



BUKOVINIAN UKRAINIANS

A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THEIR
SELF-DETERMINATION IN 1918

by
I. M. NOWOSIWSKY, LL. D.

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FOREWORD

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*To the memory of
my diligent and laborious Parents
this work is affectionately dedicated*

RULES ON THE TRANSLITERATION OF THE NON-ENGLISH PERSONAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NAMES

(Adopted by Shevchenko Scientific Society)

1. All topographical names in languages which use Latin alphabet, adjusted to some peculiar sounds unusual in English, are here used in the original spelling of the languages concerned (French, German, Czech, Slovak, Polish, etc.). An exception to this rule occurs only when some geographical names of these languages are for centuries fully anglicized, c. g. Warsaw (not Polish *Warszawa*), Moscow (not Russian *Moskva*), Rome (not Italian *Roma*) etc.

2. The same rule is used in the transliteration of personal names in the languages with Latin alphabet (French, German, Polish, Czech, Slovak, etc.).

3. Ukrainians use in their language s. c. *Cyrillic alphabet*. (It is really Greek alphabet adjusted to some peculiar sounds of the Ukrainian language). Therefore the Ukrainian personal and topographical names must be transliterated in English alphabet on the basis of the following principles:

A letter in Ukrainian names is always to be pronounced like in English:

a (Rada)	in English	a in father
e (Verkhovyna)		e in led, red, bed, met
i (Ihor)		ee in to meet, to see
u (Buh)		oo in food, good
y after consonants		i in ill, bill, this
y before or after a vowel		y in yes, year, way, buy
zh (Zhabye, Zhuravno)		s in treasure, measure
kh (Khotyn, Khoma)		ch in Scottish loch
ts (Tsetsora, Kotsko)		ts in let's sing!

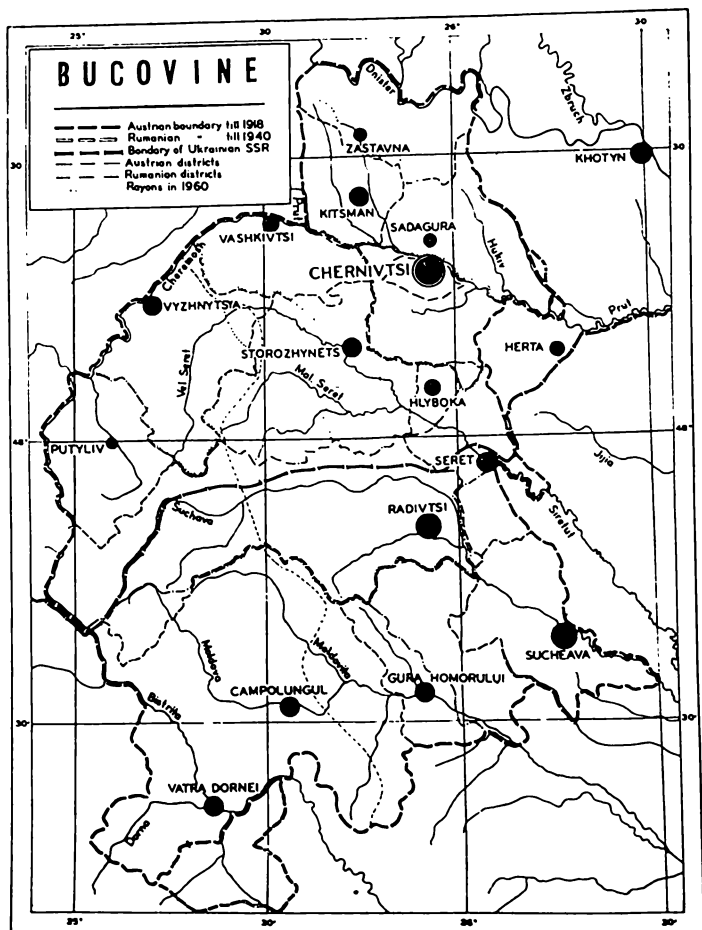
4. The rules of the transliteration of Ukrainian names is here given for the general use in Ukrainian publications of all kinds with the exception of the strict linguistics. Therefore these rules of the transliteration are only approximate and simplified.

5. Here are some examples of the transliteration of Ukrainian names: Petrushevych, Yuriy, Petlyura, Hrushevskyy.

6. Some living Ukrainian authors in earlier years had published their works under their names on principles of the Slavic spelling. In this case their names in present publications should be preserved in Slavic spelling in order to avoid misunderstanding of their identity.



Emblem of Bukovina (as decreed by the Emperor's edict of December 9, 1862).



FOREWORD

Bukovina¹ is essentially a compact Ukrainian land dating back to the fourth century A. D., at which time the Ukrainian tribes settled there after expelling the various nomadic tribes from that territory. Relatively speaking, this land is not big, should we judge it by its administrative extent at the outbreak of World War I in August, 1914. At that time the country administratively had the status of a "Crown Land" of Austria and encompassed only 10,442 sq. kilometers. The population, according to the Austrian population census of 1910, numbered 794,929. The Austrian bureaucracy had acquired this land with the partial partition of the Turkish empire in 1774. Disregarding the ethnic make-up of the annexed territory — the northern part was wholly inhabited by Ukrainians and the southern by Rumanians, — Austria proceeded to create an indivisible „Crown Land" when, in the 1860's, a new constitution introduced by the emperor was extended to the Austrian empire as a whole.

It would be proper to underscore at the outset that the territory which was compactly peopled by Ukrainians, had the following ethnic composition, according to the official census data: Ukrainians — 69%; Russians — 0.8%; Poles — 4.1%; Jews — 15.6%; Germans — 5%; Rumanians — 4.8%; and Hungarians — 0.4%. Any observer will see that the largest minority of Bukovina were the Jews, and not the Rumanians. The latter group, composing a twentieth of the total population in this Ukrainian territory, constituted a minority without social significance and at best were quantitatively negligible.²

1. "Bukovina" is the English, French and German geographical spelling. Ukrainian pronuntiation is "Bukovyna".

2. The Austrian bureaucracy included under the column of "Poles" not only the ethnic Poles, but also those Ukrainian peasants who were of the Roman Catholic faith. The actual Poles, mostly civil servants and industrialists and their families, constituted a bare 1⁰/₁₀ of the population.

Although the "Crown Land" of Bukovina was a rather small unit both in area and population as compared with other crown lands of the Austrian empire, such as Galicia, Bohemia, Moravia or Tirol, this land none the less carried much weight in the general Ukrainian political life in the Austrian empire because of the important part Ukrainian deputies played in the imperial parliament in Vienna. Such powerful figures in the Austrian parliament as Prof. Dr. Stepan Smal-Stockyj, Baron Mykola Vasylyko, Omelyan Popovych and others had to be taken into account not only by Austro-German deputies, but also by the Czech, Slovenian and Polish parliamentarians as well. The Ukrainian deputies of Bukovina kept pace with the Ukrainian parliamentary representation of Galicia, which had five times as many deputies in the parliament as the Ukrainian representation from Bukovina.

In the course of the entire history of Ukraine, Bukovina, despite its small area and population, composed one of the decisive political factors. In past centuries and when railroads were unknown, the weight of this land was augmented by its geographic position: the valleys of the Dniester, Seret and Prut Rivers connected Western Ukraine as a whole (Galicia, Volhynia, the Kholm Land, Pidlyasya and Carpatho-Ukraine) with the Balkan countries and with the capital of the eastern empire and the Eastern Christian Church in Constantinople. Poland and the Baltic countries also used these waterways for their trade with the Byzantine empire, which at that time was a center of highly developed industry and of spiritual culture and civilization as well.

Bukovina, as a part of the Dniester valley, from the 10th century A. D. on constituted a part of the Kievan empire of Ukraine-Rus. With the development of one of the princely states of the Kievan empire of Ukraine, Bukovina, along with all other areas of the Dniester valley up to the Danube and the Black Sea, inhabited mostly by Ukrainians with city-fortresses and a highly-developed trade, became part, from the 12th century on, of the Ukrainian Galician-Volhynian State. Until the second invasion into the west by the Tartars (1241), the Ukrainian Galician-Volhynian State was the strongest kingdom in the Kievan empire. Bukovina served as a

bridge between the northwest and south and the Black Sea, carrying the powerful influence of the Byzantine empire to all other parts of the Galician-Volhynian State. Bukovina benefited both economically and culturally from this function. This state, extending from the foothills of the Tatra Mountains, the Volhynian marshes and the upper Vepr and Buh Rivers in the west and the north, was known widely for its powerful economy and culture, relics of which have remained in literature (Ihor's *Song* — or *Stovo o polku Ihorevim*) and in architecture to this very day.

Under the impact of the Tartar invasions, Bukovina was separated from the Galician-Volhynian State and passed under Tartar sovereignty. It remained, however, the object of undiminished interest on the part of the mother country, Ukraine. Furthermore, when in the course of history Moldavian colonization moved northward to cover considerable parts of its territory, even the later state of Moldavia could not erase the autochthonous Ukrainian population. In fact, Moldavia itself fell under the influence of Ukrainian culture and political civilization. This is evident from the fact that for centuries the Moldavian state, to which Bukovina belonged, used the then Ukrainian literary language of that time as the official and diplomatic language; this language was also used in the church of Moldavia. Even the titles of Moldavian rulers were Ukrainian *voyevoda* and *hospodar*.³

After the fall of the Byzantine empire, brought about by the invasions of the Turks, there grew as its successor a powerful Turkish empire in the Middle East and the Balkans. From the 16th century on it extended its sway over the Moldavian state, including Bukovina. For a time Poland sought to wrest away Moldavia, but was unsuccessful. Inasmuch as Turkey had also extended its protection over Wallachia (Rumania), the result was a strengthening in Moldavia of the Wallachian (Rumanian) colonization, which was encroa-

3. *Voyevoda*: this Ukrainian term literally means "leader, commander of warriors"; in practice *voyevoda* soon came to mean the ruler of the land. In western countries a similar title was used, such as "duke" (*Herzog* in Germany); *hospodar* is a Ukrainian word meaning "lord" (*dominus* in Latin), and the term was used as the title of a ruler.

ching from neighboring Transylvania. As a consequence the Ukrainian element in middle and southern Moldavia, already weakened by the advent of various tribes, became even more diluted. This was not the case, however, in northern Moldavia, that is, Bukovina.

Mention also should be made of the fact that the Ukrainian state of the Zaporozhian Kozaks, established in the 16th century behind the rapids of the Dnieper, always demonstrated a lively interest in Moldavia, trying to draw it into the sphere of Ukrainian political influence while combatting Turkish supremacy. This policy continued in the 17th century with the extension of the Ukrainian Zaporozhian State on both sides of the Dnieper River during the reigns of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and his successors. Eventually, at the end of the 17th century, the process of Rumanization of the middle and southern part of Moldavia won out: the Ukrainian language disappeared from the government and the church.

Nevertheless, the northern part of the Moldavian state continued to preserve its Ukrainian character and played its role in the middle of the 19th century, when powerful modern nationalist movements emerged in the whole Slavic world. Also, a significant part of the eastern part of Moldavia, known later as Bessarabia, has remained Ukrainian.

The historical destiny of Bukovina has undergone various phases that should be of interest not only to researchers of East European history but also to those studying general European history as it was affected by the Middle East, particularly the Byzantine and Turkish empires.

In providing a penetrating survey of the historical process of Bukovina until its state and national self-determination in November, 1918, Dr. I. M. Nowosiwsky makes a valuable contribution to the knowledge of Ukrainian history by the English-speaking world. The author is a native of Bukovina and his study is based on solid and extensive research. He has written several other works in this field.

The Ukrainian National Republic, which established its independence, sovereignty and reunited through a series of constitutional acts, (1917-1918), became a victim of neighboring imperialistic aggressions: on December 17, 1917 it was invaded by Soviet Russia and on November 2, 1918, it was

attacked by the newly-created Polish republic; it was also attacked by Rumania on November 8, 1918, from the south.

As far as Bukovina is concerned, Rumania's attack had a limited objective: to annex only the Ukrainian part of Bukovina, which had already attained its self-determination and unity with the united state of Ukraine. Realizing that the Ukrainian Galician Army, which was compelled from November 2, 1918, on to defend the re-established state against the Polish aggression, could not give any military assistance to Bukovina, Rumania despatched considerable armed forces and overcame the Ukrainian military resistance, still in a nascent state, in a matter of days.

Bukovina, according to official acts of self-determination, was a part of the Western Ukrainian National Republic with its capital in Lviv, which from the very beginning of its inception on November 1, 1918, expressed its will to be re-united with the Ukrainian National Republic in Kiev.⁴ The government of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) officially protested against the Rumanian aggression, but could not provide any military support, leaving the matter of national self-determination to the International Peace Conference in Paris.

The delegation of the Ukrainian National Republic at the Peace Conference in Paris, which included representatives of both Ukrainian governments, exerted every effort in defending the rights of Ukraine to the Ukrainian part of Bukovina. In addition to diplomatic demarches with various members of the Peace Conference, the delegation of the Ukrainian National Republic submitted a special memorandum to the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference, in which it cogently argued the legitimate right of the Ukrainian state to the Ukrainian part of Bukovina.

In a note of March 12, 1919, over the signature of Hryhoriy Sydorenko, the delegation of the Ukrainian National Republic informed the Supreme Council of the martial law imposed by the Rumanian military ruler over the Ukrainian part of Bukovina that, in fact, annexed Bukovina to Rumania. On January 26-27, 1919, mass arrests had taken place, with hundreds

4. Ukrainian spelling: Kyiv.

of Ukrainian leaders being taken into custody, among them 30 members of the former parliament in Vienna and the provincial diet in Chernivtsi. Another wave of mass arrests followed on February 3, 1919. The delegation protested against the unbridled terror of the Rumanian occupation regime and demanded that the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference intercede in behalf of the Ukrainians of Bukovina and decide the fate of the country in accordance with the self-determination of the Ukrainian part of Bukovina. In another note dated February 25, 1919, the delegation of the Ukrainian National Republic, had informed the Supreme Council that a proclamation in the name of the Rumanian King had announced the annexation of the whole of Bukovina to the Kingdom of Rumania. The Ukrainian delegation requested the Peace Conference to refute this voidable act of annexation, which violated the basic canons of international law, and to act to prevent all acts of terrorism before the fate of Bukovina be definitely settled.

In an extensive note of May 17, 1919, the Ukrainian delegation expressed its deep concern over rumors that the Supreme Council had already expressed its approval of the annexation of Bukovina by Rumania. The delegation, in the name of the Ukrainian National Republic, deplored such a step and declared that Ukraine would never recognize nor approve such a flagrant violation of international law.

All those exhortations were in vain. The Supreme Council, following a French plan to create a "Little Entente", which would include also Rumania and which was designed to forestall any possible resurgence of Germany in the east, decided to approve the ruthless annexation of Bukovina by Rumania.

This unconscionable violation of the right of self-determination enunciated by President Woodrow Wilson of the United States, did not interrupt the struggle of Ukraine for its freedom even after the fall of the Ukrainian independent government under the onslaughts of Communist Russia. It had only to change its methods. Through the two decades between World War I and World War II, Galicia maintained close contact with the national movement of Ukrainians in Bukovina.

The all-Ukrainian National Congress, established for the purpose of directing the liberation struggle in the international arena, included also a delegation from the Ukrainian political groups of Bukovina.

Present-day Rumania encompasses in its frontiers considerable Ukrainian lands. The situation of the Ukrainian national minority under the Rumanian communist regime calls for international support and defense within the framework of the United Nations. The valuable work of Dr. I. M. Nowosiwsky cannot but be a helpful instrumentality in this human endeavor dedicated to freedom.

Matthew Stachiw

PART ONE

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The present work is dedicated to the study of Bukovina (a former component part of Kievan Rus, of the Galician-Volhynian State, then of the Moldavian *Voyevodship* and finally, up to 1918, of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy); to the ethnic composition of its population, and especially to the problem of self-determination of the Ukrainian part of Bukovina in 1918.

Geographically, Bukovina lies between 21°57' and 26°28' east longitude and between 47°12' and 48°41' north latitude. Bukovina is bounded in the north by the middle portion of the Dniester (in Ukrainian: Dnister) River, in the northwest by the Cheremosh River, in the west and south it borders on the principal peaks of the Carpatians, and in the east it extends to the Moldavian plain. Bukovina is traversed by the Prut, Seret, Suchava and Zolota Bystrytsya Rivers, along with all their tributaries.

In 1918 the territory of Bukovina embraced 10,442 sq. kilometers, and the population, according to the official population census of 1910, was 794,925 persons, of whom 305,101 were Ukrainians and 273,254 Rumanians, while the rest consisted of Germans, Jews, Poles and other small national groups dispersed throughout the whole of Bukovina.

The two principal ethnic groups, the Ukrainians and the Rumanians, bore various names and appellations throughout the historic process of development. Thus the Ukrainians of Bukovina were called at one time or another *Rusyns*, *Rusnaks*, *Ruskys*, *Rosses*, and *Ruthenians*, but since the fruition of the Ukrainian national rebirth in Bukovina they have been called *Ukrainians* without exception. The name "Ukrainian" was accepted officially by the Austrian government.

The Rumanians also had a variety of names throughout their history. In the historical sources of the Middle Ages they are referred to as *Wallachs* (also *Blakhoy*s, *Blakhys*, and *Vlakhys*). After the establishment of the voyevodships of Muntenia (the Rumanian country) and Moldavia, the

people in these provinces were called after the names of the provinces in which they lived. Thus the inhabitants of Moldavia were called *Moldavians*. But this was not the proper *ethnic* name for the people of the country. For instance, in the letters Antonius, Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote to the Moldavian *hospodar*, to the episcopal administration of the Orthodox Church in Moldavia and to the priests and people, he invariably referred to Moldavia as Rosso-Viakhia, that is, the country of Rosses-Ukrainians and Wallachs-Rumanians.¹ Later on, when the ethnically foreign population in central Moldavia more or less adopted the Rumanian language and became assimilated, the name "Moldavian" began to bear an ethnic connotation. Under Cantemir the name definitely acquired an ethnic meaning. But Cantemir himself believed that in Moldavia the ethnically true Moldavians were the *boyars* only. In any case the whole population of both Moldavia and Bukovina, even after the latter's incorporation into Austria, was called Moldavian, regardless of mother tongue or ethnic origin. The name "Rumanian" was finally accepted only after the merger of the two Rumanian voevodships into one state under the name of the "Rumanian Principalities" and, later, of the "Kingdom of Rumania". Eventually, the term "Rumanian" was gradually accepted in Bukovina, displacing the older "Moldavian."

After the military occupation and annexation of Bukovina by Rumania in 1918, the Rumanian government, implementing a policy of assimilation, used the old term "Ruthenian" to designate the Ukrainians, although it was confronted by the official name "Ukrainian", accepted by the Austrian government. This use of "Ruthenian" had a political purpose: to conceal the fact that the Ukrainians of Bukovina were part of the greater Ukrainian people. For the same purpose of decreasing the population count of Ukrainians, the Rumanian government fabricated a special "ethnic group" out of the Ukrainian Hutsuls of Bukovina, although it is a historic fact that the Bukovinian Hutsuls speak the Ukrainian language only and have always possessed Ukrainian national consciousness.

1 Acta et diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana collectia ediderunt Franciscus Miklosich (Miklosić) et Josephus Mueller, Vol. II: Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani 1315-1402, pag. 241-245

For purposes of clarity in the present work we shall use the present ethnic names for both these peoples, that is, Ukrainians and Rumanians, and only here and there, when additional clarification is required, shall old variants be used.

The Ukrainian national rebirth in Bukovina, dating back to the middle of the XIXth century, took place under the impact of the general Ukrainian literary rebirth in Ukraine and Galicia and under the influence of the liberal slogans and the national movements of Western and Central Europe. Before this rebirth the Ukrainian population in Bukovina had been depressed to the level of human vegetation. For all intents and purposes they were a nationally unconscious ethnic mass. They had survived as a unit only because they possessed and transmitted a rich cultural heritage: stirring unwritten literature in the forms of tales, poetry and songs, and distinct customs and mores, all of which set them apart from their Wallachian-Rumanian neighbors.

The Ukrainian national awakening in Bukovina, which took place in the Austrian era, was first manifested in the parliamentary election of 1848, subsequently in the population censuses, in the course of which the Ukrainians knowingly and correctly registered their national origin in the column entitled "mother tongue".

From the very beginning of the Austrian occupation of Bukovina, the Rumanian elite provided the leadership for the local Bukovinian administration, if not also for the central institutions. This elite considered all Bukovina to be an exclusive Rumanian domain and dreamed of its union with the independent Kingdom of Rumania within historical frontiers. Taken aback by the Ukrainian rebirth in Bukovina, they endeavored by every means to impede it in order to preserve the "integrity" of Bukovina. Consequently, a conflict soon flared up between the Rumanian and Ukrainian leaderships, first in the publication area and then in parliamentary debates, a conflict which lasted several decades. But the Rumanian hegemonists failed to stop the thrust of Ukrainian rebirth. On the contrary, their Rumanization and their resistance to the teaching in Ukrainian in the village public schools and to the recognition of the Ukrainian status as being on a par with that of the Rumanians — all spurred

the Ukrainian side into a speedier process of national flowering. The ever-burgeoning Ukrainian leading strata bolstered the Ukrainian camp and steadily augmented the number of Ukrainian deputies in the provincial diet and in the parliament. Finally, (in 1910), Ukrainian deputies in the Bukovinian diet succeeded in gaining full equality in the political and educational fields. During World War I (in 1917), the Ukrainians won equal rights also in church affairs.

The fall of Austria and the enunciation by President Woodrow Wilson of the doctrine of self-determination in his famous 14-point program opened for the Bukovinian Ukrainians a new historic page. The Ukrainian people, as all other enslaved peoples, craved freedom and the right to govern themselves without alien supervision. The Bukovinian Ukrainians, in conformity with the Wilsonian principle, moved for and attained their self-determination in their own state, the Western Ukrainian National Republic. But the young Ukrainian state could not sustain itself in the face of the aggression on the part of Poland and Rumania which laid claim to these Ukrainian ethnic territories on the basis of alleged "historic rights". There was a *fait accompli* takeover by military aggression, and the Peace Conference, without giving the Ukrainian representatives a hearing, or conducting a plebiscite, arbitrarily assigned to Poland and Rumania the Ukrainian ethnographic territories of the Western Ukrainian National Republic, namely, Galicia and Northern Bukovina, thus disposing of the Ukrainian people on the international market as so much cattle.

Although both Poland and Rumania obligated themselves to respect the international treaty regarding the protection of national minorities, Poland renounced the treaty unilaterally on September 13, 1934. As for Rumania, from the very beginning it refused to apply the treaty provisions with respect to the Bukovinian Ukrainians under the pretext they were "Ukrainized Rumanians" who should be returned to their Rumanian fold by every manner and means, included enforced Rumanization, a policy it began to press as soon as the Paris Peace Conference assigned to her the entire province of Bukovina. The Rumanian government went so far in Bukovina as to establish martial law, institute police terror

and dissolve all the existing Ukrainian cultural and social organizations, the Ukrainian public grade and high schools being transformed into Rumanian ones as well. For over twenty years the Bukovinian Ukrainians waged a hard and intransigent struggle against the brutal process of Rumanization and de-nationalization.

World War II brought "liberation" to the Bukovinian Ukrainians through another military occupation of their land — this time by the Soviet Union, and again without the consent or agreement beforehand of the Ukrainian population.

According to the right of self-determination, the place of an ethnographically Ukrainian Bukovina is in a greater Ukrainian state, which alone could assure the most promising possibilities for an all-embracing national development. The present Ukrainian-Rumanian border is far from ideal: again, it was drawn without the consent of the people concerned or a plebiscite under the supervision of an international organ.

Surprisingly enough, we still hear voices from the Rumanian side holding forth on the "Rumanian" character of Northern Bukovina. These voices, even judging by the Rumanian population censuses of 1930 and 1941, can hardly be mistaken for exponents of goodwill. These Rumanian pretensions reek of an imperialistic odor which ought not be brooked by the modern community of democratic states. The Ukrainian people, who survived so many imperialistic "blisses", do not covet or claim any foreign ethnographic territories, but at the same time they would not have others seize their own lands. It is to be hoped that future political changes in Eastern Europe will not entail bargaining and trading among the international organs, as was the case in 1919 at the Peace Conference at the expense of the Ukrainians. The era of imperialism is ending — and none too soon. The selling-out of people invariably engenders new wars, because no nation or people docilely accepts its own destruction.

II. BUKOVINA AND ITS POPULATION UP TO THE ARRIVAL OF MOLDAVIAN SETTLERS

From the historical viewpoint Bukovina possesses a great and rich past. This is due in the first place to its mild climate and to its location at the gateway of the international routes leading from the southeastern steppes into the Danubian valley.

We have no historical data to indicate that in the distant past Bukovina constituted a distinct political and territorial unit. It so developed only after the occupation and the incorporation into Austria of the northwestern section of Moldavia in 1774. This annexed territory became a separate province of Austria and received the name of Bukovina.

But the name of Bukovina was known as far back as the XIVth century. Historic documents of 1392 referred by this name to the present day middle and northwestern part of Bukovina, an area covered with beech trees (beech in Ukrainian is *buk* — pronounced “book”, hence the “land of beech trees” or, in Ukrainian, *Bukovyna*).

Archeological traces of upperpaleolithic character would indicate that present day Bessarabia, Bukovina, Galicia and even all of Moldavia once belonged to one and the same cultural unit and that in the neolithic and bronze eras the population of these areas belonged to the tribes of the so-called Tripillian Culture.² In later settlements we find traces also of Scythian, Celtic, and Getic origin.

2 R. Vulpe: *Civilisation precucutiene recentement decouverte a Izvoare en Moldavie*;

H. Dumitrescu: *O descoperire in legatură cu ritul de înmormântare in curpinsul culturil ceramice pictate cucuteni-tripole*;

С. Н. Вибиков: *Исследование трипольских памятников на среднем Поднестровье*;

Е. Ю. Кричевський: *Про відносну хронологію пам'яток трипільської культури*;

T. С. Пассек: *Периодизация трипольских поселений*;

T. С. Пассек: *Итоги работ в Молдавии в области первобытной археологии*;

В. А. Тимошук: *Розвідки в басейні р. Пруту*;

В. О. Тимошук: *Археологічні дослідження Чернівецького музею в 1949-1951 рр.*

The material culture of the population of the Dnieper-Dniester-Vistula area of the first half of the first millenium A.D. belongs to the so-called Chernyakhivska Culture, featuring a settled agricultural population and developed artisan-ship.³

Historical sources report the settlement of those areas by the Getes, Bastarns and East Slavic tribes which made up part of the Antes' state.

It has been established by historical research that the southeastern lands of Europe between the Dniester, the Danube and the Carpathians, even before the arrival of the Bulgarians and, later, the Hungarians, were populated by Slavic tribes. This is attested to not only by archeological findings, but also by the toponomics of the rivers and local ities of these and neighboring spaces. The Danubian basin between the Carpatians and the Lower Danube stayed in the possession of the Slavs. *Povist vremennykh* lit mentions the Slavic tribes of the Uliches and the Tyvertsis on both banks of the Dniester who become components of the Ukrainian nation.⁴ The presence in these areas of the Slavic tribes, ancestors of the later Rusyches-Ukrainians, is confirmed by historical sources too numerous to discuss here. We mention only the so-called *Spysok ruskikh horodiv of 1396* (in the Novgorod and Voskresenska Chonicles), which refers to Kilia and Bilhorod on the Danube and Khotyn in the north in Bessarabia; Iassy, Roman and Neamts in Moldavia and Suchava, Seret and Horodok on the Cheremosh River (present day Vashkivtsi or Vyznytsya) as Ruthenian cities, all belonging to the Kiev (in Ukrainian: Kyiv) or, rather, the Galician-Volhynian State.⁵ Moreover, historical sources, provide ample evidence to the effect that area of later Moldavia, and especially Bukovina, made up part of Kievan Rus

3 В. П. Петров: Давні слов'яни V-VIII ст. (літописні дані в світлі археологічних матеріалів). В: Український історичний журнал, 1965-2-30-31;

Г. Диякону: К вопросу о культуре Сынтана-Черняхов на территории Р. П. Р. в свете исследования могильника в Тыргшоре. В: Dacia, Т. 5, н. с. 1961, 415-428;

4 „Повесть временных лет”, Т. I, 14, 210;

5 М. Грушевський: Історія України-Руси, Т. 2, 523;

and, later on, of the Galician-Volhynian State.⁶ Dlugosz contends that the Slavs already were to be found in the northern Carpathians after the destruction of the Huns (163), and in Moldavia the Slavic element was strengthened by settlers from the Ukrainian lands, the Rumanians arriving later. It becomes clear why Kaindl doubts a Rumanian fable the assertion that the Ukrainians of Bukovina are not indigenous to the land.⁷

III. PROBLEM OF AUTOCHTHONY OF UKRAINIANS IN BUKOVINA IN MOLDAVIAN AND AUSTRIAN ERAS —THEORY OF "UKRAINIZATION" OF RUMANIANS

The state and political connection of these lands (especially of the later administrative units of Bukovina and Bessarabia) with the Galician-Volhynian State was interrupted by the invasion of the Mongols, who succeeded in remaining there for an entire century. In the Mongolian period a new state and political creation came into being between the Prut and Dniester Rivers in Northern Bukovina. Known as *Shyppnetska Zemlya*, it reached a high state of development and possessed a dense population.

After the victory of Hungarian King Ludovic the Great over the Mongols in 1345 and the retreat of the Mongols to the east beyond the Dniester, Wallachian military units, part of the Hungarian army, drifted from the Marmorosh area through the Carpathian gap of Bărgău (Borgo)^{7-a} and settled in the east in present Bukovina. Here they established their own authority, initially under the supervision of the Hungarian Crown. Strengthened by fresh influxes of Wallachian elements from the Marmorosh district, they progressively emancipated themselves from the Hungarian rule and steadily expanded their domain towards the Cheremosh, the Dniester and the Danube. The newly-created state was called Moldavia, its inhabitants Moldavians.

6 М. Грушевський: Історія України-Руси, Т. 2, 460, 519 наст.;

Dr. R. F. Kaindl: *Geschichte der Bukowina*. Abschnitt 1, S. 31, ff.; R. F. Kaindl: *Die Ruthenen in der Bukowina*, S. 47; F. A. Wickenhauser: *Bochotin oder Geschichte der Stadt Czernowitz und ihrer Umgebung*. Heft 1, S. 14.

7 R. F. Kaindl: *Die Ruthenen in der Bukowina*. S. 47 ff.

7-a Berthold Spuler: *Die Goldene Horde*. Vol. 2, p. 105, and sources cited there;

But, after the Mongol retreat, the northern and western hilly part of Bukovina, approximately up to Seret River, along with Galicia, had been incorporated into Poland. We need not recall again that the population of these territories was Ukrainian. This part of Bukovina then was ceded by Poland to Moldavia during the reign of Stefan the Great (according to the provisions of the treaty of 1499). Henceforth this part of Bukovina, along with the Ukrainian population, was part of the Moldavian state.⁸

No historical sources suggest the existence of an organized life of Rumanians (Wallachians) or of any compact Rumanian settlements in these areas before the XIIIth century. Rumanian organized life east of the Carpathian Mountains is placed at the earliest in the XIVth century, after the retreat of the Mongols eastwards beyond the Dniester. For this appearance of the Rumanians, Rumanian historiography uses the term *descălăcare*, which means settlement or colonization.⁹

The Wallachian settlements east of the Carpathians were small and scattered, and quite probably existed even before the arrival of the Mongols. They were also to be found in the northern Carpathian foothills. All these, however, were insignificant, lost among the Slavic mass. Their number could have increased substantially only with the influx of Wallachian settlers from Transylvania after the establishment of the Moldavian state in the middle of the XIVth century. The assertions of Rumanian historians about the presence of Rumanian population here, intermingling with Slavic people, prior to the creation of the Moldavian state¹⁰ are based on the assumption that new settlers met no resistance on the part of the autochthonous population during the period of conquest of these lands because there were so many Rumanians among the local population. This assumption, however, is too tenuous to support such a conclusion. Polish historian Dlugosz, in reporting how Rumanian-Moldavian settlers succeeded in conquering these areas and in consol-

8 I. M. Новосівський: Буковина в міжнародних договорах. В: Буковина — її минуле й сучасне. стор. 854;

R. F. Kaendl: Geschichte der Bukowina, Teil 2, S. 13;

9 A. D. Xenopol: Istoria Românilor din Dacia Traiană, fr. Vol. I, 231 urm.

10 A. D. Xenopol: Ibidem, Vol. I, 233.

idating their power, gave a version quite different from the one advanced by the Rumanian historians:

“When the Moldavian *voyevod* Stefan died in Wallahia— whose ancestors and first predecessors expelled from Italy (they were considered to be a tribe of the Volskis), took over the Moldavian Land, displacing the former masters-holders and Ruthenian peasants-farmers, at first by ruse, and when their number increased, then by force; in order to dominate it (the land — I. N.), they, as apostates from the ancestral tribe, accepted the Ruthenian faith and customs — sharp contention arose among the sons of the dead voyevod, namely, Stefan and Peter, about the succession and domination . . .”¹¹

Actually the founders of the Moldavian state arrived with the Slavic social and political system and Church Slavonic as the official language of church and state. In addition, the Rumanian-Moldavian settlers, as well as the autochthonous population of these areas, were of the Orthodox faith. These were the reasons why the new authority could easily take root among the Slavic-Ukrainian local population, which, although sparse and scattered, never disappeared completely from the land.

Regrettably, we do not possess exact data on the church hierarchy of the newly-created Moldavian state at its origin but it is an incontestable fact that from the beginning of the existence of this state the Moldavian Orthodox Church was under the jurisdiction of the Galician metropolitanate, whence church books came. Certainly, too, prior to the arrival of Moldavian settlers, a great part of the later Moldavian territory was under the domination of the Galician-Volhynian princes, and, as a consequence, the Orthodox Church in these

11 “Stephano Moldaviae Voivodae, apud Valachos mortuo, quorum maiores et aboriginarii de Italiae Regno pulsus (genus et natio Volscorum esse fuisseque creduntur) veteribus Dominis et colonis Ruthenis, primum subdole, deinde abundante in dies multitudine, per violentiam expulsis, illam occuparunt, in Ruthenorumque ritus et mores, quo facilius proveniret occupatio, a propriis degenerantes, transmigrarunt. Dura inter duos filios mortui Palatini, videlicet Stephanum et Petrum, contentio de Principatu et illius successione suboritur”. (Vidi: Ioannis Dlugosii seu Longini *Historiae Polonicae Libri XII*. Lipsiae, 1711, Liber nonus, pag. 1122).

territories was subordinated to the Galician metropolitanate. Historical documents inform us that the Moldavian *hospodar*, Yuga Koriatovych, broke with the Galician metropolitanate (1374) and appealed to Ochridis to ordain a new metropolitan. But the Patriarch of Constantinople refused to permit the consecration; instead, he sent into Moldavia his own metropolitan, whom the *hospodar* in turn refused to accept. Then Moldavia turned again to Halych, and Metropolitan Antonius consecrated Bishop Joseph and, later on, Bishop Meletius. At first the Patriarch refused to recognize these consecrations, but relented during the reign of *Hospodar* Alexander the Good (cel Bun) in 1401, extending recognition in exchange for the subordination of the Moldavian Church to the Patriarch of Constantinople.¹² In 1435 Archbishop Hryhoryy Tsamblak, formerly the metropolitan of Kiev, became the metropolitan of Moldavia. The Patriarch appealed to him to join the union, but Tsamblak refused.¹³

Soon after the consolidation of the Moldavian state there developed a great schism between the autochthonous population and the settlers-masters, who were forming a new social class. In time a gulf widened between the two social classes: the privileged Moldavian settlers and *boyar*-masters and the autochthonous inhabitants, mostly farmers, who bore all the state burdens. The latter soon became wholly dependent upon the *boyars*, to whom the *hospodar* granted lands belonging to the autochthonous population, which constituted a majority of all inhabitants. Another class stratified through special privileges: the clergy and the monasteries, both of which were granted lands by the *hospodar* and were exempted from taxation and other state burdens.

Before the arrival of the Moldavian settlers the autochthonous population undoubtedly had its own leading stratum, its own *boyars* after the pattern of the social differentiation in the Galician-Volhynian State, but this stratum probably went over to the new masters in order to preserve their own privileges. The number and influence of Ukrainian

12 Xenopol, *op. cit.*, fr. I, 268 urm.; *Istoria Romîniei*, ed. Acad. RPR, II 180 urm.; Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki: *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, XIV, partea I, 21 si 32.

13 *Istoria Romîniei*, II. 180 urm.

boyars at the Moldavian *voyevoda's* court must have been quite strong at the beginning, inasmuch as already in 1372 we see on the Moldavian throne a *hospodar* of Ukrainian origin, Yuriy-Yuga-Koriatovych, who was elected by the *boyars'* council. Again among the court *boyars* of the time we find many with Ukrainian names. Thus at the junction of the XIV-XVth centuries, we see a Ukrainian in the highest post of the state, who is referred to in documents as „ruthenicus cancellarius Stephani voyevodae.”¹³ But this Ukrainian elite in the Moldavian state was soon assimilated and lost to the Ukrainian people. There remained only the Ukrainian masses composing a social class which had no voice in an elite-dominated state and which played no political role therein. No one was interested in in relation to their ethnic origin, but only as economic assets, object of inventory.

The ethnic composition of the newly-created Moldavian state at the junction of the XIVth and XVth centuries is properly reflected by the name of this state appearing in Greek sources as “Rosso-Wlachia”. Thus the Patriarchate Antonius of Constantinople, in his letters of 1395 and 1401 to Moldavian *Hospodar* Stephan Mushat, to the Moldavian population and to the episcopal administrator, Archpriest Peter, called Moldavia Rosso-Wlachia, that is, a country inhabited by Ruthenians, Ukrainians and Wallachians-Rumanians.¹⁴ That the country should have identified by the Greeks by the name of the stateless inhabitants who lived on this territory, attests to the fact that their number at that time must have been considerable. The Patriarch of Constantinople must have been well aware of this fact, his information coming as it did from a most authoritative source, the Moldavian Bishop.

The ethnically Ukrainian element in the Moldavian state did not disappear in the XVIIth century. Its presence in Bukovina is attested to by the following incontestable fact: when with the increase in significance of national languages the Rumanian language began gradually replacing the then official Church-Slavonic language, in use in church and state in Moldavia, during the rule of *Hospodar* Lupul, the Church-Slavonic nevertheless remained in use in the churches and

13-a R. F. Kaindl: *Geschichte der Bukowina*, II, 27, 36.

14. *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, Vol. 2, pp. 241-245.

monasteries in Bukovina, precisely in that part where the population to this day speaks Ukrainian and has a purely Ukrainian national character.¹⁵

About the ethnic composition of Moldavia we already have in the XVIIIth century one of the most authoritative testimonies, namely, that of Moldavian *Hospodar* Dimitrie Cantemir. According to him "the true Moldavians (in the ethnic sense of the word — I. N.) are *boyars*"¹⁶. He added: "There is not a single farmer who would be a pure Moldavian. Those who are there derive from the Ruthenians (Russky) or the Transylvanians, whom the Moldavians call Magyars..."¹⁷

Cantemir went further: "These (farmers) who had been brought from Poland (that is, Ukrainians, during the Moldavian-Polish wars when *Hospodar* Stephan the Great and others reigned — I. N.) and who were settled in central Moldavia, with time forgot their native tongue and adopted the Moldavian language; others who were settled near Podolia, speak Ruthenian and Muscovite to this day..."¹⁸

Moreover, the Bukovinian Hutsul land, that is, the district of Dovhopole, is according to Cantemir, "Ruthenian Kimpolung", that is, ethnographically Ukrainian.¹⁹

The work of Cantemir was written between 1711-1723. From that time until the Austrian occupation of Bukovina in 1774 ethnographic conditions in Bukovina could not have changed radically in favor of the Rumanian element. Indeed, the German researcher on the history of Bukovina, Hermann I. Bidermann, could contend categorically that "as far back as the XVIIIth century the Moldavian *Voyevodship* was not considered a domain of the Rumanian nationality..."²⁰

15 Emil Kaluzniacki: *Die ruthenische Sprache und Literatur*, in: *Die oesterreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort u. Bild*, B. XX, S. 400.

16 Dimitrie Cantemir: *Descrierea Moldaviei*. In "Operele Principelui D. 'Cantemir'", Vol. II, p. 130.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 132; as far as Cantemir's statement regarding the Muscovite language is concerned it is evidently an error. There was no "Muscovite language" in the border zone between Moldavia and Podolia, with the possible exception of its use by a few "old Believers".

19 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

20 H. I. Bidermann: *Die Bukowina unter oesterreichischer Verwaltung 1785-1875*, S. 45.

The first population census of Bukovina, conducted by the Military Government of Bukovina in 1774, the first year of the Austrian occupation, disclosed that there were a total of 14,650 families, or cirka 75,000 persons, in 277 populated localities.²¹ In the whole of Bukovina in 1774 there were the following categories of population:

Boyers — 22 families; Mazils (small nobility) — 175 families; Rezeshs (free peasants) — 119 families; Clergy — 501 families; Officials — 285 families; Dependent peasants — 14,929 families; Merchants — 45 families; Armenians — 58 families; Jews — 526 families; Gypsies — 294 families.²²

Since the population of Bukovina, on the whole, was sparse, the Austrian government endeavored to increase it by sponsoring immigration and colonization schemes. Even in the first years of the Austrian occupation the influx of immigrants from Moldavia and Transylvania was substantial. There was also a certain, but insignificant, influx from Galicia, since the mobility of dependent peasants was prohibited,²³ and since only a peasant immigration could have been substantial. This bar against emigration lasted until 1848, at which time the social and economic conditions in Galicia and Bukovina had become stabilized to the point that any migration from one province to another was not particularly rewarding.

The second military administrator of Bukovina, General Enzenberg, conducted a population census in 1778 in Bukovina. In his report to the General Command in Lviv in 1781 he wrote that of all the 23,000 families in Bukovina the Moldavians constituted a bare 6,000 families.²⁴ And Captain Sulzer, who personally directed the census-taking considered that even these 6 thousand families were Rumanianized Ruthenians-Ukrainians.²⁵ Thus, in the opinion of Enzenberg, the Ukraini-

21 Johann Polek: *Ortsverzeichnis der Bukowina aus dem J. 1775*, S. 28.

22 Polek. *op. cit.*, p. 39.

23 Ion I. Nistor: *Der nationale Kampf in der Bukowina*, S. 144.

24 Johann Polek: *Josephs II. Reisen nach Galizien und der Bukowina*. S. 92; I. Nistor: *România și Rutenii în Bucovina*, p. 107 nota 1.

R. F. Kaïndl: *Geschichte der Bukowina*, Teil 2, S. 13.

25 Johann Polek: *Die Anjaenge des Volksschulwesens in der Bukowina*, S. 43;

Ст. Смалъ-Стоцький: *Буковинська Русь*, стор. 19;

ans constituted an overwhelming majority of the population in Bukovina at the time of its occupation by Austria.

Immediately after the occupation of Bukovina the Austrian government ordered a land survey. Surveyor J. Budinsky, who was in charge of this operation, delivered a report to the Court Military Council in 1783, entitled, *Description of the Province of Bukovina*, it read in part:

"Inasmuch as the major part of the local inhabitants are Polish subjects, who were brought here, the prevailing tongue is for the most part Ruthenian (Ukrainian), with only one-fourth speaking Moldavian (Rumanian). The areas of Suchava especially are inhabited by Moldavians (Rumanians)".²⁶

In his introduction to *Description of the Province of Bukovina*, Budinsky stated that his account was based on his own observations, received "either during my operations (surveying — I. N.) or during my travels (in Bukovina — I. N.)"²⁷

On linguistic — ethnical basis a plan was drawn up in 1780 by Fieldmarshal Schreder at the Army High Command in Lviv which would have united with Galicia either all of Bukovina or at least that part of Bukovina which exclusively contained the Ukrainian population. In the latter case, the southern Rumanian part would have been annexed to Transylvania. Set against the plan, however, was Chancellor Blumegen, apparently acting under the influence of Moldavian *Boycar* V. Balsh, who journeyed to Vienna to see the Chancellor for this purpose, and the plan was rejected.²⁸

Nistor tried to undermine the validity of the Budinsky report by pointing out that Budinsky, having surveyed only a part of Bukovina, could not have ascertained national-eth-

26 "Well der groeste Teil der hiesigen Inwohner aus ausgewanderten polnischen Unterthanen, die meist Russnaken sind, besteht, so wird groestenteils russisch geredet, und nur etwa ein Viertel redet moldauisch; besonders aber die Gegend von Suczawa ist mit Moldauern besetz". (Siehe: Dr. Johann Polek: *Die Bukowina zu Anfang des Jahres 1783*. Nach einer Denkschrift des Mappierrungsdirectors Johann Budinsky, S. 32).

27 J. Polek, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

28 F. Zieglaue von Blumenthal: *Landesgeschichte seit Besitzergreifung*. In: *Die oesterreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort u. Bild*, Band XX. S. 131 ff.

nic relations in the whole of Bukovina. But Nistor's objection did not sustain his criticism: Budinsky did not have to survey the whole province himself in order to acquire the conviction about the national interrelation in the entire of Bukovina. Moreover, as an officer in the imperial army and head of the surveying commission, he would never have dared to report to the imperial Court Military Council, that is, his highest superiors, erroneous facts and data about conditions which he was empowered to verify and in which he personally was uninterested. Budinsky was a native of Mukachiv.²⁹

These ethnic and linguistic conditions prevailing in Bukovina at the moment of its incorporation into Austria were attested to not only by Budinsky, but by an even more authoritative source, a Rumanian prelate, Bishop Dosotey Cherescul of Radivtsi and Czernivtsi respectively. In a report submitted on April 27, 1781, to the military administrator of Bukovina, General Enzenberg, Bishop Cherescul took a stand (in paragraph 6 of the report) regarding a patent of March 21, 1781, which prohibited the importation of church books from abroad. He considered that need for Church-Slavonic books was indispensable for Bukovina, because "in Bukovina more than a half (of the population) speak Ruthenian . . ." — that is, Ukrainian.³⁰ Understandably, in using the word, "russisch," the Rumanian Bishop meant the Orthodox Ukrainians, having in mind Ruthenians and not Muscovite-Russians, since there were no Russians in Bukovina.

There is yet additional indisputable proof that the Ukrainians in Bukovina were not "invented by the Austrian government in 1848", but had been there prior to 1774. It is in the form of a certificate, dated April 1, 1788, issued by the monastery school in Putna and given to a seminarian, George Balashescul (later Bishop Isaya). This document states that the bearer, among other subjects, took "Moldavian and Ruth-

29 Polek. *op. cit.*, S. 3 ff.

30 . . . "Da in der Bukowina mehr als der halbe Theil die russische Sprache redet, so waeren russische Kirchenbuecher erforderlich... in unseren Landen diese Buecher der nicht unierten Kirche nicht zu finden sind..." (Ferdinand Ziegler: *Geschichtliche Bilder aus der Bukowina zur Zeit der oester. Militaer-Verwaltung*. Zweite Bilderreihe, S. 147 ff).

enian catechism". The school curriculum had been established long before the Austrian occupation of Bukovina aimed at providing that a priest should be also able to teach the Orthodox faith both to the Rumanian and Ukrainian population of Bukovina. The Ukrainian population must have been quite numerous, since it was not necessary to introduce this subject into the curriculum for potential immigrants.³¹

On May 14, 1843 the Bishop E. Hakman demanded that "the necessary measures be taken towards the thorough instruction of the Moldavian and Slavonian (Ukrainian — I. N.) languages at the Theological Institut in Chernivtsi — both of them being in Bukovina the languages of the population and of the church"^{31-a}

The national awakening of the Bukovinian Ukrainians through the general rise of education and under the impact of the national rebirth of other nations brought the Ukrainian problem to the fore in Bukovina. The Rumanians of Bukovina, alarmed, broke into an uproar, accusing the Austrian government of "inventing the Ukrainians in 1818". This Rumanian clamor was understandable, inasmuch as the Ukrainian national rebirth shattered the Rumanian hegemony in Bukovina, and in any event it rebuffed the Rumanian thesis that Bukovina was an exclusively ethnic Rumanian domain.

But it should be stressed most emphatically that the Austrian government was greatly concerned about raising the level of literacy in the monarchy. State officials, responsible for education, were aware of the fact that masses of people can be educated only in their native tongue, a theory which was practiced meticulously by the Austrian government, especially when the efforts of Emperor Joseph II to Germanize the non-German peoples of the empire evoked stormy protest, especially of the Poles in Galicia.

Rumanian historians and Rumanian Bukovinian polit-

31 St. Smal-Stockyj, *op. cit.*, p. 26; J. Polek: *Anfaenge des Volksschulwesens in der Bukowina*, p. 10.

31-a "... einer eigenen Vorkehrung zur gruendlichen Erlernung der moldauschen und slavischen Sprachen, welche beide in der Bukowina die Sprachen des Volkes und der Kirche sind". See: Isidor von On-ciul: *Einiges ueber den Gang und die Entwicklung der theologischen und clerikalen Cultur in der Bukowina*. In: *Romaenische Revue*, V. 1889, S. 30 ff.

ical leaders denied the existence of the Ukrainian population in Bukovina, endeavoring at all costs to prevent the emergence of the Ukrainian question. They advanced a theory which held that the Ukrainians not only were not the autochthonous element in Bukovina but that prior to 1818 the Rumanians constituted the sole political nation in Bukovina. On the day of Bukovina's annexation, they claimed, it possessed an exclusively Rumanian character. The Ukrainians were explained away as having been "invented" by the Germans on and after 1818. By way of proof for their "theory" they pointed out that neither in the administration nor in the school records was there any mention of the use of the Ukrainian language.

This Rumanian contention that the Ukrainian language had not been admitted into the schools of Bukovina prior to 1818 simply does not correspond to fact: recognition of the Ukrainian language in the primary schools of Bukovina dates back to 1814 and as far back as 1813.

Already the regulation of the so-called *Ratio educationis* of 1777 accorded to the seven nations of Austria, including the Ukrainian, the right of establishing schools with their own native language of instruction.³² We also know that the Court Military Council sent into Bukovina a certain number of "Ruthenian books" in 1785. This suggests that the number of Ukrainians in Bukovina was substantial. In its letter of November 19, 1785 the same Court Military Council explained that these measures were being undertaken towards a more effective spreading of the Moldavian and German language among the Ukrainians (thus in order to Rumanize and Germanize them!) and also in order to dispel the distrust of Ukrainians of Bukovina, so dangerous for the government.³³

Therefore, we consider as just the observation by S. Daszkiewicz to the effect that in the first decades of Austrian rule Ukrainians were not mentioned specially because they belonged to the same religion as the Ruminians — the "Wallachian faith"; and all those belonging to the "Wallachian

32 Klaus Frommelt: *Die Sprachenfrage im oesterreichischen Unterrichtswesen*, S. 36 und 47.

33 Johann Polek: *Die Anfaenge des Volksschulwesens in der Bukowina*, S. 73.

faith", were considered as "Wallachians"-Moldavians; and only Greek Catholics who immigrated from Galicia were called Ukrainians-Ruthenians.³⁴

According to Kaindl, the use in the reports of the Court Military Council only of the term "Moldavians" should be understood as referring to the "Autochthonous population" regardless of national-ethnic origin.³⁵

In addition, we must not forget that on the basis of the treaty of May 7, 1775, regarding the cession of Bukovina to Austria, the latter country obligated itself to preserve the social and legal *status quo* in the ceded province. This concerned especially the activities of legal institutes, the local administration and the use therein of the official Rumanian language. And initially the new sovereign to a greater or lesser extent adhered to these treaty provisions. During the Moldavian era of the history of Bukovina, immediately before its incorporation into Austria, the only official language was the Moldavian-Rumanian language, and this situation continued after the annexation of Bukovina with but one difference: in addition to the Rumanian, the German language was introduced as a liaison language between the central and local administrations.

Prior to 1848, that is, before the time of the first and provisional constitution of the Austrian monarchy, the national and linguistic question of the various peoples who inhabited the territory of the empire was not a constitutional problem. The problems which at that time far outweighed any other involved class privileges and religion. Therefore, from the very beginning of its rule in Bukovina the Austrian government not only had no right to introduce the Ukrainian language into government offices and schools, but, on the contrary, it was strictly bound by the treaty to preserve the *status quo*, though the greater part of the population of Bukovina spoke Ukrainian and was, *per se*, Ukrainian ethnically. In the light of these circumstances, the presumption made by Rumanian publicists about the non-admission of the

34 Sylvester Daszkiewicz: Die Lage der gr.orth. Ruthenen in der Bukowiner Erzdiözese. S. 88.

35 R. F. Kaindl: *Das Ansiedlungswesen in der Bukowina seit der Besitzergreifung durch Oesterreich*, S. 109 fff.

Ukrainian language in the government office and schools in Bukovina is groundless, as also is groundless their deduction that there were no Ukrainians (Ruthenians, Rusyns, Rusnaks), any such having been "uncovered" by the Germans in 1818 in a countermove against the Poles and Rumanians.

The Austrian central administration knew all about the existence of Ukrainians on the basis of the population census reports, as well as the reports of representatives of the administration who of necessity dealt with the Ukrainian population on the local level, although Rumanian officials in the Bukovinian administration sought to conceal the presence of such a nationality. Later on they recognized the Ukrainians as "Ruthenian Romans", thus endeavoring to maintain an illusory Rumanian character for Bukovina. The year of 1818 brought only a theoretical equalization of Ukrainians with Rumanians as to constitutional rights on the basis of well known facts previously existing.

There was no doubt as to the autochthony of Ukrainians in Bukovina in the mind of the outstanding German historian and ethnic researcher of Bukovina, Prof. R. F. Kaindl.³⁶ And a French journalist, Raoul Chellard, who in the 1890's spent a considerable amount of time in Austria studying the national problems of this monarchy, came to the conclusion in his work that for a long time Bukovina had been a linguistically Ukrainian area and that its southeastern part had only recently been Rumanized.³⁷

Ethnic relations in Bukovina also caught the attention of the American researcher, Bernard Newman, who made the following observation:

"Bukovina is a pleasant contrast to the Rumanian plains. A thousand years ago Bukovina was largely inhabited by Ukrainians . . . The province was seized by Austria from Turkey in 1774 and remained part of the Austrian Empire until 1918 . . . It will be seen that Ukrainians form the largest section of a very mixed population. Today the Ukrainian section of the population is largely concentrated in the northern portion of the province, and here it heavily outnumbers all

36 R. F. Kaindl und A. Manastyrsky: *Die Ruthenen in der Bukowina*, Band I, 21 ff.

37 Raoul Chellard: *L'Autriche contemporaine*, pp. 285, 290.

other races. It has resisted all attempts at Rumanization. Under the comparatively mild Austrian administration there were over two hundred Ukrainian schools in Bukovina. The Rumanians closed these . . . Nevertheless, their culture was kept alive: it is ranked among the finest and most tenacious of Eastern Europe. Its folklore and music are deservedly famous. For many centuries this district had existed without schools at all; so the Ukrainian peasantry provided mental food for their children at home. Here was kept alive the wonderful Ukrainian folk-cultural legacy . . ."³⁸

Also with regard to this matter of the autochthony of Ukrainians in Bukovina — a theoretical question which has no especial meaning in the era of self-determination — we find some soberer and more objective views among Rumanian political and scientific leaders.

Some deductions and conclusions by one of them, Dr. Aurel Onciul, follow:

"Beginning in 1848, the year when national consciousness was awakened, the Rumanian question has been discussed on a false premise, by a false method, by a false way and is being led to a false objective.

The false premise is the view which has become dogmatic, namely, that Bukovina during the Austrian occupation had a purely Rumanian population. True, the documents of the time refer only to the "Moldavians". But in the Austrian interpretation this expression had no ethnic sense, merely a territorial one . . . The word "Moldavians" tells nothing of the nationality of the inhabitants of Moldavia . . . Even less true is that immediately after the occupation the Austrian government used the Rumanian language in its correspondence with Bukovinian official institutions. The Rumanian language in the time of the Moldavian rule was the official language in the same degree as is the German language now (1913) under Austrian rule. Thus the former Rumanian official language does not prove the Rumanian character of the Bukovinian population during the occupation in the same manner as the present German language does not prove German nationality at the present time.

38 Bernard Newman: *Balkan Background*, pp. 123-124.

As regards statements about the nationality of the Bukovinian population . . . the most reliable information is to be found in the Austrian military archives . . . Among these documents is a detailed report of Capt. Budinsky, who was sent by Emperor Joseph II specifically to investigate the country. His report, written in 1783, provides a description of the country, the way of life of the population, and the like. As regards the language, he writes: "Inasmuch as the greater part of the local inhabitants consists of the 'Rusnaks', the language spoken is above all 'Ruthenian', with only a bare fourth speaking Moldavian . . ." Thus it is a historical truth that the majority of the Bukovinian population during the Austrian occupation was of the Ukrainian nationality.

Going completely counter to official documents of the past, the verbal tradition and census data, researcher Ficker in his brochure (*A Hundred Years*) contends that during the occupation Bukovina was purely Rumanian. This brochure was widely read and, inasmuch as we had no basic criticism, it became the dogma for our intelligentsia . . .

Even more surprising was for it (Rumanian intelligentsia — I. N.) the population census of 1880, which for the first time provided a nationality breakdown of the population; it showed a majority of Ukrainians as compared with the Rumanians. This phenomenon could not be explained otherwise except by the rapid Ukrainization of Bukovinian Rumanians. From that time on our intelligentsia has believed that our peasants go to bed as Rumanians but rise in the morning as Ukrainians . . .

As a result of this conviction, our intelligentsia completely lost confidence in the vitality of the Rumanian people and hope in supporting its nationality by proper means . . . It began looking for help elsewhere; in its opinion, such help could be provided only by the allpowerful government. Thus, the intelligentsia became a servant of the government, and this only because the government in exchange would defend the Rumanians and oppress the Ukrainians . . . All attention became concentrated on an imaginary enemy, the Ukrainians. If it were possible to murder and destroy him completely, it would be the sole objective of national activity. Naturally, this inimical design had to provoke a strong counter-action

on the part of the Ukrainian people, engendering an ever-growing hatred . . ."³⁹

Regrettably, this sober voice of the Rumanian patriot could not penetrate the closed minds of the Rumanian intelligentsia in Bukovina, and Rumanian historians continued to follow the beaten path in propagating the false premise: Bukovina was ethnically Moldavian territory.

Finally, the prominent Rumanian researcher of the national problems of Austria, Dr. Aurel Popovici, regarded Bukovina an "ethnically Rumanian-Ruthenian crownland" (ethnisch rumaen.-ruthenisches Kronland).^{40-a}

IV. INFLUENCE OF MOLDAVIAN NOBILITY ON AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT IN DECISIVE MATTERS CONCERNING BUKOVINA

The Austrian occupation in 1774 found in Bukovina a stratified society. The official administration of the province was in the hands of the Moldavian *boyars*, that is, the class of the nobility, which enjoyed the greatest privileges. Inasmuch as Austria was also a state of privileged classes and safeguarded class privileges, the Moldavian *boyars* gladly accepted exchange of Balkan chaos and Turkish dependence for an orderly Austrian rule. But they always maintained their "Moldavian" conscience, keeping their language, customs and way of life.

After the occupation of Bukovina, from 1774 to 1786 the country was ruled by a Military Government, headed by General Gabriel Spleny. He was replaced in virtue of an imperial decree of June 4, 1778, by General K. Enzenberg. Again, by a decree of June 8, 1786 Bukovina was administratively subordinated to the Galician Province as a separate district headed by a district prefect (Kreishauptmann).

39 Dr. Aurel Onciul: *Chestiunea românească în Bucovina*, in: *Viața Românească*, Iași, No. 10, 1913 (quoted „Самостійна Думка”, № 1, 1931, p. 18, Chernivtsi, where Dr. Onciul's article appeared in Ukrainian).

39-a Dr. A. C. Popovici: *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Grosseesterreich*, S. 35.

At the beginning the Austrian government adhered to the treaty of 1775 as regards the *status quo* in Bukovina, by keeping the local administration, with the exception of the central institutions, in the hands of the local Moldavian gentry. A few years after the annexation of Bukovina we see the Moldavian *boyar*, Vasile Balsh, appearing in Vienna (1781) with an extensive memorandum from the Moldavian *boyars* setting forth a plan for the political organization of Bukovina. In 1783 Balsh became an adviser on Bukovina affairs at the Court Military Council. In 1782 he had been appointed prefect of the district of Bukovina.⁴⁰ Moreover, Balsh was not only a protector of the Moldavian *boyars*, but was a faithful servant of Emperor Leopold II as well; he made a proposal outlining a project which would incorporate Moldavia and Wallachia into Austria, so that all Rumanians would be under one rule: to exchange Turkish dependence for an Austrian, evidently more advantageous, one.⁴¹

In such localities as Chernivtsi, Suchava and Kimpolung the Moldavian-Rumanian nobility filled the official posts beginning in 1777.⁴² In 1837 we again see a Moldavian-Rumanian, Isocescul, at the pinnacle of the Bukovinian administration — the district prefect (commissioner) — a position that he held first as a deputy and later, until the separation of Bukovina from Galicia and the establishment of a separate crownland of Bukovina in 1849, as the genuine prefect of district.⁴³

In 1849 we see another Rumanian, *boyar* Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, in the role of an adviser to the Vienna government. He maintained a close personal relationship with Minister Bach and was a fanatical adversary of the Ukrainian national rebirth in Bukovina. His recommendations were eagerly accepted in policy-making decisions regarding Bukovina. He was commissioned to translate the Austrian civil and penal

40 F. Ziegler von Blumenthal: *Landesgeschichte seit Besitzergreifung*, S. 135; F. Ziegler: *Geschichtliche Bilder*, II, 46 ff.

41 Erich Prokopowitsch: *Die rumaenische Nationalbewegung in der Bukowina u. der Dako-Romanismus*, S. 35 ff.

42 Haus-Hof-und Staatsarchiv Wien, Vertrauliche Kaiser-Franz-Akten, Protokolle Zhl. 561/1777—Zitat nach E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, S. 37.

43 *Ibid.*, Zitat nach E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, S. 39.

codes, and also all current decrees and ordinances, into the Rumanian language. In a few years he was commissioned to prepare a Rumanian-German dictionary of legal terminology.⁴⁴ Hurmuzaki adroitly took advantage of his great influence for the maintenance of the Rumanian domination in Bukovina. In a memorial letter to the Emperor in 1818, which he wrote in behalf of the Bukovinian *boyars* (an "outstanding land-owning enlightened class of citizens") on the subject of the separation of Bukovina from Galicia, he held that one of the principal reasons for such a move was "that the Rumanian element in Bukovina felt menaced by the Ukrainians", meaning the Ukrainian of Bukovina united with their Ukrainian brothers in Galicia.

As we can see, during the entire period of the Austrian occupation the Rumanian *boyars* in Bukovina had a decisive voice in the local administration and a strong advisory voice in the central Austrian institutions. Even from the 90's to the end of the Austrian occupation of Bukovina — when Rumanian irridentism made a daily occurrence open propagation by the great majority of the Rumanian leading class for union of Bukovina with Rumania and when the Austrian government grew more cautious and less confident with regard to Rumanian activities in the administration of Bukovina — even then the Rumanians enjoyed a numerical preponderance over the Ukrainians in all sectors of the administration of Bukovina. The sole exception were the schools, where Ukrainian teachers and school inspectors prevailed because, the Ukrainian population being more numerous, the larger number of Ukrainian children necessitated more Ukrainian teachers.⁴⁵ Here is additional proof showing how spurious were Rumanian charges regarding the so-called "Ukrainization of Rumanians" in Bukovina; such "Ukrainization" could certainly have been prevented by the Rumanian administrators of Bukovina who dominated the administrative machinery, had such been the case. As a process, such "Ukrainization" could not have taken place within a year, or even within ten years.

What the Rumanians called "Ukrainization" was in fact

44 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, S. 44 ff.

45 *Ibid.*, S. 127 ff.

the national awakening and national rebirth of the Ukrainian masses, who had never lost their native tongue and their national culture and who asserted themselves as a part of the great Ukrainian people. But it was an absurdity to call this spiritual process of national awakening and national rebirth the "Ukrainization of Rumanians", who in reality were not Rumanians, but Ukrainians in the Moldavian state whom the Rumanians had failed to "Rumanize".

V. RUMANIAN BOYARS AND UKRAINIAN PEASANTS

As we have stressed heretofore, the Austrian occupation of Bukovina found the Rumanian *boyars* as the exclusive and leading social class, and a Ukrainian dependent peasantry who for the most part were illiterate and not nationally conscious and whose economical lot was deplorable. The Rumanian *boyars* were in the forefront everywhere, and they reported officially that the entire population were Moldavians-Rumanians, passing themselves off as their legal representation with the right to speak and act for them as their "protectors". In general, they were a strong Rumanization factor.

Both the Rumanians and Ukrainian peasants were of the Orthodox faith, both belonging to the "Wallachian" church. Thus Ukrainians often would call themselves "Wallachians", although they spoke the Ukrainian language. Small wonder, then, that this ethnic confusion should often have been repeated by foreigners, unacquainted with the true state of affairs. Later on Rumanians deliberately exploited this confusion in trying to substantiate their claims about the non-autochthony of Ukrainians in Bukovina. At the time such confusion had no specific meaning, inasmuch as the basic stress was laid on the religious affiliation, with national affiliations possessing a secondary significance. In the XIX century the winds of freedom swept over peoples divided and oppressed by the neighboring states, and penetrated Bukovina. Then the Ukrainians' national consciousness and movement toward unity with other Ukrainians in a national state began to crystallize.

This spirit of freedom, in reality a spirit of de-coloniza-

tion, stirred the whole Ukrainian nation, which was under the national and social oppression of two great empires: the Russian and the Austrian. The Ukrainian national rebirth was preceded by the Ukrainian literary renaissance.

But in Bukovina the Ukrainian national rebirth was considerably retarded mainly by the lack of a Ukrainian leading elite and intelligentsia, as well as the lack of national consciousness, illiteracy of the Ukrainian masses and the lack of schools with the educational facilities in the mother tongue of instruction. Another factor which retarded the Ukrainian national rebirth was the Russophilism of small groups that tried to channel the Ukrainian national movement on the false path leading towards "one Russian people", meaning integration with the Russian people.

To be acknowledged is that the Austrian government was quite solicitous about raising the literacy of the people. but, along with the agreement on the *status quo*, initially it established Rumanian public schools and high schools in the cities with German as the language of instruction. The so-called Spiritual Regulation Plan (*Geistlicher Regulierungsplan*) of 1786 foresaw the establishment of "trivial schools" with Rumanian and German languages of instruction.⁴⁶ This is hardly surprising when we recall that the Moldavian *boyar*, Balsh, was an important adviser at the Court Military Council in Bukovinian matters. Later, Rumanians very often cited this Regulation Plan in resisting the introduction of the Ukrainian language in the schools of the Ukrainian villages in Bukovina. Rumanian officials endeavored at all costs to prevent the establishment of Ukrainian schools as they realized that such schools would comprise the first step toward Ukrainian national rebirth.

But among the population of that time there was not much enthusiasm for schools, and, as for the Ukrainians, they regarded them with suspicion, inasmuch as they were alien schools. It took some decades before the Ukrainians could override the Rumanian officials, both in local administration and those assigned in higher administrative posts of the Austrian government, and obtain their own schools. Inevitably, many Ukrainians, after finishing Rumanian or German

46 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, S. 61 ff.

schools, were Rumanized and Germanized, and thus lost to the Ukrainian nation. Among such outstanding Ukrainians were Dr. K. Tomaschuk, rector of the University of Chernivtsi, Archbishop Eugen Hakman and Metropolitan V. Repta. As with any people, the process of producing their own intellectual elite was a long and tedious one.

On the other hand, the Rumanians of Bukovina always had had larger educated stratum, composed of the *boyars* and the clergy. This elite was always cognizant of its "Moldavian" affiliation, although it preferred the Austrian cultural environment to the Turkish system. When under the pressure of the great European powers, especially Austria and Russia, the Turkish hold on the Rumanian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia began to weaken and finally was removed, a separatist movement developed among the Rumanians of Bukovina. Rumanians began propagating the incorporation into Rumania of Bukovina within its historical borders, including the Ukrainian ethnographic territories. But these were not the circumstances which had prevailed in Moldavia prior to 1774, when the enserfed peasantry, especially the Ukrainian peasantry, was not a politically decisive force, with neither voice nor influence in matters of state. Under the Austrian rule (although there were privileged classes, too) the Ukrainian peasantry after 1848 became full-fledged citizens with certain constitutional rights, the most noteworthy being the right to cultivate their own native tongue and culture on an equal footing with the Rumanians.

VI. REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS OF 1848 AND CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES OF EQUALITY OF THE PEOPLES OF AUSTRIA

The year of 1848 was a pivotal year for the Ukrainians of Bukovina in their struggle for elementary rights and the equality vis-a-vis the Rumanians, especially as far as the use of their native language in the schools was concerned.

Under the influence of the slogans of the French revolution of 1789 and the new trends in philosophy, literature and the social sciences, the liberated human spirit could not be

easily fettered. The spirit of liberalism preoccupied the architects of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, headed by the Austrian tiger, Clemens Metternich. They failed, however, to stop the march of the free human spirit and of democracy for any length of time. The elevated national consciousness of the popular masses resented and rebelled against abuses and social injustice and especially against the national oppression by master nations over peoples who had lost their independence. The spirit of rebirth, of social and political freedom waxed stronger from day to day. This spirit of renaissance penetrated also Ukraine, but received a setback with the trial of the members of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in 1817.

The revolutionary movement in Paris in February 1818, that in Berlin in March of the same year, the national movements of the Czechs, Slovenes, Croats, Hungarians and Poles, the peasant rebellions under the leadership of Kobylt-sya in Bukovina, and finally, the revolutionary wave in Vienna in March of the same year — all compelled the Austrian government to make concessions in the form of constitutional rights and freedoms and the emancipation of the dependent peasantry from serf tenantry.

But the new Austrian constitutional order brought forth no equality of nationalities, only equality of the mother tongue of the nationalities of the Monarchy. Here the importance of language captured the attention of the legislator. Yet without language and culture, there can be no nation and the existing ones disappear. Language has identified and continues to identify the people — the nation.

The provisional Austrian constitution of April 25, 1818, transformed Austria into a constitutional monarchy and, among other things, guaranteed the non-German peoples of the Monarchy the inviolability of their nationality and language (Art. 1). This constitution was patterned after the very liberal Belgian constitution of the time.⁴⁷ A new electoral law was passed, on the basis of which new parliamentary elections were held on the basis of a general and equal suf-

47 Fritz Hartung: *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte vom XV Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, S. 197; Dr. E. Bernatzig: *Die oesterreichischen Verfassungsgesetze*. S 104

frage. This provisional parliament was empowered to draft and adopt a new constitution.

The parliamentary elections of 1818 were in effect the first "Ukrainian plebiscite" in Bukovina. In these elections 5 Ukrainian deputies were elected by the Ukrainian voters — all peasants — of the total number of 8 deputies in Bukovina (the Rumanians elected 2 and the Germans 1). These elections rebutted the Rumanian claim that there were no Ukrainians in Bukovina, that from a nationality viewpoint Bukovina was a compact Rumanian territory.

Although the Ukrainian deputies were barely literate and were without a clear national consciousness, they nevertheless always acted in unison with Ukrainian deputies from Galicia, jointly advocating the establishment of a separate Ukrainian autonomous crownland encompassing all Ukrainian ethnic territories in the Austrian Monarchy, or keeping all Bukovina in union with Galicia or at least its Ukrainian part. A demand for the formation of a Ukrainian crownland out of the Ukrainian territories under Austria was made in 1818 by the General Ruthenian Council (*Rada*), which adopted a platform advocating national statehood for the whole united Ukrainian people.

This was the first severe challenge to the representatives of the Bukovinian Rumanians, who at that time had presented a petition to the Austrian government for the separation of Bukovina from Galicia. The same request was voiced by the Rumanian deputies of Bukovina in the parliament, where they met unanimous opposition on the part of the Ukrainian deputies of Bukovina and Galicia. But the Ukrainians failed to realize their demand for the creation of a separate Ukrainian crownland owing to the joint opposition of their Polish and Rumanian neighbors, who could not reconcile themselves to loss of control over these Ukrainian lands.

On March 4, 1819, the emperor promulgated a rump constitution after having dispersed the parliament and thus preventing it from voting on the constitution. The government succeeded in suppressing all the revolutionary movements in the empire, and a parliament was no longer an issue.

The new constitution gave preponderance to the executive branch of the government. The rights of nationality repre-

sentations were considerably curtailed, and guarantees of the basic rights of man were wiped out altogether.

The constitution of 1849 created out of Bukovina, separated from Galicia, an autonomous crownland to be known as *Herzog-voyevodship*. The provincial constitution of Bukovina was approved on September 29, 1850 (*Journal of State Laws*, 386/1850). Under the same date a new electoral law also was promulgated. On October 8, 1850, new law was passed revising the administrative organization of Bukovina, according to which the administration would be headed by a president hierarchically subordinated to the interior ministry, with prefects of 6 districts subordinated to the president or the crownland.

Subsequently, as a result of changes in the Austrian government and the introduction of the absolutist system of government by an imperial decree of December 31, 1851, the constitution of 1849 and the law on the administrative organization of Bukovina of 1850 were abrogated. The status of Bukovina as a separate crownland, however, was retained. The administration was still in the hand of the district prefects, subordinated to the ministry. Full separation from Galicia occurred only on March 6, 1853, on which date Bukovina legally received the first president and an autonomous provincial government. Factual separation took place on May 29, 1854. By a decree of April 24, 1854, Bukovina was divided into 15 districts (*Bezirk*), headed by a prefect (*Bezirkshauptmann*), subordinated administratively to the president.

Under the pretext of financial difficulties, but in reality under the influence of Polish conservative circles, an imperial decree was issued on April 22, 1860, according to which Bukovina again was united administratively with Galicia, as a separate district. United against the liquidation of the autonomy were all the national groups of Bukovina, which sent to the emperor a petition and memorandum from "all classes, nations, strata and confessions."⁴⁸ The memorandum demanded equality for the three major peoples of Bukovina: Ukrainians, Rumanians and Germans.

By a constitutional ruling of February 26, 1861 (*Journal*

48 А. Жуковський: Історія Буковини. В причинках: Буковина — її минуле й сучасне, стор. 239;

of State Laws, № 20(1861) the rights of the autonomy of Bukovina were restored. As a result of this change the political organization of Bukovina was restructured thus:

A. The supreme legislative organ of the autonomous government of Bukovina was the crownland Diet (*Landtag*), elected for 6 years, headed by a landmarshal (*Landeshauptmann*) and his deputy, or vice-marshal.

B. The executive organ of the crownland's autonomous government was the Committee of the Diet (*Landesausschuss*) with administrative, construction, financial and educational sub-divisions. Members of the Committee were elected by the Diet and approved by the president of the land. The Committee's competence encompassed, among other things, the appointment of officials and the control of communes.

The Diet was composed of 30 elected deputies and one *virilist* designated by virtue of his official capacity. The electoral mandates of the Diet were distributed according to the following key:

1. Religious Fund and the clergy: 2 mandates;
 2. Great landowners — 8 mandates;
 3. Townsmen (Chernivtsi — 2; Radivtsi, Seret and Suchava — 1 mandate each) — 5 mandates;
 4. Representatives of the Commercial and Industrial Chamber — 2 mandates;
 5. Village communes — 12 mandates;
 6. Bishop as head of the church (*virilist*) — 1 mandate;
- Inasmuch as the diocese and the great landowners were, as the rule, Rumanians, the Rumanians could easily dominate the Diet.

The central government was represented by the president or his deputy (*Landchef*), who was subordinated directly to the interior ministry; on the other hand, all prefects were responsible to the president of the land.

This structure (with some modifications as regards methods of electing deputies to the Parliament and the number of mandates designated for the separate crownlands) remained in force until the end of the Austrian domination in Bukovina. The most important modification involved a law relating to the organization of the land and a law regarding elections to the Diet (*Journal of Land Laws*) Nos. 26 and 27). Both issued

on May 26, 1910, they introduced the national curias as a method of distributing the mandates among the national groups. The number of mandates was established approximately in proportion to the population of each nationality; the total number of all mandates in the Diet was increased to 63.^{48-a}

The constitutional regulations, beginning with the provisional constitution of 1818, gave the Bukovinian Ukrainians the first promise of their national development by recognizing the Ukrainians as a separate ethnic group. In this respect the so-called Kremser project of the constitution, prepared by the first constitutional assembly elected in 1848, provided all ethnic groups in Austria with full and clear guarantees. Art. 21 of the project assured all the nationalities of Austria an equality, defined as follows:

1. All nationalities of the state are equal in their rights. Every nationality has an inviolate right to preserve and cultivate its nationality in general and its language especially.

2. The state assures the equality of languages spoken in the country in schools, government, and public life.⁴⁹

After the dissolution of the first parliament, the rump constitution of March 4, 1849 adopted (in Art. 5) only the first of these guarantees. On the other hand, the constitution of December 21, 1867 (*Journal of State Laws*, 1-12/67) adopted in its text (Art. 9) both provisions, changing only in the second point the word "assures" (*gewahrleistet*) to "recognize" (*anerkannt*).⁵⁰

The guarantee of equality also brought about the crown-land constitution of Bukovina of September 29, 1950 similar to Art. 5 of the constitution of 1849. According to Art. 3 of the land constitution (of Bukovina) of 1850, "peoples living in the province (Bukovina) are equal and have an inviolable

48-a Prof. Dr. E. Bernatzig, *op. cit.*, p. 938 sq.

49 A. "Alle Volksstaemmen des Reiches sind gleichberechtigt. Jeder Volksstamm hat ein unverletztliches Recht auf Wahrung und Pflege seiner Nationalitaet ueberhaupt und seiner Sprache inspesondere". B. "Die Gleichberechtigung aller landesueblichen Sprachen in Schule, Amt und oeffentlichen Leben wird vom Staate gewahrleistet". (Harold Steinacker: *Die Geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des oester. Nationalitaetenproblems und seine Entwicklung bis 1867*. S. 40 Anmerkung 1. Dr. E. Bernatzig, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

50 Harold Steinacker, *Daselbst*, S. 40 und 55.

right in the preservation and cultivation of their nationality and language."⁵¹

Although the life of the constitutions of 1818 and 1819 was short, for the Bukovinian Ukrainians they had a weighty significance: for the first time a constitutional-legal basis was provided for the recognition of the Ukrainian people in Bukovina as on a par with Rumanians in the political, religious and educational fields, and especially for their own schools, with their own mother tongue as the language of instruction.

VII. STRUGGLE OF UKRAINIANS IN BUKOVINA FOR EQUALITY IN THE SCHOOLS

The Ukrainian linguistic problem was not a factor as regards the schools in Bukovina so long as the masses of the Ukrainian people were attached to the land of the great land-owners as dependents, possessing neither education nor civil rights in public life. In Moldavian times no village had a public school, and the matter of public education did not enter into the domain of state organs.⁵² Schools were in the hands of the higher clergy, who were paid an annual fee of 1 florins by all priests. These funds were sent to the metropolitan in Iassy, and administered according to the needs and policies of education. In 1777 the Austrian government ordered the clergy to pay this tax towards the account of the so-called school fund, designed for the founding and maintenance of schools.⁵³

In 1780, by virtue of a decision of the Court Military Council sanctioned by the emperor, the first intermediary schools (*Hauptschule*) were founded. Located in Chernivtsi, Seret and Suchava, their language of instruction was German. At the Chernivtsi school a preparatory course was opened for the training of teachers (*preparanda*). In other larger local-

51 "Die im Lande wohnenden Volksstaemme sind gleichberechtigt und haben ein unverletzliches Recht auf Wahrung und Pflege ihrer Nationalitaet und Sprache". (Richard Wenedikter: *Die Handhabung des Nationalitaetenrechtes in Karpathenlaender*, S. 726).

52 E. Prokcpowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 60 and sources cited there.

53 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

ities schools of lower type — the so-called “trivial schools” — were established in which instructions in reading, writing and counting were given.

The reforms of Marie Theresa strove to melt all the Austrian provinces into a linguistically uniform state, and Emperor Joseph II undertook to realize this plan at an accelerated tempo. He met with a strong resistance, however, especially on the part of the Poles, who had the newly-forming traditions of their own state. Eventually, the government had to abandon the plan of a rapid denationalization with the help of German schools.

Up to 1786, that is, the union of Bukovina with Galicia, a bare 32 schools had been opened in Bukovina, of which the trivial schools, using Rumanian as the language of instruction, were to be found in the larger villages. But these schools with their incomprehensible language repelled Ukrainian children, as well as their parents. In 1811, during the planning of new trivial schools in 17 village communes, the Court Educational Commission recommended the requirement to the Province of Galicia that in Ukrainian and Rumanian communes only teachers who know the language of the inhabitants of these communes may be appointed. This ordinance was approved by the emperor on December 21, 1813.⁵⁴ To be pointed out is that this ordinance, based on practical experience, was directed against the denationalization and Rumanizing of children in the Rumanian schools. This marked the first time that the interests of the Ukrainian people in Bukovina, albeit in limited scope, were taken into consideration. Upon the recommendation of the Chernivtsi Consistory and in the spirit of the Marie Theresa reform of *Ratio educationis*, another ordinance of the Court Educational Commission (March 23, 1814) called for the introduction of the Ukrainian language in all public schools between the Prut and Dniester Rivers.⁵⁵ But the local authorities, in the hands or under the influence of Rumanians, either sabotaged this decision or there were no teachers qualified to give instruction in the Ukrainian language, since this decision was implemented

54 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

55 Ion Nistor: *Zur Geschichte des Schulwesens in der Bukowina*, p. 44 ff. cited in Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

only in 1851.⁵⁶ By then this right had already been guaranteed by the constitutions of 1818 and 1819.

The constitutional linguistic guarantee met certain obstacles, especially an inadequate development of the Slavic languages in the Monarchy. Therefore, in July of 1819 the Austrian government created a special commission, headed by Jan Šafarik, whose task was the elaboration of political and legal terminology, beginning with the Czech and Ukrainian languages. At the same time it was decided that the mother tongue of the pupils should be the language of instruction in the public schools.⁵⁷

A pre-condition of application of this constitutional guarantee of the equality of rights was the national-ethnic characteristic, expressed in the mother tongue. For the Bukovinian Ukrainians this pre-condition was amply met by the official population census of 1816-1851. On the basis of a report of October 31, 1857, dealing with the population censuses of 1816 and 1851, the total population of Bukovina was 417,095, including 188,288 Ukrainians (42.11%) and 175,679 Rumanians (39.30%) plus 37,855 Germans (8.47%), 29,187 Jews (6.53%), and others peoples (Poles, Czechoslovaks, Hungarians, Armenians) 16,086 or 3.59%.⁵⁸

But on the basis of data collected in Bukovina by Count Czernig in 1816, of Bukovina's total population of 371,131 the Ukrainians constituted 180,417 (including the "Lypovans"), and the "Moldavians" — 140,628.⁵⁹

These official data were solid proof for the case of the Ukrainian equality. But for the realization of the right in practice the Ukrainians had to wage a long struggle against the Rumanian leaders in Bukovina who continued to claim that the Rumanians were "the sole political nation of Bukovina" and to refuse to acknowledge the Ukrainian people and to accord them equal rights in the political, religious and educational fields, especially schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction.

Up to 1848 the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian masses were dependent peasants who took no part in the po-

56 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

57 H. Steinacker, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

58 K. Frommelt, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

59 H. I. Bldermann, *op. cit.*, p. 47 and sources given there.

litical and state life. Therefore, Nistor may be right in maintaining that up to 1818 the Ruminians were "the sole political nation of Bukovina", but their social-political status in itself could hardly give Bukovina a Rumanian character. After the abolition of serf tenancy and the granting to the peasants of the same rights accorded the all nationalities, the Ukrainians of Bukovina, as free citizens, began to exercise these rights along with the Rumanians in all sectors of cultural, economic and political life. They became a state and political factor, indeed, a new political force. But the Rumanian leaders continued to deny the Ukrainians any equality of rights, hoping that with the help of the Rumanian school and church they would in time succeed in Rumanizing the Ukrainians in Bukovina — thereby preserving the "Rumanian character" of Bukovina. Thus, the constitutional equality of rights regarding the Bukovinian Ukrainians, remained a theoretical principle only, the right on paper, since the electoral law secured the Rumanians the overwhelming majority in the Bukovinian Diet and the consequent delivery into their hands the fate of the all legislation and administration of the province. Based on such powers they dominated here and there and everywhere non-admitting or hindering, in every way, the carrying into practice of constitutional equality of rights regarding the Ukrainians. The Ukrainian popular masses, considered by Rumanian commanding leaders as "misera contribuens plebs", would in no case be allowed to have any political rights, nor any educational or cultural privileges. In general, they continued denying even the existence in Bukovina of Ukrainians as a distinct national and cultural entity.

But the official statistics of the population census, based on the mother tongue criterion, incontestably demonstrated the majority of the population as being of the Ukrainian nationality. True, the Austrian government treated the linguistic problem as a practical matter of daily life, without stressing the significance of nationality; but in reality the mother tongue constitutes the basic element of nationality. Such stress appears only with the realization of the *right* to one's own language and the injustice felt as a result of any denial of this natural right. Then as now, the mother tongue — in addition to one's own consciousness, conviction of identity and free will — was and is considered to be the basic

trait of nationality and has constituted a presumption of the ethnic origin. But, again, the Rumanian leaders, harping on the historical past and their alleged historical rights, interpreted this historical past subjectively and in accordance with the imperialistic designs of their nation. They refused to recognize the "linguistic nationality", as such, instead recognizing only the "historic-state nationality", or were willing to substitute for the latter a "religious nationality": they contended that Orthodox, regardless of their mother tongue, were Rumanians, only the Greek-Catholics being Ukrainians.⁶⁰ On this basis they used all the means at their disposal to prevent the introduction of the Ukrainian language in the schools and administrative offices of Bukovina.

The main spokesman of this Rumanian opposition was the great landowner in Northern Bukovina, Eudoxiu (Doxaki) Hurmuzaki. His influence and impact on the central institutions of Austria — as we have seen — was a considerable one. His friendship with Minister A. Bach dated back to student days at the University of Vienna.⁶¹ In the face of the Ukrainian threat to the Rumanian pretensions to entirety of Bukovina as an exclusive Rumanian domain, boyar Hurmuzaki, seized by spite, assailed the "impertinent servants". In the newspaper "Bucovina", published by him and his brother Alexander and George, Hurmuzaki penned quarrelsome articles, replete with insinuations and insults, denying the existence in Bukovina of Ukrainians and asserting that there all persons of the Orthodox faith were Rumanians, part of whom had been Ukrainianized.⁶²

In "Pro Memoria" (edited most probably by Hurmuzaki as an addition to a petition of the Rumanian *boyars* in demanding the separation of Bukovina from Galicia), the number of Ukrainians in Bukovina was given as 100,000 persons, of whom 20,000 were said to have come from Galicia, while 80,000 were identified as "Ruthenian Romanians" (according to the Polish definition: *gente ruthenus, natione romanus*). In Art. 2 of this memorandum, the demand was made to

60 E. Hurmuzaki in "Bucovina", No. 35/1849, cited after A. Zukovskyj, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

61 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

62 E. Hurmuzaki, *Ibidem*;

"retain its (Bukovina's — I. N.) historical character through the establishment of national (that is, Rumanian — I. N.) schools of all types and to compel the government officials to learn and to use the Rumanian language in the performance of their official duties".⁶³

The Rumanian leading elite of Bukovina at that time was loyal to the Austrian throne and the government; among them were active Austrian patriots. To this category belonged the editorial group of *Bucovina*, who hailed from all parts of the Rumanian settlement — Bukovina, Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia. But they were Rumanian nationalists first. In order to pull the wool over the eyes of the Austrian government, the lead editorial of *Bucovina's* first issue (1848) proclaimed as its motto "full equality of the nationalities of Bukovina", only subsequently to negate the existence of the Ukrainians at every turn and their aspiration to equal rights in Bukovina. Hurmuzaki was the first to provide a rationale for such treatment of the Ukrainians — a theory about the non-autochthonousness of the Ukrainians in Bukovina that also provided false notions of nation and religion. He contended that all Orthodox in Bukovina were Rumanians, while the Greek-Catholics were new-comers; but faced with the fact that the majority of the Orthodox population of Bukovina spoke Ukrainian, he surmounted this difficulty by classifying them as "Ukrainized Rumanians".

Up to the time of the national awakening of the Bukovinian Ukrainians and the emergence from the popular masses of a Ukrainian elite, there was no official Ukrainian — or, in the terminology of the time, "Ruthenian" — problem. Therefore, when this problem suddenly crystallized in 1848, the Rumanians, in a wholly malicious manner, began echoing the Polish refrain about Stadion and his "uncovering" of the Ukrainians in Galicia.⁶⁴ They sang the tune that it was the Austrian government which had "uncovered" Ukrainians in Bukovina, desirous of seeing a Ukrainization of Bukovina and so favoring the Ukrainians over the Rumanians.⁶⁵ This

63 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, 41; St. Smal-Stocky, *op. cit.*, p. 170 sq.

64 Klaus Frommelt: *Die Sprachenfrage im oester. Unterrichtswesen 1848-1859*. S. 11.

line was sounded not only by Nistor but by such authoritative figures as Iorga and Bălan in the main, by the serious, Rumanian publicists.

By way of background, we might note that the Poles in Galicia detested Stadion because in the Polish-Ukrainian conflict for equal rights in Galicia he largely shared the opinion of Metternich, who, after the Polish uprising of 1846, believed that in order to offset the Poles Galicia should be divided according to the ethnographic principle into a Polish and a Ukrainian part, and that the Ukrainians be strengthened in general.⁶⁶

The "Ukrainization" and the "favoring" of Ukrainians, according to the Rumanian outlook, consisted principally of the establishment of public schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, evidently in the Ukrainian villages. In the Rumanian villages, it must be noted, instruction was conducted invariably in the Rumanian language. But, up to 1844, in their zeal and thirsting desire to rule Bukovina exclusively, the Rumanian leaders strove for a "purely Rumanian character" for Bukovina. Understanding the importance of the language, they fiercely resisted the introduction of village schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction. It may also be noted that the Rumanian leaders never contended that the government was establishing Ukrainian schools in Rumanian-speaking villages. Only in such a case would it be possible to speak of a Ukrainization of the Rumanian population. With the Rumanian domination in the autonomous government, however, there was hardly any possibility of such Ukrainization. Erich Prokopowitsch, who researched the archives of Vienna in order to study the Rumanian contention as to the "favoritism" and "Ukrainization" ("Ruthenization") of Bukovina by the Austrian government, ended by not finding a single trace of such an Austrian policy; he concluded that the arguments of the Rumanian chauvinists were wholly groundless.⁶⁷

65 I. Nistor: "Der nationale Kampf in der Bukowina" S. 215 ff.

66 H. Steinacker, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 and 67.

67 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 108 ff.

VIII. GROWTH OF A UKRAINIAN CULTURAL STRATUM IN BUKOVINA AND APPEARANCE OF THE RUSSOPHILE OBSTACLE TO UNITY — VICTORY OF POPULISTS OVER RUSSOPHILES

1. The Ukrainians had a difficult time in combatting the Rumanian domination, its Rumanizing process and the false claims and "theories", propagated by a hostile press, regarding the origin of Ukrainians in Bukovina. But part of the difficulty lay in the fact that the ranks of the Ukrainian nationally-conscious intelligentsia were thin. The challenge of E. Hurmuzaki, however, did not go unanswered. A number of replies appeared, for example, in „*Constitutionelles Blatt aus Boehmen*” (No. 250, October 19, 1849) and in *Zorya Halytska* (The Galician Star) in Lviv (Nos. 94-97, 1849), whose authors objectively, calmly and with dignity rebutted with well founded arguments the false Rumanian theses and conclusions on the Ukrainians of Bukovina.⁶⁸

It is undeniable that in the parliamentary elections of 1848 the Ukrainian masses manifested a great national solidarity, but this was in the way of a reaction, a manifestation of subconscious solidarity cemented by a common mother tongue and national culture. Years would pass before solid ranks of conscious Ukrainian leadership would emerge. From the start it was evident that an organization was needed for an effective struggle against the Rumanian supremacy and callous disregard of Ukrainians in Bukovina. This was pointed out to the Ukrainian priests by Bishop Hakman, who sought Ukrainian support in defending himself against Rumanian attacks, consisting of invectives and even violence. These sprang from Hakman's opposition to the merger of the Bukovinian eparchy with the Transylvanian metropoly. Bishop Hakman argued that the Bukovinian eparchy was only half Rumanian, the other half being Ukrainian. Following Hakman's suggestion the first Ukrainian society, „*Ruska Besida*”, was founded in 1869, a society which soon became the Ukrainian spiritual and cultural center of Bukovina.

68 A. Zukovskyj, *op. cit.*, p. 242 ff.

But even before, in the 1840's and 1850's the ranks of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Bukovina had begun to grow gradually. This generation, however, educated in German and Rumanian schools, could not adjust itself to the needs of the time. They were mainly priests. They included as well the first Ukrainian cultural leaders and writers of Bukovina: V. Ferlevych (1783-1851) and the brothers Vasyl Prodan (1809-1880) and Gabriel Prodan (1816-1811). But their creativity did not effect the masses, for they wrote not in the popular vernacular but in an artificial and incomprehensible church language. Moreover, they were not inspired by the treasure of living folklore and tradition of the Ukrainian people.

In 1875, upon the 100th anniversary of the incorporation of Bukovina into Austria, a German university was founded



Old main building of the University of Chernivtsi.

in Chernivtsi. Established simultaneously was the first Ukrainian Student Society "Soyuz" (Union). Through the efforts of "Ruska Besida" a chair of Ukrainian language and literature also was established at the university.⁶⁹ For the Ukrainians of Bukovina and Galicia this university, though a German one, became instrumental in elevating the cultural and scientific

⁶⁹ Erich Prokopowitsch: *Gruendung, Entwicklung und Ende der Franz-Josephs-Universitaet in Czernowitz* (Bukowina-Buchenland), S. 18.

level of the younger generation and the formation of Ukrainian scientific and professional cadres.



New building of the University of Chernivtsi (erected before World War I).

2. But at the same time in the Ukrainian camp on the Ukrainian ethnic territory of Austria a severe internal crisis developed that, for several decades, comprised a formidable ob-



The general view of the complex of buildings of the Metropolitan's Residence in Chernivtsi, a Greek-Orthodox center of Bukovina. At present it serves as the main building of the University.

stacle in the path of the Ukrainian national rebirth, especially in Bukovina.

After the Russian intervention in Hungary in 1848 there appeared on the Western Ukrainian lands a Russophile movement, made possible by Russian money and Russian agents. To a degree this movement deflected the natural course of the Ukrainian rebirth. As hope waned for an objective solution by the Austrian government of the economic and national problems of the Ukrainian masses, debased and persecuted by the Polish, Rumanian and Hungarian magnates in Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ukraine), a dispirited part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia gravitated to the artificial Russophile movement, which, seeing salvation in Moscow, accepted a principle of "unity" with the Muscovite (Russian) people. A new slogan gained currency: "There is no salvation for the Ruthenians in Austria; better, then, to go under the Czar".⁷⁰

The Russophiles were quick to make inroads in the leadership of the Ukrainian organized life in Bukovina. In the press, however, they essayed an artificial and unintelligible dialect in order to convey the impression of a "near similarity with the hard, Russian language". Because of this and other reasons this movement could not take root among the broad masses of the people.

The nationally-conscious Ukrainian intelligentsia, or the so-called "populists" (*narodovtsi*), found themselves waging a struggle on two fronts: against their own Russophiles and against the Rumanian leaders. Understandably, the Russophile movement was cheered by the Rumanians of Bukovina, for it impeded the process of Ukrainian rebirth and it helped them in their bid for supremacy in Bukovina. Thus the Rumanian *boyars* found in the Bukovinian Russophiles — the "old Ruthenians" — new allies, with whom they frequently formed a common front against the Ukrainian populists, even more so as the Russophiles began to lose what ground they had gained in the Ukrainian social organizations back to the populists.

3. From the very beginning the Russophile movement in

70 Д-р Теодот Галіп: 3 моїх споминів. „Краківські Вісті” №50(778) за 11.3.1943;

Bukovina and Galicia provoked a spirited and cohering reaction on the part of the populists, the patriotic and conscious Ukrainian intelligentsia, especially the university youth, who found fresh inspiration for the Ukrainian cause in the reborn Ukrainian literature, particularly in the moving works of Taras Shevchenko.

As early as 1864 we find in Bukovina a number of patriotic Ukrainian youth, among them students of the Theological Institute and upper classmen of the *gymnasium* (high school) in Chernivtsi, paying homage on the occasion of the third anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's death, fully cognizant of both literary creativeness and the nationalistic import of the immortal Ukrainian bard-*kobzar*. In this observance, both Orthodox and Greek-Catholics took part. "Slovo" (The Word) remarked that this manifestation "had awakened awareness in our Ukrainian youth and showed that in Bukovina we had arisen from a deep sleep and begun thinking of our literature".⁷¹

The struggle between the Russophiles and the populists went on for decades. In the first rank of the populists camp was the father of the Ukrainian literary rebirth in Bukovina, Oryp Yuriy Fedkovych, first in Bukovina to write in the language of the people, the Ukrainian modern literary language. Among the Ukrainian youth one of the most dedicated warriors against Russophilism was Stepan Smal-Stockyj who, a student at the University of Chernivtsi in 1878, was an active member of the Ukrainian Student Society "Soyuz". Owing to his zeal the executive board of the society was soon cleared of Russophile elements. The turn of "Ruska Besida" came next: the populists took over the leadership in 1884. From that time on the Russophile movement in Bukovina went into a steep decline and eventually disintegrated. The extent to which the Russophile movement slowed down the process of the Ukrainian national rebirth in Bukovina was capsuled in a remark of E. Semaka, a long-time president of "Ruska Besida":

"For fifteen years "Ruska Besida" did not know which

71 „Слово” № 21 за 1864 — цитат за А. Жуковським, цит. твір. стор. 266 і наст.

was our language: the one which we speak or the one used by the Russians", ⁷²



Osyf Yuriy Fedkovych (1834-1888), outstanding Ukrainian poet and novelist of Bukovina (Hutsul); he was the first to write in the modern Ukrainian language in Bukovina.

In the process of the Bukovinian Ukrainian rebirth, the year of 1884, as had been 1848, was the year the populists were victorious over the Russophiles. The Ukrainian national language became the official language in all internal business dealings and in the publications of "Ruska Besida". In 1885 appeared a semi-monthly, "*Bukovyna*", written in the Ukrainian vernacular language. In the same year Dr. Stepan Smal-Stockyj returned to Bukovina as a professor at the University of Chernivtsi to hold for over thirty years a leading position in the Ukrainian cultural, political and social life. Through

72 Евген Дмитрів (Семака): Історія просвітнього товариства „Руська Бесіда” — цитат за А. Жуковський, цит. твір, стор. 277;

his inspired work and determination this unique individual greatly contributed to the strengthening of the Ukrainian position and to the fruition of the Ukrainian political and national rebirth in Bukovina.



Isydor Vorobkevych (1836-1903), Ukrainian poet, novelist and composer of Bukovina.

IX. UKRAINIANS AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN BUKOVINA

For the Ukrainians the constitutional guarantee of equality of rights among all nationalities of Austria had a theoretical rather than a concrete significance. Toward exercise of these rights a hard and drawn-out fight was waged against the Rumanian magnates and their supporters in the Bukovinian Diet and its Executive Board (Landesausschuss), who always were preponderant. This ruling elite continuously

circumscribed and whittled away at equality for the Ukrainians in order to remain dominant. "Equality" as it was practiced in the field of public schools serves as an illustration. When they finally could not prevent the establishment in the Ukrainian villages of public schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction, they proceeded to set up one-grade



Olha Kobylanska (1863-1942), prominent Ukrainian authoress-novelist of Bukovina.

schools where pupils could barely learn to read and write. On the other hand, in the Rumanian villages they established schools with three or more grades. The establishment of new schools and allocation of funds were overseen by the Diet, which was dominated by the Rumanians and their supporters.

The same sort of "equality" could have been seen in the admission of the Ukrainian language to the Diet of Bukovina. By an ordinance of the Minister of the Interior of December 9, 1850, the Ukrainian language, in addition to the German

and Rumanian, was recognized as an official language which Ukrainians had the right to use in all official institutions.⁷³ But when in 1869 Ukrainian peasant deputies proposed the admission of the Ukrainian language as an official language to be used in the Diet, the Rumanian deputies protested, stating that there was no such language although they knew that it was spoken by the majority of the population of Bukovina, that its equality was guaranteed by the constitution, and that the Minister of the Interior had recognized it as being on a par with the German and Rumanian languages. At the session of the Diet on October 30, 1869, Ukrainian proposition was rejected, while the Rumanian language, in addition to the German language, was recognized as an official language of the Diet.⁷⁴

The right to use the Ukrainian language was recognized much later without the benefit of a specific decision, at a time when the number of Ukrainian intelligentsia at large and in the Diet had increased considerably. Then three languages — the German, Rumanian, and Ukrainian — were the official languages of the Diet of Bukovina, although the minutes of its proceedings were kept only in the German.⁷⁵

How this constitutional equality of the Ukrainians in Bukovina was practiced in reality and how difficult it was to attain a true and just equality by the Ukrainians is to be seen in an article written by a prominent Ukrainian educator of Bukovina who was a deputy to the Bukovinian Diet in 1890, Hierotheus Pihuliak, it read in part:

“Some 25 years ago (before 1884) there could have been no talk of any political or civil rights for those people of the land who spoke Ukrainian; no one could even mention them, still less demand them. Suffice it to recall that the first pioneers of Ukrainian ideas in the country who strove to awaken the masses and organize them into a conscious people in the first Club Libraries, were beaten by the rifle butts of the *gendarmes* and dragged through the expensive

73 R. Wenedikter, *op. cit.*, p. 726.

74 A. Zukovskyj, *op. cit.*, p. 250 and sources therein.

75 R. Wenedikter, *op. cit.*, p. 731.

German courts. The counties were ruled almost arbitrarily by prefects . . .”⁷⁶

The political situation of the Ukrainians improved with the elevation of the national consciousness of its intelligentsia, especially after 1881 with the ouster of Russophiles from Ukrainian organizations. Thereupon the Ukrainians of Bukovina were able to send to the Diet and Parliament their own devoted deputies to voice from these rostrums their demands for the realization of constitutional equality. It was obvious that the battle for equality could be conducted primarily by devoted representatives from the rostrums of Parliament and the Diet, however, to contest for representative mandates and all political matters in general, planning and organization was necessary. Thus, the Ukrainian people were made conscious of the possibility and necessity of such a contest.

In this conviction and for this purpose, at the beginning of 1870 the Ukrainian leadership in Bukovina had founded in Chernivtsi the first Ukrainian political organization, *Ruska Rada* (The Ruthenian Council). It was charged with the task of making the Ukrainian masses aware of the political affairs of the country, especially with regard to Diet and Parliament elections.

But the *Ruska Rada* could not develop its activities fruitfully. Its leadership, like that of the *Ruska Besida*, which had about the same membership, soon found itself in the hands of the Russophiles, and its membership wasted much energy and effort internally. This struggle ended with the populist's victory only in 1884.

Brief mention should be made of the organized German and Rumanian forces that were active in Bukovina at that time and with which the Ukrainian side had to cope and struggle in its fight for Ukrainian national representation in the Bukovinian Diet and the Vienna Parliament.

These non-Ukrainian political organizations, that is, political parties, appeared in Bukovina soon after 1848 in connection with the introduction in Austria of the constitutional law and order and in connection with elections for the Diet

76 „Буковина” №6 за 7.1.1909 — цитат за А. Жуковським, цит. твір, стор. 252;

and Parliament. In the forefront from the very beginning was centralist conservative party, it was led by the Rumanian landowners, such as Eudoxius, George and Alexander Hurmuzaki, participated in by many Rumanian landowners of large estates and a majority of Rumanian representatives of the Orthodox Church, with the exception of Bishop Hakman. Later on this Rumanian party established a common front with the Germans. When a few Ukrainians also joined the party, the Rumanian centralists, who heretofore had refused to recognize the Ukrainian nationality, were prodded into introducing into the party platform a plank on the recognition of the equality of the three principal nationalities (Rumanian, German and Ukrainian) in school, church and administration.⁷⁷ This recognition, understandably, was only a nominal one. For because of the party's loyalty to the government, the latter always supported it during the elections, with the result that this party was always victorious. Under the influence of the great Rumanian landowners and Orthodox Church leaders, on Ukrainian questions it always followed the Rumanian conservative line. Thus it supported the interests of the landowners as against those of the workers and the peasants, and, opposing the development of the national consciousness of the Ukrainians, it sided with the Russophiles.

The German liberal party in Bukovina, as well as the centralist-conservative party, encompassed within its rank the local intelligentsia of the various nationalities. It was positively disposed toward the nationality question, but actively supported the Germanization of the local intelligentsia. In its ranks was Dr. K. Tomashchuk, a notable figure of the time.

Opposition to the conservative *boyars* was mustered with the Rumanian political party "Concordia", founded in 1885. Seven years later, however, it merged with the Rumanian centralists to form one "Rumanian National Party of Bukovina" under the slogan of "Solidarity of All Rumanians in

77 I. Nistor: *Români și Ruteni in Bucovina. Studiu istoric și statistic*, p. 151 urm.; E. Propokowitsch: *Die rumaenische Nationalbewegung in der Bukowina und der Dako-Romanismus*, S. 46.

Political, National and Ecclesiastical Matters". Its character was unrelievedly conservative.⁷⁸

The Ukrainians of Bukovina had to wage a stubborn struggle for equality against the united Rumanian front. This opposition had to be overcome first in the Diet of Bukovina, where from 1861 on the Rumanians always enjoyed a majority owing to the unjust distribution of mandates in favor of the privileged classes, that is, the landowners, most of whom were Rumanians, and others with strong conservative views. In addition, the Rumanians were allotted the mandates of the higher clergy and the Bishop as Virilist. The Ukrainians could count on the mandates of a majority of the villages, but even these mandates were to be acquired only through persistent organization and enlightenment of the Ukrainian masses.

From the 80's of the XIXth century up to the differentiation that took place in the Ukrainian political parties, all the nationally conscious Ukrainians of Bukovina, especially the Ukrainian intelligentsia, belonged to the Ukrainian populist camp, although they were without a distinctly defined organizational structure and political program. The so-called "Young Ruthenians" or "progressivists" deemed it their duty to educate and enlighten the people in the Ukrainian national spirit and to combat Rumanization and Russophilism.⁷⁹

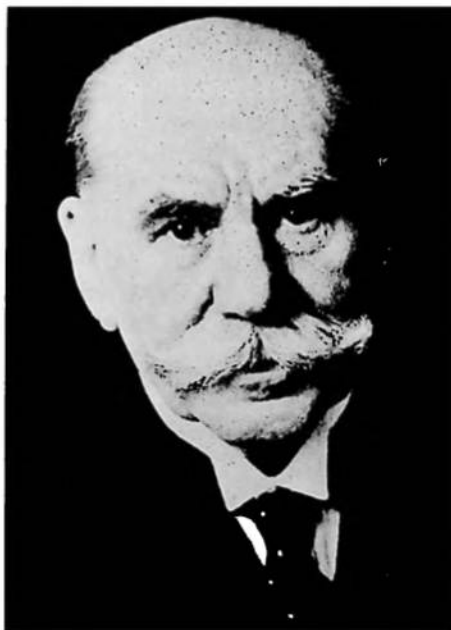
At the outset the populists did not desire to create a separate political organization in order to avoid "detrimental partition", identifying their aspirations with those of the whole Ukrainian nation. But with the establishment of other political parties, such as the radical party in 1906 (led by Theodor Halip, Ilko and Ostap Popovych, Napoleon Bihariy, and H. Hordyy, all of whom assailed the populists), and the social-democratic party, also established in 1906 (with O. Bezpalko, H. Andriyashchuk, M. Havryshchuk and K. Krakaliya along with its organ "*Borotba*"), the populist camp was compelled in 1907 to bring into being the "National Rada", which was charged with preparing the foundations for a new populist party. There soon appeared the "National-Democratic Party", which professed full loyalty toward the Austrian government and which continued the traditional policy of the

78 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

79 В. Верняволя: Буковина. „Життя і знання” №3/1935, стор. 34;

populists. The program of the party called mainly for the extension of rights in the cultural-educational and economic fields. Relying on the Austrian government, the populists "endeavored to develop all the spiritual and material forces of the people, to enlighten them nationally and politically and lead them to emancipation from the alien economic dependence".⁸⁰

The national-democratic party had behind it the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian population. Its organ



Prof. Dr. Stepan Smal-Stockyj (1859-1938), prominent Ukrainian scholar (Universities of Chernivtsi and Prague), member of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, noted Ukrainian statesman and public figure; member of the Vienna Parliament, the Bukovinian Legislature (Diet), and the Ukrainian National *Rada* (Parliament) of the Western Ukrainian National Republic.

80 В. Верниволя, цит. твір, стор. 34

was *Bukovyna*, followed by *Narodnyy Holos* (1911-1915). Among the leaders of the national-democratic party were Prof. Stepan Smal-Stockyj, Baron Mykola Vasylo, Omelyan Popovych, Hierotheus Pihuliak, Rev. T. Drachynskyj and others. After the appearance of the Ukrainian social democratic and radical parties on the political arena, the national democrats tried to consolidate — not without reason — all active Ukrainian forces for the common struggle in attaining their due rights.

In 1909 the national-democratic leaders held a convention in Chernivtsi. Attending was the entire active Ukrainian leadership: village heads and their deputies, chairmen of club libraries and *Sich* societies, and the like. This convention established the *Ruska Rada*, or the “Ruthenian Council”, which was also known as the “Peasants’ Party”. Prof. S. Smal-Stockyj was elected head of the new party. An appeal to the Ukrainian peasantry of Bukovina, signed by Prof. Smal-Stockyj, M. Vasylo, H. Pihuliak and other party leaders, stressed that “not various parties, but the unity, concord and understanding of all peasants and of a true national intelligentsia could give the people great strength”.⁸¹

The directives of the new party indicated the realization that only a consolidated effort on the part of all constructive Ukrainian forces, regardless of social class or rank, would bring about meaningful results in the struggle for the emancipation of the Ukrainian people. Since the existing grave situation and chances of success, as a result of the consolidated efforts of the Ukrainian forces, dictated to the leaders of the populist or national democratic camp not to concern themselves with the philosophy of socio-political movements or theory of ideological doctrines, but to conduct, in a consolidated fashion, action valuable to the Ukrainian cause without wasting time on abstract theories, polemics and quarrels.

It is to be pointed out that the reason for the establishment of new political parties in Bukovina was not any social or ideological differentiation, but rather certain political moves of the populist or national democratic leaders with

81 „Буковина” № 31 і 195 за 1909 р. — цитат за І. І. Компанійцем: Становище і боротьба трудящих мас Галичини, Буковини та Закарпаття на початку ХХ ст. (1900-1919 рр.) стор. 84

which certain political groups did not agree. For instance, some Ukrainian teachers did not share the undue and by teachers qualified the "servilistic" loyalty of the national democratic deputies to the throne and government. But a very vital and timely impact for their active opposition against the populist deputies was the fact that the deputies failed to support the demands of the teachers for salary increases.

X. INCREASE OF UKRAINIAN MANDATES IN THE DIET AND FINAL ACQUISITION OF EQUALITY BY UKRAINIANS IN BUKOVINA

1. Prof. Stepan Smal-Stockyj waged a stubborn and systematic struggle for Ukrainian equality in Bukovina from the moment in 1892 he was elected to the Diet. In 1898 Ukrainians of Bukovina gained another intrepid fighter, who was elected first to the Diet and then to the Parliament in Vienna. He was Baron Mykola Vasylo, who, significantly, entered the Diet as a Russophile. He immediately debated the Rumanian *boyars* in defense of the rights of Ukrainian peasants. Baron Vasylo had enjoyed popularity with and the sympathies of Ukrainian peasants ever since the time he was a village head in the commune of Lukavets in the district Vyzhnytsya. The peasants liked and respected him for his fairness and other qualities, and elected him their deputy. He was, of course, not history's first aristocrat, highly educated and bred, to throw in his lot with the common people.

Baron Mykola Vasylo found himself initially in the Russophile camp simply because it was fashionable at that time to be there. Once engaged, however, he soon went over to the populist camp. His transition to the populist camp was perhaps accelerated by the circumstance that the populists did not oppose Vasylo, the Russophile, but followed his polemics with the Rumanian landlords in defence of the Ukrainian peasants in the Diet with regard. Vasylo soon was elected to the Parliament where, as a clever and influential politician, well oriented in general political matters, he soon became a highly effective in Vienna in attaining for the Ukrainians their constitutional rights on equal footing with the Rumanians.

The Ukrainians had found a rare champion, for his connections dated back to student days at the "Theresianum" where he mingled with the highest strata of Viennese society. After becoming a member of Parliament, he quickly gained the ear of influential government and parliamentary personalities. He was able to be extremely helpful not only to the Ukrainians of Bukovina, but to Ukrainians living in the other parts of the Austrian Monarchy as well. He not only riposted the slashing attacks of the Rumanian landlords but also sharply criticized the Austrian central organs for discriminating against the Ukrainian people (for instance, the removal of the provincial president Bourgignon). Even his political adversaries held him in great respect.



Baron Mykola Vasylyko (1868-1924), noted Ukrainian statesman and diplomat, member of the Vienna Parliament and of the Bukovinian Legislature (Diet), and a member of the Ukrainian National *Rada* (Parliament) of the Western Ukrainian National Republic.

It was in great measure Baron Vasylyko's unique abilities and perseverance which finally brought about the emancipation of the Ukrainians from Rumanian tutelage and domination.

Through Baron Vasylyko's initiative a liberal group of deputies in the Diet organized in 1903 the so-called "Free-Thinking Union". It comprised all the Ukrainian deputies, the Rumanian Dr. Aurel Onciul, the Sionist Dr. Beno Straucher, the Armenian St. Stefanovich and a few German deputies. It was this coalition that succeeded in overcoming the Rumanian supremacy. Under its initiative a series of laws were passed in the Diet which guaranteed cultural autonomy to all the nationalities of Bukovina. Thus the laws of May 26, 1910 on provincial government and provincial

elections provided full equality through the creation of so-called national *curias*, in which each nationality received mandates in proportion to its population. Thus a law modifying the system of provincial government (*Journal of Land Laws* No.26) that instituted 6 electoral *curias* and raised the number of mandates to 63. Yet another law relating to provincial elections (*Journal of Land Laws* No. 27) recognized the Jews, marking the first time in the history of Austria that this people was acknowledged as a separate ethnic group. In fact the laws regarding the change of system of provincial government and the provincial elections had been enacted by the Diet in 1904, but they were not sanctioned at that time by the Emperor.

On the basis of the new legislation of the Bukovinian Diet, Bukovina became in fact an autonomous land. All obstacles which had previously barred Ukrainians from achieving equality were now removed. The Diet and the executive self-government — the Committee of the Diet (Landesausschuss) — assumed more and more weight and authority at the cost of the central Austrian government, the president of the province and the district prefects. Their acts were often the subject of sharp criticism (especially by Vasylo), not only in the Bukovinian Diet but in the Parliament in Vienna as well. The importance of Ukrainian deputies grew steadily: in 1904 Prof. Stepan Smal-Stockyj was elected Vice President of the Diet and a member of the Executive Board. Vasylo and Smal-Stockyj each manned one of the two power centers: Vasylo represented and defended the Ukrainian interests in Vienna, while Smal-Stockyj upheld them in the Diet and in the Board of Directors. This duumvirate was augmented by Omelyan Popovych, making a triumvirate which was extremely successful in attaining many benefits for the Ukrainians in Bukovina, especially in the field of education. A dense network of Ukrainian public schools embraced the Ukrainian villages. Ultimately there was not a single Ukrainian village without a school with Ukrainian as the language of instruction. On the basis of the example set by the development of Ukrainian schools in Bukovina one can properly evaluate the success of these cham-

pions in the struggle for equality of the Bukovinian Ukrainians with the Germans and Rumanians.

After the recognition of Bukovina as an autonomous land, school and educational affairs were subordinated to the autonomous government of Bukovina. On the basis of the Austrian school law of 1869 and of the provincial law of 1870, jurisdiction over educational affairs had been shifted to the Provincial Educational Council consisting of 12 members, who at the beginning were only Rumanians and Germans. Later on a Ukrainian teacher was admitted as a representative to the Educational Council. Finally, Prof. Smal-Stockyj became a representative of the Board of Directors, and Rev. Archimandrite O. Manastyrskyj a representative of the Orthodox Church. Through their efforts the status of Ukrainian schools was raised considerably. In 1870 in all of Bukovina there were only 116 elementary schools; by 1896 the number had increased to 335, of which 131 were purely Ukrainian and 34 were either Ukrainian-German or Ukrainian-Rumanian, for a total of 165 Ukrainian schools. In the district seats and the cities there were German schools for German and Jewish children.

In 1895 Omelyan Popovych was made deputy cherman of the Division of Education and, later, a provincial inspector for Ukrainian schools. He was a man of great scientific-cultural stature, with a long record of active community service, an extraordinarily industrious and intelligent organizer and sincere Ukrainian patriot. He immediately began a reorganization of the Ukrainian schools in Bukovina, substantially elevating them in the process. Through his efforts the Ukrainian part of Bukovina became almost literally covered with Ukrainian elementary schools. Larger villages had 4 and even 6-grade schools. Before the outbreak of World War I (in the school year 1910-1911), of a total of 343 communes with 531 schools, 180 were Ukrainian communes (comprising a population of 330,000) with 216 Ukrainian schools and 822 teachers.⁸² In addition, there were mixed schools, in which the Ukrainian, Rumanian, and German language were taught. At the same time the Rumanians had 179 purely Rumanian

82 Лев Ясінчук: Українське шкільництво на Буковині. В „Буковина — її минуле й сучасне”, стор. 668, 670;

UKRAINIAN DEPUTIES TO THE BUKOVINIAN LEGISLATURE (DIET):



D. Bazhan;



Very Rev. T. Drachynskyj;



Dr. T. Halip;



T. Ivanitskyy;



M. Kurysh;



T. Levytskyy;



Iu. Lysan;



Arthur Malyk;



O. Popovych;



H. Pihuliak;



Dr. St. Smal-Stockyj



Baron Mykola Vasylo



Mykola Osadets.

There are no pictures of the following members of the Diet:
O. Burachynskyy, M. Havryshchuk, A. Lukasevych, I. Samaka and M. Slynul.

schools and 27 mixed schools. The law allowed for the creation of side-by-side classes for the children of nationally mixed communes. The requirement was a minimum of 20 children and the parents' expression to have their children take instruction in their native language.

Such was the road traversed by the Ukrainians of Bukovina on the way towards equality in education and the schools.

2. The struggle for equality in the Orthodox Church was even more difficult because the church hierarchy always and exclusively was in the hands of Rumanians, and because the Rumanian clergy by sheer numbers always outweighed the Ukrainian clergy.

In order to understand properly the situation of the Ukrainians vis-a-vis the Orthodox Church in Bukovina, we must bring to bear certain developments and facts which occurred after the incorporation of Bukovina into Austria.

Up to 1848 the head of the Orthodox Church solved the matter of relationship with respect to the faithful of the Ukrainian nationality by acting according to his judgment and conscience. We know, for instance, that Bishop Cherescul, defending his Ukrainian faithful, opposed the Austrian government's prohibition of importing liturgical books in the Church-Slavonic language from Kiev. He pointed out that "in Bukovina more than a half speak Ruthenian", hence it was "imperative" to bring them Church-Slavonic books from Russia.⁸³

Understandably, the church hierarchy preferred to have its faithful speaking a common tongue. The Ukrainian population lived in compact settlements; therefore, for centuries, the church not only could not Rumanize them, but according to its precepts was beholden to preach Christ's teachings to them in their native language. Traditionally, then, church masses for the Ukrainian population in Bukovina were held in Church-Slavonic language. But in recruiting new priests, the Rumanian hierarchy usually favoured the Rumanian elements. Ukrainians, on the other hand, even in the case they were accepted to the Theological Institute, were lost to the Ukrainian people because of lack of national consciousness and the process of Rumanization.

When the wave of national rebirth swept throughout Europe, stimulating enslaved nationalities to achieve their freedom, its swirls and eddies reached Bukovina. Aroused were not only the Ukrainians but, in reaction, the Ruminians as well, alarmed at the prospect of losing their supremacy in Bukovina. The Rumanian leadership resorted to the most extreme means: intensification of the process of Rumanization

⁸³ See footnote 30;

А. Жуковський, цит. твір, стор. 209

and meretricious use of the Rumanian Orthodox clergy therein. But, except for Rumanization of the names of the faithful and some success in the mixed communes, the process of Rumanization through school and church proved unequal to the Ukrainian national rebirth, especially after the introduction of constitutional equality for all the nationalities of the Austrian Monarchy.

The year of 1848 found on the episcopal throne of the Bukovinian Diocese Bishop Eugene Hakman, (1835-1873), an authoritative and influential Rumanized Ukrainian. Bishop Hakman, it is to be recalled, pursued a moderate policy with respect to the Ukrainians in his diocese. When this policy brought about an open conflict between him and the Rumanian lay leadership, Bishop Hakman, seeking support against the aggressive Rumanians, made a certain *rapprochement* with the Ukrainians not so much because of private convictions but because the latter were opponents of his own odversaries.⁸⁴ For instance, when the Rumanian leadership categorically opposed the introduction of schools using Ukrainian in the Ukrainian villages and when the use of the Ukrainian language in government offices could not even be mentioned — Bishop Hakman, knowing at first hand the national composition of his diocese, on May 4, 1838, issued an edict, "Pro Domo", in which he recognized the Ukrainian language as the second language in the diocese.⁸⁵ Thirty years later the statute regarding the organization of the Consistory, approved by the emperor (1869), led to the incorporation of the Ukrainian language as the second official language of the Bukovinian Diocese.⁸⁶ It was necessary, however, to wait over three years in order to receive from Metropolitan Blazhevich an official circular, No. 4192 of October 4, 1873, whereby the Ukrainian language was recognized as an offi-

84 I. I. Пігуляк: Українська Православна Церква в румунському ярмі...", стор. 10;

85 I. I. Nistor: *Un capitol din viața culturală a Românilor din Bucovina 1774-1857*, p. 26.

86 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

cial language of the Bukovinian Diocese, on a par with the Rumanian.⁸⁷

In 1848 Bishop Hakman, along with other leading Rumanians of Bukovina, submitted a special petition to the emperor, and a separate note to the Austrian government, proposing setting up Bukovina as a separate crownland. But at the same time, the Rumanian leaders of Transylvania, acting in close understanding with the leading Rumanians of Bukovina, such as Hurmuzaki and others, presented the Austrian government with a demand a far-reaching plan: the establishment of Bukovina, the Rumanian part of Transylvania, Marmorosh and Banat as a separate Rumanian land under Austrian supremacy. The plan called for a national autonomy in the political and religious fields, with an elective head of the land to be approved by the emperor, a council of the land to be known as a senate and the Rumanian language as the official tongue in this land. The project also envisioned the merger of the Bukovinian and Transylvanian Orthodox dioceses into one metropolitan see.⁸⁸ Bishop Hakman came out most decidedly against the merger of the two dioceses, and as a consequence, a sharp conflict developed between him and the leading Rumanian circles of Bukovina and Transylvania. Bishop Hakman stood firmly for a metropolitan see of Bukovina. His stand, however, did not deter the leaders of the Rumanian national movement from pursuing their goal. Through their initiative a conference of all Rumanian Orthodox bishops was called by the Ministry of the Interior in 1850; the conference was also attended by the metropolitan. Bishop Hakman so stubbornly defended his stand that the government took no position on this issue.⁸⁹

Through the efforts of E. Hurmuzaki the question of merger of the two dioceses was raised again by Rumanian representatives of Bukovina and Transylvania in a new petition to the emperor on March 15, 1862. Although it was rejected on December 10, 1866, this did not discourage the Rumanian leaders. They called a Rumanian rally on July

87 Aurel Morariu: *Bucovina (1774-1914)*, p. 73.

88 "*Bucovina*", Nos. 20 and 21, 1849, as cited by E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

89 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 79 and sources cited therein.

11, 1870 at Chernivtsi, where a series of resolutions were adopted in which the Orthodox Church in Bukovina was declared to be, historically and legally, a purely Rumanian church, despite the fact that the statute regarding the organization of the Consistory, approved by the emperor in 1869, recognized the Ukrainian language as the second language of the diocese. In fact the Bukovinian Diocese has been implicitly recognized by that statute as Rumanian and Ukrainian diocese.

By virtue of law enacted on January 23, 1873, the Orthodox Diocese of Bukovina was raised to the rank of metropolitan see, with Bishop Hakman being elevated to the dignity of metropolitan. He died before being installed as metropolitan. The creation of an independent metropolitan see in Bukovina only spurred the Rumanians on in their efforts toward a merger of the Bukovinian and Transylvanian Churches.

Metropolitan Andrievich-Morar (1880-1895), also a Rumanized Ukrainian from Galicia (Melnik), followed throughout the Rumanian demands as regards the Bukovinian Diocese and shared the view that Orthodox Church was Rumanian in character. He was a firm opponent of the moderate policies of Bishop Hakman with respect to the Orthodox Ukrainians. In 1882 Metropolitan Morar called a Diocesan Church Synod, with participation and vote given lay representatives of the parishes, for the purpose of preparing new statute regarding the organization of the Consistory. At the Synod the Ukrainian representatives, citing the Ukrainian majority of the diocese, demanded equality of rights. Yet the national composition of the Synod prevailed and the by-laws were accepted, thus violating any notion of equality as far as the Ukrainians were concerned. The anti-Ukrainian efforts of Metropolitan Morar went so far, in fact, that the president of the province, Count Pace, felt constrained to protest.⁹⁰

Despite the demurral of President Pace, the by-laws were accepted at the Synod — but they were never approved by the emperor.⁹¹ Subsequently the Rumanians tried to call another Diocesan Synod in 1899, only to fail to accomplish

90 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

91 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

it. All these efforts aimed at keeping the Orthodox Church in Bukovina under Rumanian domination.

The era of Metropolitan Morar and President Alesani (the latter took no interest in the affairs of the country, delegating his duties to Rumanian Counsellor Baron Styrcza) marks the period of blackest Rumanian reaction and intensified efforts to maintain Rumanian leadership in the church, schools and administration of Bukovina. Metropolitan Morar purged the Consistory of Ukrainians, replacing them with Rumanians. In the Theological Seminary only few Ukrainians survived. Even purely Ukrainian parishes were assigned Rumanian priests, many of whom had no knowledge of the Ukrainian language. The only Ukrainians whom the Metropolitan supported were the priests of Russophile orientation.⁹²

Such oppressive conditions in the Bukovinian Diocese and its Consistory provoked a strong reaction on the part of the Ukrainians of Bukovina.⁹³ They found their expression in the work of a Ukrainian patriot, Sylvester Daszkewicz,⁹⁴ a student of theology and later a lawyer, who spoke up for the division of the Diocese into Rumanian and Ukrainian parts as the only solution to the long and drawn-out impasse. Misunderstandings and conflicts between Ukrainians and Rumanians in church matters as regards equality went so far that any benevolent settlement appeared impossible. Hence the Ukrainian demand for a division of the Diocese into two national eparchies to be delineated by the ethnographic and geographic boundary along the Seret River.

In the struggle for Ukrainian equality in the field of religion, and later for the division of the diocese into Rumanian and Ukrainian eparchies, "Ruska Besida" played a very important part, as did also the "Society of Ukrainian Orthodox Priests". For almost ten years this matter was brought up in the Diet and in the Parliament by Deputy Hierotheus Pihu-

92 І. Ткачук: Церковно-релігійне життя. В „Буковина — її минуле й сучасне,” стор. 736 наст.

93 Тит (Тарас) Тимінський: Пастирське посланіє митрополита Мораря та румунізаторські змагання супроти православних українців на Буковині. Цикл статей у „Буковині” за 1890 р.;

94 Sylvester Daszkewicz: *Die Lage der gr. or. Ruthenen in der Bukowiner Erzdiözese.*

liak, and later on, by Mykola Vasylo and others. Only after long and indefatigable efforts in this matter and the presentation of their demands by a Ukrainian delegation at an audience with the emperor did the Ukrainians finally succeed in obtaining equality in the church domain.

The Austrian government consented to the division of the Orthodox Church only in 1917. The first Ukrainian to be appointed to the see was Bishop Tyl (Taras) Tyminskyy.

But, as it turned out, there was no time to complete and solidify the equality of Ukrainians in the Orthodox Church in Bukovina: Rumanian troops occupied Bukovina in November, 1918.

XI. CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing constitutes, in general outline, the historico-social process of the Ukrainians of Bukovina from ancient times up to 1918.

With the coming of the Mongolians in the middle of the XIIIth century Bukovina lost its political-state connections with its principal base, the Galician-Volhynian State. Its subsequent lot as a part of the Moldavian state, and later on, its subservience along with Moldavia to the Turkish empire, made for the centurieslong deposit of the Ukrainian masses of Bukovina, deserted by their leading stratum, at the bottom of the social scale leading a miserable existence. Although these masses found themselves in an alien state and lived under the most abject conditions, they succeeded nevertheless in preserving their national separateness, their own language, customs and way of life. The richness of the Ukrainian spiritual and material culture — folksongs, legends, folk art and so forth—helped these people immeasurably in maintaining their ethnic identity under the domination of alien rulers.

The passage of Bukovina from the Balkan to the Western European sphere of influence opened new possibilities for the Ukrainians of Bukovina. The breadth and depth of the Ukrainian literary and national rebirth in Ukraine under Russia, and on the other hand, the national liberation movements of the peoples of the Austrian Monarchy in 1848, both

served to awaken the national consciousness of Ukrainians in Bukovina. The Rumanian domination in Bukovina, the ruthless subjection of the Ukrainian masses by the Rumanian landlords, evoked in Ukrainians a burning sense of injustice and a determination to fight for their rights. Although the struggle was long and difficult, it precipitated the Ukrainian national rebirth in Bukovina. The Ukrainians of Bukovina were able to achieve their equality only before the outbreak of World War I, but by that time the Ukrainian national masses of Bukovina had completed their national and political formations and were ready for self-determination.

PART TWO

I. THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION IN EASTERN UKRAINE AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS IN WESTERN UKRAINIAN LANDS

The rebirth of the Ukrainian State on the Dnieper River after the fall of the Czarist prison of nations 1917, and the consequent proclamation of the independence of Ukraine, were events that were received in the Western Ukrainian lands, especially in Bukovina, with unbounded enthusiasm. These developments, especially after the signing by the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) of the peace treaty with the Central Powers in Brest Litovsk, strengthened a certainty in the Ukrainians of Austria that their own liberation was not far off. They became impatient to be united with their brothers on the Dnieper in one common state of the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainians in Bukovina staged fetes and manifestations in connection with the issuance of the Forth *Universal* and the signing of the peace treaty with Ukraine, and especially in connection with the Austrian government's procrastination in ratifying the treaty (a secret clause obligated Austria-Hungary to establish a separate crown land of the Ukrainian ethnic territory in the monarchy). These demonstrations welcomed the establishment of the independent Ukrainian state and underscored the unity of the Ukrainian people on both sides of the Zbruch-Dniester-Cheremosh Rivers. There was, for example, the great national manifestation that was organized on April 14, 1918, in Vyzhnytsya. Over 10,000 people took part, including school children, thereby demonstrating in full measure the national solidarity felt with the great Ukrainian people.⁹⁵

Another manifestation was that held in the village of Chornavka on May 7, 1918.⁹⁶ Still another: the May 3, 1918,

95 Cf. A report in the newspaper „Буковина”, №14, May 24, 1918.

96 „Буковина” №16, за 7.6.1918

issue of *Bukovyna* (No. 12) ran an appeal to the "Ukrainian People of Bukovina". It reported that "representatives of all organizations of Bukovina, grouped in the 'Central Council' in Chernivtsi, have decided to stage on May 19, 1918, a 'Holiday of Resurrection of Ukraine', featuring masses and appropriate sermons in the Orthodox cathedral and in the Greek-Catholic churches in Chernivtsi, an all-national manifestation in the square before the City Theater and a parade through the principal streets of the city ending at the seat of the Provincial Government, where the Ukrainian national demands will be forwarded to the President". Another appeal of April 6, 1918 (signed by Dr. A. Artymovych, Deputy A. Lukashevych and Prof. V. Simovych) proclaimed it to be "a sacred duty of every patriotic Ukrainian" to take part in this "first all-Ukrainian manifestation". "We must pay homage", it stated, "to those who sacrificed their lives to pave the way for us to the illustrious future; we must demonstrate to the world that we know how to treasure this great moment; we must present all our national demands on the Austrian soil..."

These manifestations had a solid moral foundation provided by the proclamation by President Wilson on January 8, 1918, on the self-determination of peoples.

The degree of the national consciousness and patriotism of the Ukrainians of Bukovina is caught by an episode which occurred in Chernivtsi. In May, 1917, Ukrainian soldiers at the Rumanian front organized a meeting at which a collection was taken for the support of the Ukrainian Central *Rada* in Kiev. Many local Ukrainians flocked to the meeting and joined in contributing. Among them was an elderly lady, who had a gold cross and gold ring to give. "Soldier-Ukrainians!" she said, "I have carried this cross for 68 years and have always dreamt about my dear Ukraine. Now I donate it and my ring to the fund of Ukraine".⁹⁷

Such deep-felt sentiment prevailed among the Ukrainians of Bukovina long before the fall of Austria-Hungary. When toward the close of World War I the fall of Austria became a matter of days, a nonpartisan conference embracing

97 Ген. К. Смовський: Моя служба Батьківщині. Спогади. „Свобода” № 39-62 за 22.2 — 2.4.1958

all the Ukrainian political parties in Bukovina was held on October 12, 1918, in Chernivtsi. Its purpose: to discuss Bukovina's future. At that moment all the Ukrainian parties, heretofore more or less divided, acted in concert. A series of resolutions were adopted at the general citizens' meeting, held the next day in Chernivtsi. They read as follows:

"The conference of all Ukrainian parties in Bukovina, held in Chernivtsi on October 13, claims the right of self-determination for the Ukrainians. Along with other Ukrainians of Austria-Hungary, we want to decide our fate ourselves.

We wish to part with our present and forever-to-be neighbors, the Rumanian people, in peace and concord. From the Carpathians to the Black Sea our national boundaries form a common line. By nature itself we are compelled to live peacefully and work for a harmonious, common development in the future.

Therefore, we call on all the Rumanian people not to lend themselves to violence towards the Ukrainian people, as we, for our part, solemnly promise to combat all decisions which, although beneficial to us, would be unjust to the Rumanian people. We hereby proclaim our right to the Ukrainian districts of Bukovina with their sole center of trade and movement, the city of Chernivtsi, which is surrounded on three sides by purely Ukrainian environs, and only on one side by a mixed region, in which (city — I. N.) merge all the trade routes from the Ukrainian districts and in which, after the Jews, we constitute a relative majority.

We call on all other peoples of Bukovina — Jews, Germans and Poles — to help us to implement this national division of the country, a division which will be beneficial also for the minorities.

We are firmly convinced that the Polish-Ukrainian problem can be solved only by an understanding of the people concerned, and not by violence, and we therefore recommend that our representatives at the Ukrainian National Congress act in this direction.

We demand that Austro-Hungarian Ukraine conduct its relations with its neighbors and the other peoples of Austria-

Hungary, as well as with independent Ukraine, wholly independently.

Desirous of a rapid and stable peace, we appeal to all the peoples to help with all their resources toward an understanding between the Poles and Ukrainians on the one hand, and between the Rumanians and Ukrainians on the other, so as to remove in the east a cause of possible future conflicts and misunderstandings.

Finally, we promise to defend ourselves with all our strength and with dedication of life and material goods against any violations and against any decisions made without us and against us..."⁹⁸

II. THE WILSON PROGRAM, ESTABLISHMENT OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL RADA AND PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF WESTERN UKRAINIAN LANDS

Two historical and legal acts for the solution of the Ukrainian problem benefited the Ukrainian leadership in Austria: 1) the 14-point program of President Woodrow Wilson of January 8, 1918, and 2) the "Manifesto" of Emperor Charles of Austria-Hungary of October 16, 1918. The first provided a basis for full state independence, while the second guaranteed the national development within the framework of autonomous self-rule, on the basis of federative foundations, with preservation of the monarchy.

The Wilsonian 14-point program recognized an explicit right to self-determination (Point 13) for the Poles. The Allies acknowledged also an anticipated right to independence for the Czechs and Southern Slavs. But because the Wilsonian program of self-determination had a general character, all the peoples of Austria-Hungary believed that it applied to them as well.

Point 10 of the Wilsonian Program spoke of "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development". The Austrian government interpreted this point as an autonomy

⁹⁸ „Діло”, № 238 (9798), за 19.10.1918

within the boundaries of the Austrian state. Thus, after a special audience granted nationality representatives by the emperor, there appeared on October 16, 1918, an imperial "Manifesto", in which the right of autonomy for each nationality was recognized in a form of federation with Austria. But on October 19, 1918, Wilson rejected the Austrian federative solution and informed the Austrian government that he stood for the recognition of independence for the Czechs and the Southern Slavs. The Poles, Hungarians, Croats and Czechs had proclaimed their independence before this date. There remained for the Austrian Ukrainians the matter of realizing practically and juridically completing their natural right to self-determination.

The Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation in Vienna consisted of the Ukrainian parliamentary deputies of Galicia and Bukovina and the members of the Upper House (House of Lords). At its meeting of 10.10.1918 the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation called for a conference to be held in Lviv on October 18-19, 1918. This was done with the understanding of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Party, the most powerful of all Ukrainian political parties. All Ukrainian parliamentary deputies of Galicia and Bukovina, Ukrainian members of the Galician Diet (then dissolved) and of the Bukovinian Diet, members of the Upper House and three representatives from each Ukrainian political party of Galicia and Bukovina were to be present at this meeting. The purpose of the conference was to create a Ukrainian Constituent Assembly, which would be empowered to achieve the freedom of the Ukrainian people in the Austrian Monarchy.⁹⁹

The view was unanimous that the problems of Galicia, Bukovina and Carpatho-Ukraine (Transcarpathia) should be solved in common, that all the Ukrainians of Austria-Hungary should share a common lot, and further, that all Ukrainian ethnographic lands with an overwhelming majority of

99 Matthew Stachiw-Jaroslaw Sztendera: *Western Ukraine*, Vol. I, p. 99 sq.

Д-р М. Стахів: *Західня Україна*, Т. 3, стор. 15 і наступ.

Ст. Баран: *Лист про през. Е. Петрушевича та Листопадові Дні 1918.* „Український Історик”, II-III, 1964, стор. 45-47

Ukrainians should become part of the Ukrainian state.

Taking part in the deliberations of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly in Lviv on October 18-19, 1918, were the following representatives from Bukovina:

Parliamentary and Diet Deputies: Mykola Vasylo, Antin Lukashevych, Ilya Semaka, and Mykola Spynul;

Parliamentary Deputy Prof. Dr. Stepan Smal-Stockyj;

Diet Deputies: Diet Vice President Rev. Teofil Drachynskyy, Osyp Burachynskyy, Theodore Ivanytskyy, Theodore Levytskyy, Yuriy Lysan and Omelyan Popovych.

Representing the Ukrainian political parties were: Dr. Mykola Drahomyrets'kyy, Omelyan Ivanytskyy and Volodymyr Federovych — National Democratic Party; Dr. Claudiy Bilynskyy, Dr. Myron Korduba and Dr. Roman Cehelskyy — the National Party; Hryts Andriashchuk, Osyp Bezpalko and Volodymyr Soronevych — the Social Democratic Party, and Ilariy Karbulytskyy — the Radical Party.¹⁰⁰

Over 200 persons, delegates and plenipotentiaries of Bukovina took part in this conclave.

The only group from Bukovina that was denied a vote at the assembly was the so-called Social-Christian Party of Bukovina on the ground that no such party was active in Bukovina.¹⁰¹

Transcarpathia was unable to send representatives to the assembly. A letter, however, was received from a group of Ukrainian political leaders of Transcarpathia in which they demanded that Transcarpathia be incorporated into the Western Ukrainian lands, promising that they would send their own representatives to the Constituent Assembly.¹⁰² The oppressive rule of the Hungarians, with its persecution of the non-Hungarian population, had prevented the Ukrainians there from electing their own deputies to the Hungarian Diet and from creating their own political parties to represent and defend the interests of the Ukrainian people.¹⁰³

100 „Буковина”, № 36, за 25.10.1918; „Діло” № 240 (9800) за 22.10.1918

101 „Буковина” № 36, за 25.10.1918

102 „Діло”, № 240 (9800) за 22.10.1918

103 С. Ярославин: Визвольна боротьба на Західньо-Українських Землях у 1918-1923, стор. 8; „Лист від „українця” з над Тиси”, „Діло”, № 240, за 22.10.1918

The Ukrainian Constituent Assembly in Lviv encompassed a broad popular spectrum. Above all, the Parliamentary and Diet deputies were legal and constitutional representatives of the Ukrainian people, elected on the basis of the existing Austrian laws. They represented in fact the will of a given territory in the legislative organs of the state. The deputies to the Parliament were elected in a general election in 1911, and to the Diet in "curial" elections.

In order that the expression of the people's will would be fuller and all-embracing, representatives of active Ukrainian political parties were admitted to the assembly with an active voting right, as were representatives of the Ukrainian students as well. These representatives of the political and student worlds, could, according to Constituent Assembly's resolution, be recalled and replaced by the other delegates of these political parties and student groups.

This broadly-representative Ukrainian Constituent Assembly of October 18, 1918, discussed and approved two important acts of a constitutional and legal character: a) the Statute of the Ukrainian National *Rada* and b) the Resolutions of the Ukrainian National *Rada*. The importance of these acts lay in that they provided a basis for a newly-created Ukrainian state, encompassing the Ukrainian ethnographic territories within Austria-Hungary.

The Statute of the Ukrainian National *Rada* was the first basic state document, whereby the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly was created, and its composition, rights and duties outlined.¹⁰⁴

The discussion on the resolutions of the National *Rada* lasted until the wee hours of the morning of October 19, 1918, whereupon the resolutions were adopted by an overwhelming majority of those present at the assembly. An insignificant minority expressed its wish for an immediate union of the West Ukrainian territories with the existing Ukrainian National Republic.

As is evident from the contents of the first act, the conference of legal representatives of Galicia and Bukovina, acting as the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly for the Ukrainian

104 The full text of the Statute is to be found in Appendix No. 1.

ethnographic lands in Austria-Hungary, adopted a series of basic provisional decisions for a new Ukrainian state edifice. A new and provisional legislative organ — the Ukrainian National *Rada* — was established and was charged with the implementation of self-determination for the Ukrainians of Austria-Hungary. The second act dealt with actual and concrete work toward the realization of the principle of national self-determination.

The drawn-out discussions on the resolutions featured a lively exchange of opinion on whether the Ukrainian lands under Austria should be organized into a separate Ukrainian independent state or be incorporated into the already existing Ukrainian National Republic with its capital in Kiev.¹⁰⁵ The overwhelming majority of the delegates supported the view that a Ukrainian state organism should be created on the Western Ukrainian territories. Some, unwilling to break all connections with Austria, urged that the newly-created Ukrainian state meet the requirements of the emperor's "Manifesto" of October 16, 1918. On the other hand, a smaller but a very vocal group advocated the immediate fusion of all Ukrainian lands under Austria with the Ukrainian National Republic. This group was led by such men as Social-Democrats Vityk and Bezpalko, the representatives of the Ukrainian National Party of Bukovina, parliamentary deputy Dr. Volodymyr Zahaikevych, and V. Kulchytsky, the representative of Ukrainian student group.¹⁰⁶

To be stressed is that the decisions of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly dealt only with the Ukrainian ethnographic territory, and were made on broad democratic foundations. The Ukrainian National *Rada* recognized extensive autonomy for the national minorities, especially the Jewish minority as a separate national group — a right not accorded it by Austria-Hungary.

As for the juridical nature of the newly-established Ukrainian state, it was, according to the text and spirit of the resolutions, a sovereign and not a federative state. This

105 Full text of the Resolutions of the Ukrainian National *Rada* are to be found in Appendix No. 2.

106 Д-р Мирон Кордуба: Переворот на Буковині (з особистих спогадів). „Літературно-Науковий Вісник” (ЛНВ) 1923, X-XII, p. 138

was evident from the fact that the Constituent Assembly referred to the right of self-determination and not to the emperor's "Manifesto". The Constituent Assembly proclaimed this newly created Ukrainian state independent, subject to international law and denied the Austrian state any right to represent the Ukrainian state.

True, the resolutions called for an independent Ukrainian state, but they did not provide any exact definition on the relation between the Ukrainian National Republic and the Austrian Monarchy. This was omitted for purely tactical reasons, according to Prof. Chubaty, because at the time of the newly-proclaimed Ukrainian state the organs of the Austrian government were still active in this territory and disposed of considerable military forces which could be used at any time against the nascent Ukrainian military forces.¹⁰⁷

Such was the juridical nature of the Ukrainian state in the light of the constitutional and legal acts of October 18-19, 1918. In reality, however, Ukrainian political leaders, even those occupying state positions, would often refer to the emperor's "Manifesto", but this practice did not change the legal nature of the aforementioned constitutional and legal acts.

The resolutions of the Ukrainian National *Rada* and the proclamation of the Ukrainian state were officially promulgated at a solemn conference of the *Rada* on October 19, 1918, in the Ukrainian National Home in Lviv at 12 o'clock noon, in the presence of representatives of county and district leaders and men of trust from Galicia and Bukovina. The name of the new state, proclaimed by the *Rada*, was given officially on November 13, 1918, as the "Western Ukrainian National Republic."¹⁰⁸

Because of the urgency of the moment and the irregular communications among the various parts of Western Ukraine, the *Rada*, meeting on October 19, 1918, decided to establish two sections of the Ukrainian National *Rada*: one for Galicia and the other for Bukovina. Each was empowered to act in-

107 Д-р Микола Чубатий: „Державний лад на західній області УНР” р. 4

108 Станіслав Дністрянський: „Дивільне право”, Т. I. Відень, 1919, р. 473

dependently in local affairs; each was to keep in close contact with the other.

Thus, in the fall of 1918, the centuries-long dreams of Ukrainians of the Western Ukrainian lands became a reality. In difficult and profoundly agitated circumstances, Ukrainians under Austrian rule began the realization of their national and political objectives. .

A few days after the proclamation of the Western Ukrainian National Republic or the "ZUNR" (Zakhidno-Ukrayinska Narodna Respublika), newly-designated President Dr. Eugene Petrushevych dispatched on November 28, 1918, a memorandum to President Wilson through the Swedish Minister in Washington, W. Ekengren, informing the United States that the Ukrainian people of Austria-Hungary, in implementing the Wilsonian principle of national self-determination, had established on their ethnographic territories of Galicia, Bukovina and Transcarpathia a new independent Ukrainian state, known as the Western Ukrainian National Republic.¹⁰⁹ The government of the Ukrainian National Republic in Kiev and a series of foreign governments were apprised of the establishment of the ZUNR.¹¹⁰

III. BUKOVINIAN SECTION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL RADA AND REALIZATION OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF UKRAINIAN BUKOVINA

The Bukovinian section of the Ukrainian National *Rada* held its first session on October 25, 1918, at which Omelyan Popovych was elected president, Dr. Agenor Artymovych, vice president, and Dr. Michael Lytvynovych and Yuriy Serbyniuk, secretaries. At this first session the section also accepted the name of Ukrainian Provincial Committee of Bukovina (Krayovyy Komitet) — father abbreviated as the Ukrainian Committee — and augmented its number with new members, in-

109 *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the U.S.A. The Paris Peace Conference 1919*. Vol. II, p. 195 and ff; Full text in Ukrainian in „Великий Науковий Збірник”, pp. 20-30, inclusive.

110 К. Лев: Діяльність урядів ЗУНР. Українська Загальна Енциклопедія, III. p. 723 і наступні.

cluding two representatives of the townfolk of Chernivtsi and one from the Ukrainian women's organizations. At the same time a series of commissions were established, which were charged with the planning of the implementation of the new administration: 1) the Editorial Commission, headed by Dr. Myron Korduba, which was to prepare a Manifesto to the people and to convoke an All-Ukrainian manifestation in Chernivtsi; 2) the National Defense Commission, under the leadership of O. Bezpalko, which was to organize the militia in Chernivtsi and throughout the country; 3) the Financial Commission, headed by Dr. R. Chelskyy, which was to set up a plan of national taxation and its implementation; 4) the



Omelyan Popovych (1856-1930), president of the Bukovinian section of the Ukrainian National Rada of the Western Ukrainian Republic; member of the Bukovinian Legislature (Diet); a prominent Ukrainian pedagogue and publicist.

Foreign Relations Commission, headed by O. Popovych, with the function of initiating negotiations with the national minorities in Bukovina; 5) the Administrative Commission, headed by G. Lysynetsky, which was to prepare a list of candidates for the most important government positions in connection with the transition of government in Bukovina as well as general list of all Ukrainian officials in Bukovina.

At this time all these commissions and their activities understandably had a provisional character, as was true also of the Ukrainian Committee, until the consolidation of the government of the ZUNR.

The Ukrainian Constituent Assembly also recognized the right to membership in it for the Ukrainian students, a right which was also recognized as regards the Bukovinian Section of the *Rada*, that is, the Ukrainian Committee. Kornylo Lastivka, a student of theology and Lev Kozak, a student of

philosophy (a son of teacher in Voloskyy Banyliv, who died from tuberculosis) were such student representatives. But they joined the Ukrainian Committee quite late, and were not able to participate in Committee's work. After the Rumanian occupation they could not take part in the activities of the Ukrainian *Rada* in Lviv and Stanyslaviv.¹¹¹

It was logical that after the establishment of the Ukrainian Committee the government should have been transferred over to the Ukrainians in the Ukrainian part of Bukovina. But the Ukrainian Committee at that time did not dispose of any



Ukrainian National Home in Chernivtsi, the center of the Ukrainian social and cultural life of Bukovina; in October-November, 1918, it was the headquarters of the Bukovinian Section of the Ukrainian National *Rada*.

military force, not even a police force. Therefore, at the first meeting of the Ukrainian Committee it was decided to call an all-national Ukrainian manifestation in Chernivtsi to obtain the sanction of the Ukrainian people for such a move.

The next session of the Ukrainian Committee was scheduled for November 1, 1918, but the rush of events precipitated the necessity of immediate action. Greatly disturbed, the Rumanian leaders were galvanized into advancing claims to all of Bukovina — based on historical rights — and rejecting Ukrainian proposals for the division of Bukovina according to the ethnographical principle.

It had become abundantly clear that for the realization

¹¹¹ К. Ластівка: Спогад. Манускрипт.

of this Ukrainian right principles of justice, based on the actual Ukrainian possession of the land, were not enough. Needed as well was an organized Ukrainian force which could guarantee the realization of the Ukrainian right. To this end decisiveness, initiative and prompt action were imperative. The once powerful imperial might had suddenly disappeared from Bukovina, leaving behind a vacuum which drew in the Ukrainian and Rumanian forces. In such a situation the natural strength of the true owner of the land should manifest itself above all at home and should prevent alien forces from operating within the country. Herein the elements of time and resolute decisiveness play important roles, usually performing a political "miracle".

The news about the self-determination of Austrian Ukrainians and the establishment of a separate state organism on the Ukrainian ethnographic territory in Austria-Hungary, extensively commented upon in No. 36 of *Bukovyna* (October 25, 1918), electrified the Bukovinian Rumanians. On October 27, 1918, they called a rally at the Rumanian National Palace in Chernivsi of all Rumanian parliamentary and diet deputies, heads of Rumanian village communes and representatives of the Rumanian cultural and social organizations. They were representatives exclusively of the Rumanian population, which at that time, according to the population census of 1910, consisted barely 34.4 percent of the entire population of Bukovina. At that meeting these decisions were adopted:

1. To pronounce the rally as a national constituent assembly; 2. To advocate the union of all Bukovina with other Rumanian provinces of Austria into a separate state; 3. To establish a 50-member Rumanian National Council as supreme body; 4. To reject a proposal for the division of Bukovina.¹¹²

The Foreign Relations Commission of the Ukrainian Committee had opened parleys with representatives of other nationalities living in Bukovina immediately after the Com-

112 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV 1923 X 140;

I. I. Nistor: *The Union of Bucovina with Rumania*, p. 17 ff; Erich Prokopowitsch: *Das Ende der oesterreichischen Herrschaft in Bukowina*, p. 48 ff.

„Буковина“ № 37 за 1.11.1918

mittee's establishment. Negotiations with the Rumanians were unsuccessful simply because the latter stubbornly insisted on the indivisibility of Bukovina. This circumstance as well as the Rumanian national convention in Chernivtsi compelled the Ukrainians to act swiftly, namely, calling an extraordinary session of the Ukrainian Committee on October 27, 1918 (it had been scheduled to meet November 1, 1918). At this session it was decided to hold meetings daily at 5:00 P.M.

Since the time of the proclamation of the Ukrainian state by the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly in Lviv an abnormal situation persisted. Theoretically there existed a Ukrainian state, but that state lacked an executive back-up power on its territory, especially in Bukovina. This matter was at the top of the agenda for the meeting on October 27. In Chernivtsi there were the 41st infantry and the 22nd riflemen's regiments, both of which contained a great number of Ukrainian soldiers, with the 22nd regiment having even a Ukrainian majority. Contact had been made secretly with Ukrainian officers in these military units for the purpose of gaining their support for the new Ukrainian government.

As a consequence, at the October 27 meeting of the Ukrainian Committee it was decided to co-opt two Ukrainian officers from the two regiments, as well as a representative from the railroad worker's group (S. Honchariuk). The decision was taken also to issue a manifesto to the Ukrainian people with the signatures of all the members of the "Bukovinian Delegation of the Ukrainian National *Rada*."¹¹³

The Ukrainian Committee planned to base its authority, at least for the time being, on the "Self-Defense" organization that was to be established in the villages and towns of Ukrainian Bukovina. The idea was very good, but initiative was lacking. Because of procrastination and the Rumanian aggression, the "Self-Defense" organization never materialized.

Undoubtedly, the solution to the problem of transferring the government into Ukrainian hands depended largely on the neutralization of the local Austrian military forces, namely the 41st and 22nd regiments, and on subordinating

113 Cf. full text of the Manifesto in Appendix No. 3.

the Ukrainian soldiers to the new Ukrainian government. But the Ukrainian officers in these regiments, too, were timid and undecisive, although on November 1, 1918, it became generally known that Austria-Hungary had fallen and that the Austrian Germans had declared their self-determination by creating their own government on October 30, 1918, and that the Ukrainian National *Rada* had taken over the government in Galicia.

When in Chernivtsi it became known that in Galicia the Ukrainian National Rada had taken over the government and that the transfer of authority in Bukovina into Ukrainian hands was a matter of days, Col. Tomashkewicz, the commanding officer of the 41st regiment and a Pole, forestalled the Ukrainian Committee by demobilizing the soldiers of his regiment on November 2, 1918, permitting them to take anything they wanted from the regiment's supply stores. In the 22nd regiment the soldiers themselves — and the civilians — looted the supplies and made off for home.¹¹⁴

The demobilization of the Chernivtsi regiments took the National Committee by surprise and confronted it with a very complex problem. The tragedy lay not solely in the fact that the trained Ukrainian soldiers of the already mentioned 2 regiments could have been of great support to the Ukrainian government, were lost, but also in the fact that these demobilized soldiers became a source of anarchy. This happened only because of indecisiveness of the Ukrainian officers in subordinating the two regiments in Chernivtsi to the Ukrainian government.

As far back as the middle of September, 1918, there were units of the Ukrainian Legion, *Ukrayinski Sichovi Striltsi* (USS), in Bukovina under the command of Archduke Wilhelm Habsburg (Vasyl Vyshyvanyy), namely: a combat battalion and a training unit in Chernivtsi, 2 companies in training (under Commander Socrat Ivanytzky and Roman Kupchynskyy) in the village of Raranche and Toporivtsi (on the Bukovinian-Bessarabian border) and a cadre in the Wyzhny-

114 О. Попович: *Відродження Буковини*, р. 98;
М. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XI, p. 231;
Е. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

tsya area (Vyzhenka, Chornohuzy). Their combat strength was 1,300 fighters.

On November 1, 1918, these Ukrainian units were ordered transferred to Lviv. The Ukrainian Committee believed that the defense of Lviv and the strengthening of the Ukrainian government in Galicia had priority, especially since it saw no threat on the part of Rumania. On November 1, then, 4 companies of infantry entrained for Lviv, along with a machine-gun company and a mortar detachment. They were followed by other units.¹¹⁵

However, the question of why the Ukrainian Committee did not utilize the Bukovinian based units of the Ukrainian Legion or their officers for the timely subordination of the two regiments for the support of the Ukrainian government (during the units' stay in Bukovina) and why these units were not engaged for the purpose of an earlier take over of government power, remains unanswered.

After the self-liquidation of the Chernivtsi regiments signs of anarchy and disorder appeared in the city. For the safeguard of peace and order the Ukrainian Committee brought from the region of Vyzhnytsya a company of the Ukrainian Legion and at the same time it decided to organize the military units of volunteers, again for the safeguard of law and order, and support of its government. These military units were, in reality, the first Ukrainian agents of executive authority in Bukovina appearing even before the formal take-over of the government.¹¹⁶

The volunteer force above all attracted the student youth who, although a patriotic and enthusiastic element, were unruly and undisciplined. Sprinkled among them were all sorts of city types who joined for adventure's sake and who later became a source of considerable difficulty for the Ukrainian government.

In those troublesome days when the city of Chernivtsi was threatened with anarchy, the Jewish representatives (Dr. Wender, J. Pistiner and others) made an attempt to mediate between the Ukrainians and Rumanians. The Ukrainian Committee agreed to mediation on the condition that the Ru-

115 „Українська Січове Стрілецтво”, стр. 129.

116 О. Попович, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

manians would agree to the division of the country according to the ethnographic principle. But the Jewish effort proved to be unsuccessful. The Rumanian side under the leadership of Iancu Flondor demanded the take-over of the government in all Bukovina, promising only to transfer to the Ukrainians authority "over the undisputable Ukrainian part", without the city of Chernivtsi. Moreover, this arrangement would be in force only until a final decision as regards Bukovina were reached by the Peace Conference. Understandably, such conditions were unacceptable to the Ukrainians, the Ukrainian Committee promptly rejecting them on November 2, 1918. On the same day overtures were made by Count Ezdorf, President of Bukovina, but representatives of the Rumanian National Council failed to appear, save for Baron Hurmuzaki, president of the Diet, and Grigorovici and Dr. A. Onciul, Socialist deputies to the parliament. But the first two Rumanians were reluctant to take upon themselves the responsibility for governmental takeover in the Rumanian part of Bukovina. On the other hand, Dr. Onciul agreed to assume the leadership of the new government and proposed a plan for the division of Bukovina.

The representative of the Ukrainian Committee accepted, in principle, the proposal of Dr. Onciul, but as regards the division of the land had two provisions: 1) Chernivtsi would go to the Ukrainians, because the Ukrainian population in the city was second only to the Jews; 2) the Ukrainian-Rumanian demarcation line would be established on the basis of the 1900 and 1910 population censuses, inasmuch as the last census had been falsified in some villages to the detriment of Ukrainians.¹¹⁷

On November 3, 1918, the Ukrainians were uplifted in spirit. On that day the Ukrainian Committee staged a huge all-Ukrainian rally, which was by way of being a test of the maturation of Ukrainian national consciousness. The massive participation in the rally, the staunch discipline and the fierce loyalty of the participants toward the Ukrainian Committee as a ruling body of Bukovina and as a part of the Ukrainian state — all were stirring and impressive. The three

117 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XI, p. 232. . . .

largest halls in Chernivtsi could not accommodate all the participants of the rally, estimates of whose number range from 10,000 to 40,000 persons.¹¹⁸ This popular manifestation demonstrated to the world at large the will of the Ukrainians in Bukovina to self-determination and their own government. These peasant masses also shaped the political orientation and future course of the Ukrainian leaders. When one of the representatives of the Ukrainian Committee mentioned the term, "Austrian Ukraine", the participants rose in protest, shouting that they wanted to belong to Ukraine, and not to Austria, a sentiment which was greeted with thunderous applause.¹¹⁹ The rally unanimously accepted a series of resolutions prepared by the Editorial Commission of the Ukrainian Committee.¹²⁰

One of the important aspects of the resolutions was the definition of the Ukrainian national territory in Bukovina. According to it, the Ukrainian national territory embraced the city of Chernivtsi and the administrative and political districts of Zastavna, Kitsman, Vashkivtsi and Vyzhnytsya in their entirety; the districts of Chernivtsi and Seret with the exception of villages with a predominance of Rumanians; and those communes of the Storozhynets, Radivtsi, Sachava, and Kimpolung districts with villages of a predominantly Ukrainian population. The decisive criterion were the last two population censuses (1900, 1910). The Ukrainian National *Rada*, established by the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly on October 19, was recognized as the supreme authority over the Ukrainian territory of Bukovina.

Furthermore, the resolutions called on the national minorities on this territory to send their representatives to the National *Rada* in order to represent and defend the interests of their minorities. The government, being established by a democratic process, would feature a national representation elected on the basis of a general, equal, secret and direct vote of all adult men and women. Finally, the resolutions protested against the Rumanian designs, particularly of the

118 С. Канюк: Понаволення Буковини. „Світло” № 5, стр. 8
E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

119 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XI, p. 234.

120 The full text of the resolutions is given in Appendix No. 4.

Rumanian National Council, on all of Bukovina. The resolutions called on the Ukrainian Committee for immediate implementation of these steps.

Underlying all the resolutions was the realization of the right of self-determination of Ukrainians in Bukovina. In the matter of the division of Bukovina the resolutions were not specific as to the exact line of delineation between the Ukrainian and Rumanian parts, instead referring generally to the ethnographical composition as expressed in the 1900 and 1910 population censuses. On the whole, the resolutions adopted in Chernivtsi on November 3, 1918, were very similar to those adopted on October 19, 1918, by the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly in Lviv. But with regard to the delineation of the Ukrainian national territory there is a distinct difference between the two bodies of resolutions. The resolutions adopted in Lviv explicitly included as Ukrainian territory such cities as Chernivtsi Seret and Storozhynets, while the resolutions of November 3, 1918 expressly included only the city of Chernivtsi, reserving for all other localities, like Seret and Storozhynets, application of the general rule on the relative majority of Ukrainians and Rumanians. The border cities of Seret and Storozhynets apparently were not singled out because of their Jewish majorities, although these cities were surrounded by a compact Ukrainian population.

The great Ukrainian rally in Chernivtsi, which was a sort of national plebiscite in Bukovina, was not alone in providing the Ukrainian Committee with moral sanction for the establishment of the Ukrainian government. Other such manifestations of the will of the Ukrainian people were held in all Ukrainian county seats of Bukovina, as attested to by Anastasia Mykytchuk:¹²¹

This momentous upsurge of the Ukrainian popular masses made a powerful impression upon foreigners, who began to view the Ukrainians as uppermost in the situation. In fact, Ukrainians already performed certain governing functions, such as policing, performed by small groups of Ukrainian military volunteers, who were at the disposal of the Ukrainian Committee. Ukrainians and national mino-

121 А. Микитчук: „Листопадове свято на Буковині". „Свобода" № 212 за 4.11.1958

rities alike began addressing themselves to the Ukrainian Committee as their government in a variety of matters. No wonder, then, that both Ukrainians and foreigners were puzzled why the Ukrainian Committee did not proceed to grasp fully the reins of government.

"There was a tragic-comical situation," says M. Korduba, "in which authority pushed itself in the hands of the Ukrainians, but yet the Ukrainian Committee did not want, or was afraid, to take it..."¹²²

In various government offices even employees of non-Ukrainian origin expected swift transition to Ukrainian control. Yet the Ukrainian Committee continued to meet and conduct long debates, always postponing a final decision on the ground "that such a great responsibility could not be taken with empty hands..."¹²³

Immediately after the rally members of the Ukrainian Committee did hold parlys with representatives of the Ukrainian communes of Bukovina about take-over of the government in cities and villages and the establishment of local police.

At an evening session of the Ukrainian Committee it was decided to organize in Bukovina Ukrainian military units under the command of Captain Orest Dragan. His deputy and commander of the city of Chernivtsi was Ilko Popovych.¹²⁴ This military force was to be recruited from volunteers. Also, the matter of a general mobilization — in the Ukrainian part of Bukovina — was discussed at the same session, but was dropped as not feasible under the circumstances. The next day, because of personality conflict, Captain Dragan was replaced by Sylv. Ivanovych as the commander of the Ukrainian military units (volunteers).¹²⁵

Since small Ukrainian military and police forces in Chernivtsi were hardly sufficient to keep law and order in the city, on November 4, 1918, the mayor of the city declared at the session of the Ukrainian Committee that he would per-

122 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XI, p. 235.

123 *Ibid.*.

124 А. Жуковський: Історія Буковини. В „Буковина — її минуле й сучасне” стр. 309

125 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XI, p. 236.

sonally organize "guardians of the city" which would be composed of the various nationalities. Accepting this proposal, the Ukrainian Committee promised cooperation of the Ukrainian militia with the city guardians and recognition of identity passes issued by the latter. The regular military force at the disposal of the Ukrainian Committee was a company of the USS (the Ukrainian Legion), which came from Vyzhnytsya.¹²⁶

In his memoirs Myron Korduba also reports that a unit of 50 military men was sent to Chernivtsi from Kolomea, but Ilko Popovych, commander of the city, contradicts this assertion, stating that with the exception of a company of USS soldiers, Bukovina did not receive any military assistance.¹²⁷ This contingent was too small to guard the most important places in the city as well as to keep law and order. On November 2, 1918, however, a new organization of volunteers was started and in a few days' time a company of these, for the most part university and high school students, had begun training. Later on, through the efforts of I. Popovych and with the support of the USS officers three companies of volunteers were organized prior to the arrival of the Rumanians.¹²⁸ This new formation was not lacking in idealism, enthusiasm and patriotism, but it did lack discipline and combat experience. Too green and too young to be counted upon, it could not be used for any military operations. To introduce and maintain a strict discipline, an organized government was necessary, yet the Ukrainians of Bukovina were only preparing to organize such a force.

Thus the military forces at the disposal of the Ukrainian Committee were too insignificant to be counted upon during a takeover of the government. On the other hand, the Ukrainian Committee could no longer procrastinate, since a transference of power was already being effectuated in provincial towns and villages. Moreover, procrastination damaged Ukrainian prestige. Continued delay also could be inter-

126 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XI, pp. 237-238.

127 I. Попович — М. Кордуба: До перевороту на Буковині. ЛНВ 1924 III-IV, стор. 344 і наст.

128 К. Купчанко: Буковинський Курінь. Українська Загальна Енциклопедія, III, стр. 722 і наст.

preted by enemies as a weakness of the Ukrainians, and hence would encourage them to pursue aggressive designs.

Yet the Ukrainian Committee saw no immediate threat from the Rumanian side and, as a result, did not deem it necessary to speed up the process of takeover, still hoping to come to some agreement with the Rumanians regarding the division of Bukovina. The Ukrainian Committee hoped, too, that it would be possible to persuade the Austrian government to yield the power without the use of force. Force was necessary for an immediate takeover of power. Since this may have required human sacrifices the Ukrainian Committee tried to avoid this alternative. The Austrian government in Chernivtsi still had an effective administrative machinery, and all prefect seats were either in German or in Rumanian hands. The same was true of the offices of railroads, post and telegraph and, most important of all, the gendarmerie, headed by the ill-famed General Fischer. In addition, the officers' cadres of the two regiments stationed in Chernivtsi were preponderantly in non-Ukrainian hands.

How small were the Ukrainian military forces in Bukovina is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that for the takeover the Ukrainian Committee had to complement its military units overnight by conscripting groups of Ukrainian railroad workers, organized by S. Honchariuk, a member of the Ukrainian Committee. These workers were taken away from their work, clothed in military uniforms and assigned guard and sentry duty during the takeover. This was the 50-man unit reported by M. Korduba and E. Prokopowitsch to have been sent from Kolomea.¹²⁹

At a secret session of the Ukrainian Committee, which was held November 5, 1918, and which was attended by outstanding citizens and leaders who were not members, it was decided unanimously after a thorough discussion to take the government over the next day at 11:30 A.M. by occupying all central government offices and communication centers in Chernivtsi simultaneously. To every office were assigned men, who, accompanied by a group of armed sentries, were

129 Ілько Попович: Листопадові дні на Буковині. „Наше Життя”. №45 (140) за 1.12.1947;

E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

to take over the governmental functions. Depending on the importance of government office, the military contingents ranged in number from 5 to 10 men. Omelyan Popovych was designated as President of the Ukrainian Bukovina, Osyyp Bezpalko—gerant of the mayoralty of Chernivtsi and Commissioner Yavorsky — police director. No appointments were made for the lesser offices, the Ukrainian Committee selecting the so-called “confidence men” from these offices who were entrusted with their direction.¹³⁰

At the next session of the Ukrainian Committee (November 6), Arthur Malyk, a high court official was entrusted with the supervision of the courts in the Ukrainian part of Bukovina, while O. Popovych, now the President of Bukovina, was replaced by Dr. Agenor Artymovych as president of the Ukrainian Committee, with Illya Semaka becoming vice-president.¹³¹ O. Popovych remained a member of the Ukrainian Committee as a legislative body, although he had become head of the executive branch of the government.

It must be emphasized that the release of O. Popovych from his duties as president of the Ukrainian Committee was not affected for reasons of maintaining the purity of the principle of separation of powers (legislative, executive and judiciary). This was absolutely impossible during such turbulent times and during a dearth of qualified personnel. Under such circumstances the rule of higher consideration — “salus rei publicae suprema lex” — is applicable.

In addition to the takeover decision, the November 5th session of the Ukrainian Committee also adopted a “Manifesto to the Population of Bukovina”,¹³² which reported the decision of the Ukrainian National *Rada* regarding the transition of government in the Ukrainian part of Bukovina and which also called on the population to cooperate with the provisional Ukrainian government.

All participants of the historical session on November 5, 1918, were honour bound to secrecy, which was maintained completely. At the designated time on November 6th all the

130 М. Кордуба: Переворот на Буковині., ЛНВ, 1923, XI, стор. 239.

131 М. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XII, p. 324.

132 The full text of the “Manifesto to the Population of Bukovina” of November 5, 1918, appears in Appendix No. 5

government offices in Chernivtsi were taken over without any resistance with the Ukrainian national flag being run up on all the institutional buildings. Parleys with the President



Building, formerly the seat of the Provincial Government of Bukovina.

of Bukovina Count Ezdorf, took more time, but after an unsuccessful effort to convince I. Flondor (the Rumanian National Council) to take over the Rumanian part of Bukovina and, reacting to the pressure of the Ukrainian guards outside, he consented to transfer the government agenda to Ukrainian authority.

The Ukrainian Committee sought authority over the Ukrainian part of Bukovina only. Dr. Aurel Onciul, who came to the President's office during the parley as a representative of the Rumanian National Council and the Rumanian parliamentarians, declared his readiness to take the reins of government over the Rumanian part of Bukovina. Thus President Ezdorf placed the Bukovinian government indivisible into the hands of Omelyan Popovich, representative of the Ukrainian Committee who was accompanied by parliamentarians I. Semeka and M. Spynul, and the Rumanian representative, Dr. A. Onciul. Composed was a special agreement-protocol attesting to the transfer of government.¹³³ The full text of the protocol appeared in the local press with the exception of the last paragraph, in which President Ezdorf asked the representatives of both peoples to

¹³³ The full text of the protocol appears in Appendix No. 6

safeguard the security of Archduke Wilhelm, who was then ailing in Chernivtsi.¹³⁴

After those formalities Popovych and Onciul came to an understanding regarding the territorial division of the Ukrainian and Rumanian parts of Bukovina that was based on the population census of 1910, with the city of Chernivtsi as a Ukrainian-Rumanian condominium. This was a painful concession for the Ukrainian side, agreed to (at the session of the Ukrainian Committee on November 6, 1918) because of the difficult position of the Ukrainians and because of the hostile attitude of the Jews, as was demonstrated during the transfer of government in the City Hall.



City Hall (Municipal Building), with fire watch-tower behind it, on Central Square.

A joint proclamation, signed by O. Popovych and A. Onciul and issued in the Ukrainian, Rumanian and German languages, announced the transfer of government and the division of competence between the Ukrainian and Rumanian governments, including the joint possession of the City of Chernivtsi.¹³⁵ The proclamation pointed out that the delineation of the Ukrainian-Rumanian frontier was provisional and temporary, and assured the right to both Ukrainian and Rumanian sides to bring up claims regarding Bukovina at the Peace Conference.

134 "Gemeinsame Kriegs-Ausgabe Czernowitzer: *Allgemeine Zeitung-Tagblatt*", No. 384, November 7, 1918.

135 The full text of the proclamation of Ukrainian and Rumanian "national commissars" is given in Appendix No. 7.

The proclamation also informed the Ukrainian population that the concessions to the Rumanians were made solely in the interests of a peaceful agreement.

In fact, this agreement did not specifically delineate the Ukrainian and Rumanian parts of Bukovina, confining itself to defining the competences of the Rumanian and Ukrainian governments as regards special communes on the basis of the relative numbers of the population of a given nationality as reported in the 1910 population census. Accordingly, all communes that had a Ukrainian majority — even if surrounded by Rumanian ethnographic territory — were subordinated to the Ukrainian government, and vice-versa. On the other hand, communes with a population greater than either the Ukrainian or Rumanian nationality had the right to opt either for the Ukrainian or the Rumanian government.

The agreement made the city of Chernivtsi, for all intents and purposes, a “neutral city”. Both the Ukrainian and Rumanian governments could be located here. Both governments had to share the power, both had the right of veto.

The agreement (Par. 5) placed the cities of Seret and Storozhynets under the Rumanian government, however, the city of Seret, as well as the city of Storozhynets had a Jewish plurality (of Seret's total population of 7,954, 3,178 were Jews, 2,070 were Ukrainians and 715 were Rumanians; Storozhynets' total of 10,266 included 3,453 Jews, 1,905 Ukrainians and 3,099 Rumanians). Therefore, according to Par. 4 of the Proclamation, the city councils of these two cities had the right to opt for a Rumanian or a Ukrainian government.

The Proclamation of November 6, 1918 conflicted with the constitutional provisions of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly of October 19, 1918, held in Lviv, for the latter included the cities of Chernivtsi, Seret and Storozhynets in the Ukrainian state territory. Consequently, the agreement between Popovych and Onciul violated the integrity of the Ukrainian state territory.

Theoretically, the Ukrainian-Rumanian agreement could be regarded as an international accord subject to the principles of ratification. But the signatories of the agreement gave it an immediate force of legality, although it was provisional

in character — pending a final decision on Bukovina at the Peace Conference.

It is opportune to recall the provisional constitution of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR), adopted by the Ukrainian National *Rada* on November 13, 1918. In delineating its territory, this instrument omitted the cities of Chernivtsi, Seret and Storozhynets in Bukovina from a listing of Ukrainian frontier cities on the Ukrainian side, limiting itself to a general declaration that established the frontier along the ethnographical Ukrainian-Rumanian boundary line as it was designated on the map of the Austrian Monarchy of Baron Karl Czoernig, published in 1885 in Vienna.¹³⁶

Not without merit was the Ukrainian view, namely, that a painful concession was justified in avoiding a growing conflict with the Rumanians over the division of Bukovina. But the agreement with Onciul had a dubious practical result: it failed to bring about any understanding regarding the division of the country. Above all, Dr. Onciul did not have the credentials to act in the name of the Rumanian competent organizations, and he personally did not enjoy sufficient popularity among the Rumanians. Far greater popularity was enjoyed by the Rumanian National Council, headed by Iancu Flondor, which rejected the division of Bukovina in principle.

The difficulty of the position of the Ukrainian Committee cannot be denied; it simply did not dispose of the military force with which to effectuate and maintain a takeover of the government. Indeed, this was the basic reason why the Ukrainian Committee had procrastinated for so long and why it strove to reach an accord with the Rumanian circles as regards takeover and the division of the country. The alternative — open conflict with the Rumanians — was unthinkable. It had no military force to secure any Ukrainian-Rumanian boundary line, much less maintain internal law and order. Lastly, it was highly doubtful whether Kiev or Lviv could have provided any immediate military assistance.

On November 7, the day after the takeover of the govern-

136 The full text of this constitution appears in Appendix No. 9

ment in Chernivtsi, all department directors and their deputies pledged their allegiance to Popovych and Onciul as spokesmen of the new government. The same day the Ukrainian Committee of Bukovina decided to change its name to the Ukrainian National *Rada*.¹³⁷

In the meantime communication with Lviv had become increasingly difficult. Hardly any reports were received as to what was going on in Lviv and Kiev. This situation impelled the Ukrainian Committee to decide on November 4, 1918, to dispatch a delegation to Kiev, headed by Dr. T. Halip, and another to Lviv, headed by Dr. M. Drahomyretsyy, in an effort to establish close contacts with the Ukrainian centers and to receive new instruction and directives from Lviv.¹³⁸

IV. UKRAINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION IN BUKOVINA IN THE LIGHT OF ITS POPULATION COMPOSITION

The national composition of the population of Bukovina in the light of the population census of 1910 — despite the fact that in some communes the statistics had been grossly falsified to the detriment of the Ukrainian count — was the most objective and strongest argument for the Ukrainian claim to Bukovina. True, during the Austrian rule the Rumanian population movement formed a big wedge into the north across the Prut River (the villages of Boyany, Buda, Kotul-Ostritsa, Mahala and Novoselytsya), cutting deeply into the Ukrainian ethnographic territory, and in the south it drifted across the Ukrainian ethnographic territory, creating a series of Ukrainian ethnographical islands.¹³⁹

During the Moldavian rule the Ukrainian ethnographic territory of Bukovina was settled here and there by representatives of the Rumanian privileged class: *boyars*—land-owners, clergy and officials. Their presence, however, did not alter the general ethnic character of the land, although the Ukrainian popular masses, mostly peasants, had neither

137 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XII, p. 324.

138 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XII, p. 236 and ff.

139 I. Негостинський: Українці в Румунії і теорія „Українізації” Буковини, „Розбудова Нації”, №1-4 за 1934

voice nor rights in state matters. After its incorporation into Austria, Bukovina was flooded with various ethnic colonizing elements, including a great number of Rumanians, followed by Germans, Poles, and others. This influx did affect in some measure the national and population distribution of Bukovina. Thus, on the eve of the Ukrainian self-determination, there were 305,101 (38.4%) Ukrainians and 273,251 (31.4%) Rumanians.¹⁴⁰ (Other national groups did not live in compact masses, and as a result developed no aspirations to self-determination in the sense of state sovereignty in Bukovina).

The Ukrainian self-determination applied only to those districts where the Ukrainians mustered a majority or a plurality, such as the political (administrative) districts of Chernivtsi, Kitsman, Zastavna, Vashkivtsi and Vyzhnytsya, and in part the district of Seret and Storozhynets, including the city of Chernivtsi, which was situated in the Ukrainian ethnographical territory and in which the Ukrainians, after the Germans and Jews, composed the largest ethnic group (17.5%), or, more specifically, the judicial districts of the city of Chernivtsi, Chernivtsi county, Zastavna, Kitsman, Putyliv, Stanivtsi, Vashkivtsi, Sadagura (Sadyhora), Vyzhnytsya, Seletyn, Seret and Storozhynets up to the Seret River.

It was impossible to draw a Ukrainian-Rumanian boundary line so that all the Ukrainians and all the Rumanians would find themselves within the confines of their own states. More, even the most equitable boundary delineation would leave large numbers of the one population within the other's domain.

V. RUMANIAN MILITARY AGGRESSION, OCCUPATION OF BUKOVINA AND ITS INCORPORATION INTO RUMANIA

The Rumanian side, specifically the circles of the Rumanian National Council, exhibited no immediate reaction when the Ukrainians took over the government in Bukovina. The Ukrainian National *Rada* there heard that a Ru-

140 See Appendix No. 10

manian delegation, headed by Iancu Flondor, had departed for Iassy to ask the Rumanian government for military assistance. In point of fact, the Rumanian National Council did dispatch such a delegation for this purpose under the leadership of Dr. V. Bodnarescul, a lawyer of Chernivtsi, which departed on November 4, 1918, immediately after the great Ukrainian rally in Chernivtsi. Initially, the Rumanian government of Marghiloman promised Dr. Bodnarescul arms for the formation of a Rumanian gendarmerie corps.¹⁴¹ But this did not begin to satisfy the Rumanian National Council. Flondor began bombarding the Rumanian government with telegrams, warning that the Bolshevik movement "will have serious consequences for the Rumanian problem"¹⁴² and that it would take at least 10,000 troops to restore order.¹⁴³

These threats and moves on the part of the Rumanians were taken lightly by the Ukrainian side, relaxing in the belief that Rumania had compromised itself in the eyes of the Allies by its separate treaty with the Central Powers and that it would not dare to take any risky step. But on November 8, 1918, a Rumanian military plane dropped leaflets, signed by Gen. Jacob Zadik, over Chernivtsi in which the Rumanian government announced that it had begun the invasion of Bukovina.¹⁴⁴ The leaflet, dated November 6, 1918, said that the occupation of Bukovina by the Rumanian government was motivated by the "invitation" extended to it by the Rumanian National Council of Bukovina to safeguard life, property and freedom from "the criminal bands" and to assure law and order in the country. In reality, there were no disturbances and no "criminal bands" whatsoever, although some anti-Semitic excesses occurred in the Rumanian part of southeastern Bukovina, provoked by the Rumanians themselves as an excuse for a planned occupation by the Rumanian government. Such excesses took place in the Rumanian counties of Suchava and Kimpolung, where

141 T. Balan: *Rolul lui V. Bodnarescu in preajma Unirii*, p. 8.

142 E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 44; T. Balan, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

143 T. Balan, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

144 For the full text of Gen. Zadik's proclamation see Appendix No. 8

the county commissioners called on detachments of the Rumanian frontier guards to quell the riots.¹⁴⁵ But the Rumanian army command conveniently classified actions undertaken by the Ukrainian government under the category of "criminal bands", although it well knew that all the activities of the Ukrainian government accorded with the realization of the principles of self-determination in Bukovina. The aim, of course, was to cast an unfavorable light on the entire Ukrainian struggle for freedom and independence. Later on, at the Peace Conference in Paris, Premier Jon C. Brătianu of Rumania castigated the Ukrainian liberation movement in Bukovina as a "Bolshevik bands", with the apparent intention of alarming the Allies. Thus, the only purpose of the Rumanian occupation was to provide military assistance to both conservative and liberal Rumanian chauvinist circles in their attempt to liquidate the Ukrainian government in Bukovina and to annex the country to Rumania. The Rumanian army came to assist these Rumanian groups in Bukovina not for the realization of "desires, born of the sacred right of the peoples — to take destiny in their own hands" — but to realize Rumanian imperialistic aspirations to dominate the Ukrainian people in the northwestern part of Bukovina.

The proclamation threatened severe reprisals for any attempts to resist the Rumanian occupation or for disobeying the orders of the occupation authorities.

This situation was a serious one, deeply perturbing the Ukrainian people of Bukovina. It surprised not only the Ukrainians, but also the Jewish population, which now began to cooperate constructively with the Ukrainian government.

In the evening of November 8, 1918, a dramatic session of the Ukrainian National *Rada* took place. Some members expressed views of despair, counselling not to put any military resistance against the Rumanian army and to move any salvageable military equipment to Galicia for the use of the Ukrainian Galician Army. Others, however, firmly believing in the righteousness of the Ukrainian cause, demanded full-scale resistance and defense of the native land. The tension was somewhat alleviated by President O. Popo-

¹⁴⁵ E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

vych when he disclosed that Dr. A. Onciul, so soon as he had been apprised of the invasion of Bukovina, had departed for Iassy to try to counteract the activities of Flondor and to forestall the military occupation. (It transpired that Dr. Onciul did go to Iassy, only to be immediately arrested, taken to Bucharest and forbidden to return to Bukovina).¹⁴⁶

At debate's close it was decided to send a protest at once to Gen. Zadik, underscoring the validity of the Ukrainian application of self-determination and their assumption of the government in all Ukrainian ethnographical territory of Bukovina. Also stressed was that the Ukrainian National *Rada* would submit a protest against the occupation to the governments of the *Entente* should the Rumanian army violate the Ukrainian territory. At the same time, it was decided to appeal to Lviv and Kiev to provide military assistance and to exert diplomatic effort against the Rumanian occupation.¹⁴⁷

The next day it became known that Rumanian troops had arrived by train in the Ukrainian territory and taken field positions in the village of Hlyboka, some 20 kms. from Chernivtsi. At the session of the National *Rada* on November 9. Ilko Popovych, who was in charge of military affairs, urged that, without delay, three companies of Ukrainian troops be sent to encircle by night the Rumanian division at Hlyboka, in order to provoke it into panic and disbandment, or that the bridges on the Prut River be blown up, and that battle positions there be set up against the Rumanian offensive.¹⁴⁸ It was decided to transmit a protest to Gen. Zadik in Hlyboka and delegates were elected to go immediately to Lviv and Kiev. All other members of the National *Rada* were to remain at their posts, while President O. Popovych was left full authority to act as he deemed fit.

The same night (November 9, 1918) the protest of the Ukrainian National *Rada* was forwarded to General Zadik at his headquarters in Hlyboka.¹⁴⁹

146 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XII, p. 326; O. Popovych, *op. cit.*, p. 104 and ff.

147 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XII, p. 326

148 I. Попович: Листопадіві дні на Буковині. „Наше Життя” №45(140) за 1.12. 1947;

149 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, NLV, 1923, XII, p. 328.

I. Popovych's suggestion to encircle the Rumanian division in Hlyboka was completely without prospects. Not all the units of the division were stationed in Hlyboka. Even if those in the v. Hlyboka were dispersed, this would not have meant the end of the Rumanian occupation because of the military weakness of the Ukrainian side. To order a general mobilization was unrealizable not only because of the time element but also because the Ukrainians lacked the apparatus to mobilize an army. The Rumanian army, it is true, was poorly clad and needed food, but it was well-trained and disciplined. Moreover, it could be reinforced at will. In opposition, the Ukrainian National *Rada* in Chernivtsi disposed only of a company of the Ukrainian Legion which was seasoned.



Dr. Volodymyr Sas-Zalozecyj (1884-1965), prominent Ukrainian art critic; cultural and political worker of Bukovina; in 1918 deputy president of the government of Ukrainian Bukovina; diplomat; member of the (political) Ukrainian National Party in Rumania; member of the Rumanian Parliament (1928-1938)

For the past week volunteer units were being trained, but these could muster 3 companies at best and were hardly fit for combat.¹⁵⁰

In these circumstances, the Ukrainian military units, taking along what military equipment they could, left Chernivtsi and crossed the Prut River to the north. At the same time, O. Popovych departed for Galicia, leaving Dr. V. Zalozetskyj as his deputy; the latter remained in Chernivtsi until the arrival of the Rumanian army.¹⁵¹

But the Rumanian army was in no hurry to attack. In order to create a favorable climate for its aggression, on November 9, 1918 — at the time the Austrian empire ceased to exist — Rumania went over to the side of the Allies.¹⁵² The main and immediate aim of this Rumanian gesture was to make an excuse for the occupation of Bukovina and Transylvania and to favorably impress the Western Allies prior to occupation.

On November 10, armed Rumanian students, carrying the national Rumanian colors and led by Rumanian officers in Austrian army uniforms, appeared in the streets of Chernivtsi. Accompanied by Polish legionnaires, they stormed the Ukrainian National Home, the seat of the Ukrainian National Rada and the center of all Ukrainian national, cultural and political life, and ordered all to disperse. They finally retreated, however, in the face of fierce protest.¹⁵³

The Rumanian troops entered Chernivtsi on November 11. At the beginning they did not meddle in civilian affairs, leaving all such to the local Rumanians. Dr. V. Zalozetskyj remained at his post as acting president of the government of Bukovina to the last moment. Iancu Flondor threatened the Ukrainian leader with all sorts of reprisals should he take over Popovych' office agenda, claiming that an order to remove O. Popovych was on its way. Dr. Zalozetskyj replied that in official matters he took orders only from the Ukrainian National *Rada*.

150 I. Popovych, *op. cit.*; K. Kupchanko, *op. cit.*, *UZE*, III, p. 722 and ff.

151 I. Popovych—M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, *LNV*, 1924, III-IV, p. 344 and ff.

152 H.W.V. Temperley: *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, Vol. I, p. 352; Harold Nicolson: *Peacemaking 1919*, p. 134.

153 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, *LNV*, XII, p. 329 and 331.

With the arrival of the Rumanian troops in Chernivtsi, the Rumanian National Council staged a reception. An unexpected guest was Dr. Zalozetskyj, who in the name of the Ukrainian National Rada protested to Gen. Zadik against the Rumanian military occupation of Bukovina and demanded that the Rumanian army be withdrawn, inasmuch as the matter of resolving the problem of Bukovina belonged to the Peace Conference. Dr. Zalozetskyj further stated that the Ukrainian National Rada did not recognize the authority of the Rumanian National Council on the Ukrainian territory.¹⁵⁴

The last two sessions of the Bukovinian Rada in Chernivtsi were held before and after dinner on November 11, 1918. At the first session Dr. Zalozetskyj was appointed as vice president of the Ukrainian Bukovina, and at the second it was decided to transfer the seat of the National Rada and the government of the Ukrainian part of Bukovina, to Kitsman.¹⁵⁵ On the same day, some of the members of the Rada moved to Kitsman.

In the absence of Omelyan Popovych, the Ukrainian government in Kitsman was headed by Dr. Zalozetskyj. But there was no opportunity to develop substantial activities, the most urgent problem of the time being that of defense against the invading enemy. It was realized, however, that with the Ukrainian military units in the shape they were, the opposition against the Rumanian regular army would be short, allowing not even the possibility of organizing a front. In fact, the Ukrainian military units, having left the right bank of the Prut River on November 10, remained in North Bukovina for the next two weeks.¹⁵⁶ With Lviv and Kiev preoccupied with their own problems, it was impossible to expect any military help from them. Thus Ukrainian Bukovina was virtually defenseless.

So this difficult but brief era of the rebirth of Ukrainian statehood in Bukovina came to an end. Regrettably, the

154 П. Смаль-Стоцький: Володимир Залозецький.

„Свобода” №№ 245-246 за 21 і 22.12.1955

155 М. Кордуба, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923. XII, 333.

156 А. Жуковський: Історія Буковини, в „Буковина — її минуле й сучасне” стор. 316

basic documents regarding the formation of the Ukrainian government in Bukovina, the protocols of the Ukrainian Committee — National *Rada*, were seized by the Rumanian police;¹⁵⁷ it is not known whether they have been preserved for historical study. This era was a logical completion of the Ukrainian national rebirth. Although it came at a time when the political consciousness of the broad Ukrainian masses had not yet fully developed, the renaissance of the Ukrainian state traditions on this forgotten Ukrainian land precipitated the completion of this process. This consciousness was deepened even more by the Rumanian police terror and the unabashed and enforced policy of assimilation.

The Bukovinian Ukrainians were left with a strong confidence in the undeniable rights of Ukrainians to their national territory and a deep hope in the fairness of the Peace Conference, which was to solve the problem of Bukovina. Unfortunately, their faith and hope in international justice, was once again fundamentally shattered.

The Rumanian imperialists combatted the Ukrainian self-determination in Bukovina and the right of the Ukrainian people to any part of Bukovina basing their arguments on the alleged Rumanian historical rights to the whole of Bukovina. But the argument of "historical right" in the era of self-determination and sovereignty of a people inhabiting a given territory was invalid, compelling the Rumanians to resort to armed force and violence. Brutal force prevailed, because the Ukrainian side, confident in the righteousness and justice of their human rights, let time slide by and failed to organize its own armed forces. As far as the Rumanian side was concerned it was not a matter of a right, but of a usurpation of the right of the Ukrainian people in Bukovina.

Under the protection of bayonets the Rumanian National Council, on November 12, 1918, adopted a "Provisional Fundamental Law on the State Government in Bukovina", which placed legislative power in Bukovina in the hands of the plenum of the Rumanian National Council and gave the executive power to a government consisting of a chairman

157 O. Popovych, *op. cit.*, p. 98

(head) and 13 state secretaries. On November 28, 1918, the so-called Rumanian government called a General Congress of Bukovina in Chernivtsi, invited to which were members of the Rumanian National Council (augmented in the meantime to 74).

At best, the Rumanian National Council and the General Congress of Bukovina could represent only the Rumanian population of Bukovina (which, according to the population census of 1910 numbered 273,254 persons out of a total of 794,929) and could make proper decisions and resolutions in the matter of self-determination only as regards that territory in which the Rumanian population constituted a majority. But the General Congress of Bukovina, with the military occupation troops behind it and presided over by Iancu Flondor, passed resolutions about an "unconditional and eternal union of all Bukovina with the Kingdom of Rumania".

The organizers of this Congress did not even try to invite to it the representatives of Ukrainian Bukovina — the Ukrainian National Rada — because they, Nistor stated, "belonged to the Ukrainian National *Rada* in Lviv, which had designs to incorporate certain areas of Bukovina" into the Western Ukrainian National Republic. Only representatives of the Jewish, German and Polish minorities were invited to take part in the Congress, at which Dr. Alois Lebuton (German) and Dr. Stanislaw Kwiatkowski (Pole) voted with the Rumanians in favor of the incorporation of all Bukovina into Rumania.¹⁵⁸ The Jews declined to take part in the Congress.

Nistor reported the names of 13 Ukrainian peasants who participated in the Congress, but these participants represented no Ukrainian groups or organizations, speaking only for themselves. Besides the Ukrainians, Nistor reported the presence of 74 Rumanians, 7 Germans and 6 Poles — 100 people in all. With the exception of a few members of the Diet, who received their mandates in the elections, the members of the Rumanian National Council were appointed by the organizers of the Congress of October 27, 1918, without the benefit of democratic elections. The list reported by Nistor

158 I. I. Nistor, *op. cit.*, p. 33 and ff; T. Balan: *Bukovina in razboiul mondial*, p. 100.

also disclosed that none of the 6 Rumanian members of Parliament took part in the Congress.¹⁵⁹

The resolutions of the General Congress of Bukovina were immediately forwarded to the Rumanian government, and the King of Rumania, in a special decree dated December 18, 1918, sanctioned the incorporation of Bukovina into Rumania.

In an explanatory report to the King, the President of the Council of Ministers, Ion I. Brătinau, stated that the act of incorporation was a result of the resolutions of the General Congress of Bukovina.¹⁶⁰

The decree of December 18, 1918, on the "union" of Bukovina with Rumania was ratified by the Rumanian Parliament and recorded in the *Official Journal* no. 206 on January 1, 1920.

VI. BUKOVINA AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN 1919

At the Peace Conference in Paris Rumanian delegate Ion I. Brătianu admitted that the Ukrainians of Bukovina were agains the union of Bukovina with Rumania. He went on to say, however, that the decision of the General Congress of Bukovina was legal and valid because the Ukrainian represented only three-eighths of the population of Bukovina, and because all other national groups had expressed themselves in favor of a union of Bukovina with Rumania.¹⁶¹

Brătianu did not speak the truth. Ukrainians were not the only opponets of the "union" of Bukovina with Rumania. Rumanian publicist Dragoș Vitencu writes that at the General Congress of Bukovina (November 28, 1918) the Bukovinian Jews also declared themselves against the "union" of Bukovina with Rumania:

159 I. I. Nistor, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

160 *Monitorul Oficial*, No. 217, December, 19, 1918; C. Hamangiu: *Codul general al României*, Vol. VII, p. 1177 and ff.

161 *La Roumanie devant le Congrès de la Paix*, p. 15; D. H. Miller: *My Diary at the Conference of Paris*, Vol. XIV, p. 170, 171 and ff; *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the USA: The Paris Peace Conference 1919*, Vol. III, p. 847 and ff.

"Evrei au fost singurul neam, care in constituinta din 1918 au votat alături de ruteni împotriva realipirlîi Bucovinei la România". (The Jews were the only people who at the constituent assembly of 1918 voted along the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) against the union of Bukovina with Rumania).¹⁶²

Basically, Vitencu is right. The Jewish National Council was invited to take part in the General Congress of Bukovina, but it refused to send delegates to the Congress. It gave as its reason that the position of the Jews in the old Kingdom of Rumania was not regulated by any constitutional guarantees.¹⁶³

In addition, at the General Congress of Bukovina there was no voting as such at all — merely official speeches and the reading of resolutions.

No matter how we look upon the participation of Germans and Poles in the General Congress and no matter how we interpret the Jews' decision not to participate, the decision of the Congress in regard to the non-Rumanian ethnographical territory of Bukovina cannot be considered valid and legitimate. This is borne out by the fact that the representatives of the Rumanians, Germans, and Poles could at best represent only their own national communities. According to the population census of 1910 the number of Rumanians, Germans and Poles in Bukovina totaled 375,396 (273,254 Rumanians, 65,932 Germans and 36,210 Poles). Thus, in relation to the total population of Bukovina of 794,929, they constituted a minority, and as such could not impose their will upon the whole of Bukovina. But for Rumanian imperialists it was not decisive the force of law, but law of force.

On the other hand, the Allies were wholly ignorant of the problems of Bukovina, and were guided not by consideration of a just and equitable solution, but by their own selfish interests.

At the Peace Conference in 1919 the Western European Allies, displaying two-facedness and cynical diplomacy and voicing propagandistic declarations about the application of the right of self-determination, gave the Ukrainian part of

162 D. Vitencu: *Când dai nas lui Ivan*, p. 64, not 1.

163 Dr. Arie Leon Schmelzer: *Die Juden in der Bukowina (1914-1919)* p. 71

Bukovina to Rumania to establish a so-called "balance of power" and to consolidate their own utilitarian gains. Where at the Peace Conference the Ukrainian side was the object of trading, without the right of raising its voice in its own defense, the Rumanian side could not only argue for its interests and its territorial designs before the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference, but it also was able to operate behind the scenes. Generally, the oponents of Ukrainian self-determination were in contact with influential delegates of the Peace Conference by holding with them private talks and transmitting memorandums.^{163-a}

When the Rumanian delegation encountered some difficulties in Paris, then Maria, the beautiful and intelligent Queen of Rumania, was present to assist her diplomats at the Peace Conference. Daily, she "won new supporters for the Rumanian cause", — wrote N.P. Comnen, a member of the Rumanian delegation. At a meeting with Clemenseau she overpowered the "Old Tiger" and secured his support for the Rumanian territorial pretensions.¹⁶⁴

As a result of these efforts of the Rumanian delegation the Peace Conference, in whose sense of justice and equity the Ukrainian people had placed great trust, rubber-stamped the annexation of Bukovina by Rumania and sealed the fate of that part of the Ukrainian nation.

VII. ATTITUDE OF OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS TOWARDS UKRAINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION IN BUKOVINA

1. To be found among the national minorities in present-day Ukrainian Bukovina are only Rumanians and small groups of Jews, Germans and Poles. But in 1918 these national minorities constituted a serious force and could adversely affect the Ukrainian problem, especially if their

163-a Stephen Bonsal: *Suitors and Suppliants*, p. 121 sq.; James Thomson Shotwell: *At the Paris Peace Conference*, p. 189 sq.; M. Stachiw—J. Sztendera: *Western Ukraine*, V. I. p. 201

164 N. P. Comnen: *O critorîța a României — Regina Maria*. In "România/New York No. 29, September 15, 1958

attitude toward Ukrainian self-determination and the Ukrainian government were negative and hostile.

It is important, therefore, to analyze and assess the attitude of the national minorities to the aspirations of Ukrainians toward their self-determination and the establishment of their national government on the Ukrainian ethnographical territory of Bukovina.

2. As far as the Rumanians were concerned, the matter was quite simple. They were basic opponets of the Ukrainian aspirations to freedom and independence, and they claimed a "historical right" to the whole of Bukovina. True, a part of the Rumanian members of the Parliament favored a division of Bukovina, but they found no support among the Rumanian people, especially among Rumanian teachers, clergy and great landowners. But popular support was enjoyed by the Rumanian Conservative Party, led by Iancu Flondor and others, who promised the Ukrainians a vague cultural autonomy within the framework of the Rumanian state. Among the Rumanian leaders who openly favored the right of Ukrainians to the Ukrainian part of Bukovina were such deputies as Dr. A. Onciul, G. Grigorevici and Prof. C. Isopescul-Grecul; but even they viewed all of Bukovina as a "Moldavian heritage". During the debates in the Austrian Parliament on the peace treaty signed in Brest Litovsk with Ukraine, Prof. Isopescul-Grecul, in his address on February 21, 1918, recognized the right of Ukrainians to the exclusively Ukrainian districts (Kitsman, Zastavna, Vashkivtsi and Vyzhnytsya).¹⁶⁵

The protestation of the Rumanian imperialistic circles of a "historical right" of Rumanians to Bukovina was for the most part anachronistic, since in the era of national states and democratic principles any "historical rights" are of dubious validity. If the principle of "historical right" had been freely applied, then the Ukrainians could have claimed not only the whole of Bukovina but also a major part of Moldavia, including the historical "Berlad land" on the Danube.

3. The Jewish population in Bukovina, after the Ukra-

165 „Буковина”, № 7-8, за 12.3.1918:

D. Vitencu, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

inians and Rumanians, was the largest single ethnic group. But the Jews did not form any compact mass in any single area of Bukovina; they were scattered throughout the whole territory of Bukovina. The most dense Jewish population centers were in the cities and towns—the commercial centers of the country. Out of the total Jewish population, 63.54 percent lived in the cities and towns (centers of court districts), with only 36.46 percent in the villages. Typically, the percentage of the Jewish inhabitants of a given village was always higher in the Ukrainian territory than in the Rumanian ethnographical territory. As far as cities are concerned, the Jews constituted an absolute majority in Vyzhnytsya and Sadagura (Sadyhora), and they were the largest population group in such cities as Chernivtsi, Seret Suchava, Storozhynets, Radivtsi, and Gurahumora. In all other cities and towns the Jews were in a minority. Never constituting a compact territorial unit, they could not claim the right of political self-determination in Bukovina.

Nevertheless, the principle of national self-determination enunciated by President Wilson was effectively utilized by the Jews in Bukovina in promoting and assuring a personal-national autonomy for the Jewish community as measured by a free cultural and economic development, participation in the general political life and equality before the law. In this respect the Jews were extremely sensitive, having had to wage a hard struggle in the Austrian Monarchy for the recognition of a separate Jewish national group. On the basis of the Austrian constitution they were denied such mark because there was no compact Jewish population. The Jewish efforts, however, attained success when the Diet of Bukovina, in an electoral law of 1910, recognized the Jews of Bukovina as a separate national group.¹⁶⁶

The territorial-political changes in Bukovina which took place toward the close of World War I perturbed considerably the leading Jewish circles. They were fully aware not only of the Ukrainian demands regarding the Ukrainian ethnographical part of Bukovina, but also of the Rumanian designs for the whole of Bukovina.

166 Dr. H. M. Gelber: *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, Vol. I, p. 63.

After the Manifesto of Emperor Charles of October 16, 1918, which was addressed to the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the representatives of all Jewish political parties, hitherto disunited and at odds with one another, found a common language in the face of a new political situation. On October 22, 1918, they called a conference of trusted and confidential men from each Jewish political group of Bukovina. At this conclave it was unanimously decided to create a Jewish National Council of Bukovina, which body would have the right to represent and act in the name of the entire Jewish community of Bukovina. Issued also was manifesto to the Jewish people, which said, in part:

"A new order in the world is coming into being, especially in Eastern Europe. All peoples are demanding the right to take their own decisions in matters concerning themselves and to assure a free national life. When all peoples are demanding home rule, the Jews cannot remain idle. The hour has now come when we must demand our national rights, so that history should not pass us by without affecting our destiny. . ."¹⁶⁷

The Manifesto went on to outline the Jewish demands as regards the new Bukovinian government which centered on self-determination in accordance with the particular Jewish population distribution. The Jewish constituent assembly was to make contact with the new government towards the realization of self-determination on the principle of the rights of national minorities. In addition, the constituent assembly was to create an internal administration for the Jewish community which would be empowered to watch over the application of their rights of political and social equality and of their proportionate participation in offices, and their right to move freely in and out of the country.¹⁶⁸

It cannot be stated that the Jewish population was favorably disposed toward the new Ukrainian government; on the other hand, it cannot be said that their attitude toward Ukrainians was hostile. Their attitude was largely neutral, one of waiting. Without aspirations for their own state

167 Dr. Arie Leon Schmelzer: *Die Juden in der Bukowina (1914-1919)*, in: *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, Vol. I, p. 69.

168 *Ibid.*, p. 68 ff.

government in Bukovina, Jewry would have welcomed any government of law and order, any one which would have guaranteed the Jews a peaceful cultural and economic development. The Ukrainian and Jewish leadership in Bukovina had always found a common language and enjoyed a harmonious cooperation. Among Ukrainians in Bukovina there was no anti-Semitic agitation or outbreaks, save for minor altercations, particularly between peasants and Jewish unscrupulous userer in the villages. On the other hand, the prevailing anti-Jewish mood in Rumania as a whole was well known to the Jews of Bukovina, as a consequence of which they would have preferred to live in a Ukrainian rather than a Rumanian state. The indecisive and waiting attitude of Jews toward the Ukrainian government may be ascribed, we think, to the indecisiveness and lack of energy and drive of the Ukrainians themselves during the takeover of the government, all of which led the Jews to doubt that they might expect a sufficient guarantee of order and legality for themselves. Some remarks—such as those expressed by O. Bezpalko at the session of the Ukrainian Committee on November 6, 1918, to the effect that during the takeover of the government he met up with a hostile attitude on the part of some Jewish councilmen¹⁶⁹—should be viewed as exaggerated. Bezpalko had hoped for a warm reception; he reacted sharply to their cool and reserved attitude.

It is the Rumanian occupation that the Jews greeted with open hostility, which increased rapidly with a wave of anti-Semitic excesses in the Rumanian villages on the Bukovinian-Moldavian border.

The Rumanian National Council had invited the Jewish National Council to the so-called General Congress of Bukovina, demanding in advance acceptance by the Jews of the political platform, especially that part relating to the incorporation of Bukovina into Rumania. Whether to accept this invitation or not was debated at the session of the Jewish National Council on November 27, 1918. It was decided not to take part in the Congress and to assume a neutral position in the Ukrainian-Rumanian conflict for Bukovina. In its reply to the Rumanian Council, the Jewish National Council,

169 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XII, p. 323.

in a note signed by M. Ebner, J. Pistiner and B. Friedmann, declared that the Jews stand firmly on the principle of self-determination and that therefore the aspirations of Rumanians to unite all Rumanian lands into one state would be a realization of this right. But, it went on, the position of Jews in Rumania has never been given constitutional backing. Until such time when the political and civil equality of Jews be sanctioned by law and national minority rights fully guaranteed, the Jewish National Council can not take part in the Congress. As far as the solution of the territorial problem is concerned and because of the peculiar position of the Jewish population, the Jewish National Council must of necessity adopt a neutral position.¹⁷⁰

This reply, formulated under the conditions of a military occupation, was a bold one. In this light one must also view the Jewish neutrality in the matter of the annexation of Bukovina to Rumania, for had there been no Rumanian bayonets, the position of the Jews probably would have been quite different.

4. Perhaps most disappointing for the Ukrainians was the support accorded the Rumanian pretensions to the whole of Bukovina by the Germans of Bukovina. That the Germans should strike such an attitude was wholly incomprehensible for Ukrainians at that time, inasmuch as German-Ukrainian relations in Bukovina had always been proper if not cordial. But apparently the Germans in Bukovina saw their interest better served by supporting the Rumanian side.

Thus we find, on October 22, 1918, one of the German deputies in Bukovina demanding in the Austrian parliament the right of self-determination for the Germans of Galicia and Bukovina. He stated that the Germans of Bukovina would support the Rumanians, and inasmuch as the Germans constituted a majority in Chernivtsi, that city ought belong to the Rumanians.¹⁷¹

The German National Council in Chernivtsi became the German National Congress of Bukovina on October 27, 1918, and it adopted the following decision:

170 A. Schmelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

171 R. F. Kalndl: *Die Deutschen in der Bukowina*, p. 17.

"We, the Germans of Bukovina, present a demand for the application of the unlimited right of self-determination, and demand an appropriate assurance of an undiminished state of possessions of the Germans in Bukovina.

If in the event the division of the country along the linguistic principle becomes inevitable, we consider our closer connection with the Rumanian people more suitable, because all our settlements are exclusively south of the Prut River on the linguistic area of the Rumanians, with whom we have been linked for over 100 years by a number of common interests. . ."¹⁷²

This resolution indicates that the German National Congress of Bukovina, speaking for the Germans in Bukovina, wanted to ensure the unity of its community in Bukovina and to prevent it from being divided between two states. Such a decision was neither known or expected by the leading Ukrainian circles in Bukovina.

The Germans subsequently negotiated with the representatives of the Rumanian National Council, and having received assurance of full cultural development for the German population in Rumania, the Presidium of the German National Congress, on November 20, 1918, empowered its representative, Dr. A. Lebouton, to take part in the Rumanian General Congress of Bukovina on November 28, 1918. The Congress also issued the following statement:

"Under the condition of a union of Transylvania and Banat with Rumania, and with full confidence in the official program adopted by the Provisional Government of the country and approved by it unanimously at the plenary session of the Rumanian National Council on November 13, 1918, in virtue of which all the cultural needs of the non-Rumanian population in the country will be satisfied and in other matters the principles of law and justice will be applied, the German National Congress on behalf of the Germans in Bukovina gives its consent to the union (of Bukovina) to the Kingdom of Rumania."¹⁷³

A memorandum in the same vein was sent by the German National Congress to the Rumanian government in

172 R. F. Kaendl, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

173 R. F. Kaendl, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Bucharest. But the Rumanian government failed to keep the promises which the Rumanian National Council gave to the Germans of Bukovina.

In their attempts of consolidating their government, the Ukrainians of Bukovina may have encountered many obstacles, created by German National Congress.

5. The Polish community in Bukovina, especially in its Ukrainian part, was quite numerous. The percentage of Poles in Chernivtsi was 17.1, and in the whole of Bukovina 4.6 percent, predominantly in the Ukrainian part of the country.

During the course of events in November the Polish community did not take a clear stand at the beginning on the Ukrainian aspirations to freedom. But with the advent of the Rumanian occupation troops the Poles immediately took an overtly hostile anti-Ukrainian stand, and helped the Rumanians to take the government from the Ukrainians. They issued a proclamation to the Poles in Bukovina calling on them to join the Polish Legion for the liberation of Galicia from the hands of the "Haidamaks".¹⁷⁴ At the Rumanian General Congress of Bukovina Dr. Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, the Polish representative, supported the Rumanian pretensions to the whole of Bukovina and supported its incorporation into Rumania.¹⁷⁵

VIII. APPRAISAL OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF UKRAINIAN BUKOVINA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF 50TH ANNIVERSARY

When we analyze the events in Bukovina in that November of 1918 from the perspective of their 50th anniversary, we are able to see many things much more clearly and comprehensively.

First of all, we can see that the national consciousness of the Ukrainian populace in Bukovina was developed sufficiently, but that political consciousness and organization were lacking.

174 M. Korduba, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XII, p. 331.

175 La Roumanie devant le Congrès de la Paix. Actes d'Union, p. 8-10.:

I. I. Nistor: The Union of Bukovina with Rumania, p. 42 sq.

The Ukrainian leadership of that time passed the test of political maturity with distinction. All Ukrainian political parties put aside their program and regional disputes and united in a common front for a common purpose: the creation of an independent Ukrainian state. The establishment of the Ukrainian government in Bukovina proceeded in the name of Ukrainian integrity and unity—a free and independent state of the Ukrainian people.

But the Ukrainian leadership in Bukovina, its illustrious deeds and performance and its total dedication to the ideal of freedom for the Ukrainian people notwithstanding, also had its shortcomings and made mistakes that cannot and should not be overlooked.

After a few centuries of enslavement, the Ukrainian people rose to freedom quite unprepared, while their leaders, without the benefit of basic preparation, began creating an independent state almost from scratch. Sensitive to injustice, the Ukrainians of Bukovina with special feeling so as not to perpetrate injustice for others measured every step. For this reason the Ukrainian leaders proceeded slowly, seeking to reach an understanding with the Rumanians which would normalize the Ukrainian-Rumanian relationship in Bukovina. In the stormy process of setting up a Ukrainian government in Bukovina, the Ukrainian Committee failed to develop sufficient initiative and the necessary decisiveness. This indecisiveness is evident from the time the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly met in Lviv. It lacked the boldness to break definitely with the Austrian Monarchy and to step out on the path of Ukrainian liberation resolutely and unequivocally. Typical was the indecisiveness of Ukrainian officers in subordinating the Ukrainian soldiers in the regiments of Chernivtsi to the Ukrainian government. This had a negative impact on the march of events, preventing the organization and strengthening of the Ukrainian authority towards an effective resistance against the Rumanian aggression. A time when the fate of a people is at stake is the time when resoluteness of leadership and timely and effective actions to master developments and channel them towards the desired objective are essential.

In its struggle against Rumanian imperialism and its

military force the Ukrainian Committee and the National *Rada* could utilize only its own local forces and its own political and military-strategical talents, for any support from Kiev or Lviv was out of the question. Moreover, the Ukrainian leadership could not shake off the hypnosis of the master of yesterday, and therefore could not muster the needed energy, initiative and decisiveness. Its action stemmed out of a fear not to offend the Austrian master of yesterday on the one hand, and out of a fear of momentous responsibility on the other hand. Such weakness is not to be minimized.

None the less, the events of November prove beyond any doubt that in the struggle for a Ukrainian government Ukrainian Bukovina manifested a deep national consciousness and spiritual unity and that its leaders displayed a consolidated and compact front. It is a historical fact that the Ukrainian government in Bukovina in 1918 lasted only a short time. But these events of November prove, again, that the Ukrainian people were capable and politically conscious enough to establish their own national government, alone and unaided. And although the Ukrainian Committee or the National *Rada* were lacking in cadres and apparatus to strengthen and maintain its power, the failure ultimately was due to the external aggression over which it had no effective means to prevail.

The question is whether even under the most favorable outcome—the survival of the Ukrainian government and the successful repulsion of the Rumanian aggression—the fate of Bukovina would have been different from what the Treaty of Sevres brought it. If we take into consideration the circumstances of world politics and the general attitude toward the Ukrainian problem of that time, we can safely assume that a victory by the Ukrainian side in Bukovina and Galicia would not have consolidated the Ukrainian freedom, simply because the foreign powers that ruled the Peace Conference in Paris lacked the good will to recognize the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination.

2. Today, Ukrainian Bukovina shares the fate of the Ukrainian people in the Ukrainian SSR. It would seem that the belonging of Ukrainian Bukovina to the Ukrainian state is unquestionable and irrevocable. But the Rumanian emigra-

tion in the free world, without differing in party affiliation, continues to advance its claims to Ukrainian Bukovina (today it is the Chernivtsi *oblast* (region) of the Ukrainian SSR) and stubbornly conducts propaganda in support of its pretensions at international forums. This indicates that in the event of political changes taking place in Eastern Europe, the Rumanians most probably will continue to deny the right of self-determination to Ukrainians in Bukovina and the right of Bukovina to belong to Ukraine. Regrettably, these Rumanian designs enjoy the active support of certain American "private" circles from the Free Europe Committee, over which looms the State Department, which supports the Free Europe Committee and its policies.

For instance, Dr. Gr. Nandriș, in a newspaper published at the expense of the Free Europe Committee, repeats a statement contrary to fact, that the General Congress of Bukovina possessed legislative prerogatives, inasmuch as it had obtained such a mandate from all the electors of Bukovina. In reality, as already stated, such a mandate could have come only from the Rumanian population of Bukovina (273,254 persons), since the Ukrainian majority (305,101 persons) had already realized national self-determination on the Ukrainian ethnographical territory in the form of the Ukrainian state, and was decidedly against the incorporation of Bukovina into Rumania. Dr. Nandriș recognized the right to self-determination for all peoples, but, for reasons that are unexpressed, denies this right to the Ukrainians in Bukovina. He further compounds the blunder by calling the Rumanian aggression against Bukovina a "victory over Communist anarchy". Dr. Nandriș deems Ukrainian Bukovina in the Ukrainian SSR to be a temporary "injustice", which history soon will rectify.¹⁷⁶

Finally, we read a similar invention in a recent Rumanian work of Ion Dumitru who states that "Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina are inhabited by Rumanians in absolute majority... The northern part of this territory, which constitutes Northern Bukovina, has been integrated into the

176 Gr. Nandriș: *La aniversarea Unirii Bucovinei*, in *România*, New York, No. 32, December 1958, p. 6; Gr. Nandriș: *Din istoria societății pentru cultură*, pp. 57, 93 and 168.

Ukrainian SSR with which it has nothing in common from the view point of ethnic background, language, culture or economics".^{176-a}

This assertion contradicts even the censuses taken by Rumanian government in 1930 and 1941. We don't have any rational explanation why the author blindly repeats the old, stereotype Rumanian propaganda ditty about the Rumanian character of Northern Bukovina ethnically, linguistically and culturally, without even taking the trouble to confront his assertion with the result of the official censuses regarding the national composition of the Northern Bukovina's population—even in the censuses taken by the Rumanian government in 1930 and 1941. We don't need to refute this assertion, but to send the curious researcher to the results of the official censuses, and the sources invoked, presented in this work at the proper place.

This should be noted and remembered by the Ukrainian emigration in the free world, which must act accordingly. It must ready itself to meet and challenge unabashed Rumanian imperialistic designs upon Ukrainian Bukovina.

Above all, Ukrainians should rid themselves of the illusion of "international justice", which allegedly would not recognize the unjustified claims of Rumanians to Ukrainian Bukovina. Hard experience teaches us that "international justice" all too often recognizes the right only for those who can maintain and support it. The harsh truth is that as yet there is no "international justice", or "noble states", but the private and individual interests of each state, and these comprise the decisive factor in foreign policy. Therefore, an important prerequisite of success in a liberation struggle—in addition to ideological factors, such as the national consciousness and spiritual unity of the people—is a mobilization and intensification of one's own unique forces. In addition, of course, one must never ignore the international factor—the international constellation of forces which at times can play a significant role in the liberation (if such liberation is consonant with the interests of the great powers). But this factor remains a secondary one, because at present the liberation of

176-a Ion Dumitru: *Forme de etnocid in URSS*, pag. 18-19.

a people cannot be based upon or be delayed until a favorable international constellation comes into being.

For us it is certain that the fate of the Western Ukrainian lands, including Ukrainian Bukovina, was and will remain inseparable from the fate of all Ukraine. Whether Bukovina, Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine have their governments or whether they remain under foreign domination depends wholly on the existence of an independent Ukraine.

IX. SELF-DETERMINATION OF UKRAINIAN BUKOVINA IN THE LIGHT OF SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY

In order to avoid incurring a "heresy", for a long time the Ukrainian Soviet historiography took no clear stand on the events of November of 1918 in Western Ukraine, especially in Bukovina. But this treatment of silence could not endure, since these events were the manifestation of an all-Ukrainian national movement, and not a matter of a group or class. Therefore, these historians finally decided to misappropriate this national movement, repainting it in "red" and separating the anonymous, so called "popular masses" from their leaders, "bourgeois nationalists", attributing to each of them conflicting interests, passions, impulses and aspirations, invented by these historians. This historiography employed methods, according to which the aspirations of so called "popular masses" occur along the lines of the party, the Communist Party, while all shortcomings were blamed on "bourgeois nationalists". Such were the "historical" methods resorted to by Soviet Ukrainian historians in analyzing and interpreting the events of 1918 in the Western Ukrainian lands.

The problem of self-determination of the Western Ukrainian lands, including Bukovina, was scathingly assailed by F. Shevchenko in the article "Revolution in Russia and Bukovina 1917-1918". According to this analyst, the Ukrainian National *Rada* proclaimed the Western Ukrainian National Republic on October 18, 1918, against "the will of the Ukrainian masses, who desired a unity of all Ukrainian lands in a single Ukrainian state", that this desire conflicted with the plans and interests of the Ukrainian nationalist leaders in the Ukrainian

National *Rada!* As far as Bukovina was concerned, Shevchenko wrote sheer phantasy: the Ukrainian Committee (or the Bukovinian section of the Ukrainian National *Rada*) sabotaged the demands of the populace by delaying takeover of the government in Bukovina for fear of the growing revolutionary movement and was ready to come to terms with all the reactionary groups in order to forestall the strengthening of the revolutionary movement.¹⁷⁷

After the death of Stalin there was an attempt to include the developments and events of November, 1918, in Western Ukraine within the context of "the popular revolution". O. Yu. Karpenko, in an article "To the Question about the Character of the Revolutionary Movement in Eastern Galicia in 1918", admits that it was the Ukrainian peasants and workers and the military under the leadership of the Military Committee who rose against the "monarchist government and the Polish gentry" for their national and social liberation. Karpenko places the Military Committee on the side of the popular masses—in opposition to the "bourgeois nationalist" Ukrainian National *Rada*.¹⁷⁸

But Karpenko's "heresy" was soon "unmasked" by M. Herasymenko and associates, who asserted that the Ukrainian National *Rada*, the Military Committee and the Ukrainian Committee of Bukovina were the creation of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, which stood shoulder to shoulder with the counter-revolutionary Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic in the struggle that was directed not only against the Polish bourgeoisie, but also against the Soviet authority in Ukraine. Hence, they said, the November events could not be considered as part of the popular revolution.¹⁷⁹

The November events interpreted in the same spirit but with some special twisting of facts by other Soviet authors: M. Suprunenko, I. Kompaniyets, B.M. Bably and S.M. Byelo-

177 Ф. Шевченко: Революция в России и Буковина 1917-1918 гг. „Вопросы Истории” 1947, X, стор. 76

178 З історії західньо-українських земель. Збірник. Випуск I. Видання АН УРСР, стор. 59

179 М. П. Герасименко, М. М. Кравець і Г. І. Ковальчак: До питання про характер подій у Східній Галичині на початку листопада 1918 р. — „Український історичний журнал”, кн. 3 за травень-червень 1959, стор. 86 наст.

usov. These authors come up with “the will—invented by this authors—of the popular masses of Bukovina, expressed at the all-Ukrainian gathering in Chernivtsi on November 3, 1918, to unite with Soviet Ukraine”.¹⁸⁰ According to Suprunenko, this rally adopted a resolution on the union of Bukovina with Soviet Ukraine, but it was blocked by “burgois nationalists”, who... “in order to stop the revolutionary movement of the working people... created a Ukrainian Committee, which took over the government in Bukovina”¹⁸¹ (and other similar nonsense). Kompaniyets, Babiy and Byelousov even assert that the occupation of Bukovina and Galicia by the Rumanians and the Poles occurred with the help of—among others—“Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists”, that is, the Ukrainian National *Rada* and the Bukovinian Committee. But Kompaniyets “penetrates” even deeper into the historical “truth” and devises a new canard—that the Ukrainian Committee, allegedly for fear of the strengthened revolutionary movement, began negotiations with the Rumanians in order to win their support and that the Rumanian leaders refused to extend such support as they were not certain whether the Ukrainian Committee would be able to suppress the revolutionary movement in Bukovina.¹⁸²

V.V. Onykienko takes a step further and states that at this rally a “resolution was adopted calling for the union of Bukovina with the Soviet Russia”, but that this dream could not be realized because “the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist... having allied themselves with the Rumanian authority, favored the arrival into the city of the occupation troops...”¹⁸³

180 М. Супруненко в „Історія Української РСР”, Т. 2, стор. 208 наст.
І. І. Компанієць: Становище й боротьба трудящих мас Галичини, Буковини та Закарпаття на початку ХХ ст. (1900-1919 рр.), стор. 295 наст.

І. І. Компанієць: Буковина Північна. „Українська Радянська Енциклопедія” Т. 2, стор. 141-142

В. М. Бабій і С. М. Белоусов: Возз'єднання українського народу в єдиній Українській Радянській державі. „Українська Радянська Енциклопедія” Т. 2, стор. 546 наст.

181 М. Suprunenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-209.

182 І. І. Компанієць, *op. cit.*, *URE*, II p. 141; В. М. Бабій — С. Белоусов, *op. cit.*, *URE*, II p. 546; І. І. Компанієць, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

183 В. В. Онікіно: Чернівецька область, стор. 93

Similar to such "truths" is an article, written by A. Hluhovsky and I.I. Kompaniyets,¹⁸⁴ that deals in part with the self-determination of Ukrainian Bukovina. The article is replete with party interpretation as it briefly surveys Bukovina's history, with critical remarks against the non-Soviet historiography. Adhering strictly to Marxism-Leninism, these writers contend that in the historical unfolding of Bukovina "the Rumanian and Ukrainian ruling classes by common effort suppressed the liberation movement (of the popular masses—I.N.), and at the same time they waged a competitive struggle for the monopolistic right of exploiting the working people of Bukovina".¹⁸⁵ The thesis is not based on historical facts but on theory passing over into sheer fantasy. Significantly, the authors fail to mention that the question of self-determination of Ukrainians of Bukovina was raised at the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly, held on October 19, 1918, in Lviv. They do take notice of the all-Ukrainian rally held on November 3, 1918, in Chernivtsi, but only in order to extol a "revolutionary, I. Klevchuk", who is supposed to have proposed a resolution at the rally calling for "a merger with the Bolsheviks".¹⁸⁶ They also mention the Ukrainian Committee and the Ukrainian National *Rada* in Bukovina, but again only to distinguish these bodies from the popular masses and to claim that the Ukrainian leaders enjoyed no support in the masses. They go so far as to write:

"The Ukrainian Committee... at the beginning of November took over the government in Chernivtsi for a few days and, fearing the further development of the revolutionary movement, entered into contact with the Rumanian bourgeois nationalists and actually broke the resistance being offered to the Rumanian army, thus opening the way for its occupation of Northern Bukovina..."¹⁸⁷

After inventing these "contacts", the authors limit themselves to general condemnation of the Ukrainian Committee. The historical facts tell quite another story. The members of

184 А. Глужовський — І. Компанієць: Проти буржуазної фальсифікації історії Буковини. „Комуніст України”, 1968, I, стор. 37-47

185 А. Hluhovsky and I. Kompaniyets, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

186 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

187 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

the Ukrainian Committee who could not or who did not want to go to Galicia, were immediately arrested after the occupation and thrown into jail, and such were the sole "contacts" made with the Rumanians (about which the Soviet historians conveniently keep silent in order not to be inconsistent with the party line). Regrettably, these wild flights of fancy are printed as "scholarly works" under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.

In a more explicit and more recent assertion to this point of A. M. Hluhovsky, in an article in the Soviet Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine, we read the following: "Participants of the All-Ukrainian rally (Nov. 3, 1918 in Chernivtsi—I.N.) expressed their will and the aspiration of the toilers of the province to bind their destiny for ever not only with the Bolshevik Ukraine, but even with Bolshevik Moscow".^{187-a}

In reality, there was no other Ukrainian organized movement, Communist or otherwise, at that time in Bukovina; the national Ukrainian movement, headed by the Ukrainian Committee, stood alone. The Ukrainian populace fully supported the Ukrainian Committee, nor were there any divisive ideological differences, as all members of the Ukrainian Committee were first and foremost Ukrainian patriots unionists, who desired the establishment of a free and independent all-Ukrainian state. Some of them had different approaches, for instance, an Ukrainian crownland of Bukovina as a transitory form. But none had any qualifications with regard to Bukovina being a part of the all-Ukrainian national state, which, at that time, was the Ukrainian National Republic and not Soviet Ukraine, the latter had as yet not arrived in Ukraine "on the Muscovite bayonets". These attitudes were shared by the Ukrainian masses in Bukovina.

To prop up their contention that a Communist movement existed in Bukovina, Soviet historiography frequently cites Rumanian sources that refer to the "Bolshevik" movement in Northern Bukovina. It is true that Iancu Flondor and, later on, the Rumanian delegation at the Peace Conference spoke

187-a А. М. Глужовський: Буковинське народне віче 1918. Радянська Енциклопедія Історії України, Т. I, стор. 214

of "Bolshevik bands" in Northern Bukovina. This, however, was calculated to sow fear among the Allies, who dreaded the spread of Bolshevism to Central Europe. The cry of Bolshevism was used as a bogey to cover Rumania's imperialistic tendency to occupy alien territory on the ostensible pretext of a defensive strategical measure against Bolshevism. This was calculated also to secure military assistance against the Ukrainian National Rada, and in turn such a show of force was seen as helping to gain Allied recognition of the right of Rumania to Bukovina.

In fact, these Rumanian "reports on the Bolshevik bands" referred to the Ukrainian national movement, headed by the National Committee, which was as anti-Bolshevik as any national movement could have been at that time.

X. FROM VERSAILLES TO THE PRESENT STATUS

The recognition of the Rumanian claim to the Ukrainian ethnographical part of Bukovina by the Peace Conference in 1919 without a hearing of the representatives of the Ukrainian people concerned was a flagrant violation of the Wilsonian principles of self-determination.

For the Ukrainians in Bukovina there ensued as bleak an era of oppression as any experienced before in their national and cultural-social life. The Rumanian government introduced martial law and police terror, including military tribunals, thereby effectively preventing the Ukrainian population from reacting against the occupant's brutal oppression. It dissolved all existing Ukrainian social, cultural and economic associations. All Ukrainian schools were closed down (including public and secondary schools) and were replaced with Rumanian schools. It initiated a policy of enforced and accelerated Rumanization of Ukrainians in Bukovina. It refused permits to set up Ukrainian private schools, basing its decision on a school law barring non-Rumanian schools for "Rumanians who have forgotten their native tongue". By categorizing the Bukovinian Ukrainians as "Rumanians who forgot their native tongue", the Rumanian government refused to apply the international treaties on the protection of na-

tional minorities. The Rumanian rulers had confidence in their rumanizing policy towards Ukrainians, hoping that through their rumanizing measures, namely the forcible introduction of the Rumanian language in schools, church and all public offices, they could, in this way, form from the multinational popular masses one homogeneous Rumanian nation.

Ukrainians in Bukovina began to organize a stubborn, legal and revolutionary struggle against the oppressive policies of the Rumanian government. The Rumanian persecution ultimately served to strengthen the national and political consciousness of Ukrainians in Bukovina, steeling them in their defense of their national and human rights.

In the long run the Rumanian government failed to Rumanize and denationalize the Ukrainian population in Bukovina. Despite the fact that the state and school offices in the Ukrainian part of Bukovina were filled with Rumanians, and despite the settlement of Rumanian colonists, to whom vast land grants were given, the northern and northwestern parts of Bukovina continued to maintain their Ukrainian character. This was shown by the Rumanian population census of 1941, although it was conducted by the nationalist government of dictator Gen. I. Antonescu.^{187-a} In this census, in the districts Kimpolung and Suchava (in Southern Bukovina) Ukrainians were not reported in general, while in other counties many Ukrainians were registered by the census-takers as "Rumanians". Many Ukrainian inhabitants in the so-called "Rezesh" villages were registered under the "Rumanian" column (although their mother's tongue was Ukrainian); in addition, many Ukrainian Hutzuls from the county (plasa) Seletyn were put down in the column "Others". Thus, the number of Ukrainians was lowered from some 240,350 to a reported 233,583, or from 52.7 to 51.2 percent. Nevertheless even this census indicates the Ukrainian absolute majority in Northern Bukovina.

Despite these data on the population of Northern Bukovina by the government of General I. Antonescu, the Rumanian side still argues that Northern Bukovina is a Rumanian territory. In the era of self-determination this territory can

187-b Cf. Appendix No. 11.

hardly be considered Rumanian based solely on a peremptory "historical claim" to it. Where pressed, the Rumanian side does not shrink from falsifying statistical data to bolster its baseless pretensions to Northern Bukovina.

A case in point is a book recently published in Madrid by Prof. Grigore Nandriș, in which he states that in all Bukovina the ratio between Rumanians and Ukrainians is 52.0 to 22 percent—in favor of the Rumanians—and that in present Soviet-dominated Bukovina the Rumanians constitute 45 percent, the Ukrainians only 30 percent, of the population.¹⁸⁸

Significantly, no even remotely comparable numerical ratios can be found either in the Austrian censuses or in the Rumanian population counts of 1930 and 1941. According to the census of 1930, and using language as a criterion, in all of Bukovina the Rumanians constituted 41.1 percent, the Ukrainians 33.0 percent. Northern Bukovina, which in 1940 was included in the Ukrainian SSR, had a Ukrainian majority as shown by the Rumanian population census of 1941: 51.2 percent of the entire population.

We can hardly rely on this "scholarly" work of Prof. Nandriș, for we read also that the Ukrainian self-determination in Bukovina was "les bandes communistes, qui prétendaient alors établir dans le Nord de la Bucovine 'leur paradis'". The author, as a Bukovinian, knew very well that the Ukrainian National *Rada* and the Ukrainian Committee never had anything to do with any Communist movement.

Since August 2, 1940 Northern Bukovina, the Ukrainian part of the Bessarabian district of Khotyn and the Hertsa area (plasa) of Dorohoi district "legally" composed the Chervivtsi region (oblast) of the Ukrainian SSR.

It should be pointed out that Ukrainians never claimed the Hertsa area.

As to the Khotyn district all censuses—even the ones performed by the Rumanian government in 1930 and 1941—showed the Ukrainians to be in the majority. Thus, according to the census of 1941 the total inhabitants 368,545 consisted of: 188,359 (51.1%)—Ukrainians; and 172,513 (46.8%) Rumanians. However, only one part of the Khotyn district

188 Grigore Nandriș: *Bessarabia and Bucovina: The Trojan Horse of Russian Expansion to the Mediterranean*, p. 41.

was united with the Chernivtsi region, Ukrainian SSR. The south-western part inhabited in the majority by Rumanians (Moldavians), was made part of the newly formed Moldavian SSR.

In referring to the Bessarabian part (Khotyn district) of the region of Chernivtsi, it is to be emphasized that according to the Soviet census of 1959¹⁸⁶ " the total population of this region—774,121 consisted of: 518,189 or 66.9% Ukrainians and 151,435 or 19.6% Rumanians. In this census Moscow — with imperialistic tendencies — divided Rumanians into Rumanians and Moldavians (of Bessarabia). A similiary policy was utilized, between the two world wars, by the Rumanian government in the matter of Bukovinian Ukrainians, as well. In order to conceal, in the census, the true number of Ukrainians and to underestimate their numbers, they were divided into three groups: Ruthenians, Ukrainians and Hutsuls. In the 1959 (Soviet) census the Bessarabian Rumanians of the Chernivtsi region (71,645) are figuring in the column of Moldavians, but Rumanians of north Bukovina and area (plasa) Hertsa (79,790) in the column of Rumanians.

However, the occupation of this territory by the Soviet army was decided in and by Moscow, without previous consent of its population. Thus, the Ukrainian people do not bear the responsibility for it. The union of this territory was "legalized" after occupation and under protection of occupational bayonets. In this regard Moscow followed the Rumanian exemple of 1918. After a brutal military occupation of Ukrainian self-determined Northern Bukovina—by violation of its will—the union of the entire province of Bukovina was "legalized" under protection of Rumanian armed forces.

The present interstate boundaries between Ukrainian SSR and Rumania in Bukovina coincide only approximately with ethnographical delimitations. It will be the matter of the future free Ukrainian and Rumanian governments to fix the border line on the basis of mutual good will and understanding, eventually based on the results of a plebiscite in the disputed areas along the border according to the will of the population concerned and the legitimate, well founded interests of both neighboring nations.

188-a See Appendix №12.

Based on generally recognized principle of self-determination of nations the Ukrainians of Bukovina are raising pretensions only to the Ukrainian ethnographical territory. They wish to be masters on their own land and to rule there according to democratic principles. The question of their national dependency to the Ukrainian nation remains the question of merely their own consciousness and their national conscience. Nobody else has the right to decide about their national dependency, least of all their Rumanian neighbour.

The Ukrainians of Bukovina are treating its Rumanian neighbour with esteem and respect and are reciprocally understanding Rumania's legitimate rights to its ethnographical territory. The Ukrainians are wishing to enter into cordial relations with Rumanians—with the sole condition, that the Rumanians stop raising pretentions to ethnographical non-Rumanian territory. Since today the will of its population according to the principle of self-determination, sanctioned by the Charter of the United Nations, and not historical rights are decisive in the matter of a territorial problem.

Historical destiny determined the Ukrainian and Rumanian nations to be neighbours. Their faithfully and friendly relations can't be founded on unlawful or unjust pretentions or the denial of the legitimate rights of either.

The right of self-determination is today a corner-stone of human and international relations. If any party is not willing to recognize this principle or uses a double approach in interpreting it, such an attitude does not serve either the matter of good neighborhood nor the cause of peace.

XI. APPENDIX

*No. 1—STATUTE OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL RADA*¹⁸⁹

1. The Ukrainian National *Rada* is a constituent assembly of this part of the Ukrainian people who live in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on all their ethnographical territory.

2. The Ukrainian National *Rada* has the right and duty:

a) To implement at the time it deems opportune, in the name of the Ukrainian people of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, their right of self-determination and to decide about the fate of the state of all areas populated by this people;

b) To undertake all decisions and endeavors of a representative, legislative and administrative character in order to implement its decisions under a).

3. The Ukrainian National *Rada* consists of:

a) All Ukrainian members of the Austrian State Council (Parliament) of Galicia and Bukovina;

b) Members of Ukrainian nationality of the House of Lords of the Austrian State Council;

c) Ukrainian Deputies of Provincial Diets;

d) Representatives of party organizations from all Ukrainian areas, three from each party organization.

4. The Head of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation convokes the Ukrainian National Rada and presides at its sessions as its permanent president; in case of incapacitation, the office is filled by one so designated by the head of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation;

5. More important public statements are signed in the name of the Ukrainian National Rada by the Head of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, members of the House of Lords, the presidiums of all Ukrainian Parliamentary and Diet Clubs and by one representative from every party organization.

189 „Буковина”, № 36 за 25.10.1918

No. 2—RESOLUTIONS OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL
RADA¹⁹⁰ (CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF LVIV),
OCTOBER 19, 1918

Standing on the principle of the national self-determination of peoples, the Ukrainian National *Rada*, as a Constituent Assembly, decides:

1. The entire Ukrainian ethnographic area of Austria-Hungary, especially Eastern Galicia, bordered by the River Svan and with the inclusion of Lemkivshchyna; northwestern Bukovina with the cities of Chernivtsi, Storozhynets and Seret, and the Ukrainian area of the northern part of Hungary, constitute the compact Ukrainian territory;

2. This Ukrainian national territory is hereby constituted as the Ukrainian State and preparatory efforts are being made in order that this decision be put into effect;

3. All national minorities on this Ukrainian area—and the Jews are considered to be a separate nationality—are urged to send immediately representatives from their constituent assemblies to the Ukrainian National *Rada* in proportion to their number of the population;

4. The Ukrainian National *Rada* will draft a constitution for the state, established on the basis of general, equal, secret and direct electoral rights with proportionate representation, with the right of national and cultural autonomy and with the right of representation in the government for all national minorities;

5. The Ukrainian National *Rada* is demanding that this entire Ukrainian territory unconditionally have its representatives at the Peace Conference.

The present Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Burian, is denied the right to negotiate in the name of this Ukrainian territory.

190 „Діло” № 240(9800), за 22.10.1918; „Буковина”, №36 за 25.10.1918; M. Stachiw — J. Sztendera, op. cit., I. 102; Theophil Hornykiewicz: *Ergebnisse in der Ukraine 1914-1922* IV 44 ff.

No. 3—*MANIFESTO "TO THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE
OF BUKOVINA"*¹⁹¹

(Adopted by the Ukrainian Committee on October 27, 1918)

TO THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE OF BUKOVINA!

By an Imperial Manifesto of October 16, the ancient state order has been ended. The land frontiers have fallen. National states have emerged. There has also come into being our Ukrainian state, consisting of all Ukrainian lands of Bukovina, Galicia and Hungary, and proclaimed by the "National Rada" on October 19, in Lviv.

Our state is recognized by the government of former Austria, and is recognized by all other peoples of old Austria, because they all had established similarly independent states.

Thus established were the Czech, German, Southern Slav, and Rumanian states.

They all are independent, and they are building slowly but steadily their future life and their internal order.

Ukrainian People of Bukovina! Rise and work for your own future. The administration of our state was put in your hands on the October 19th of this year. It is up to you what you will do for your own good.

All former Austrian offices in our country are still functioning. This is necessary, and we must obey their rule in order to avoid lawlessness in the country, which would be detrimental for all the people, until such time when we are able to replace them with our own offices. Toward this end we need preparation and assistance on the part of the entire country.

In order that our people may take an active part in the establishment of our own order, we must create everywhere an organization of "Self-Defense".

In every city and village our people should be organized around "Self-Defense" so that they might realize their freedom on their own land through a powerful unity.

For our villages and cities the Rumanians extend grasp-

191 „Буковина”, № 37 за 1.11.1918

ing hands without any right. At their meeting of the past Sunday, October 27, they demanded for the Rumanian state the whole of Bukovina up to the Dniester, negating thereby the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination, recognized by the whole world and by the Imperial Manifesto, and they want to incorporate it into Transylvania.

We know of no Transylvania and we do not want to know about it. Our Mother is Ukraine.

We will not give up our villages and cities, and our capital of Chernivtsi, to any one. We will defend them for ourselves.

We want nothing from anyone, but we will not surrender what is ours.

Here on our land and under our administration the *boyars* shall no longer dominate.

The Ukrainian land is for the Ukrainian peasant.

We also insist that in the Ukrainian state we have a just order for peasant and workers;

THAT OUR STATE OPEN UP TREASURES OF CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE;

THAT IT SATISFY THE LAND NEEDS OF OUR PEASANTRY;

THAT IT RESPECT THE LABORING FORCE OF THE WORKER AND GIVE HIM ALL POSSIBLE PROTECTION!

All this shall be attained, because our government will be of the people, based on the general, direct, proportionate, equal and secret vote of all men and women.

All this we shall attain on our land, and not on alien land, and by our own, not other people's hands.

Therefore to work, hard, unstinting, enthusiastic, hot and tireless work!

Men and women, boys and girls! Intelligentsia, clergy, teachers, nobility, peasants and workers!

Commune offices and your heads!

All of you are the children of our land: Stand shoulder to shoulder, unite for self-defense!

Demonstrate your readiness to serve yourselves now. Come all from the entire country, from every village, on Sunday, November 3, to Chernivtsi to demonstrate your will

before the whole world. There we will meet at the "National Home" at 10 o'clock in the morning.

OF THE "UKRAINIAN NATIONAL RADA"
BUKOVINIAN DELEGATION

Mykola Vasylo
Antin Lukashkevych
Ilia Semaka
Dr. Stepan Smal-Stockyj
Mykola Spynul
Omelyan Popovych
Erotey Pihuliak
Rev. Teofil Drachynskyj
Osyp Burachynskyj
Dr. Teodot Halip
Theodore Ivanitskyj
Mykola Havryschuk
Yyriy Lysan
Mykola Osadets
Marko Kurysh
Todor Levytskyj
Arthur Malyk
Omelian Ivanitskyj
Dr. Mykola Drohomyskyj
Volodymyr Fedorovych

Dr. Myron Korduba
Dr. Cladius Bilynskyj
Dr. Roman Tschelskyj
Ilariy Karbulytskyj
Hryts Andriyashuk
Osyp Bezpalko
Volodymyr Soronevych
Rev. Dr. Kasian Bryndzan
Dr. Agenor Artymovych
Dr. Michael Lytvynovych
Gedymyn Lysynetskyj
Dr. Lev Kohut
Mykhailyna Levytska
Ksenya Dobryanska
Serbynyuk Yuriy
Ivan Kavulya
Osyp Mytsak
Mykola Levandovskyy
Senko Hancheryuk

No. 4—RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT ALL-UKRAINIAN
RALLY IN CHERNIVTSI, NOVEMBER 3, 1918¹⁹²

1. The City of Chernivtsi, the districts of Zastavna, Kitsman, Vashkivtsi and Vyzhnytsya in their entirety, the district of Chernivtsi and Seret, with the exception of those communes in which a Rumanian majority was revealed in the last two population censuses, and the communes of Storozhynets, Radivtsi, Suchava, and Kimpolung districts in which the

192 Translation from the German language, *Gemeinsame Kriegs-Ausgabe. Czernowitzer: Allgemeine Zeitung-Tagblatt*, №382, November 5, 1918; also E. Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

population censuses showed a Ukrainian majority, constitute a separate Ukrainian national territory, delineated from the Rumanian part of the country;

2. The supreme power over this territory is temporarily exercised by the Ukrainian National *Rada*, established at the Congress of Ukrainian representatives on October 19, 1918, in Lviv, which decided to establish in the shortest possible time a national-political organization of this territory and to transfer into its hands the conduct of all administrative agencies;

3. We appeal to all national minorities who live in the above-mentioned Ukrainian territory, including the Jews, recognized by us as a separate minority, to send immediately their representatives to the the Ukrainian National *Rada* for the purpose of safeguarding the rights of the minority;

4. We appeal to the Ukrainian National *Rada* to draft a constitution appropriate to the times, for the Ukrainian areas of the former Austrian state, on the basis of a general, equal, secret and direct electoral vote for all adult persons of both sexes, with proportionate representation in the legislative bodies and in the administration, a basis which also applies to the national minorities;

5. We protest most strongly the foreign aspirations to the purely Ukrainian area, and especially the decisions of the Rumanian rally of October 27, decisions taken by the reactionary Rumanian *boyars* and the clergy which violated the right of self-determination, and we further state that our people, although far from stretching out their hands for foreign goods, are determined to defend their ancestral land to the last drop of their blood. Yet the National *Rada* is always ready to conduct negotiations with the legitimate representatives of the Rumanian people and other nationalities for a peaceful settlement of disputes;

6. Today's rally calls on the Bukovinian Delegation of the Ukrainian National *Rada* to take over immediately the government over the Ukrainian territory.

No. 5—MANIFESTO OF THE UKRAINIAN COMMITTEE
TO THE PEOPLE OF BUKOVINA OF NOVEMBER 5, 1918¹⁹³

A great historical moment of liberation and free self-determination of peoples has reached us, a new era is calling forth the population of Bukovina under the banners of freedom. The ancient regime, which did not want to or could not satisfy the demands of the people, has collapsed. The unconquerable spirit of the present days has thrust it aside. Without acts of violence, subjected to the pressure of the historical process, the old government has fallen, losing its hold. The old government has fallen, and the need arises to create a new organ to perform the tasks of the state.

Sorrowfully, the attempts of Ukrainians of this country to perform governmental tasks in cooperation with representatives of other nations have remained without success, resulting in an intolerable state of anarchy that threatens all and that may destroy culture, property and life.

In this moment, awesome with responsibility, the Ukrainian National *Rada*, the only organized force, has decided to assume the responsibility for the restoration of peace and order: 1) to take over the government in Chernivtsi and in those communities where the majority of people are Ukrainian; 2) To become the guardian of all central institutions of the City of Chernivtsi.

Citizens!

The Ukrainian National *Rada* relies on the steadfast principle of the free determination of peoples, a principle which withstands diminution by violation. We are fully aware that the decision on the territorial division of the country lies with the judges of the Peace Conference. In creating a government for insuring order and peace on this basis, we call on all citizens to lend their support to the provisional government and its officials, who are faced with the difficult task of

193 А. Жуковський: Історія Буковини. — „Буковина — її минуле й сучасне“, стор. 311 наст.

defending the city of Chernivtsi during the transition period, with peace certain to follow in a short time.

Under the banner of the free determination of peoples, we want to march forward to meet that time.

Chernivtsi, November 5, 1918

No. 6—RECORD OF TAKEOVER OF GOVERNMENT
IN BUKOVINA ON NOVEMBER 6, 1918¹⁹⁴

Protocol No. 12566, written in Chernivtsi on November 6, 1918:

At 11:35 A.M. there appeared before me the following gentlemen: Member of Parliament Semaka, Member of Parliament Spynul, Member of the Ukrainian Committee Popovych and Lt. Ilko Popovych from the Ukrainian National *Rada*. Deputy Semaka stated that the provincial government building is surrounded by Ukrainian troops and called on me to transfer the government in the Ukrainian areas of Bukovina and the City of Chernivtsi to the Ukrainian National *Rada*. I replied that I was yielding under duress and ceasing to perform my functions. Because of the state of affairs, I declared that I was willing to transfer the government of Bukovina to representatives of the Rumanian and Ukrainian nations, namely, to those representatives who in the interest of the country would accept it in mutual understanding. At 4:00 P.M. I was told that the Ukrainian National *Rada* and the Deputy to the State Council, Dr. de Onciul, who told me that he was a delegate of the Rumanian National Council of Parliamentary Deputies, organized according to the highest Manifesto, are ready to take over the government in mutual understanding. Thus, I transfer the government of the country to the above-mentioned gentlemen, representatives of the Rumanian and Ukrainian nations. I beg you, sirs, to provide security for the person of His Imperial Highness Prince Wilhelm.

Transfer: Dr. Joseph Count Ezdorf, Imperial and Royal

194 O. Popovich, op. cit. p. 102 and ff.; A. Zukovskyj, op. cit., p. 313; *Gemeinsame Kriegs-Ausgabe: Czernowitzer: Allgemeine Zeitung-Tagblatt*, №384, November 7, 1918; E. Prokopowitch, op. cit., p. 54.

President of the Country (s); Receiving: for the Ukrainians: O. Popovych (s); I. Semeka (s); M. Spynul (s); for the Rumanians: Dr. Aurel Onciul (s).

No. 7—PROCLAMATION OF UKRAINIAN AND RUMANIAN
“NATIONAL COMMISSARS” (Omelyan Popovych and
Dr. Aurel Onciul) on November 6, 1918¹⁹⁵

Proclamation

The Imperial government, which considers its duty done, today transferred to us, as national commissars of the Ukrainian and Rumanian peoples, the governmental power in Bukovina into indivisible hands.

Accepting this accomplished reality, we took over the government in order to prevent anarchy and to safeguard public order and security; as for the functioning of the government we made the following agreement:

1. Both the Ukrainian and the Rumanian peoples reserve for themselves the right to present all the demands regarding the Bukovinian territory that were presented by their legitimate representatives, for solution at the Peace Conference;

2. Until such solution is reached, the status quo is maintained;

3. The competence of the two governments under consideration is to be regulated in communes in accordance with the relative majority of a given nationality as established by the population census of 1910. Thus, those communes with a relative Ukrainian majority of the population are subject to the Ukrainian government, and, similarly, communes with a Rumanian majority are subject to the Rumanian government;

4. In communes where neither the Rumanians nor the

195 A. Zukovskyj, *op. cit.*, p. 313 and ff.;

Г. Піддубний: Буковина, її минуле й сучасне, стор. 93 наст.

М. Кордуба, *op. cit.*, LNV, 1923, XII, p. 323 and ff.; *Les Documents les plus importants de la Republique Ukrainienne de l'Ouest*, II, Supplement B; *Gemeinzame Kriegs-Ausgabe. Czernowitzer: Allgemeine Zeitung-Tagblatt*, №384, November 7, 1918.

Ukrainians predominate, the legitimate representatives of each such commune is to decide to which one of the two governments its commune will be subordinated. If there is no such legitimate representation, such a decision will be taken by a consultative council under the leadership of an appointed commune gerent, and in the absence of such a council, by the members of the last regular elected commune council;

5. Until such decisions are undertaken the following communes are subordinated to the Ukrainian government: Alexanderdorf, Katherinendorf, Sadagura and Vyzhnytsya, and all other non-Rumanian and non-Ukrainian communes, with the exception of Chernivtsi, are subordinated to the Rumanian government;

6. The capital of the country, Chernivtsi, remains under the present provisional government. Directives in the second resort can be given only by the Rumanian and Ukrainian governments in mutual understanding.

This agreement becomes valid immediately.

We report this to the general public and call on the population to preserve peace and order.

Chernivtsi, November 6, 1918.

Rumanian National Commissar: Onciul (s) and Ukrainian National Commissar: O. Popovych (s).

No. 8—PROCLAMATION OF THE RUMANIAN MILITARY OCCUPATION COMMAND

*Proclamation*¹⁹⁶

In response to the invitation of the Bukovinian National Committee, and to a Higher Order of His Majesty King of Rumania Ferdinand I, the Rumanian Army entered the land of *Voyevod* Stefan the Great for the purpose of protecting the lives, property and freedom of all its inhabitants, regard-

196 Text of the Proclamation as it appeared in *Geneinsame Kriegs-Ausgabe. Czernowitzer: Allgemeine Zeitung-Tagblatt*, №386, November 11, 1918.

E. Prokopowitch: *Das Ende der oesterreichen Heerschaft in der Bukovina*, S. 56 ff.

less of nationality and religion, against the criminal bands, which had begun their destructive action in your beautiful land.

In crossing the border—created between us by a step-mother's lot over hundred years ago, the border that never had enough strength to separate our hearts—the Rumanian army comes to you with amity and brings you assistance for a free realization of your aspirations, born out of the sacred right of peoples—to manage their own lot themselves.

Imbued with such feelings and with a faith in the sincerity of your plea for help, we call on the Bukovinian people to go on normally with their lives and occupations.

The undersigned guarantees to every inhabitant a free realization of his civil rights, but at the same time I announce that any attempt at anarchy, acts of violation or of disobedience to the directives issued by us will be severely punished.

General J. Zadik, Commander of the Royal Rumanian 8th Division. October 24 (old style), 1918.

NO. 9—PROVISIONAL FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF THE WESTERN UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC

The Provisional Fundamental Law relating to the state independence of the Ukrainian lands of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, adopted by the Ukrainian National *Rada* on November 13, 1918:¹⁹⁷

Art. 1: Name

The state proclaimed on the basis of the right of self-determination of peoples by the Ukrainian National *Rada* on October 19, 1918, in Lviv, encompassing the whole area of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy populated predominantly by Ukrainians, has the name: Western Ukrainian National Republic.

197 Станіслав Дністрянський: Цивільне право, Т. I, стор. 473-474

Art. 2: Frontiers

The area of the Western Ukrainian National Republic corresponds to the compact Ukrainian ethnographical territory within the boundaries of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, that is, the Ukrainian parts of the former Austrian crown land of Galicia with Volodymeria and Bukovina, and the Ukrainian parts of the former Hungarian districts of Spys, Sharysh, Zemplyn, Uh, Bereh, Uhocha and Marmorosh as they were outlined on the ethnographical map of the Austrian Monarchy by Baron Karl Czoernig (*Ethnographische Karte der Oesterreichischen Monarchie, entworfen von Karl Freiherrn Czoernig, herausgegeben von der K. K. Direktion der administrativen Statistik. Wien 1885. Masstab 1-864000.*)

Art. 3: State Sovereignty

This state territory constitutes the independent Western Ukrainian National Republic.

Art. 4: State Representation

The governmental prerogatives in the name of the Western Ukrainian National Republic are exercised by the whole people through its representation, elected on the basis of a general, equal, direct, secret and proportionate electoral rights without distinction of sex. On the same basis the Constituent Assembly of the Western Ukrainian National Republic will be elected. Until the time the Constituent Assembly convines all governmental power shall be exercised by the Ukrainian National Rada and the State Secretariat.

Art. 5: The State Emblem and Flag

The state emblem of the Western Ukrainian National Republic is: A golden lion on a blue background, facing to the right. The state flag is of blue and yellow. The state seal bears the inscription: Western Ukrainian National Republic.

Population Census: December 31, 1910¹⁹⁸

Name of the Judicial District	Area sq. kms.	Ukrainians in absolute num. and %	Rumanians in absolute num. and %	Jews & ^(a) Germans	Poles	Others ^(b)	All		
1. Zastavna	493	47,466	92.7%	65	0.1%	2,541	1,118	11	51,201
2. Kitsman	345	39,432	87.4	120	0.3	4,049	1,373	133	45,107
3. (Storonets) Putyiv	530	12,744	87.1	5	0.0	1,806	64	9	14,628
4. Stanivtsi	181	16,212	85.4	160	0.8	2,380	233	4	18,989
5. Vashkivtsi	220	18,458	79.4	82	0.3	3,245	1,467	11	23,263
6. Sadagura (Sadyhora)	340	31,945	74.7	1,311	3.0	7,214	2,219	69	42,758
7. Vyzhnytsya	759	30,035	74.6	85	0.2	9,553	1,121	40	40,834
8. Seletyn	888	7,308	73.9	52	0.5	2,446	39	50	9,895
9. Chernivtsi (area)	414	22,351	50.7	18,060	40.9	3,419	281	19	44,130
10. Seret	519	26,819	41.0	19,199	29.4	9,956	2,274	7,099 ^(c)	65,347
11. Storozhynets	432	11,223	31.9	13,334	36.9	9,337	2,162	5	36,061
12. Chudryn	530	6,622	20.0	20,135	60.9	4,482	1,835	12	33,086
13. Chernivtsi (city)	59	15,254	17.9	13,440	15.7	41,360	14,893	511	85,458
14. Kimpolung	1,354	6,011	17.4	18,952	54.7	9,222	396	39	34,620
15. Boyany	120	2,840	10.3	10,192	62.1	2,291	1,065	30	16,418
16. Stulpikany	342	1,001	10.1	5,922	59.4	2,833	190	17	9,963
17. Suchava	569	6,327	9.5	46,529	70.1	11,723	1,636	193	66,408
18. Solka	300	1,165	4.2	20,582	74.8	3,948	1,814	12	27,521
19. Dornavatra	653	541	3.7	8,217	55.6	5,912	103	8	14,781
20. Radivtsi	534	1,185	2.0	37,152	63.4	17,844	678	1,756	58,615
21. Garahumora	440	122	0.4	22,102	65.5	9,758	1,121	618	33,721
22. Vlkiv	419	40	0.2	17,558	70.3	3,532	128	867	22,125
TOTAL	10,441	305,101	38.4	273,254	34.4	168,851	36,210	11,513	794,929

198. *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Landesamtes des Herzogtums Bukovina*. Heft 17, veröffentlicht vom Statistischen Landesamt des Herzogtums Bukovina. Czernowitz, 1913. *L'Ukraine Occidentale*, p. 62;

a) In the population census the Jews gave the German language as their mother tongue; therefore, they are listed with the Germans in the same column; the Jews are identified by religion under the column, "Judaic". The total number of Jews in 1910 was 102,919 persons.

b) "Others" include the Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Italians, and Hungarians.

No. 11 Bukovina. Preliminary result of the population census of August, 1941 in Northern Bukovina - the part incorporated into Ukrainian SSR in 1940.* National composition of the population of Northern Bukovina according to ethnical criteria.

Name of administrative unity	Ukrainians		Rumanians		Germans		Jews	Poles	Others	
	Total	Number %	Number %			Russians				
District of Chernivtsi										
Cities:										
Chernivtsi	78925	8055 10.22	18608 23.00	2075 45759	3523	204	601			
Kitsman	3855	3126 81.89	102 2.64	10 439	160		18			
Sadagura	2415	1445 59.83	77 3.18	25 616	248		4			
Zastavna	5000	3998 79.96	222 4.44	17 557	181		25			
Total Cities	90095	16624 18.65	19009 21.09	2127 47371	4112	204	648			
Enviorns:										
County (Plasa)										
Uniester	46761	44354 94.85	1262 2.69	55 208	800	20	62			
Shypynets	52417	50994 96.52	678 1.29	101 401	613	2	28			
Kozmin	75892	27038 35.62	45996 60.60	312 285	2184	7	70			
Total Enviorns	175070	121986 59.67	47936 27.40	468 894	3597	29	160			
Total District	265165	138610 52.27	66945 25.24	2595 48265	7709	233	808			
District of Storozhynets										
Cities:										
Vashkivtsi	5916	4437 75.00	193 3.22	47 657	574		8			
Vyzhnytsya	2495	200 8.01	72 2.88	2 2161	58		2			
Storozhynets	6610	635 9.60	3474 52.55	104 1483	807	9	98			
Total Cities	15021	5272 35.09	3739 24.88	153 4301	1439	9	108			
Enviorns:										
County (Plasa)										
Cheremosh	47837	30984 64.56	16036 33.52	163 1	569	62	22			
Rostoky	40137	36456 90.82	1903 4.89	132	980	4	602			
Plondor	55204	10711 19.40	40295 72.99	336 9	3654	29	170			
Total Enviorns	143178	78151 54.58	58294 40.71	631 10	5203	95	794			
Total District	158199	83423 52.79	62033 39.21	784 4311	6642	104	902			
District of Radivtsi (a part annexed to the Ukrainian SSR)										
County Seletyn	17175	9470 55.14	857 4.93	55	46		6767*			
County Seret (13 communes)	15783	2080 13.17	12063 76.43	32 14	731	11	852			
Total District	32958	11550 35.00	12920 39.20	67 14	777	11	7619			
Total North Bukovina	456322	233583 51.20	141898 31.30	3446 52590	15128	348	9329			

* See: Institutul Central de Statistică. Recensământul general al României din 6 Aprilie 1941. Date sumare și provizorii, publicate de Dr. Sabin Manoilă. București, 1944.
Schriften der Publikationsstelle Wien fuer den Dienstgebrauch. Die Bevölkerungszählung in Rumänien 1941. Geheim. Wien, 1943.
Selbstverlag der Publikationsstelle. S. 129, 137, 139.

This number includes, in particular, the Ukrainian Hutsuls.

No. 12—National composition of the population of the Chernivtsi region (oblast)* according to the Soviet census of 1959.**

	Total population	Persons considering as their mother tongue				
		Language of their nationality	A language other than that of their nationality			
			Ukr.	Rus.	Other	
Region of Chernivtsi	774121	722017	17424	31943	2737	
Ukrainians	Number	518189	509311	—	8114	464
	%	66.9	98.3	—	1.6	0.1
Rumanians	Number	79790	65637	12304	365	1484
	%	10.3	82.2	15.4	0.5	1.9
Moldavians	Number	71645	69867	1021	674	83
	%	9.3	97.5	1.4	0.9	0.2
Russians	Number	51268	50488	730	—	50
	%	6.6	98.4	1.3	—	0.2
Jews	Number	42140	21042	506	20147	445
	%	5.5	49.9	1.2	47.7	1.2
Poles	Number	6007	2853	2466	591	97
	%	0.1	46.6	41.7	10.0	1.7

* At present time the region (Oblast) of Chernivtsi consists of Northern (Ukrainian part of) Bukovina, (Ukrainian) part of Khotyn district and the county (plasa) of Hertsa.

** See: Итоги всесоюзной переписи населения 1959 года. Украинская ССР. Москва, 1963. стор. 178;

В. I. Наулко: Етнічний склад населення Укр. РСР, стор. 134

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Noticed errata — to be corrected

page	29 line	17 from below	appears:	Chronicles	—	correctly:	Chronicles
29	13	"	"	Vyznytsya			Vyznytsya
32	3	top	Wallahia				Wallachia
58	18	"	below	Czerwie			Czoernig
58	13	"	"	Ukrainias			Ukrainians
93	17	"	top	Forth Universal			Fourth Universal
100	12	"	"	independent			independent
107	2	"	below	Bukovyna			Bukovyna
108	20	"	top	National			Ukrainian
117	7	"	below	I. Semeka			I. Semaka
128	5	"	"	P. Smal-Stocki			T. Smal-Stocki
133	17	"	top	Clemanceau			Clemanceau
134	8	"	below	"historical highs"			"historical right"
146	9	"	"	B. M. Bably			B. M. Bably
159	3-4	"	top	OF THE UKRAINIAN NTL RADA BUKOVINIAN DELEGATION			BUKOVINIAN DELEGATION OF THE UKR. NTL RADA
159	17	top	Yurly Lysan				Yurly Lysan
172	17	"	"	Maria Chivasi-Comşa			Maria Chivasi-Comşa
172	10	"	below	cuprinsul			cuprinsul

