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**KONSTANTIN PRESLAVSKY
UNIVERSITY**

50 years writing history together

Faculty of Humanities

Department of „History and Archaeology”

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AUTO ESSAY

on a dissertation work

to acquire the educational and scientific degree of

„Doctor”

The Liberal (“Radoslavist”) Party

(1908-1912)

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This dissertation work was discussed and directed for defense at a meeting of the Department of “History and Archaeology” as a part of the Humanitarian Sciences Faculty of the University in Shumen “Bishop Konstantin Preslavsky”, which was held on May 12th, 2021.

The dissertation work consists of an introduction, three chapters with a total of eight paragraphs, a conclusion and a bibliographic reference, concerning the used sources and researches as well as ten appendices. It consists of 444 pages in A4 format.

The public defence of the dissertation work is scheduled to take place on July 15th, 2021, at 2 PM in hall 309, Building 1 ("The Rector's Office") of the University in Shumen “Bishop Konstantin Preslavsky”, 115 “Universitetska” street.

The materials for the procedure of defence are available every working day from 9 AM to 4 PM in Shumen University “Bishop Konstantin Preslavsky”, in the city of Shumen, 115 “Universitetska”

street (“The Rector's Office”), office number 107.

The liberal party of Dr. Vasil Radoslavov has a long history, right from its appearance on the political scene in the year 1886 up to the unification of the three liberal parties into the National-liberal party in 1920. There have been amassed numerous materials about its activities; nevertheless, it was not at the focus of the research interest until the 80ies of the past century. One of the reasons for this was that it had the infamous reputation of being one of the culprits of the second national catastrophe. The other reason was that at the end of the 40ies of the 20th century the researchers imposed an evaluation of it as consisting of hoodlums and career-seekers “Radoslavists”, being ready to do anything for the sake of assuming power at all costs. This attitude was formed under the influence of the publications of the Bulgarian socialists headed by D. Blagoev. The negative evaluation of its activities in some memoirs of Russophiles contributed to that, since they were political opponents of the Liberals.

The “Radoslavists” were presented in tremendously negative concept until the middle of the 80ies of the past century and the peak of that attitude was the definition of their party by St. Grancharov as “the embodiment of the most negative aspects of the political processes in Bulgaria”. This tendency however, changed during the following years.

There began an active research of some problems in the history of the Liberal (“Radoslavist”) party at the beginning of the 90ies of the 20th century. Until now, its organisational state and political activities have been researched profoundly during the period between the years 1886 till 1908 and only partially during the years 1913-1918. There has been analysed the work of the Third National Court against the ministers of the cabinet of Dr. V. Radoslavov, as well as some aspects of the program documents of the party. Many of the old evaluations were changed. The basic scientific results were published in the works of B. Georgiev, M. Palangursky, T. Galunov, D. Sazdov and P.

Kishkilova.

There have been considerable achievements in the scientific work; nevertheless, a part of the history of the Liberal party has remained not so well researched until the present moment. The period between the years 1908-1912 has remained almost as a blind spot. This provoked my own interest towards this period, since it was short but full of important events. Two changes of the government happened on the eve of a period in which the “Radoslavists” cherished the idea to be invited to assume the power during January 1908 and March 1911. The Independence of the state of Bulgaria was proclaimed and a diplomatic fight began for its acceptance. There was formed the Fifth Great National Assembly and the Turnovo Constitution was changed during the summer of the year 1911. The next two ordinary National Assemblies – the 14th and the 15th, accomplished numerous legislative activities. The problems with Macedonia sharpened, the army was reorganised and there was formed a Balkan Union for a war against the Ottoman Empire. The economy of the state of Bulgaria marked a considerable improvement during that period.

The Liberal party was one of the major political forces in the country, despite being a part of the opposition during the entire period. It remained outside of the power in the state during the year 1908 and its leaders focused their efforts on the building of a powerful and unified structure, capable of proving its strength at any possible moment. The party increased considerably its electoral potential and modernised its organisation.

The priority purpose of this dissertation is to research the development of the organisation of the Liberal party during the period of the years 1908-1912 and to find the new elements in its organisational structure, the ways and the mechanisms for the unification of its members, as well as to point out the place of this political power among the opposition at that time. I have also analysed, in a parallel with this, the basic concepts of the Liberals (supporting Dr. Vasil Radoslavov), concerning the home policy, particularly with an

accent upon the debates for the change of the Constitution and the legislative projects in the 14th and the 15th ordinary National Assemblies. The attitude of the “Radoslavists” towards the institution of the monarchy, the power and the democratic base of the state and its judicial system has also been researched. Their evaluation of the most important political events abroad has also been presented. The basic of them were the proclamation of the Independence of Bulgaria, the situation of the Bulgarians in the still remaining zones of the Ottoman Empire in Europe after the assuming of power of the “Young Turks”.

I have used detailed data for my dissertations work from the sources of the central archives of Bulgaria – The Central State Archive, The Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, The Bulgarian Historical Archive of the National Library “Saint, Saint Cyril and Methodius”, as well as some of the regional archives of the Central Home of the Army. I have researched thoroughly the daily stenographic official reports of the activities of the Fifth Great National Assembly and the 14th and the 15th ordinary National Assemblies. I have studied the political papers, the memoir literature, the publicity and some other sources. Some of the data, preserved in the Central Home of the Army, proved to be a valuable source to research the state of the organisation of the Liberal party and I have pointed them out concretely below. I have also found and analysed a tremendous amount of information in the official printed newspaper of the Liberal party - “The Rights of the People”. I have found as well important data in the collection of materials, connected with the Fifth and mostly with the Sixth Congress of the party.

I have researched all this mass of data with the help of different scientific methods. I have also utilised several statistical methods, some methods of the historical reconstruction, some comparative historical methods, historical descriptions and analysis and some others. My expose is based on the thematic-chronological principle.

I have taken into consideration the achievements of the contemporary historical science in the work over my dissertation. I

have also made several additions corresponding to the newly analysed historical materials and their new treatment. I have made some corrections to some obsolete conceptions, as well to several concrete mistakes and omissions. I have made a scientific announcement, including some unknown until now, or barely analysed historical sources. I have already mentioned that I have done my best to apply contemporary methods and to follow modern theses. Having all this in mind, this dissertation work continues the research of the leading Bulgarian specialists on the subject.

This dissertation work, from the point of view of its structure, consists of an introduction, three chapters, including eight sections, a conclusion and a bibliographic reference for the used sources and researches, as well as ten applications, altogether on 444 pages.

I have made a thorough presentation of the written history of the Liberal party until now in the **Introduction** of my dissertation work. I have also pointed out the reasons of the rather meager historical interest towards it until the 80ies of the past century and I have emphasized on the achievements of the contemporary historical science. I have substantiated the purposes, the tasks and the chronological limits of my research. I have numbered the methods of my work that I have applied. I have also pointed out and described the more important sources of data that I have used to accomplish my work. The structure of the dissertation has been presented.

Chapter One „The Organisational Development of the Liberal Party (1908-1912)“ comprises of three sections. It is the largest, since it is connected with the main purpose of this research. In it I have followed thoroughly and as a priority, for this first time, the organisational development of the Liberal party, during the period of the years 1908-1912. For this purpose, I have studied the preserved documents of the archive of the party (fund 401k) in the Central State Archives), the personal notes of its leader Dr. Vasil Radoslavov in the Central State Archives (fund 313k), in the Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (fund 45k) and in the National Library

“Saint, Saint Cyril and Methodius”-Bulgarian Historical Archive (fund 263). Several sources of some regional archives have been used to follow concrete groups of the party. A great deal of information has been collected and analysed from the official printed organ of the party – “The Rights of the People” newspaper, as well as from the collections of materials originating from the Fifth and mostly from the Sixth Congress of the Liberal party. I have made, for the first time, a comparative analysis of the state of the organisation of the party in the meantime between the two mentioned congresses. My expose is based on a chronological principle.

In the first section „Achievements and problems in the development of the “Radoslavist” organisations after the assuming of power by the democrats (January 1908 – September 1910)” I have followed the actions of the Liberals in the process of the organisation of their party from the beginning of 1908 to the autumn of 1910. The activists of the party were focusing their efforts on the realisation of the regional instructions of the Central Bureau issued on December 28th 1907. It required rapid transformation of their bureaus and the increase of the number of their units. All that was done during the process of the preparation and the participation in the elections of the 14th ordinary National Assembly in the year 1908 and the partial municipal elections in 1908 and 1909. I have also researched the process of the re-election of the bureaus of the units of the Liberals in the different centers of the population, as well as the creation of new “Radoslavist” organisations. I have analysed numerous party events, initiated by the different party structures, like family dinners for amusement, excursions in natural surroundings, party balls in dancing halls, political meetings, the foundation of party clubs, the collection of voluntary donations, the organisation of meetings and parades and the celebration of the official holiday of the party - June 29th. All that was done for the sake of the unification of the members of the party and the strengthening of their spirit. I have paid attention to the actions of the Central party bureau in connection of the changes made in the Election Law during 1909 – the registration of the green ballot-papers, the

creation of an “Office for the preservation of the election cards of the members of the party units”, the change of the party member cards with personal member cards and the campaign to explain to the members the situation in the country before the election. I have emphasized on the new moments in their propaganda and the actions connected with the strengthening of the party discipline.

The protocols of the meetings of the Liberal units were studied and this enabled me to make some observations about the composition of the organisation of the Liberal party, concerning the age and the social status of its members. The development of the organisation of the Liberal party of Dr. V. Radoslavov was very positive in the period of the years 1908-1910. It was attracting new members steadily. They increased tremendously and there appeared many new units and the members in them multiplied. The discipline in the Liberal party and its administration was strengthened and there was established a strictly hierarchic level after the introduction of regional bureaus following the state structures. There were just a few at first, but their number increased gradually. The quantity of the financial means of the party increased considerably and that enabled “The Rights of the People” to become a daily newspaper during this period. The schedule of the organisation of the life of the party varied with a very positive effect. There were definite successes of the party from the point of view of geography and politics as well. It not only covered completely the territory of the country (all its regions), but also increased its influence in some centres in which it had not had stable positions before.

The achievements of the organisation of the party were the consequence of the meaningful efforts of the central ruling body and its activists in the province. Despite all that the political success of the party was still not impressive. The power of its organisation was only sufficient for it to be the leading force of the opposition.

In a special section (the second) „The Role of the Sixth Congress (in the year 1910) for the upsurge of the organisation of the Liberal party. Changes in its program and statute”, I have

presented and analysed the preparation and the proceedings of the most impressive Congress of the party in its history, concerning the number of the members and the essence of their actions - the Sixth. There were sixteen reference papers presented to the Congress and they were included in a historical address. It gave a new direction of the work of the party. All these reference papers were analysed thoroughly for the first time, since they clarified the ideology of the party. The conclusions of the people who analysed the reference papers became the base of the ten resolutions, accepted at the Sixth Congress, and they became an integral part of the program of the Liberal party, enriching it considerably.

The Sixth Congress of the Liberal party accepted a new statute establishing and enriching the organisation of the party, created during the preceding years. Many of the clauses of the previous statute were preserved, but there were accepted several new, connected mostly with precisising of the financial and some other obligations of the members of the party, as well as with the clarification of the prerogatives of the newly founded regional bureaus. The already consolidated units in the villages and the towns had obtained the rights to accept and to expel members from the party, to determine the amount of the subscription to the party, to organise their work and to initiate actions, connected with the program of the party, to elect their bureaus and their delegates for the congresses of the party. The regional units were accepted as a very important part of the structure and the coordination of the party.

The hierarchy in the party was precisised meticulously and the new statute emphasized once again the important principle of the centralisation of the rulings in the party. Its central bureau, just like before, was supposed to make decisions and to control all the actions and processes in the party and to publicise its ideas in the “The Rights of the People” newspaper – the official printed organ of the party. The statute guaranteed once again the full prerogatives of the chairman of the Central Liberal Bureau. During the last meeting of the Congress, the old decision of the Fourth Congress of the party, in the year 1904, was re-confirmed – the chairman of the party, Dr. Vasil Radoslavov would

not be subjected to re-election. The other members of the Central Liberal Bureau were also not to be changed at all.

The Sixth Congress, as it was noted in the official party newspaper, marked “the triumph of the liberalism”. This evaluation might seem to be far-fetched, but it had its grounds. After the Fifth Congress of the party the number of the Liberal units increased considerably as well as their members. The party discipline was solidified. The protocols of the election meetings were sent to the central bureau and the number of the members was strictly followed. This enabled a full list of the authorised 2891 delegates to the next Sixth Congress to be published in a book in the year 1911. Besides that, all the Liberal units, organised until October 1910, for which there was data, published or preserved in the archives, were about 1400 in the country. They were grouped practically in all the regions in the country. According to the data of the “Radoslavists” themselves, their organisation, during 1910, included more than 50,000 members, making it one of the most powerful political forces in Bulgaria. This number might be a bit exaggerated, but it still indicated the increasing influence of the Liberal party. It was a proof of the hard and purposeful work of its central bureau. It was constantly generating new ideas and improved considerably the financial balance of the party.

The self-confidence of the “Radoslavist” party also originated from the fact that it had managed to organise four Congresses just during one decade. This was not done by any other leading political force in Bulgaria. This was emphasized numerous times in the reference papers presented to the Congress.

The “Radoslavists” had set the liberalism as their leading ideology. They had the bravery to challenge all the political parties, as well as the citizens of the country, to discuss the issues, irrelevant of the result whether they would be criticised, or would become a part of their own programs.

The realisation of the decisions made on the Sixth Congress,

connected with the final implementation of the organisational structure of the party, has been researched in **section 3 (“The organisational life of the party (1911-1912). New elements in the organisation”**. I have analysed the subsequent activation of the process of organisation, provoked additionally by the change of the power in the country, in March 1911, and the following elections for the Fifth Great National Assembly and the 15th ordinary National Assembly, as well as for the regional and the municipal elections in 1912. I have presented chronologically the newly formed Liberal units, the newly elected regional bureaus and I have pointed out personally the new members with individual, or collective declarations. There have been described several variations for the solving of the arising contradictions in the organisational structures, the consolidation of the party discipline and the measures taken against the members violating it.

I have also paid thorough attention to the activities of the council of the party during March of 1912, which accepted “A temporary addition to the statute of the Liberal party”, followed by the building of a new structure of the party – regional bureaus. Their formation was in accordance with the idea of the assuming of the power in the country by elections. I have also researched the data of the sectional meeting of the party, which turned out to be another rather specific model of the organisation.

I have also presented in details the personal participation of V.Radoslavov in the upheaval of its organisation, connected with his visits to Cherven Brjag, Peshtera, Ruse, Provadia, Yambol and Varna, as well in the “political days” that were held. I have also described the celebrations of the party holiday, initiated by the regional units and some bigger party groups in the cities.

In this section I have also mentioned the holiday issue of “The Rights of the People” newspaper from the year 1912. I have analysed for the first time some of the articles in it and a part of them was devoted to the prosperity of the Liberal party and the idea that after 12 years of intense organisational activity it was high time that the liberals

had assumed the power in the country.

I am not asserting that I have been meticulously precise, but still, I have tried to calculate the number of the members of the party during the summer of 1912. They were between 60 and 70 thousand. This leads to the conclusion that the organisation of Dr. Vasil Radoslavov was among the two parties in the country with the greatest number of members.

This newly found archive and published information enabled me to make a parallel between the official politics of the party and the on-running practice of its leaders, that could be found only in the archives. This enabled me to follow more precisely the development of the party, concerning its ideas and organisation during that period. The statistic information about its organisational development was compared to that of its previous period.

In this section I have also presented for the first time the work of the party conference during the month of July 1912. It had made a decision to encourage “private donations” in order to create a greater fund for the organisational activities and the spending of the money collected would only be done after motivated decisions by a chosen committee.

I have also paid particular attention to the formation of the first politically motivated “Mutual Aid Fund” in Bulgaria, as well to the other financial institution of the party – AD “Bank Bulgaria”. “The Mutual Aid Fund” had a new and non-traditional approach towards the stabilisation of the party units indicating the modern attitude of the leaders of the party. Until this moment these institutions have been mentioned in the works of some other authors, but have not been researched thoroughly, so the “The Mutual Aid Fund” was wrongly considered to be a joint stock company. In this section I have analysed its statute and have presented its activity during the first year of its formation, as well as the its annual report to its first annual meeting together with the planned tasks for the second year of its existence. I

have also mentioned the tendency of the increased control over its actions by the leaders of the party.

The solidifying of the organisations of the party was done with a view towards the present and the forthcoming elections. The seizing of the power in the country was the aim of the “Radoslavists” and they intended to realise it by increasing permanently the number of its members as well as by attracting the attention of the monarch in Bulgaria towards it.

The activities of the “Radoslavists” in the home policy, during the rule of the governments of Al. Malinov (1908 – 1911) and Iv. Evstr. Geshov (1911-1912) have been the subject of my research in the **second chapter „The Liberal Radoslavists and the home policy of the governments in Bulgaria until the wars 1908-1911.”** It also consists of three sections. I have made a thorough effort to determine the place of the Liberal party among the other forces of the opposition based on various sources and materials. I have researched its attitude towards the ruling government cabinets, the institution of the monarchy, the ruling power, the democratic base of the country and some other important problems. I have followed carefully the participation and the results of the Liberals in the different elections as well as the actions of their representatives in the 14th and the 15th ordinary National Assemblies. I have also paid attention to the attacks of the “Radoslavists” towards the activities of the ruling government cabinets, particularly in the pre-election periods. It was noted that they were sometimes rather biased and were in fact a part of the party propaganda.

In **section one „The Radoslavist party in opposition during the rule of the Democrats” (1908-1911)** the attitude of the Liberals towards the basic problems of the political life inside the country during the rule of the Democratic party can be defined in general as moderately critical. The main purpose of the Liberal party was to dethrone them from power, so it was critical to most of their actions, irrelevant of their purposefulness. They often used political demagoguery.

Despite all that the attacks of the “Radoslavists” cannot be defined as cliquish. The attitude in the press was sharp but not rude. The adherents to Dr. Radoslavov had the correct understanding of the principles of the bourgeois democracy and were often aware of some well hidden infringements of the ruling party, connected with obeying the law, the interference of the structures of force in the election processes, the actions of corruption etc. Besides all that, the Liberals used only the legal form of struggle. Sometimes they even avoided some actions against the government in order not to enter clashes against the forces of the order. Their main efforts to seize the power during this period were mostly connected with attempts to attract the attention of the monarch. The leader of the party was very tolerant towards the king, but still the relations with the Palace were rather complicated. There were moments in which the slight of the rancorous Coburg towards the “Radoslavists” forced the leaders of the party, as well as its members to criticise the actions of Ferdinand. Still, in the majority of the cases, the king was in a way “protected” from the attacks of the other political forces, including the Democrats. The efforts of the Liberals to be presented as the only reliable defenders of the throne were greatly exaggerated, which showed their impatience to be “invited to seize the power”.

In chapter 2, I have included a separate **paragraph 2 „The Liberal party and the changes in the Turnovo Constitution during 1911.”**. I have left a special place in it, concerning the concepts of the Liberals towards the changes in the Turnovo Constitution. The participation of their six representatives in the Fifth Great National Assembly has been the subject of another research, but here, for the first time, it has been presented thoroughly, particularly concerning the voting on some paragraphs about which the “Radoslavists” were not quite unanimous. In order to manage that I have researched in details the stenographic daily journals of the National Assembly, the memoir literature and some publicist and other sources.

The political approach was dominant in the National Assembly. The ruling party had sufficient majority to impose its will, following

the advice of the monarch. The Liberals turned out to be in a very difficult situation. On the one hand, as a party of the small and middle proprietors, they tried to be presented as free thinking politicians. On the other hand their pragmatic considerations not to worsen their relationship with the monarchy prevailed, since they were hoping to be invited from the Palace to seize soon the power. This was the reason for the different trends in the party, as well as for the hesitant statements of V.Radoslavov himself.

In the third paragraph “The Liberal “Radoslavists” and the basic problems in the home policy during the period March 1911 – September 1912.” I have researched the attitude of the Liberal party towards the home policy of the government of Iv. Evstr. Geshov before the beginning of the Balkan War. In general, it can be determined as critical, but not totally negative as it was towards the cabinet of Al. Malinov. The Liberals “Radoslavists” were very positive about the elections for the Parliament and the summoning of the Fifth Great National Assembly. They approved the changes in the Election Law, connected with the application of the proportional system of voting. They did not object radically to some of the economic reforms, started from the coalition cabinet. The “Radoslavists” used much sharper criticism only during the election campaign for the 15th regular National Assembly, but even then they were very seldom outside of the acceptable tone and were not abusing rudely their opponents in power. The reason for that was probably the fact that their leader was a member of the National Assembly. The arrows of his critics there were pointed mostly towards the foreign policy of the rulers, while the attacks against the internal and the economic policy was left to his closest deputies in the party. Meanwhile, the members of the party, including the leaders, had the illusion for some time that the coalition cabinet of the Peoples party and the Progressive-Liberal party was only transitional with the purpose to accomplish the changes to the Turnovo Constitution. The opposition against it increased after the elections for the 15th ordinary National Assembly. Beginning from the autumn of the year 1911, the problems of the foreign policy became much more

important than the internal political problems and the focus of the attacks was shifted.

The last **chapter three „The Liberal “Radoslavist” party and the foreign policy of Bulgaria during the period 1908-1912”** is devoted, as can be seen in its title, to the position of the Liberals towards the foreign policy. It consists of two paragraphs. In **the first „The attitude of the Liberal party towards the proclaiming and the defence of the Independence of Bulgaria (1908-1909)”** the position of the followers of V.Radoslavov towards the problems formulated in its title has been clarified. In it, for the first time, I have researched thoroughly the evolution of the attitude of the Liberal party, concerning the establishment of an independent state, as well as their standpoint on some other problems of the day. I have described their critics towards the Democrats for the omission of the appropriate moments for the proclamation of the Independence of the state and its redemption payment. Meanwhile, all the positive evaluations for the achieved successes have been attributed by the Liberals to the head of the state with the hope to attract his benevolence.

The passive politics was not attractive at all to Dr. V.Radoslavov and his followers. They were often ready to wage a war, but not to retreat from their positions. Having this in mind, their critics towards the cautious politics of the ruling Democratic party was easily explainable. Besides that, as a party in opposition, they could have afforded much sharper expressions in comparison to the party in power. They were trying sometimes to shock the society with “findings” about some concealed conditions of the negotiations, betrayal of the national interests, traces of liabilities in the diplomacy, accepting of rather unfavourable obligations etc. Besides all that, the position of the Liberal “Radoslavist” party cannot be determined as totally negative on the mentioned problems. It was a fact that the Liberals had a sincere desire to see the realisation of the establishment of the state of Bulgaria into a kingdom and they were fighting for this ideal doing their best.

In the second paragraph “The Liberals “Radoslavists”, the

Bulgarian national cause and the politics of the great forces in the Balkans in the period 1908 – 1912.)” the attitude of the Liberal party has been presented towards the foreign policy of the governments in Bulgaria, concerning the national problems. In general, it was evaluated in a negative light. The “Radoslavists” were of the opinion that the cabinets of Al. Malinov and Iv. Evstr. Geshov were tremendously passive and were not defending adequately our compatriots in the Ottoman Empire, being afraid of its reaction. Based on this assumption, the Liberals never missed the chance of blaming the rulers in Sofia for the atrocities of some Turkish, Greek and other gangs against the peaceful Bulgarian population in the European Vilayets of the Ottoman Empire. They were also critical to the policy of the holding the Bulgarian detachments inside the kingdom and the prohibition of their going outside of the country.

The attitude of the Liberals towards the committees of the “Young Turks” and their policy was also negative. The attempts of the Turkish government to legalize the Constitutional clubs in Bulgaria and to disarm the former units of the Internal Macedonian-Odrin Revolutionary Organisation was considered to be an intention for the Bulgarian subjects in the Ottoman Empire to be left defenceless. The opponents to the Exarchate were seriously attacked as well. In this aspect, the policy to preserve the people's spiritual unity on both sides of the border was quite correct. The same can be said about the fight of the “Radoslavists” against the attempts to restrict the actions of the Bulgarian church only inside the kingdom of Bulgaria and against the lifting of the schism of the year 1872.

The Russian diplomacy of Saint Petersburg wished to preserve the status-quo in the Balkans and the unity of the Orthodox Church and was permanently attacked. The Liberal “Radoslavists” had almost no information of the foreign policy initiatives during the period of the years 1908–1911, as well as for the undertaking of an intense preparation for the formation of a Balkan Union during the years 1911–1912. Accordingly, they evaluated most of the actions of the Bulgarian diplomacy negatively. Naturally, the pro-Russian orientation of the

ruling parties contributed to this attitude to some extent. “The “Radoslavists” considered the Saint Petersburg government as an antagonist, containing the desire of Bulgaria to be nationally unified, so they were always critical of the acts of the Russian diplomacy. Their attitude towards the policy of Vienna was similar, but a bit more concealed, while the attitude towards Berlin was rather reserved at that stage. After the beginning of the Tripoli-tan War the Liberal party considered the Italian government to be a rival for the distribution of the territories of the “sick patient”... According to the Liberals the only potential ally of Bulgaria was the diplomacy of England, as well as some social organisations there. The followers of Dr. Radoslavov were of the opinion that England could help Bulgaria in the solution of the national problems. Despite all that, under the pressure of its leaders, the members of the Liberal party had to comply with the pro-Russian tendencies in the Palace during this period.

One of the postulates that was firmly upheld by the “Radoslavists” was the indivisibility of Macedonia. They considered that territory to be necessarily granted autonomous statute in order to be unified with Bulgaria, just like the Eastern Rumelia, even at the price of a future war. They had ignored however the fact that more than 25 years had passed since the Unification and the international situation was quite different. The opposition to the national interests of Bulgaria were much more careful in comparison to the bygone year 1885. Having this in mind, the pretenses to resurrect the statute of Bulgaria, as it had been defined in San Stefano, should be defined as a serious political mistake and the reason for that was the ever increasing maximalism of the Liberals on the national problems. The followers of Radoslavov cherished the hope for their party to accomplish the national unification, but their plans to realise this were often rather adventurous.

In “**The Conclusion**” I have presented some inferences, which do not quite coincide with these presented in the different chapters and sections. I have made an attempt to define in general the place of the Liberal (“Radoslavist”) party in the political life in Bulgaria during the

period, which has been in the focus of my research.

The last pages are a **bibliographic reference** to the used sources and literature.

This dissertation work includes **10 applications**. In **application № 1** I have presented in a diagram the upheaval of the organisation of the Liberal (“Radoslavist”) party beginning with its First Congress in the year 1895 until its Sixth Congress in 1910.

The completion of the hierarchic organisational structure of the party during 1912 has been shown by a scheme in **application № 2**.

The application № 3 includes two copies of two personal cards of Liberals in the years 1909 and 1910. The first of them belongs to Dr. Vasil Radoslavov, as a member of the Liberal Unit in Sofia.

The newly formed Liberal units during the period of the years 1911-1912 have been presented, according to regions and districts, separately in a cross-table - **application № 4**. This is the largest application according to its volume.

The applications numbered 5, 6, 7 and 8 are illustrating the organisation of the party life. **The application № 5** is a letter of the unit in the town of Trun to the “Mutual Aid Fund” of the Liberal party.

The application № 6 presents a telegram of the Liberal unit in Kurtbunar to the President of the Central bureau informing him of a monetary sum sent by Post in order to buy 25 calendars as well as a subscription to the “The Right of the People” newspaper.

The applications № 7 and № 8 are from the organisation of the party in the town of Vidin. The first consists of a protocol from a meeting of the Vidin Liberal unit, with an applied declaration of a newly accepted member. The second application is a letter from the year 1908 to the President of the Central bureau from the leader of the Liberal unit in Vidin, stamped with the stamp of the unit with a date from the year 1905.

The applications № 9 and 10 are the front pages of “The Rights of the People” newspaper. The first represents an address from September 16th 1911 to the voters in Sofia and a list of the candidates of the Liberal party. The application **№ 10** is the front page of the newspaper for the holiday date of the party - June 29th 1912 and it was printed in green – the traditional colour of the party.

List of publications on dissertation:

- 1. Найденова Л.** Либералната партия и политиката на Русия на Балканите (1911-1913 г.), - *Империи и имперско наследство на Балканите. Сборник в чест на 70- годишнината на проф. Людмил Спасов*, т. II. *Ново време и съвремие*, Пловдив, 2019, с. 209-223.
- 2. Naydenova, L.** The Liberal Radoslavists and the main problems of the internal political life in Bulgaria during the government of the Democrats(1908-1911). – *Studia academica Sumenensia*, vol. 6, 2019, p. 41- 55.
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