In the 90-ies of the XIX century the national movement in Galicia had entered the political stage of its development. In 1890 Ruthenian-Ukrainian radical party was founded in Lviv which considered parliamentarism the main principle of its activity. In 1900 Kyrylo Tryliovskyi founded the “Sich” or-
organization, which united Ukrainian young people. In 1899 Ukrainian social-democratic party was founded, and it participated in the parliamentary elections. Also, in December 1899 on the initiative of M. Hrushevskyi, I. Franko, Yu. Romanchuk, K. Levytskyi Ukrainian national – democratic party was founded. Gradually, conscious masses were becoming the real basis of the Ukrainian national movement. Greek – Catholic clergy led by the metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi joined it. In his epistle “How to build a home” A. Sheptytskyi emphasized that the population of the country had the right to choose the government that would be able to defend their interests [5, p. 8].

Since then Polish politicians managed to hold the minimal number of Ukrainian representatives only due to systemic offence of the elections. The cases of voter’s bribery occurred. Yu. Romanchuk warned about such violations: “The strict implementation of the existing laws, implementation of the constructional rights is what I seek from the government... Freedom of the elections is the groundwork of any state”.

Galicia had experienced many elections, which, however, took place in the conditions of the property qualifications, as the constitution didn't provide free open election for the population of different provinces of the empire, neither did it for the Ukrainians of Galicia. The result of the agreement between the Austrian government and the Pole was that the latter got all the power in the province, as they had got a wider autonomy after the reforms of 1867. The state German language was substituted by the state Polish. The life of Ukrainians was getting even harder. The curial elections system in Galicia had substantially limited the Ukrainian representation, Ukrainian deputies couldn't influence on the political situation in the empire, neither on the local legislation and organisational activity because of constant opposition of the Polish deputies. As a result, Ukrainian politicians aimed their efforts at the change in the electoral legislation in Austro-Hungary to provide the population of Galicia the right to free universal suffrage. The deputies from Galicia sought to get some advantage in representation in the parliament, and their efforts were focused on it. As there weren't rich Ukrainian landowners or bourgeois, Ukrainians couldn't get the national lobby in the Galician Sejm and the House of Ambassadors in the Austrian parliament. We can define three groups of sources to give the rise to the Galician Ukrainian elite: intelligentsia (priests, teachers, officials, lawyers, doctors), peasant families and small Polish gentry.

Basically, the Ukrainian elite was formed of the representatives of peasant and priestly families. The highest Austrian officials assured Ukrainian deputies of .... Formally it served as the basis for the agreement that was called “The New Era”. It meant that the Ukrainian-Polish agreement had been transformed into the Ukrainian – Austrian – Polish one, and that the Ukrainian populists got wider access to the representative bodies. But the benefits for Ukrainians remained minimal. When Ukrainian deputies in January 1894 spoke about the importance of direct election from the rural communities, liberalization of the administration’s activity, the use of the regional budget for the needs of Ukrainians (schools, communities, institutions, the church), K. Badeni claimed he hadn't conducted any agreements and he was free to do whatever he pleased. So, after the rise of interest in Ukrainian affairs in 1887-1890, the actions of Vienna in realization of the agreement became indecisive and extremely careful [8, p. 51]. The change of the foreign political situation had a great impact on the realization of the Ukrainian requirements by the central and regional government. After the danger of the military conflict with Russia had been resolved, Vienna seemed to have lost interest in the Ukrainian question. Ukrainians couldn't count on the help of Vienna, so they appealed to Poles.

The question of the election reform became very intensive in Galicia in the early XX century. According to it, people had the opportunity to get the right to free, general, direct and secret voting. Not only Ukrainians felt it was important, but other peoples of the empire.

Under the pressure of numerous meetings held in different regions of Austro-Hungarian empire the prime minister M. Bek was forced to pass the law about the general voting right. The first election held in Galicia according to this law, gave the Ukrainians of Galicia 27 mandates, total number of the parliamentarians being 516. The law also contributed to the enlivening of the political life of Galician Ukrainians.

The elections of 1907 and 1911 were held under the new law.

Among the politics which worked in Lviv and became MP's, were the national democrats: V. Buzynovskyy (the employee of the newspaper “Dilo”, S. Dnistrianskiy (Professor of Lviv University), the priest Y. Polys, O. Kolesa (Professor of Lviv University), K. Levytskyi (lawyer in Lviv), V. Okhrimovych (editor of “Dilo”), M. Petrytskyi (editor of the digest Haidamakyy), Y. Romanchuk (Professor of Lviv gymnasmium), the socialist S. Vityk (editor of the social-democratic digest “Zemia i Volia”). The results of the elections of 1912 showed a similar ratio of Ukrainian parliamentary representation [9, p. 53].

Greek Catholic clergy played a special part in creating the Ukrainian elite. In his pastor's appeal to the people “About the elections to the parliament” in 1907 in Lviv Andrey Sheptytskyi stated that because the new law gave every adult person the right to vote, the people faced certain obligations, too. Electing representatives to Sejm, the voters had to keep in mind that a representative should be a patriot, a Christian, and a moral person. And the deputies had to remember the moral rules and act accordingly, as they had been chosen to represent the people and defend its interests.

Despite the conditions of terror in which all elections were held on the Galician lands, the number of Ukrainian representatives in Galician Sejm was growing constantly. The results of the election to Galician Sejm of June 30,1913, in which Ukrainians had got 31 mandates, showed high political consciousness of Ukrainian voters, and the desire to have their own representatives, able to understand the problems of the Ukrainian folk and defend its interests in Sejm.

In July 1914 the Austrian emperor Franz Joseph issued a new election law, dismissed Galician Sejm and appointed the new election for October 1914.
It could have been the beginning of Ukrainian autonomy in Galicia, sought by the Ukrainian elite of Austrian Hungary. But because of the beginning of the first world war the law had never been legalized.

**Conclusion.** So it may be concluded that in fact the Galician Ukrainians began a social political fight for their rights in extremely unfavorable conditions – without the financial support, without the leaders, not even having been recognized as a separate people of the empire. But the proper goals and persistence, close connection with the needs of the people allowed Galician Ukrainians to become strong players in the political struggle in the empire, as well as in Galicia.

**References:**
6. Promova posla Romanchuka (1897) [The speech of the Deputy Romanchuk]. Dilo, 1897, 7 sichnia.