

# Історія України

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31110/consensus/2025-02/029-039>

УДК (UDC) 325.457 (=161.2) (436) : 329.73 (477.83/.86) «1900/1907»

## THE NEWSPAPER «DILO» AS A SOURCE FOR STUDYING THE PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY OF ANDRII KOS

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### Abstract

**The purpose of the research** is to analyze the Ukrainian daily newspaper Dilo as a source for researching the parliamentary activity of Andrii Kos – one of the leading Ukrainian deputies to the Imperial Council of Austria-Hungary at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The focus is on identifying the role of the publication in informing the public about the activities of Ukrainian parliamentarians, particularly Kos, as well as reconstructing his political stance through journalistic, analytical, and stenographic materials.

**The research methodology** is grounded in the principles of historicism, narrative analysis, and source criticism. The primary source base consists of «Dilo» publications from 1897 to 1903, which recorded Kos's speeches, parliamentary inquiries, commentaries, and interpretations of his work. The study employs content analysis of parliamentary materials and thematic classification of Kos's statements regarding pressing social, national, and legal issues. Additional archival sources, memoirs, and historiographical literature are used to critically cross-reference the data.

**The scientific novelty.** For the first time in Ukrainian historiography, Dilo is analyzed as a coherent and systematic body of sources for reconstructing the political portrait of a specific Ukrainian parliamentarian within the Austro-Hungarian legislative system. The study identifies the specifics of how information was presented in the newspaper, the editorial board's ideological stance on Kos's key political initiatives, and the role of the press as an instrument for shaping public opinion and political culture in Halychyna.

**Conclusions.** The «Dilo» newspaper emerges not only as a source of factual information but also as an active participant in the political process – a voice of the national-democratic wing of the Ukrainian movement in Austria-Hungary. Its publications allow for the reconstruction of both the substantive aspects of Andrii Kos's parliamentary activity and the mechanisms of political

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communication between the deputy and the electorate. The analysis highlights key themes of his work, such as the defense of the Ukrainian language in the judiciary, criticism of fiscal policies affecting the peasantry, opposition to censorship, and advocacy against the feudal-era propinacja system. In public discourse, Andrii Kos appears both as a representative of socially marginalized groups and as an advocate for broader national emancipation of Ukrainians within the multiethnic empire. The results of this study may be useful for further research on the role of the press as a source of political history, as well as in developing topics related to the history of parliamentarianism and national representation of Ukrainians in the 19th and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

**Keywords:** Vienna Parliament, Andrii Kos, Ukrainian deputies, newspaper «Dilo», Halychyna, Austro-Hungary

## ГАЗЕТА «ДІЛО»

### ЯК ДЖЕРЕЛО ДО ВИВЧЕННЯ ПАРЛАМЕНТСЬКОЇ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ АНДРІЯ КОСА

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#### Анотація

**Метою статті** є аналіз української щоденної газети «Діло» як джерела до вивчення парламентської діяльності Андрія Коса – одного з провідних українських депутатів Державної ради Австро-Угорської монархії на межі 19–20 ст. У фокусі – виявлення ролі видання в інформуванні громадськості про діяльність українських парламентарів, зокрема Коса, а також реконструкція політичної позиції останнього через публіцистичні, аналітичні та стенографічні матеріали.

**Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, наративного аналізу та джерелознавчого методу. Основним джерельним масивом є публікації газети «Діло» за 1897–1903 роки, в яких зафіксовано виступи, депутатські запити, коментарі та інтерпретації діяльності А. Коса. У роботі здійснено контент-аналіз парламентських матеріалів і тематичну класифікацію заяв Коса щодо актуальних соціальних, національних і правових питань. Паралельно використано допоміжні архівні джерела, мемуарну та історіографічну літературу для критичного зіставлення інформації.

**Наукова новизна.** Уперше у вітчизняній історіографії газету «Діло» проаналізовано як цілісний та системний масив для реконструкції конкретного політичного портрета українського парламентаря в австро-угорській законодавчій системі. Виявлено специфіку подачі інформації у виданні, ідеологічне позиціонування редакції щодо ключових політичних

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ініціатив А. Коса, а також роль газети як інструменту формування громадської думки та національної політичної культури в Галичині.

**Висновки.** Газета «Діло» постає не лише як джерело фактологічної інформації, але й як активний учасник політичного процесу – рупор національно-демократичного крила українського руху в Австро-Угорщині. Її публікації дають змогу відтворити як змістовий аспект парламентської діяльності Андрія Коса, так і механізми політичної комунікації між депутатом і виборцями. Аналіз матеріалів видання дозволяє висвітлити такі ключові теми його діяльності, як захист української мови в судочинстві, критика фіскальної політики щодо селянства, боротьба з цензурою та виступи проти пропінаційного права. У публічному дискурсі Андрій Кос постає як речник соціально маргіналізованих верств і водночас – як учасник ширшої боротьби за національну емансипацію українців у межах багатонаціональної імперії. Отримані результати можуть бути використані для подальших досліджень ролі преси як джерела політичної історії, а також для розробки тем з історії парламентаризму та національного представництва українців у 19-20 ст.

**Ключові слова:** Віденський парламент, Андрій Кос, українські депутати, часопис «Діло», Галичина, Австро-Угорщина

**Цитування:** Кліш, А. & Зуляк, І. (2025). Газета «Діло» як джерело до вивчення парламентської діяльності Андрія Коса. *Консенсус*, 2, 29-39. <https://doi.org/10.3110/consensus/2025-02/029-039>

**URL:** <https://konsensus.net.ua/index.php/konsensus/article/view/166>

**Problem statement.** In the second half of the 19th and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Ukrainian press played a crucial role in shaping national consciousness, political culture, and the mobilization of civil society in Halychyna. A particularly prominent role in this process was played by the daily newspaper «Dilo», which for decades remained the leading printed organ of the Ukrainian national movement and an important channel of political communication between voters and their representatives in the Vienna Parliament.

One of the active figures regularly featured in «Dilo» was Andrii Kos – a Ukrainian deputy of the Vienna Parliament, public figure, and lawyer. His parliamentary work encompassed a wide range of issues, including social inequality, tax policy, the condition of the Ukrainian peasantry, and interethnic relations within the multiethnic environment of the monarchy. Reports, transcripts, analytical commentary, and journalistic materials dedicated to A. Kos's speeches and initiatives provide a valuable source base for reconstructing the political context of his activity.

Andrii Kos (1860-1918) was a Ukrainian socio-political figure, lawyer, Doctor of Law, and a deputy of the Imperial Council of Austria-Hungary (1901-1907). He received his education at the Lviv Academic Gymnasium and the law faculties of Lviv and Vienna Universities. After earning his doctoral degree in 1889, he actively practiced law, particularly in Lviv and Kalush, where he also engaged in extensive civic work. In Parliament, Kos was a member of the National Democratic faction within the «Ruthenian Club», consistently advocating for the interests of the Ukrainian peasantry, national-cultural autonomy, and social justice. He was a co-editor of the «Ruthenische Revue»

journal in Vienna, one of the founders of «Ukrainske Dilo», and the initiator of the Peasants' Bank in Kalush. His work extended into both political and cultural-educational spheres, including active participation in the «Prosvita» society.

**Analysis of recent research and publications.** The declared issue has not been systematically or comprehensively studied by scholars. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge the works of H. Binder<sup>1</sup>, A. Baran<sup>2</sup>, M. Kaziuk and O. Huchak<sup>3</sup>, K. Kurylyshyn<sup>4</sup>, I. Monolatii<sup>5</sup> and Yu. Plekhan<sup>6</sup>. However, the problem identified in this article has been scarcely analyzed, which constitutes the scholarly novelty of this study.

The primary source used in the research is the newspaper «Dilo», which consistently covered the activities of Ukrainian deputies, including Andrii Kos, in the Vienna Parliament. The materials of this publication provide detailed information about their political activity, interaction with fellow parliamentarians and voters, as well as the public's response to their work.

The aim of this article is to analyze the parliamentary activity of Andrii Kos in the Vienna Parliament based on the materials of «Dilo», and to define the main directions of his political engagement. The research seeks to highlight Kos's role in parliamentary debates, their impact on legislative processes, and the defense of Ukrainian national rights within the multiethnic context of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

**Presentation of the main material.** As a result of parliamentary elections in the Kalush-Dolyna-Zhydachiv-Bibrka-Stryi-Turka constituency, the winning candidate was Andrii Kos, who secured 466 votes – 38 more than his main opponent, Raiowski, who garnered 428 votes. Thus, Kos achieved an overall victory, winning in four out of six sub-districts, indicating a relatively even distribution of electoral support throughout the constituency.

An analysis of the voting results in individual administrative units reveals Kos's wins in Kalush (+51 votes), Dolyna (+37), Zhydachiv (+17), and Bibrka (+11), while he was defeated in Stryi (-31) and Turka (-47). Raiowski showed his strongest result in Turka, receiving 83

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<sup>1</sup> Binder H. Galizien in Wien: Parteien, Wahlen, Fraktionen und Abgeordnete im Übergang zur Massenpolitik. Studien zur Geschichte der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie, 29. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft en, 2005. 741 p.

<sup>2</sup> Баран А.В. Діяльність депутатів-українців в австрійському парламенті (1897-1918 рр.): історико-правове дослідження: дис... кандидата юридичних наук: 12.00.01 – теорія та історія держави і права; історія політичних і правових учень / Національний університет «Львівська політехніка». Львів, 2013. 229 с.

<sup>3</sup> Казюк М., Гучак О. Діяльність українських депутатів у Віденському парламенті наприкінці ХІХ ст. (за матеріалами часопису «Діло»). *Актуальні питання у сучасній науці* (Серія «Педагогіка», Серія «Право», Серія Економіка», Серія «Державне управління», Серія «Техніка», Серія «Історія та археологія»). 2024. Випуск № 8 (26). С. 1169–1182. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.52058/2786-6300-2024-8\(26\)-1169-1182](https://doi.org/10.52058/2786-6300-2024-8(26)-1169-1182)

<sup>4</sup> Курилишин К. Часопис «Діло» (Львів, 1880-1939 рр.): матеріали до біобліографістики. Дрогобич: Коло, 2018. Т. 4: 1900-1904 рр. 824 с.

<sup>5</sup> Монолатій І.С. Політична участь етнічних акторів пізньогабсбурзьких Галичини і Буковини. Івано-Франківськ: Лілея-НВ, 2012. 432 с.

<sup>6</sup> Плекан Ю. Перший досвід парламентаризму: українці – депутати австрійського парламенту та галицького крайового сейму (1848-1918). Довідник. Івано-Франківськ: Видавець Третяк І.Я, 2012. 140 с.

votes to Kos's 36-more than double his opponent's count. This suggests a localized concentration of electoral support for Raiowski, in contrast to the broader geographic distribution of Kos's supporters.

Thus, Kos managed to maintain a stable electoral advantage in the majority of sub-districts, demonstrating broad regional support despite losses in Stryi and Turka. Unlike Kos, Raiowski achieved noticeable success only in select local areas. This imbalance in the geography of support points to Kos's strategic advantage, as his candidacy was marked by a more balanced coverage of the electoral space, which proved to be a decisive factor in his victory<sup>7</sup>.

During the electoral process, an incident was recorded in which six votes cast in support of the Ukrainian candidate Andrii Kos were formally annulled on procedural grounds. Electoral commissions deemed these ballots invalid because the candidate's name was written as «Андрей», whereas the official legal form, as required by electoral law, was «Андрый»<sup>8</sup>. This case illustrates the rigid formalism of the electoral procedure and the use of technical criteria to influence the voting outcome, which, in turn, could have been significant in the context of a competitive election.

During the parliamentary debates on February 14, 1901, which focused on the address to the emperor, Andrii Kos delivered a speech in which he clearly articulated the national question as a central and urgent issue for the Ukrainian population within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In his address, Kos emphasized that the political, cultural, and socio-economic status of Ukrainians in Halychyna was largely discriminatory compared to other nationalities in the empire. He strongly urged recognition of the urgency of the Ukrainian question as a matter of national importance, requiring systematic and fair resolution by the central authorities.

In particular, Kos drew attention to legal inequality, restrictions on voting rights, underrepresentation of Ukrainians in political institutions, and the chronic neglect of their educational and cultural rights.

Particularly sharp was Andrii Kos's criticism of the government policies of former Prime Minister Kazimierz Badeni, which he interpreted as a deliberate strategy to suppress democratic transformations and legitimize systemic inequality. In his speech, Kos accused the government of sabotaging the constitutional process, discrediting the electoral mechanism, and restricting civil liberties, particularly the freedom of political expression. In this context, A. Kos's address was not only a parliamentary protest but also a striking manifestation of the political radicalism of the Ukrainian representation, reflecting the growing disillusionment with the imperial institutions' ability to safeguard the basic social and national rights of the Ukrainian population<sup>9</sup>. Thus, his speech represented not only an

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<sup>7</sup> У курія // Дьло Ч. 271 24 (1) грудня 1900. С. 1.

<sup>8</sup> По выборах зъ V куріи // Дьло. 1900. Ч. 272. 24 (1) грудня. С. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Бєсьда посла д-ра А. Коса при дебатъ адресовѣй // Дьло. 1901. Ч. 32. 10 (23) лютого. С. 1; Бєсьда посла д-ра А. Коса при дебатъ адресовѣй // Дьло. 1901. Ч. 33. 12 (25) лютого. С. 1-2.

act of political defiance but also a sign of the growing national consciousness among the Ukrainian intelligentsia at the turn of the century.

In a lengthy parliamentary speech that lasted approximately three hours, Deputy Kos delivered a well-substantiated critique of the government's initiative to raise the excise tax rate on alcoholic beverages. In his position, the parliamentarian focused on the socio-economic consequences of the proposed fiscal policy, characterizing it as one that would intensify the financial burden on the most vulnerable segments of the population while indirectly supporting the interests of economically privileged groups.

Kos consistently argued that the implementation of such fiscal measures would have a pronounced socio-stratification effect: rather than contributing to economic balance, they would deepen existing social inequalities. Specifically, he emphasized that raising the excise tax on alcohol would lead to an increase in the retail price of primarily low-cost alcoholic beverages, particularly vodka, which remained relatively affordable for economically disadvantaged populations. In his view, this would result in the main financial burden of the reform falling on socially vulnerable groups—namely, the rural population, low-paid workers, and small-scale laborers.

At the same time, the impact of the proposed changes on consumers of more expensive and imported alcoholic beverages—namely, the more affluent social strata—would be minimal or negligible. Based on this, Kos concluded that such a fiscal policy contradicted the principles of social justice and contributed to further socio-economic stratification in society.

In his speech, A. Kos offered a critical analysis of the financial and economic policies pursued by the Galician Provincial Bank and the credit cooperative. His focus was on the limited effectiveness of these institutions in providing social protection for the underprivileged peasantry – a key productive segment of the Ukrainian population in Halychyna at the time.

Particularly concerning for the parliamentarian was the initiative to introduce a rent tax, which he viewed as a mechanism for shifting the tax burden onto small borrowers and debtors. According to A. Kos, in the context of sustained financial privileges for large landowners, such a taxation system effectively undermined the principles of social justice. In his arguments, he consistently demonstrated that the proposed legislation had a distinctly class-based character, as it encouraged capital concentration in the hands of the economic elite while further marginalizing the most vulnerable groups within the rural population<sup>10</sup>.

A. Kos's position was not only indicative of his deep understanding of socio-economic processes but also reflected his commitment to shaping a more equitable tax policy within the framework of parliamentary activity. Thus, his speech had both economic

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<sup>10</sup> Выступъ посла д-ра Коса въ податковій комісії // Дѣло. 1901. Ч. 50. 3 (16) марта. С. 1-2; Промова посла д-ра Коса при дебати надъ зміною рентового податку // Дѣло. 1901. Ч. 62. 17 (30) марта. С. 2; Промова посла д-ра Коса при дебати надъ зміною рентового податку // Дѣло. 1901. Ч. 63. 19 марта (1 цвѣтня). С. 2.

and social resonance, raising critical questions about balancing the interests of the elites and the broader population in the process of financial regulation.

Continuing his critical address, A. Kos also raised the issue of the persistence of archaic institutions in the production and distribution of alcoholic products – specifically, remnants of feudal origin such as the right of propinacja (propination), which remained in force in the territories of Halychyna and Bukovyna. Although the formal abolition of this institution had been established by the laws of December 30, 1875, and December 8, 1877 – providing for the termination of propination rights as of December 29, 1877 – in practice, Polish landowners continued to exercise their monopoly over the establishment of distilleries and taverns. Kos emphasized several systemic flaws in the aforementioned legislative acts, particularly their limited duration (25 years) and the continuing economic dependency of the peasantry on the local aristocracy.

Beyond the legal aspects, Kos's speech took on an overtly political tone. In particular, he accused Czech parliamentarians of colluding with the Polish nobility in supporting reforms to alcohol taxation. This statement generated considerable resonance and quickly evolved into rhetoric of an anti-Slavic nature, revealing an alignment with pan-Germanist positions. The speech provoked a wave of protest, including among Ukrainian deputies, who – despite political differences – expressed solidarity with their Czech colleagues in response to the nationalistic invectives. In view of the repeated deviations from the agenda and the growing tensions in the chamber, the presiding officer was ultimately compelled to revoke Kos's right to speak. The incident became a notable example of interethnic conflict within the context of late 19th-century parliamentary debate<sup>11</sup>.

The issue of the right of propinacja was finally resolved through the Regional Law «On Measures Regarding the Termination of the Right of Propinacja», adopted on December 20, 1905. This law introduced a mandatory annual fee of 7,000,000 crowns for entrepreneurs in Halychyna engaged in public catering and the sale of alcoholic and low-alcohol beverages. Additionally, it stipulated a separate payment for beer sales until 1912. The law regulated the mechanism for collecting and utilizing these funds, representing a significant step toward overcoming the monopolistic influence of Polish landowners in this sector. Undoubtedly, this legislation settled the issue of propinacja by establishing consistent annual levies on alcohol vendors, thereby contributing to the elimination of socio-economic inequality in this field.

In his speech delivered on March 3, 1902, in the Imperial Council, A. Kos focused primarily on the socio-economic conditions of the Ukrainian population in Halychyna, particularly in the context of rising unemployment, intensifying emigration, legal uncertainty, and repressive administrative practices. His arguments were grounded in the principles of social and national equality, which, in his view, were not being upheld by the current state policies. In this sense, A. Kos's address serves as a vivid example of public

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<sup>11</sup> 3 парламентарної ниви // Руслан. Ч. 100. 4 (17) мая 1901. С. 2.

discourse that shaped the political consciousness of the intelligentsia and called for the active defense of national rights within the multiethnic Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

A central theme of the speech was criticism of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy's administrative policy toward the Ukrainian population. Kos emphasized the systemic exclusion of Ukrainians from state institutions and the discriminatory practices in education and public administration. In his rhetoric, the bureaucratic apparatus emerges as an instrument of cultural assimilation and political repression, undermining Ukrainians' right to participate actively in state-building processes<sup>12</sup>.

A significant portion of the speech was devoted to the issue of civil rights and liberties, especially electoral rights. Kos strongly advocated for active public participation in the electoral process, which he viewed as a tool of democratic oversight over the authorities. In this regard, his speech reflects the evolution of Ukrainian political thought, which sought to integrate the national idea into the broader context of empire-wide democratic transformation.

During the harvest season of 1902, mass peasant strikes erupted across Eastern Halychyna. The primary cause was the dire material conditions of hired agricultural laborers, particularly the extremely low wages paid on manor estates. Men employed in fieldwork received between 30 and 60 sotyks per day, while women earned only 20 to 30 sotyks, despite workdays often lasting up to 18 hours. An additional economic burden on peasant households was the necessity for workers to supply their own food while laboring in the fields, which significantly increased everyday household expenses<sup>13</sup>.

The discussion of the agricultural strike during a session of the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Council took on the tone of sharp national-political confrontation, reflecting the deep social and ethnic divisions in the region. The speech delivered by Member of Parliament A. Kos made a notable contribution to the debate, as he raised one of its central issues—the reliability of the official information used as the basis for government decisions concerning the strike.

In his statements, A. Kos emphasized the biased nature of the sources from which reports of allegedly high income levels among the striking peasants had been drawn. He particularly underscored that such information did not come from the strikers themselves or from independent observers, but rather from county prefects, who based their reports on statements from large landowners. These landowners, Kos argued, had a direct interest in maintaining the existing socio-economic order and in discrediting the strike movement<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Бесіда п. д-ра Коса виголошена в державній раді д. 3 марта 1902 при спеціальній дебати бюджетовій про політичну управу Галичини // Дьло. Ч. 43. 22 лютого (7 марта) 1902. С. 1; Бесіда п. д-ра Коса виголошена в державній раді д. 3 марта 1902 при спеціальній дебати бюджетовій про політичну управу Галичини // Дьло. Ч. 44. 23 лютого (8 марта) 1902. С. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Ільницький В.І., Старка В.В. Страйки сільського населення Східної Галичини 1902-1903 років як засіб боротьби за економічні та політичні права. *Новітня доба*. 2021. Вип. 9. С. 8-9.

<sup>14</sup> З державної ради // Діло. Ч. 235. 18. (31.) жовтня 1902. С. 1.

Thus, A. Kos presented well-reasoned arguments that questioned the objectivity of the state's assessment of the strike events, pointing to the systemic one-sidedness of the administrative narrative. His speech reflected not only the political tensions surrounding the strike but also an attempt to initiate a broader discussion about the mechanisms of legitimizing power during times of social conflict.

On June 2, 1902, A. Kos submitted an official inquiry regarding the confiscation of an issue of the «Dilo», which had occurred following the publication of an article titled «The Denial of Provincial Subsidy to Prosvita»<sup>15</sup>. In his inquiry, Kos raised concerns about the legality of the administration's actions in restricting press freedom and the public reporting of decisions made by provincial authorities. He viewed this incident as an act of censorship aimed at suppressing the Ukrainian press and preventing open criticism of policies affecting Ukrainian educational and cultural institutions.

Kos also submitted a parliamentary inquiry concerning the confiscation of issues of the Ukrainian newspapers «Dilo» and «Svoboda»<sup>16</sup>. These administrative actions were related to the publication of articles that, in the opinion of the censorship authorities, carried politically threatening or subversive content. In his inquiry, Kos questioned the abuse of administrative censorship mechanisms targeting the Ukrainian press, emphasizing violations of the principles of freedom of speech and the right of the public to access information. This episode serves as evidence of a broader issue – the systemic restriction of the Ukrainian information space within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy – as well as a testament to the efforts of Ukrainian representatives to defend the national media environment.

One of the important directions in Andrii Kos's parliamentary activity was the defense of the rights of the Ukrainian language in public and administrative spheres. Notably, he initiated a parliamentary inquiry concerning the official use of the Ukrainian language in the judiciary of Eastern Halychyna<sup>17</sup>. This inquiry aimed to address the situation in which the predominantly Ukrainian-speaking population was compelled to interact with court institutions operating exclusively in Polish or German. Kos's initiative reflects the broader discourse surrounding the struggle for language rights and cultural autonomy for Ukrainians within the multiethnic Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

One of the key forms of political communication between parliamentarians and their electorate in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was the public meeting, which served as a platform to discuss both local socio-economic issues and matters of national and international significance. On October 13, 1902, such a meeting took place in the town of Kalush, attended by members of the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Council Yuliiian Romanchuk and Andrii Kos.

In his speech, A. Kos focused on the critical condition of the Ukrainian peasantry, noting that around two-thirds of peasants had effectively lost their land rights and had become an agricultural proletariat. The parliamentarian emphasized that the protection of

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<sup>15</sup> Справа «Просьвіти» в парламентах // Діло. Ч. 120. 30 мая (12 червня) 1902. С. 1-2.

<sup>16</sup> Письма з Відня // Діло. Ч. 44. 24 лютого (9 марта) 1903. С. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Рада державна // Діло. Ч. 25. 1 (14) лютого 1903. С. 1-2.

the economic and social rights of the peasantry was a top priority of his work in the Viennese parliament. He paid particular attention to the topic of agricultural strikes in Halychyna, stressing that unlike in Austria-Hungary, strike action in most European countries was not banned, but recognized as a legitimate form of social protest. Kos concluded his speech with an emotional appeal to the peasants not to abandon strike action, characterizing it as an effective tool for defending their rights<sup>18</sup>.

**Conclusions.** The study of materials from the newspaper «Dilo» revealed its significant value as a source for reconstructing the parliamentary activities of Andrii Kos – one of the prominent Ukrainian deputies to the Imperial Council of Austria-Hungary at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. An analysis of the publications demonstrated that «Dilo» not only regularly and thoroughly covered A. Kos's speeches, initiatives, and political positions, but also shaped public perception of his work among Ukrainian readers.

The newspaper functioned as an informational, analytical, and ideological platform through which Andrii Kos's activities took on a public dimension. Reports from parliamentary sessions, reprints of transcripts, political commentary, and editorial articles allow researchers not only to reconstruct specific aspects of his parliamentary engagement, but also to trace changes in rhetoric, argumentative strategies, and the degree of influence external political factors had on the positions of Ukrainian parliamentarians.

Thus, «Dilo» serves as a valuable – albeit ideologically tinged – source that combines both documentary and journalistic qualities and is an important tool for scholars studying Ukrainian political life within Austria-Hungary. The study of this source opens new perspectives for further research, particularly regarding the interrelation between the press, public opinion, and political representation of Ukrainians in a multinational imperial context.

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<sup>18</sup> Посли Романчук і д-р Кос перед виборцями // Діло. Ч. 224. 5(18) жовтня 1902. С. 1.

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