

THE ISSUE OF OBSERVANCE OF NATIONAL MINORITIES RIGHTS IN THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UKRAINIANS OF BUKOVINA IN 1928–1929

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(Abstract)

The death of King Ferdinand Ist and of the leader of the National Liberal Party I. I. C. Brătianu in 1927 laid the conditions for the change of power in Romania. The meeting in Alba Iulia in May 1928 played an important role in the National Peasant Party coming to power, because the program of the party's activities for the near future was announced there. After the government of I. Maniu came to power in November 1928, the representatives of the national minorities of Romania expected changes in the government's attitude towards the observance of the rights of national minorities, as well as the political regime liberalisation. The observance of the rights of national minorities for the Ukrainians of Bukovina was seen primarily in the return of the Ukrainian teaching language to the educational sphere adopted by the government. The resumption of activities was another issue after the abolition of the siege state in northern Bukovina, as well as Ukrainian educational societies, primarily the "Ruska Besida", which performed tasks in educational activities through reading and amateur theatrical groups. The third issue, which should guarantee the implementation of the first two ones, was to obtain a sufficient number of seats in parliament for representatives of the Ukrainian community. From mid-October 1928 through February 1929, Ukrainian communities of Bukovina filed requests for teaching in Ukrainian. The newspaper "Chas" (Time) also dealt with this issue, publishing reports on the meeting of the communities. As a result, 199 applications were received with 30 thousand signatures, which gave the government grounds to talk about the possibility of introducing the corresponding number of teaching hours in schools of 139 communities. In general, the decision of the government in the field of teaching in the Ukrainian language was not made till December 1929 that caused concerns and statements from the Ukrainian side. Also, V. Zalozetskyi who was elected to the Senate in January 1929 made a statement about the loyalty of the Ukrainians of Bukovina to the authorities and motivated the need to introduce the Ukrainian language of teaching for Ukrainians. A number of statements concerning the need to study the state and Ukrainian languages in equal proportions was made by the communities. V. Zalozetskyi called the national consciousness of the Ukrainians of Bukovina not posing a threat to the Romanian statehood, but it could become a condition for preparing the intelligentsia for the future 'non-Bolshevik Ukraine'. The restoration of the number of organizations of the "Ruska Besida" society led to the spread of the amateur theatre group activities. Such steps gave grounds, primarily to representatives of national liberals, to make statements about the demands

of Ukrainians to remove the Romanian language from school. The active role in presenting the situation was played by the newspapers "Curentul" and "Universul", describing the position and actions of national minorities too critically. In general, the Ukrainians turned out to be a very quiet minority comparing with the Hungarians' protests and the situation in Dobrudja, although they were less organized to fight for the observance of their rights.

Keywords: Bukovina, national minorities, Ukrainians, rights, political activities.

Problema respectării drepturilor minorităților naționale în activitățile politice ale reprezentanților ucrainenilor din Bucovina în anii 1928–1929

*(Rezumat)**

Moartea Regelui Ferdinand I și mai târziu și a liderului Partidului Național Liberal, I. I. C. Brătianu, au pus, în 1927, problema schimbării puterii în România. Întâlnirea de la Alba Iulia din mai 1928 a jucat un rol important în venirea la putere a Partidului Național Țărănesc, deoarece acolo a fost anunțat programul activităților partidului pentru viitorul apropiat. După venirea la putere a guvernului I. Maniu (noiembrie 1928), reprezentanții minorităților naționale din România se așteptau la schimbări în atitudinea guvernului față de respectarea drepturilor minorităților naționale, precum și la liberalizarea regimului politic. Respectarea drepturilor minorităților naționale pentru ucrainenii din Bucovina a fost văzută în primul rând în revenirea predării în limba ucraineană în sfera educațională adoptată de guvern. Reluarea activităților societăților culturale ucrainene a fost o altă problemă după desființarea regimului de asediu din nordul Bucovinei, în primul rând a societății „Rusca Besida”, care îndeplinea sarcini în activități educaționale prin lectură și formații de teatru de amatori. A treia problemă, care trebuia să garanteze implementarea primelor două, a fost obținerea unui număr suficient de locuri în Parlament pentru reprezentanții comunității ucrainene. De la mijlocul lunii octombrie 1928 până în februarie 1929, comunele ucrainene din Bucovina au depus cereri de predare în limba ucraineană. De această problemă s-a ocupat și ziarul „Ceas”, publicând rapoarte despre deciziile comunităților. Ca urmare, au fost primite 199 de cereri, cu 30 de mii de semnături, ceea ce a dat motiv guvernului să discute despre posibilitatea introducerii numărului corespunzător de ore de predare în școlile din 139 de comunități bucovinene. În general, decizia guvernului în domeniul predării în limba ucraineană a fost luată în decembrie 1929, ceea ce a stârnit îngrijorări și declarații din partea ucraineană. De asemenea, V. Zalozețchii, care a fost ales în Senat în toamna anului 1928, a făcut o declarație, în ianuarie 1929, despre loialitatea ucrainenilor din Bucovina față de autorități și a motivat necesitatea introducerii limbii ucrainene de predare pentru ucrainenii. O serie de declarații privind necesitatea studierii limbilor de stat și ucrainene în proporții egale au fost făcute de comunități. Conștiința națională a ucrainenilor din Bucovina nu reprezintă o amenințare la adresa statalității românești, a afirmat V. Zalozețchii, însă aceasta ar putea deveni o condiție în vederea pregătirii intelectualității pentru viitoarea „Ucraina nebolșevică”. Restabilirea numărului de organizații ale societății „Rusca Besida” a dus la răspândirea activităților grupelor de teatru amator. Astfel de demersuri au dat motive, în primul rând, reprezentanților național-liberalilor, să facă declarații cu privire la cererile ucrainenilor de a scoate limba română din școală. Rolul activ în prezentarea situației l-au jucat ziarele „Curentul” și „Universul”, descriind prea critic poziția și acțiunile minorităților naționale. În general,

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ucrainenii s-au dovedit a fi o minoritate foarte liniștită în comparație cu cea a ungarilor (care au protestat pentru susținerea drepturilor lor) și cu situația din Dobrogea, deși aceștia erau mai puțin organizați în vederea luptei pentru respectarea drepturilor lor.

Cuvinte-cheie: Bucovina, minorități naționale, ucraineni, drepturi, activități politice.

Issues of the status of national minorities are traditionally among the issues raised in the history of Bukovyna in the interwar period. The system developed in Austria-Hungary for the use of the language of national minorities in the educational, administrative and judicial spheres was changed after World War I and became an issue that the political representatives of the national minorities of the Kingdom of Romania tried to solve. This situation was taken into account by the leaders of the leading parliamentary parties and made it possible to win over the promise of fulfilling the wishes of the Ukrainian or German communities of Bukovyna. The leaders of the Ukrainian community of Bukovyna had special hopes for the implementation of the right to use their native language in the educational, administrative and judicial sectors after the government of the National Tserenists came to power in 1928. The purpose of this article is to highlight the government activities as well as leaders of the Ukrainian community of Bukovyna in the field of implementation and definition of results of cooperation between Ukrainian politicians and representatives of National Peasants Party.

A certain place is occupied in the foreign Ukrainian Bukovynian studies by the collective work “Bukovyna, Its Past and Present”, which draws attention to several moments that took place in Bukovyna in 1928. At least, A. Zhukovskyi called the period of 1928-1938 rich in events and noted the activities of the Ukrainian National Party, which tried to be represented in the Parliament, although for this, it entered into electoral cartels with a number of Romanian political parties. The same period in the issue of presenting the history of Ukrainian schools was called “squeezed revival”. If the desired result was not achieved in the school and teaching in Ukrainian, then there was some success in the sphere of publishing and the activities of cultural and educational societies¹.

Romanian historian D. Hrenciuc considers the issue of education in Bukovyna in the interwar period in the context of teaching in the native language, noting that the agreement signed in December 1919 by the Romanian delegation did not oblige the Romanian government to create conditions for providing education in the native language for representatives of national minorities. The difficult state of the elementary school in Bukovyna in 1919 was described by this author together with the process of transition to the Romanian language of teaching and “Ruthenian” schools². D. Hrenciuc also touched upon the fate of teachers and

¹ Квітковський Д. Буковина – її минуле і сучасне, Репритул. вид. 1956; Д. Квітковський, Т. Бриндзан, А. Жуковський, Чернівці, Лрук Арт, 2019, pp. 346–348; 366–369 (Подаємо бібліографічний опис за вказаним у книзі, хоча це і зроблено з помилками. Авт.).

² Daniel Hrenciuc, *Provocările vecinătății: ucrainenii bucovineni în Regatul României Mari (1918–1940)*. Contribuții, Iași, Editura Tipo Moldova, 2010, pp. 247–250.

societies operating in Northern Bukovyna under the conditions of education unification, as he noted the protests of the Ukrainian population of Bukovyna about the lack of the opportunity to study in their native language.³ He also noted the activities of the inhabitants of Ukrainian villages, aimed, after the release of the law on education in 1924, to obtain permission to teach their native language 1–2 hours a week⁴. And D. Hrenciuc did not touch upon the issue of the Ukrainian communities of Bukovyna actions in favor of teaching in their native language in 1928–1929, when there were requests for teaching in native language not only in Bukovyna, but also in Bessarabia.

I. Livezeanu revealed the situation in the educational sector as a whole in her work, where she traced the growth of educational institutions in primary education in the interwar period and connected the C. Angelescu's activities with this, as well as the expansion and democratization of the learning process⁵. At the same time, it was also about uniting the citizens of the new country through the school, which led to the idea of unifying education in all four parts of the new country⁶. Bukovyna was also called the least Romanian province from the ethnic point of view⁷.

A. Sheichuk also discussed the issues of education and the availability of schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction in Bukovyna and he admitted that the constitution of 1923 did not give the Ukrainians of Romania (within Bukovyna, Bessarabia, Maramureş and the Danube Delta) the opportunity to learn Ukrainian. But only the data of 1933 were used, also for the reason that the inhabitants of a number of territories belonged to the category of Ukrainianized Romanians⁸.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN MOTHER TONGUE

The official legislation in force in the field of education changed after World War I and subsequent democratic processes, the first of which should be considered the adoption of a new constitution in the country. Actually, a number of points that testify to the democratic nature of the constitution had been recorded among its provisions relating to the rights of Romanians (in this case, citizens of the country). Thus, Article 5 of the new Constitution, which repeated the content of the same article of the 1866 constitution, showed that Romanians, regardless of ethnic origin, language or religion, enjoyed a number of freedoms, and the freedom of education was among them. The warranty of these freedoms rested on the constitution and laws to be

³ *Ibidem*, p. 266.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 272.

⁵ Irina Livezeanu, *Cultură și naționalism în România Mare. 1918–1930*, traducere din engleză de Vlad Russo, Bucureşti, Editura Humanitas, 1998, pp. 41–54.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 54.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 64.

⁸ A. Şeiciuc, *Problema ucraineană în Bucovina Sudică. Punctul nostru de vedere*, Bucureşti, Editura Mustang, 2001, pp. 105–108.

enacted thereafter. Religious faith or confession, ethnic origin and language should not become an obstacle to achieving civil and political rights⁹.

The Law on primary education, passed on July 26, 1924, also provided certain conditions for obtaining education. Firstly, primary education was declared unitary, compulsory and free throughout the country. Education was conducted in Romanian in public schools, but the law guaranteed that the Ministry of public education would establish schools with the language of the minorities in communities with a non-Romanian population in the same proportion as in communities with Romanian population. Accordingly, the study of the Romanian language will be established by the relevant regulations. A separate paragraph in the law recognized the existence of a category of Romanians who had lost their native language, who should have sent their children to public or private schools with the Romanian language of instruction¹⁰.

The situation that existed in primary education showed 202 primary Ukrainian schools, 2 – Ukrainian, 2 – German-Ukrainian and one German-Romanian-Ukrainian gymnasium. As of 1920, the number of Ukrainian schools was reduced to 157, and there were already 155 schools by 1923.¹¹ The number of schools with instruction in German was also reduced, and it gave ground to worry for representatives of national minorities who expressed their protest against the situation at the meeting in the German People's House on June 18, 1922, in the Workers' House on July 2, 1922, and in the Ukrainian People's House on July 16, 1922. Later, on November 26, 1922, under the chairmanship of Dr. Lang, a meeting of the Bukovynian Germans with the participation of the leaders of the Banat Saxons and chairman of the parliamentary group, Dr. H.O. Roth was held concerning the rights of Germans, and the use of German in judicial, administrative and educational institutions, in particular in Rădăuți, Câmpulung, Siret and Vatra Dornei schools¹².

Attempts were also made to obtain permission from the government to teach in Ukrainian in primary schools. In 1923, a group of Ukrainian MPs from the National Liberal Party submitted a memorandum to stop the relocation of Ukrainian teachers from Bukovyna to other regions of Romania¹³. Signatures were collected under appeals for the continuation of teaching in Ukrainian in rural primary schools as early as in 1925. 1144 signatures were collected that time in 8 villages of the

⁹ C. Hamangiu, *Codul General al României*, vol. XI–XII, *Legi noi de unificare, 1922–1926*, București, Editura Universală, 1926, pp. 3–4. Constituțiunea nouă din 29 Martie 1923.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 526. Lege pentru învățământul primar al statului (școale de copii mici, școale și cursuri de adulți, școalele și clasele speciale pentru copiii debili și anormali educabili) și învățământul normal-primar din 26 iulie 1924.

¹¹ Irina Livezeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹² *Боротьба трудящих Буковини за соціальне й національне визволення і возз'єднання з Українською РСР. 1917–1941. Документи й матеріали*, Чернівці, Облвидав, 1958, pp. 223–224; *Державний архів Чернівецької області. Ф. 12. Секретаріат внутрішніх справ Буковини. Оп. 1 Спр. 7443. Рапорты дирекции полиции г. Черновцы о состоявшихся собраниях политических организаций в г. Черновцы. 1922–1923 г. Арк.*, pp. 28–31, 34, 50–52.

¹³ “Буковина. Забутий край”, in “Нова Україна”, Ч. 1, 1924, pp. 223–224.

Vashkivtsi district by having submitted the appeal to the school inspector¹⁴. Representatives of the Ukrainian societies Lev Kohut and Antin Kyryliv presented the school inspector with the requirements of Ukrainians regarding teaching at school in 1926. The answer was a promise to teach two hours of Ukrainian and one hour of religion. The refusal and the appeal in court against the decision of the ministry at the level of the Ministry of education did not give any result, which was negatively accepted in the Ukrainian community¹⁵. The attempt of Germans and Hungarians of Ardeal to organize to protect the rights of national minorities influenced the intentions of Ukrainians to support their activities. The search for agreements with the A. Averescu government gave hope for the return of the Ukrainian language for teaching at school. This was also demonstrated by the resolution of the meeting of the social democrats on July 4, 1926, where they demanded the restoration of the Ukrainian school and teaching in Ukrainian in the lyceums of Chernivtsi, Vashkivtsi, Kitsman, Siret, as well as the establishment of the Ukrainian university in Chernivtsi. In practice, even the MPs were refused about the possibility of such actions with explanations that Ukrainians lived only close to the Prut river¹⁶.

The death of King Ferdinand I in 1927, and then the head of government I. I. C. Brătianu created the conditions for changing the situation in the Kingdom and increasing the movement of political representatives of national minorities in Romania for the resumption of teaching in their native language at school.

Such a movement affected the territories that were once part of Austria-Hungary: Transylvania and Bukovyna. Earlier, in 1926 and 1927, the Ukrainians of Bukovyna made attempts to return to teaching in their native language in elementary schools, but in fact these were events intended during the change of power and holding of parliamentary elections for the election campaign and they were in favor of the Hungarian and German minorities that were organized for these activities.

A certain weakening of power during the V. I. C. Brătianu government activities and the High Regency created the conditions for the promotion of the then opposition National Peasant Party to power. Its activities were localized with the symbol of the unity of the Romanians – Alba Iulia, where they intended to hold a large national assembly in the year of the first decade of the “Great Unification”. That’s true that even then the NPP leadership actions were negatively perceived by other politicians, and N. Iorga, assessing the situation as a struggle for power, noted at the end of March 1928 that I. Maniu went to Ardeal, not intending to return to Bucharest before the meeting in Alba Iulia¹⁷. And one of the

¹⁴ Дачо. ф. 119. Особливий відділ сигуранци м. Чернівці. Оп. 1. Спр. 183. Информационные донесения агентов полиции о распространении иностранно-подданными листовок в связи с отказом принца Карола от престола, 1926–1926, г. Арк. 12, 16.

¹⁵ “За українську мову по школах”, in “Рідний край”, 23 мая. Ч. 10, 1926, р. 1; “За права українського народу”, in “Рідний Край”, 30 мая. Ч. 11, 1926, р. 1.

¹⁶ “Соціалістичне віче”, in “Рідний край”, 25 липня. Ч. 15, 1926, р.3.

¹⁷ I. Scurtu, *Din viața politică a României (1926–1947). Studiu critic privind istoria Partidului Național-Țărănesc*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983, p. 99.

representatives of the Germans in Ardeal, H. O. Roth visited N. Iorga and spoke about his rejection of the policies of the national liberals, as well as the I. Maniu “revolutionary” policy¹⁸.

The meeting scheduled for April 7, 1928, for May 6 of the same year in Alba Iulia was to be accompanied by meetings in București, Craiova, Chernivtsi, Iași, Brăila. At the NPP bureau meeting on May 4, a decision on Șt. Cicio-Pop (Alba Iulia), N. Costăchescu (Iași), V. Magearu (București), V. Potârkă (Craiova), I. Oreșeanu (Brăila) who were the heads of the assemblies, was made. Rumors about the arrival of Prince Carol for the meeting, which was supposed to have an appropriate effect and forced the authorities to act, taking the most stringent security measures were also spread on the eve of the meeting¹⁹. The NPP general congress and the open meeting were still directed against the power of the national liberals, which allowed N. Iorga to speak of the decision as the “old revolutionary Ardeal style”, and some participants – of a hostile attitude towards the Old Kingdom (Regat)²⁰. Nevertheless, the adopted resolution was perceived by Ukrainian politicians as a program that should improve the situation of national minorities in Romania. In this regard, the memorandum with the wishes of the Ukrainian community of the region compiled by L. Kohut and handed over by the Executive of the Ukrainian National Party to Minister of Bukovyna T. Sauciuc-Săveanu was indicative at that time. Thus, improvements in the agricultural sector, the demolition of the state of siege, and the limitation of the population Romanization that was associated with decrease in the level of citizens’ education, were put in the forefront. The issues of the Ukrainian language introduction at school were highlighted separately, with which they combined the need to train teachers who could teach in Ukrainian. The issue of language in education was related not only to primary school, but the sphere of secondary and higher education as well. The use of the native language in church and holding of services in Ukrainian became one of the requirements of the Ukrainian population in Bukovyna. The idea of creating a state under-secretariat for national minorities was among the general demands, as well as repeal of ban on the import of Ukrainian literature, amnesty for Ukrainians convicted on political charges²¹.

The congress of national minorities, held in Geneva in August 1928 was a certain support. It also discussed the issue of the minorities’ status in Romania, and the decision on this matter noted the common interests of minorities and the need for cooperation in culture. The main promise regarding the rights of national minorities was to cooperate with the titular nation in order to preserve their own nationality and culture²².

¹⁸ N. Iorga, *Memorii*, vol. V, *Agonia regală și Regența. 1925–1930*, București, Editura Națională, 1935, p. 280.

¹⁹ I. Scurtu, *op. cit.*, pp. 100–102.

²⁰ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

²¹ “Українські жадання”, în “Рідний Край”, 25 листопада Ч. 47 (106), 1928, pp. 1–2.

²² “Міжнародний конгрес національних меншостей о меншостях Ромунії”, în “Час. Незалежний, безпартійний часопис”, 2 жовтня. Ч. 1, 1928, p. 2; “По десятиох роках”, 7 жовтня Ч. 6, 1928, p. 2.

The decision of the Steering committee of the National Peasant Party of September 28, 1928, finally determined the goal of the party's advance to power. Party members carried out the activities that culminated in the government crisis in October 1928. Head of government V.I.C.Brătianu presented a demission to the High Regency on November 3, 1928, and the new government was sworn in on November 10²³.

The movement for the resumption of teaching in Ukrainian at elementary school started in the Ukrainian communities of Bukovyna by mid-October 1928. The *Chas* newspaper started the *For the Native School!* column, which became a chronicle of events in those Ukrainian communities of Bukovyna that made the decision to introduce education in Ukrainian. The newspaper tried to explain the situation, and the article with a title "For the Native School! The Peasants Achieve a Ukrainian School" (published on October 19), in which we learn about the desire of Ukrainian peasants to have a school with the native language of teaching. Kitsman, Klivodyn, Sukhoverkhiv and Orshivtsi were taken as an example, and those schools set requirements for teaching the Ukrainian language on a par with Romanian (in terms of the number of hours), and it was decided to have 8 hours a week for the Ukrainian language and 8 hours – Romanian. The article noted that the wishes of the peasants were different, but testified to the desire to teach children in their native language. At the same time, it was argued that Ukrainians wanted to learn Romanian and studied it, but teaching in Ukrainian will help to avoid low learning outcomes. In confirmation, the facts of the actions of primary school inspectors were cited, who instructed teachers to teach children Romanian history and geography during the allowed two hours of instruction in Ukrainian²⁴. However, the provided 2 hours of training could be lost, and Ukrainians believed that providing two hours of Ukrainian language training a week could cause Ukrainians to lose the opportunity to obtain broader rights in education. It was believed if Germans and Hungarians could have more hours of learning in their mother tongue, Ukrainians would not manage to get more²⁵.

For example, if the Kitsman community council decided on October 14 to ask for teaching the Ukrainian language in primary schools along with Romanian, and the Orshivtsi community council decided to request for 6 hours of teaching Ukrainian, then both communities were granted permission for 4 hours of teaching²⁶. The communities of the villages of Khlivyshe, Havrylivtsi, Yuzhynets asked for various numbers of teaching hours²⁷. The school issue became the most acute in the late October, which made it possible to constantly publish reports on the position of

²³ I. Scurtu, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–111; "Націонал-цараністи продовжують боротьбу проти правительства", in "Час. Незалежний, безпартійний часопис", 2 жовтня. Ч. 1, 1928, р. 1.

²⁴ „За рідню школу! Селяни домагаються української школи”, 19 жовтня. Ч. 16, 1928, р. 1.

²⁵ “Сільський політик В справі української школи (Стаття надіслана)”, 21 жовтня Ч. 18, 1928, р. 2.

²⁶ “Українське село за українською школою!”, 15 жовтня. Ч. 13, 1928, р. 1.

²⁷ “За рідню школу!”, 25 жовтня. Ч. 21, 1928, р. 1.

the communities from where we could learn about the requirements of 2–6 hours of teaching, as well as the requirements to return the teaching of the Ukrainian language to the pre-war amount of hours (Vytylivka) or along with Romanian (Klivodyn, Khlivyshche). The communities in Striletskyi Kut, Revne, Myhove, Chornohuzy decided to introduce Ukrainian as the language of instruction, while Romanian as subject²⁸. The Ivankivtsi community decision (November 11) made the introduction of the Ukrainian language of instruction both in primary, and secondary schools²⁹. On the eve of the elections, the decision to introduce the Ukrainian language as the language of instruction was made not only in Bukovynian villages, but also in the village of Rzhavyntsi in the Khotyn district³⁰.

There was also the issue of resuming the teaching of students in Ukrainian. As we can see in the *Chas* publication, the reason was the refusal of students to participate in political life as early as in 1918–1920, and the change in the study conditions at the university, and the lack of a “leading idea” and ties with Ukrainian student societies abroad. The publication drew attention to the demand of the public regarding the activities of Ukrainian students³¹. It is necessary to mention that the *Chas* issue of November 7, 1928, published reflections on the situation that was developing for Ukrainians and consisted in the return of the Ukrainian language use in education, administration, church and jurisprudence, which was generally guaranteed by both fundamental laws and international agreements³². Some Ukrainian figures also referred to the statement of I. Maniu that every child should be taught in the native tongue until the fourth grade of elementary school, and after that they should study Romanian³³. C. Crakalia's interview for the *Chas* discussed the future situation of Ukrainians. It separately stressed the issue of school and contained a message about the Șt. Cicio-Pop statement about the return of primary schools in Bukovyna to Ukrainians within the limits that they had. It was also announced about the intention to introduce the position of inspector for Ukrainian schools in the Chernivtsi district, as well as to open a teacher's seminary and establishment of the State Undersecretariat with a separate referent for Ukrainians³⁴.

Along with using the native language for teaching at school, the issue of studying religion in the native language was also raised. Most notably, this was mentioned in a letter from Vashkivtsi to the Metropolitan of Bukovyna, published in the *Chas*. The request that was made was the consent to study religion

²⁸ „В справі української школи”, 21 жовтня Ч. 18, 1928; “Рух за рідною школою! (За тиждень)”, 26 жовтня. Ч. 22, 1928, р. 1; “За рідною школою! (За тиждень)”, 2 листопада. Ч. 27, 1928, р. 1; “За рідною школою! (За тиждень)”, 16 листопада. Ч. 39, 1928, р. 1.

²⁹ “За рідною школою!”, 13 листопада. Ч. 36, 1928, р. 1.

³⁰ “За рідною школою (За тиждень)”, 30 листопада. Ч. 51, 1928, р. 3.

³¹ М. О., “Чом укр. академічна молодь на Буковині спить?”, 28 листопада. Ч. 49, 1928, р. 3.

³² “Міркування в часі кризи”, 7 листопада. Ч. 31, 1928, р. 1.

³³ “За рідною школою! (За тиждень.)”, 16 листопада. Ч. 39, 1928, р. 1.

³⁴ П. К., “Кракалія про будуче положення Українців на Буковині”, 16 листопада. Ч. 39, 1928, р. 2.

exclusively in Ukrainian, no matter what language other subjects would be taught in³⁵. In August 1929, V. Dutchak, a member of the Ukrainian National Party submitted an article to the *Kronstadter Zeitung*, where he described the situation in Bukovyna in the context of using the Ukrainian language in schools, conducting the census, criticized I. I. Nistor's theory regarding the appearance of the Ukrainian population in Bukovyna, noted the intention to turn the Ukrainian population of Bukovyna, like Bessarabia and Maramureş, into a "nation without history"³⁶. The *Vorwärts* also wrote about the lack of opportunity for Ukrainians to get school teaching in Ukrainian, noting the continuing fight of Ukrainians for it³⁷.

READING HALL ISSUES

The Ukrainians of Bukovyna also acted for the resumption of "Ruska Besida Reading Halls" activities in the context of preserving the national identity. The latter ceased their activities in a number of villages in the early 1920s, which was partly due to legislation, the state of siege, and the absence of leaders. The appeal for the resumption of "Ruska Besida Reading Halls" activities, as well as economic and other Ukrainian institutions was published in the *Chas* issue of November 23 (the *Peasant Issue*). The provision of the books with the *Chas* assistance to the first ten restored and newly established societies to develop their own libraries should also have been the encouragement³⁸. According to the editors, this call resonated in the Ukrainian society³⁹. The emergence of the movement for the restoration of "Reading Halls" was supposed to be the confirmation of improvement in the social life of Bukovyna Ukrainians that the leaders of the Ukrainian National Party also hoped for⁴⁰. On a practical level, the information about the Reading Hall Movement began to be published in the press in November 1928, that is, after the state of siege was cancelled. In particular, on November 25, 1928, the meeting of Ruska Besida Reading Hall society was held in Chortoryia. Then the society itself was renewed and its executive committee was elected and interest groups of choral singing and drama were organized under the leadership of director D. Rusnak. In addition to this village, the villages of Havrylivtsi, Striletskyi Kut, Verenchanka and the town of Vashkivtsi responded to the *Chas* call. They explained to the newspaper that the societies renewed their activities based on the law of February 6, 1924⁴¹. However, in Vashkivtsi, the meeting of the Ruska Besida branch took

³⁵ "Відкрите письмо (прод.)", 22 серпня. Ч. 261, 1929, р. 1.

³⁶ "Українці в Буковині", 23 серпня. Ч. 262, 1929, р. 2.

³⁷ "Українці не одержуть школи", 10 вересня. Ч. 277, 1929, р. 3.

³⁸ "Всі до праці!", 23 падолиста. Ч. 45, 1928, р. 1.

³⁹ "В справі просвітної праці", 1 грудня. Ч. 52, 1928, р. 1.

⁴⁰ "Уздоровлення нашого суспільного життя", 30 падолиста. Ч. 42, 1928, р. 1.

⁴¹ "З читальняного руху", 28 падолиста. Ч. 49, 1928, р. 3; "Відновлюймо старі товариства", 28 падолиста. Ч. 49, 1928, р. 3.

place on November 28, and a new executive committee headed by lawyer G. Ilchuk, was elected there. At the same time, a theater group headed by O. Kniazka and Yu. Haras was founded. The residents of Nyzhni Stanivtsi also joined the renovation of the Ruska Besida Reading Hall activities. On December 9, in Vashkivtsi in Dolishnii Kut, the Ruska Besida Reading Hall activities were resumed and the preparation of the choir for the Christmas began⁴². The meeting where its participants discussed the issue of the illegal sale of the society's property and its return was held in Verenchanka on December 16⁴³. The meetings of the Ruska Besida Reading Hall societies were held in Kalynivtsi, where Count Martin Della Scala became the chairman, and in Maliatyntsi (chairman S. Nastyuk) on December 16⁴⁴. The Ruska Besida Reading Hall developed its organizational activities in Orshivtsi in January 1929. Members of the Ruska Besida Reading Hall also showed some activities in Karapchiv, and members of the society in Kitsman arranged the performance on February 10, 1929, in order to raise funds to help the Bessarabians⁴⁵. The activities of cultural and educational societies improved and amateur theater groups engaged in theatrical performance were organized during the first half of 1929⁴⁶. The M. Lysenko Ukrainka Besida Reading Hall society where L. Ivasiuk was elected the chairperson, and representatives of Zaporizhzhia and Chornomore student societies took part was established in the meeting in Kalychanka (Chernivtsi) on May 12, as one of the reports in the *Chas* testified⁴⁷.

UKRAINIANS' REPRESENTATIVES IN THE PARLIAMENT

The election of the Ukrainian representative to the Romanian Parliament was another important issue in October – November 1928 for the Ukrainians of Bukovyna. As the *Chas* noted in one of the articles, the national-tserenists promised civil liberties, free elections and ensuring the rights of national minorities, which made it impossible for the national minorities to oppose the NPP government at this stage and increased the desire to send as many representatives of Ukrainians to parliament as possible⁴⁸. At the same time, opinions were also expressed about the

⁴² “З Читальняного руху”, 4 грудня. Ч. 54, 1928, р. 3; 6 грудня. Ч. 56, 1928, р. 3; 14 грудня. Ч. 62, 1928, р. 3.

⁴³ “З читальняного руху”, 20 грудня. Ч. 67, 1928, р. 3.

⁴⁴ “З читальняного руху”, 29 грудня. Ч. 72, 1928, р. 3.

⁴⁵ “За рідною школою!”, 5 лютого. Ч. 101, 1929, р. 1; “Загальні збори Читальні в Карапчеві н. Чер.”, 7 лютого. Ч. 103, 1929, р. 2; “Аматорське представлення в Кіцмані”, 7 лютого. Ч. 103, 1929, р. 2.

⁴⁶ “Селянство оживає”, 18 квітня. Ч. 160, 1929, р. 3; “Аматорське представлення в Шишківцях”, 13 червня. Ч. 203, 1929, р. 3; “Садагурський Читальня й аматорський кружок у Садагурі”, 4 липня. Ч. 220, 1929, р. 3; “Представлення і вечериці”, 4 липня. Ч. 220, 1929, р. 3; “Аматорське представлення в Ленківцях”, 4 липня. Ч. 220, 1929, р. 3.

⁴⁷ “Загальні збори читальні на Калічанці”, 17 травня. Ч. 181, 1929, р. 3.

⁴⁸ “Виборчі торги”, 18 падолиста. Ч. 41, 1928, р. 1.

need to combine efforts in cultural activities and ensure the rights of Ukrainians in order to raise their position within the state to the level of Hungarians, Germans and Jews⁴⁹. And finally, the need for the participation of national minorities in the political life of the country was also recognized in the speeches of V. Brătianu, the National Liberals leader, although certain difficulties were recognized, especially in the perception of Romanians in regions with national minorities⁵⁰.

Candidates for representatives of the national minorities of Bukovyna were determined on November 23. Thus, candidate V. Zalozetskyi was proposed from the Ukrainian National Party. It should be pointed out that the UNP was going to win three mandates at the beginning and take part in the elections with its own list of candidates. This intention can be explained by the fact that C. Cracalia, H. Andriyashchuk and G. Humeniuk planned to participate in the elections from the Bukovynian organization of the National Peasant Party. The coalition with the government of the social democrats promised the possibility of also V. Rusnak and I. Pistiner to participate in the elections representing Bukovyna. A. Lebouton was supposed to run from the Germans of Bukovyna, and M. Ebner – from the Jews. In addition to A. Lebouton, R. Brandsh and H. O. Roth from Transylvania intended to run for Romanian Germans. The movement of national minorities of the region also made the Russian representatives to attempt obtaining the mandate, which was discussed by G. Kozak at the audience with T. Sauchuk-Sevianu, the Minister of Bukovyna⁵¹. The message about the refusal of the Ukrainians from the UNP for the election mandate, which they perceived as an insult from the National Peasant Party and reminded of the party's obligations taken at the meeting in Alba Iulia should have caused certain panic and protest mood among the Bukovyna Ukrainians. But, at the same time, a promise that the Ukrainian people would not be thrown out of balance was made. It is true, that the information about Ukrainian candidates from other parties was not perceived too optimistically, since it was about representatives on the NPP list⁵². Finally, the agreement was signed between the NPP and the UNP on November 27, 1928, thanks to which V. Zalozetskyi received a mandate to participate in elections to the Senate in the Storozhynets district. It should be pointed out that the commentary on this event stated that the Ukrainians were entitled to 7 mandates, but had only three due to lack of cohesion⁵³. V. Zalozetskyi's campaign trips around the Storozhynets district were to take place from November 27 through December 6. They were mostly important for candidate's presentation in villages during the first days, while the meetings in

⁴⁹ І. Щербанович, "Уздоровлення нашого суспільного життя", 20 падолиста. Ч. 42, 1928, р. 1.

⁵⁰ "D. Vintila Brătianu la Cluj", în "Universul", nr. 282, 3 decembrie 1928, p. 9.

⁵¹ "Передвиборчий рух", 23 падолиста. Ч. 45, 1928, р. 2; „І «русскі» хочуть мандату”, 23 падолиста. Ч. 45, 1928, р. 2; "Німці в союзі з правительством", 24 падолиста. Ч. 46, 1928, р. 3.

⁵² "ля українців нема мандату!", 25 падолиста. Ч. 47, 1928, р. 1; "Зєдинена нац.-цараністична, ціоністська, німецька і соціялістична ліста", 25 падолиста Ч. 47, 1928, р. 1.

⁵³ "Українці здобули мандат", 28 падолиста. Ч. 49, 1928, р. 1.

Storozhynets, Hlyboka and Kamenka were to be held on December 6⁵⁴. “Complete introduction of Ukrainian as the teaching language in public schools” remained the main demand for Ukrainians at the pre-election meetings⁵⁵. The newspaper report on the election campaign in Vylavche, drew attention to the speech delivered by Dr. Russu, who noted the lack of rights that both Ukrainians and Romanians were subjected to, and the speech of teacher Yu. Shlemko, who explained the essence of the resolutions adopted in Alba Iuliia and noted that “in the interests of the Romanian state, that culture flourishes in it, and culture can flourish only while using the native tongue”. After all, the decision of the meeting was about the introduction of Ukrainian in the schools of Ukrainian communities, even on the eve of the elections, citing Article 7 of the law on schools⁵⁶.

We can compile comments on electoral activity in Chernivtsi based on publications in newspapers in Romanian. It concerned the situation in the social democratic organization, where G. Grigorovici gave way to the leadership of I. Pistiner, which marked the beginning of the organization destruction. The weakening of the Bukovynian social democracy was observed in the voting for it by wealthy voters who did not belong to the workers. It was also reproached that Jew I. Pistiner led the bourgeois Jews to the parliament⁵⁷. Much attention was paid to the intentions of the Bukovyna Ukrainians, where they talked about the participation of Ukrainians in the campaign of the worker-peasant bloc. It was not only about the doctrine of the state, but also about the rights of national minorities, because the communists promised in the electoral leaflets the use of languages of national minorities in courts and schools. The author, signed as P.L., singled out the demands of the Ukrainians, which were included in the well-known brochure by V. Dutchak under the title *Anteproiectul de lege asupra drepturilor minoritare din România*. The issue of the Ukrainian language as the language of teaching at school, the use of the language in justice was discussed in it, and the cities that were the zone of “Ruthenian agitation” were mentioned: Adyncata, Vyzhnytsia, Vashkivtsi, Zastavna, Storozhynets, Kitsman. At the same time, Ukrainians were accused of calling for the establishment of West Ukraine and voting for the worker-peasant bloc⁵⁸.

The criticism was also directed at the activities of the Ukrainian section of the social democracy, which was accused of taking the nationalist position, of propagating the Ukrainian language through the *Borotba* (Struggle) newspaper and of chauvinism⁵⁹. Besides, there was a constant conviction in the struggle between

⁵⁴ “Передвиборчі віча”, 30 падолиста. Ч. 51, 1928, р. 2.

⁵⁵ “На віча!”, 1 грудня. Ч. 52, 1928, р. 1.

⁵⁶ “Голос народа перед виборами”, 6 грудня. Ч. 56, 1928, р. 2.

⁵⁷ P. L., “Guvernul și cartelul cu socialiștii la Cernăuți”, în “Universul”, nr. 280, 1 decembrie 1928, p. 9.

⁵⁸ Idem, “Campania anarhică din Bucovina”, în “Universul”, nr. 288, 10 decembrie 1928, p. 11.

⁵⁹ Idem, „Guvernul și cartelul electoral cu socialiștii”, în “Universul”, nr. 282, 3 decembrie 1928, p. 10.

the social democrats and communists, which became possible after G. Grigorovici left the leadership and the workers left the organization. Communists accused them of that there were no Romanians on their electoral list, and that there was the Jew among the Ukrainian candidates⁶⁰. In general, those Ukrainians who expressed hostile feelings towards the Romanian state (iredentists) were seen among communists. The counting of votes cast for these leftists during previous elections allowed the correspondent of *Universul* to call Chernivtsi and Storozhynets occupied the fifth and seventh among the communist centers of the country, and a number of communities populated with Ukrainians were presented as communist centers⁶¹. One more publication stressed on the attitude of Bukovyna socialists towards Romanians, commenting on the meeting in Chernivtsi, where I. Pistiner emphasized the need to implement the socialist program. D. Roznovanu, another speaker, considered it necessary to promote propaganda not only in the cities and towns, but also in the countryside, and advocated the need to elect representatives of minorities “with advanced ideas” to the parliament. The description of another gathering in Adyncata was presented as the example of propaganda, as they recalled the decisions that required the abolition of Romanian schools in the region with mixed population and establishment of Ukrainian ones, where Romanian would be taught as a subject. This remark was also made because the Romanians were treated as the national minority⁶².

Finally, the attention of the communists to the national issue in Romania was also connected with 1928. The resolution on this issue was adopted by the IV Congress of the Communist Party of Romania and it was based on the thesis of “self-determination of all nationalities to separation”⁶³. The resolution spoke about the liberation of Bessarabia and its accession to the Moldavian ASSR. In the case of Ukrainians of Bukovyna, they noted the need for unity in the actions of the working masses of Bukovyna and Soviet Ukraine. The CPR had to prove using the propaganda among peasants and workers of all nationalities that the common struggle of the working people led to complete national and social and economic liberation⁶⁴.

The founding of the “Liberation” party of Ukrainian workers in Romania on February 17, 1929, was one of the manifestations of regime weakening, and in fact a change in the tactics of the communists. Reports in the Ukrainian newspapers of the region indicated that it was founded by the group of Ukrainian social democrats who broke away from the Social Democratic Party of Romania. The reason for that publication was the need to dissociate themselves from the Social Democrats, who were called servants of the bourgeoisie and the Communists⁶⁵.

⁶⁰ Idem, “Mișcarea comunistă din Bucovina”, în “Universul”, nr. 286, 8 decembrie 1928, p. 9.

⁶¹ Idem, “Acțiunea comunistă în Bucovina”, în “Universul”, nr. 296, 20 decembrie 1928, p. 8.

⁶² “Propaganda antiromânească din Bucovina”, în “Universul”, nr. 273, 23 noiembrie 1928, p. 6.

⁶³ Vezi “Rezoluția în chestiunea națională”, în *Documente din istoria Partidului Comunist din România*, vol. II, 1923–1928, București, Editura pentru Literatură Politică, 1953, p. 593.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 593–595.

⁶⁵ “Партія українських працюючих Ромунії «Визволення»”, 13 марта. Ч. 132, 1929, p. 3.

It is also worth mentioning that the I. Maniu government participating in the parliamentary elections, tried to find allies among the German population of the country. For example, the demand for the introduction of German in administration and justice was made at the meeting of the Ardeal Saxons in Sibiu on September 23, 1928, as well as a review of the results of the agrarian reform. The result of the meeting was the promotion of R. Brandsch (the third on the government list) from Ardeal on the list of the National Peasant Party to the parliament and demands to the government on language and agrarian issues. R. Brandsch himself was interpreted in the press as the candidate who promised the return of the expropriated from the Saxons lands, which were called in the newspapers as unmotivated desires of the Saxons⁶⁶.

ACTIVITY OUTCOMES

Finally, the Ukrainians of Bukovyna and Bessarabia continued to advocate the introduction of the Ukrainian language in schools in December 1928. They were critical of the population of communities near Chernivtsi, who were not in a hurry to speak Ukrainian at school. Statements of criticism were made against the communities of Stara Zhuchka, Nova Zhuchka, Raranche, Toporivtsi, Chornivka, Dobrynivtsi. The appeal to the communities was based on the explanation that teaching in the native language turns students into illiterates. The communities of the villages of Doroshivtsi, Bila, Sloboda Banyliv, Zeleniv, Vaslovivtsi, Verbivtsi were examples⁶⁷. The Ukrainians of Bukovyna were called to vote for the Ukrainian National Party representative on the eve of the elections, since the UNP advocated the introduction of law in the country, changing the electoral law, returning national minorities their rights in education, administration and the church, revising the results of the agrarian reform⁶⁸.

In early 1929, the decision to introduce the Ukrainian language was made in 103 Ukrainian villages of Bukovyna. The number of signatures under the requests reached 10 thousand. Consideration of the decision content, as well as the publication of the column, took place in February 1929, because the results of the implementation or non-execution of decisions and the adoption of new ones were noted there⁶⁹.

The situation with schools for Ukrainians in Romania remained unresolved by December 1929. At least, Minister of Education Costăchescu responded to deputies' requests that Ukrainians want to have the state language as a language of study and be able to learn Ukrainian using it. At the same time, he argued that that wish had been partially resolved, but the campaigns in the villages were hindering

⁶⁶ "Pactul guvernului cu saşii", în "Universul", nr. 290, 13 decembrie 1928, p. 5.

⁶⁷ "За рідною школою! (за тиждень)", 6 грудня. Ч. 56, 1928, p. 1.

⁶⁸ "Поклик до українського народу перед виборами", 8 грудня. Ч. 57, 1928, p. 1.

⁶⁹ "За рідною школою!", 5 лютого. Ч. 101, 1929, p. 1; 9 лютого. Ч. 105, 1929, p. 1; 12 лютого. Ч. 108, 1929; 14 лютого. Ч. 109, 1929, p. 1.

the solution of the issue. MP C. Cracalia request on this issue recorded the availability of decisions on 199 communities and the presence of 30 thousand signatures for the introduction of the Ukrainian language. He also asked about the actions of school auditors Klein, Paladian and Ilica, who were trying to get the signatures from the peasants on teaching using the state language. The MP said that the Ukrainian population will not stop the struggle for their own rights in the school issue⁷⁰.

However, the beginning of the new academic year in September 1929 gave Ukrainians grounds to assert that it was “lost” because the government failed to fulfill its promise. The reason given was the tottering of Ukrainians from one Romanian party to another, which did not allow them to reckon with the Ukrainians. The option of opening private schools was also unacceptable, since the population of the region, including Ukrainian peasants, already supported schools⁷¹. The delegation of Ukrainians, headed by C. Cracalia, had an audience with the head of government on September 19, which was negatively received by the capital’s press. According to C. Cracalia, I. Maniu recognized the correctness of the Ukrainian delegates requests, but at the same time, in the conversation between the Minister of Education and the Minister of Bukovyna, the government recognized the possibility of opening Ukrainian schools in 139 communities, while the rest of the requests were not going to be analyzed. Besides, it was noted that I. Maniu promised to introduce teaching in Ukrainian at the elementary school by the new year. Teaching in Ukrainian in agricultural and industrial schools was to be added to primary schools⁷².

Representatives of the Ukrainian National Party were able to vote on the decision only in mid-January. Thus, the Ukrainians of Bukovyna were informed about the decision of the Ministry of Education and Cults under No. 184822 on the introduction of 8 hours of teaching in Ukrainian in the first two classes of the school, and 6 hours – in the subsequent ones. Classes on religious studies were also included here. It was necessary to calculate teaching hours. Dr. A. Zhukovskiy, following V. Simovych, wrote that the implementation of the ministerial decision began in December 1931⁷³.

The activities on introducing the Ukrainian language in primary schools continued till that time. The materials in the *Chas* advised to submit copies of the minutes on the introduction of Ukrainian as the language of teaching in primary schools to Senator V. Zalozetskyi as of early January 1929⁷⁴. The speech of the

⁷⁰ “Справа української школи в парламенті”, 28 грудня. Ч. 365, 1929, р. 1.

⁷¹ “Український народ остав знов без своєї школи”, 19 вересня. Ч. 285, 1929, р. 1.

⁷² “Укр. делегація у президента міністрів домагається укр. Школи”, 21 вересня. Ч. 287, 1929, р. 1; “Справа української школи”, 26 вересня. Ч. 291, 1929, р. 2.

⁷³ “За рідною школою! Не ридай а добувай”, 3 січня Ч. 75, 1929, р. 1; “Міністерським розпорядком ч. 184.822 запроваджено 6 годин української мови”, 16 січня. Ч. 379, 1930, р. 1; Квітковський Д. Буковина – її минуле і сучасне: Репринт. вид., 1956; Д. Квітковський, Т. Бриндзан, А. Жуковський, Чернівці, Друк Арт, 2019, pp. 369, 675.

⁷⁴ “За рідною школою! Не ридай а добувай”, 3 січня Ч. 75, 1929, р. 1.

latter in the Senate on the issue of the Ukrainian language was published for Ukrainian readers. Thus, the speech noted the attitude of the authorities towards Ukrainians in the first post-war decade and the results of education in Romanian: analphabetism of children and the threat of a revolutionary movement in the region. V. Zalozetskyi called I. Maniu's promise to return the opportunity to study in the native language to the Ukrainians of the region as the reason for the decrease in the votes cast by Ukrainians for the left during the elections. V. Zalozetskyi noted in this speech that the national consciousness of Ukrainians did not pose a threat to Romania. Bukovyna was supposed to become the center for training intellectuals for the future non-Bolshevik Ukraine. The senator also noted that "if anti-Bolshevik Ukraine had arisen, then, apparently, it would not create Alsace-Lorraine from poor northern Bukovyna, as Petlyura's Ukraine did not do that". V. Zalozetskyi called his election as a senator the proof of the loyalty of the Ukrainian people. He called the return of schools to Ukrainians a guarantee of creating the union of the Ukrainian and Romanian peoples⁷⁵. Later, MP Baniay addressed a request to Minister of Education Costăchescu regarding schools for national minorities, and the response mentioned that it had been impossible to make changes to the curriculum during the academic year and promised to resolve the issue⁷⁶.

The issue of education in the national minority native language became the topic of discussion, which made P. Șeicaru publish the article on state policy towards national minorities in November 1928. In general, G. Popp's statements, which were seen as contrary to the interests of the state, were subject to criticism. Thus, the introduction of the minority language had to take place in the educational process in primary, secondary and higher education. He considered it possible to carry out all teaching exclusively in the language of the minority in schools for national minorities. P. Șeicaru considered such statements to be a violation of both the peace treaties and the constitution and the agreement with the Hungarians of November 6, 1925. There was a clause on the opening of elementary or secondary schools at churches in the provisions of this agreement. The school protector had the right to set the language of instruction, but the Romanian language was obligatory, and geography and history had also to be studied in Romanian, so, if necessary, the student could express his/her opinion in Romanian both orally and in writing⁷⁷.

The end of the 1928–1929 academic year without teaching in Ukrainian in elementary school was perceived in the *Chas* as diversion of the decision for the unknown period of time. The decision delay was explained by the relevant orders, which they considered necessary to cancel⁷⁸. The situation with teaching at the university was also criticized in the same issue of the newspaper, when the teacher

⁷⁵ "Промова д-ра В.Залозецького в сенаті", 3 січня. Ч. 75, 1929, р. 1.

⁷⁶ "Цікаві заяви міністра освіти в камері в справі шкіль національних меншин", 20 квітня. Ч. 162, 1929, р. 1.

⁷⁷ P. Șeicaru, "Politica noastră față de minorități", în "Universul", nr. 270 bis, 20 noiembrie 1928, р. 1.

⁷⁸ С. Ю., "Буде українська школа?", 18 червня. Ч. 207, 1929, р. 1.

accused the students of their Ukrainian origin in various ways⁷⁹. This fact became the subject of one of G. Andriyashchuk's statements in the parliament, which he addressed to the Minister of education⁸⁰. At the same time, attention was paid to those who oppose the introduction of Ukrainian as the language of teaching, and representatives of the National Liberal Party turned out to be guilty quite often⁸¹.

The statements of officials regarding the requirements to use Ukrainian as the language for teaching as the actions of irresponsible elements were also criticized⁸².

By the middle of 1929, the issue of the Ukrainian language at school was again being discussed by Romanian newspapers. At the level of Bukovyna, the Ukrainian *Chas* was made to respond primarily to publications in the "Glasul Bucovinei", as well as in the capital newspaper "Curentul". The Ukrainian media noted the need to keep the promises of the national tserenists and paid attention to the reaction of the mentioned newspapers, which wrote about the oppression of the Romanians in those regions where the majority of population was Ukrainian. The reason was the position of Ukrainians, who considered inappropriate to teach in Romanian in the lyceums in Klishkivtsi, Lipcani, Kitsman, Vashkivtsi, Vyzhnytsia. There were also accusations in the failure of the Romanian language dissemination by the Ukrainian media⁸³.

V. Zalozetskyi's speeches in parliament in favor of introducing the Ukrainian language of instruction also caused a negative response among the Romanian politicians of the region. The result was a rather extensive article in the "Glasul Bucovinei", which criticized the senator's actions, interpreted the Slavic population of the north of Bukovyna as Ruthenian. The author of the article reminded readers that V. Zalozetskyi was the son of the Romanian woman (Sofia Pitey) and the Ruthenian from Galicia (V. Zalozetskyi-senior, surgeon) and was the Ruthenian more externally than really. At the same time, it was mentioned that in 1902–1903 academic year, the eighth grade student of the gymnasium received "enough" for knowledge of the Ruthenian language, and the note of the class teacher in the register pointed at V. Zalozetskyi's ignorance of this language. Apparently, the author knew the contents of the archives well, but somewhat incorrectly interpreted the concept of "Ruthenian". The purpose of the article was to accuse V. Zalozetskyi and C. Cracalia of inciting peasants against the church administration in the unification of the church calendar, as well as the incitement against the education authorities⁸⁴.

The press also raised issues of the situation of Ukrainians in Maramureș, Dobrugea, and tasks for Ukrainian youth to participate in educational activities were

⁷⁹ "Як учити хемію на черновецькому університеті", 18 червня. Ч. 207, 1929, р. 1.

⁸⁰ "Тракування укр. студентів на черн. університеті перед парламентом", 29 червня. Ч. 217, 1929, р. 1.

⁸¹ С. Ю., "Проти української школи", 28 червня. Ч. 216, 1929, р. 1.

⁸² Idem, "Проти української школи", 28 червня. Ч. 216, 1929, р. 1.

⁸³ "Пильнуй свого носа, а не чужого проса!", 10 липня. Ч. 225, 1929, р. 2.

⁸⁴ "Îndrăzneala senatorului Zalozețchi", în "Glasul Bucovinei", nr. 123, 25 decembrie 1929, р. 4; „Державний архів Чернівецької області”, Ф. 228. Оп.3. Спр. 60. Арк. 34.

set⁸⁵. In April 1929, the *Chas* published the article qualifying the situation with the delay in the introduction of Ukrainian as the language of teaching with the intention of eliminating the Ukrainian population in Bukovyna. The article stressed on the fairness of the Ukrainian population, the intentions of the liberal authorities to liquidate the Ukrainian intelligentsia, to eliminate Ukrainian priests from Ukrainian villages⁸⁶. The latter was submitted in conjunction with the issue of the Easter celebration and campaigning on this occasion⁸⁷. The national liberals were also accused of such things⁸⁸. At the same time, the publications of national liberals in the media where they were accused of terror against Romanians, in particular, threats against teachers and priests were also referred to⁸⁹. The *Chas* mentioned in one of its March issues the transfer of teaching in educational institutions in the northern part of Bukovyna to Romanian, the beginning of public council meetings and their decisions on “establishing a native school”. Criticism was directed at the statements of the Minister of education about the insufficiency of such decisions, but it was necessary to provide personal requests from parents. The article recognized such acts as the second step in the struggle for school, which was called the school plebiscite. The actual task of this stage was the submission of the said statements. Those statements were distributed by the members of parliament to the villages for signing by citizens and approval of signatures with the seals of local mayors. In order to control actions, the authorities advised to sign two copies of the statement, one of which was to be sent to the ministry, while the other went to the MP⁹⁰.

The article by A. Kyryliv in the *Chas*, where the first lines concerned the statement that Ukrainians were most offended among national minorities was the manifestation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia's perception of the governmental policy towards national minorities. The article noted the rights of national minorities guaranteed by international treaties. It contained information about the steps of national minorities who were forced to leave the country. The Ukrainians made the largest number of them⁹¹. The author also discussed the topic of introducing the Ukrainian language of teaching and coordinating this issue in the parliament. A. Kyryliv called the absence of the school for Ukrainians in Romania a disgrace and expressed the opinion on the need to control compliance with the legislation of the issue of national minorities⁹². A. Kyryliv made a factual statement that “the Ukrainians of Bukovyna and Bessarabia are the structural element” at the end of

⁸⁵ “Що є з українцями в Добруджі?”, 5 лютого. Ч. 101, 1929, р. 1.

⁸⁶ С. Ю., “Пляни на знищення українського народу на Буковині”, 28 квітня. Ч. 168, 1929, р. 1.

⁸⁷ “Ще про Великдень на 5 мая ц.р.”, 30 квітня. Ч. 169, 1929, р. 1.

⁸⁸ “Справа календаря в Сенаті. Міністер Савчук-Савяну каже, що ліберали підбурювали народ”, 4 травня. Ч. 172, 1929, р. 1.

⁸⁹ “Говорять з горячки”, 17 марта. Ч. 136, 1929, р. 1.

⁹⁰ “За навчання в рідній мові. Дальший крок і шкільний плебісцит”, 21 марта. Ч. 139, 1929, р. 1.

⁹¹ Др. Антін Кирилів, “Загальне положення українців в Ромунії, 21 вересня. Ч. 287, 1929, р. 2.

⁹² Idem, “Загальне положення українців в Ромунії (прод.)”, 22 вересня. Ч. 288, 1929, р. 2.

this long article and wished the cultural and economic development of the country, but tried to find out the reasons for the persecution of Ukrainians in Romania⁹³.

In the late 1929, the Ukrainian press, summing up the activities of the I. Maniu government, paid enough attention to the abolition of the state of siege as the improvement of the situation for Ukrainians. But the Ukrainians remained in the position of criticism, recognizing the promises from Alba Iulia only as slogans on the issue of introducing the use of Ukrainian in schools and churches. The issue of the Ukrainian language at school, and in fact the issue of the Ukrainian school, became a requirement to the authorities during the celebration of the government anniversary on the eve of the county elections⁹⁴.

If there was a message about the introduction of a certain number of hours of teaching Ukrainian in January 1930, the lack of implementation of this order caused constant complaints about the government from the Ukrainian politicians. The article was published in the *Chas* in August 1930 that criticized the improper organization of the Ukrainian language teaching and the requirement to fill out declarations on the language introduction, which had to be done by the parents of the students in the director's and teacher's presence. It was also noted that declarations must be submitted for every student for the new academic year (1930–1931). But since the high cost of the fiscal stamp was determined, an opinion was expressed about the attempt to make it impossible to introduce the learning of Ukrainian. This situation made V. S. Zalozetskyi, the senator from Storozhynets county, to apply to Director of the 2nd ministerial directorate N. Sauciuc-Săveanu⁹⁵.

However, the year of 1931 left the issue of education in native language as the element of mandatory activity of the Ukrainian representatives in the parliament. The Zaporozhe student society arranged the courses on the study of Ukrainian in January 1931⁹⁶. Opinions about the fulfillment of the promises made by the national-peasants in due time in Alba Iulia, as they wrote about the organization of national minorities in order to achieve constitutionally guaranteed rights, were also expressed in the press. The statements about the desire to have their own national parties and resist Romanization were made and they referred to the statements of representatives of Romanian political organizations in this area. G. Andriyashchuk and C. Cracalia were also accused of not keeping promises⁹⁷. The order of the Ministry of education and cults No. 150137 was issued in October 1931, and based on it, senator D. Mayer-Mikhalskyi filed a complaint in November 1931 on the

⁹³ Idem, “Загальне положення українців в Румунії (прод.)”, 24 вересня. Ч. 289, 1929, р. 2.

⁹⁴ “Один рік націонал-цараністичного правління”, 10 листопада. Ч. 329, 1929, р. 2; “Свято річниці націонал-цараністичногуправительства”, 13 листопада. Ч. 330, 1929, р. 1.

⁹⁵ “Новий замах проти української мови у школах. Час. Незалежний часопис”, 28 серпня. Ч. 557 (селянське 100), 1930, р. 1.

⁹⁶ “Безплатні курси української мови. Час. Незалежний часопис”, 31 січня. Ч. 682, 1931, р. 3.

⁹⁷ “Українці, Альба Юлія і Чернівці. Час. Незалежний часопис”, 7 лютого. Ч. 688, 1931, рр. 1–2; “На гак з тим, що жадають української школи! Час. Незалежний часопис”, 13 марта. Ч. 717, 1931, р. 1.

introduction of the Ukrainian Language as a subject into the analytical program and received the answer about the obligation to resolve issues for schools in Chernivtsi, Storozhynets, Rădăuți and Câmpulung counties. In fact, the mentioned order was a repetition of ministerial order No. 184822 of 1929.⁹⁸

Senator D. Mayer-Mikhalskyi announced his intention to vote against the Speech from the Throne during its discussion on December 4, 1931, since no demands were resolved in the issue of the Ukrainian case⁹⁹. He drew attention to the issues of agrarian reform in Bukovyna, and the provision of loans to Ukrainian banking institutions in his speech. Along with these economic issues, questions of cultural and educational activities were also raised. It was about the need to preserve Ruska Besida Reading Halls under the pretext of accusations of “irredenta”, but in fact of the activities of a hostile state. The activities in the field of primary school education were called unconstitutional. It was said about granting the right to teach in Ukrainian and non-execution (due to the lack of qualified teachers) or lack of control over the execution of the decision. The same situation was in jurisprudence and administrative matters from the point of view of senator¹⁰⁰. In December 1931, the representatives of the Akkerman county requested the Ukrainians of Bukovyna to help in the educational field, primarily in teaching Ukrainian¹⁰¹. However, it was possible to carry out such activities mainly at the public level. MP V. Zalozetskyi when discussing the answer to the Speech from the Throne (Mesajul Regal) in December 1935, admitted that the teaching of Ukrainian at school had not been officially introduced, as well as there had been a restriction on the activities of Reading Halls¹⁰².

Summing up the above, we would like to note the following. The coming to power of the national-peasant government under the leadership of I. Maniu contributed to the development of the activities of the political leaders of the Ukrainian society of Bukovyna for cooperation in order to achieve the rights guaranteed by the treaties. In 1928, such cooperation was carried out in the areas of introducing the Ukrainian language in elementary schools, resuming the activities of the branches of the Ruska Besida Reading Hall cultural and educational society in the villages of northern Bukovyna, obtaining a seat in the parliament for the independent Ukrainian representative. Despite the widespread propaganda campaign and the ministerial decision adopted in 1929 to introduce Ukrainian as

⁹⁸ „Справа навчання української мови в народніх школах. Час. Незалежний часопис”, 11 жовтня. Ч. 890, 1931, р. 1.

⁹⁹ “Сенатор др. Денис Маср-Михальський говорить до месажу. Час. Незалежний часопис”, 8 грудня. Ч. 938, 1931, р. 1.

¹⁰⁰ “Домагання українців на Буковині. Час. Незалежний часопис”, 10 грудня. Ч. 940, 1931, р. 1.

¹⁰¹ Инж. Гетьманченко В., “Не відмежовуйтесь. Час. Незалежний часопис”, 18 грудня. Ч. 947, 1931, р. 1.

¹⁰² “Кривда й домагання українців перед парламентом. Час. Незалежний часопис”, 24 грудня. Ч. 2043, 1935, р. 2.

the language of instruction in educational institutions, this issue had to be resolved in the form of vacation courses. A number of branches of the Ruska Besida Reading Hall society had also been restored and had launched cultural activities. The election of V.-S. Zalozetskyi as a senator on the list of the National-Peasant Party from Storozhynets county created opportunities not only for the activities of the representative of the Ukrainian National Party in this parliamentary term, but also for the election of this party representatives to parliament in subsequent parliamentary elections, which created the opportunity for raising important issues for Romanian Ukrainians in the parliament in the 1930s.

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