

## BUKOVINA AND ITS INHABITANTS DURING THE GREAT WAR

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**Abstract.** A component part of the Romanian State's individuality, Bukovina was at the beginning of the Great War, due to its special geopolitical position, in the centre of the interests of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Russian Empire, and German Empire and naturally, of the legitimate interests of the Kingdom of Romania. The very diverse ethnic and confessional structure of Bukovina (Romanians, Ukrainians, Jews, Germans, Poles, Hungarians etc.) sustained different interests and preoccupations of its inhabitants during the war. As regards the loyalty towards the Danube Monarchy, we mention the attitude of the Germans and Jews, the Ukrainians acting for the creation of an independent state, whereas the Romanians were put in a delicate position, given the suspicions manifested by the Austrian authorities towards them. The Poles enlisted as volunteers in the Legions created by Jozef Pilsudski, fighting for the creation of an own state. Bukovina was three times under the occupation of the Tsarist troops (September /October 1914, 26th of November 1914, 23rd of January 1915 and June 1916), period during which it was subject to hostilities specific to an occupational regime. After the entry of the Kingdom of România into the war (14th of August 1916), the Romanian soldiers, enlisted in the Austro-Hungarian army, were sent to fight on the Italian front. A War Council, conducted by the General Eduard Fischer, was empowered to apply capital punishment to all the persons who committed grave offences, such as espionage or treason. The persons suspected to be able of treason or hostility towards the Habsburg authorities were confined in the detention camps from Thalerof (Styria), Munkacs (Hungary) and Olmütz (Moravia). The volunteers enlisted in the so-called „Bukovina Legion”. The fate of those who remained at home (women, children and old persons) was under the sign of suspicion manifested by the Austro-Hungarian authorities as regards their loyalty towards the two-headed monarchy. Our paper develops and studies in detail, based on documents, Bukovina's evolution during the Great War.

**Keywords:** Bukovina, Great War, 1914-1918, Austro-Hungarian Empire, German Empire, „Bukovina Legion”

Bukovina, as part of the Romanian State national being, was subject to important ethnic-social, political, confessional, educational and spiritual metamorphoses during the 144 years of Austrian administration. The ethnic-demographic policy of the Austrian authorities changed the ethnic and linguistic composition of Bukovina, a space where 12 nations co-inhabited, sharing 10

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different confessions. The contribution of each of these ethnic communities at the economic, cultural and spiritual progress of this Province represented a remarkable fact, strengthening - justifiably - Bukovina's renown of "bridge between Orient and Occident" and reflecting cultural and spiritual influences between the Eastern and Western of Europe<sup>1</sup>. During the second half of the 19th Century, we assist at the coagulation of the national conscience for the ethnical communities of Bukovina, by means of manifestations of their specific identity - without major conflicts or tensions. The European revolution of 1848-1849, the political crisis, forerunning the instauration of Austro-Hungarian dualism, and, later on, the outbreak of the First World War, brought into discussion the viability of the Danube Monarchy's formula, a multinational and multi-confessional construction. The identification of surviving variants for the Austrian-Hungarian Empire represented an extremely difficult mission for the monarchy's ideologists, in the conditions of ascension of nationalisms, as forerunners of the year 1918.

The Great War (1914-1918) brought forward the national interests of the peoples from Central and Southeast Europe, foreshadowing, by means of the amplitude of ethnic-national mutations, the fall of multinational empires. The Romanians, the Italians and the Serbians had national states outside the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, whereas the purpose of the Poles<sup>2</sup>, the Czechs and the Slovaks was to create their own state entities. On the other side, even before the outbreak of the war, the Habsburg authorities made tremendous efforts to persuade the Hungarian and Pan-Germanic nationalists on the necessity to keep the Danube monarchy<sup>3</sup>.

Tensions and rivalries accumulated in time, between the Central Powers and the Entente, fuelled by profound geopolitical and economic interests, were strong enough in order to make out of the Balkan Peninsula "the powder keg" of Europe<sup>4</sup>. The ethnic-national Compromise *Aussgleich* introduced since 1867 could no longer save, within the Cisleithania formula (in Transleithania, which was under Hungary's control, the situation was totally different), at the end of the First World War, the dismemberment of the Danube monarchy<sup>5</sup>.

The assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the inheritor of the Austro-Hungary Crown, on June 28 1914 in the Capital of Bosnia, at Sarajevo<sup>6</sup>, offered the pretext<sup>7</sup> and lit up the sparkle which led to the outbreak of the Great

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<sup>1</sup> Ileana Maria Ratcu, *Teodor Bălan (1885 – 1972), istoric și arhivist al Bucovinei, (Historian and Archivist of Bukowina)*, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House, 2013, p. 27-28.

<sup>2</sup> Piotr S. Wandycz, *Polish Diplomacy 1914-1945. Aims and Achievements*, London, 1988, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cezar Dobre, *1918, Înfrângeri și victorii (Defeats and Victories)*, Bucharest, 2003, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Zorin Zamfir, Jean Banciu, *Primul Război Mondial (First World War)*, Bucharest, 1995, p. 41-42.

<sup>5</sup> Cezar Dobre, *op. cit.*, p.43

<sup>6</sup> Urs Altermatt, *Previzuniile de la Sarajevo. Etnonaționalismul în Europa (Sarajevo Forecast. Ethno-nationalism in Europe)*, Polirom, 2000, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Sextil Pușcariu, *Memorii (Memories)*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1978, p. 6.

War, as called in the western history literature<sup>8</sup>. The Ultimatum issued by the Austro-Hungarian Government against Serbia was rejected by this country, despite the fact that the Serbian Government had accepted 9 out of 10 points of the document, so, unsurprisingly, along the route of this scenario, on July 28, 1914, Austro-Hungary declared war on Serbia<sup>9</sup>. On July 28, 1914, Austro-Hungary proclaimed general mobilization of all its military forces, therefore, in 24 hours, all mobilized men had to join the regiments where they had been enlisted<sup>10</sup>.

On the next day (on August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1914) general mobilization of the Austro-Hungarian army occurred and, during the same day, Germany sent Russia a declaration of war<sup>11</sup>. On August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1914, the German Empire declared war on France and on the following day, it received the declaration of war from England<sup>12</sup>. Though it was the first country that caused war, Austro-Hungary was the last one that declared war on the Russian Empire<sup>13</sup> (August 6, 1914). On August 14, 1914 Austro-Hungary decreed general mobilization, which was put into practice in Bukovina two days later, at the order of the Major Eduard Fischer<sup>14</sup>. On July 28, 1914, Austro-Hungary declared general mobilization of all its military forces, therefore, in 24 hours, all mobilized men had to join the regiments where they had been enlisted. The towns Cernăuți and Rădăuți - writes the historian Teodor Bălan - looked like two large military camps<sup>15</sup>. The Romanians, for example, were enlisted in the regiments 23 and 41 infantry, in the 43 Division<sup>16</sup>, summing up a number of 20,000 militaries, and leaving to war on the 22 (Wednesday, old style)<sup>17</sup> of July, 1914. The *Viată Nouă* (*New Life*) newspaper appeared in Cernăuți in January 1914 and relocated to Suceava beginning with the November 1, December 27, 1914. A number of 30,000 soldiers

<sup>8</sup> John Keegan, *The First World War*, London, 1999, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> N. Vasiloschi, *Amintiri din războiul mondial 1914 - 1918 (Memories from the World War 1914-1918)*, in Ion I Nistor, *Amintiri bucovinene din vremea Unirii (Memories on Bukovina during Unification)*, Iași, Alfa Publishing House, edition and preface by Doina and Liviu Papuc, 2000, p. 275.

<sup>10</sup> Teodor Bălan, *Suprimarea mișcărilor nationaliste pe timpul Primului Război Mondial (1914-1918) (Suppression of Nationalist Movements during the First World War (1914-1918))*, Cernăuți, 1923, p. 52.

<sup>11</sup> Erich Zollner, *Istoria Austriei (History of Austria)*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1997, p. 594.

<sup>12</sup> Jacques Madaule, *Istoria Frantei (History of France)*, vol. 3, Bucharest, 1973, p. 96.

<sup>13</sup> Guy Hermet, *Istoria natiunilor și a nationalismului in Europa (History of Nations and Nationalism in Europe)*, Iași, 1998, p. 218.

<sup>14</sup> Ion I. Nistor, *Unirea Bucovinei 28 noiembrie 1918. Studii și documente (Unification of Bukovina, November 28<sup>th</sup>, 1918, Studies and Documents)*, Bucharest, 1928, p. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Teodor Bălan, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>16</sup> Ion Axani, *Amintiri din războiul mondial (Memories from the World War)*, in Ion I. Nistor, *Amintiri bucovinene din vremea Unirii (Memories on Bukovina during Unification)*, Iași, 2000, p. 18.

<sup>17</sup> Nicolae Coman, *Martiriul Bucovinei (1914-1915) (Martyrdom of Bukovina)*, Bucharest, s.a. p. 18.

had been included in the Austro-Hungarian regiments stationed in Galicia (9 **Dragons**, **Genie** and **Infantry**), 22 Territorial Militia Regiment, 41 **Infantry** Regiment and 9 **Dragons** Regiment. Other few thousands of Romanians were enlisted in the Brigade of infantrymen, which mission was to protect the borders<sup>18</sup>.

The double-headed monarchy's hopes were put in a rapid victory, until the autumn of the year 1914, order, silence and, particularly, internal security, consolidating thus the internal situation<sup>19</sup>. Rapid occupation of Serbia by the Austro-Hungarian troops in 1914 failed. At the same time, the Habsburg authorities took drastic measures regarding the forbidding of the activities of Moscovophile organizations and associations from Bukovina, with predilection from Cernăuți<sup>20</sup>. The reason for these actions, carried on and coordinated by the Gendarmerie from each locality, was to limit the supposedly damaging influences coming from the Russian Empire<sup>21</sup>. The Russian-style press was subject to censorship, being forbidden all those publications that served the Russophile/pan-Slavic interests in the space of Galicia and Bukovina. The clergy was also subject to an intense surveillance, some of them being even arrested for their behaviour and attitudes deemed to be Pro-Russian (the case of the priest Cassian Bohatiret from Vrânceni, Zastavna, of the brothers Alexei and Roman Gierowski, born in Cernăuți, Ilarian Turcanovici, editor at a series of Russophile newspapers from the Capital of the Duchy of Bukovina). The Austrian courts of law drew up against them rich and thoroughly drafted bills of indictment for *high treason*, in accordance with the articles 321 and 327 from the din Austrian Criminal Code<sup>22</sup>. The contents of these articles referred at the fact that a citizen was classified as enemy of the state if he or she had been in any relation with the enemy during war, as a result of which, it appeared an advantage for the adversary and a disadvantage for the homeland, or if he or she had been involved in espionage activities in the benefit of the enemy; death penalty being the punishment in both situations, which was executed, as a rule, by hanging<sup>23</sup>. The trials of the above lasted during the period July 1914 - February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1917, however, the defendants escaped from the death penalty sentence, thus benefiting from the general amnesty pronounced in Austria during the year 1917. On July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1917, these were released from prison<sup>24</sup>.

At the Crown Council which took place in Sinaia (July 21 /August 3, 1914) Romania decided to proclaim neutrality towards the international events<sup>25</sup>, in the

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<sup>18</sup> T. Bălan, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>19</sup> Cezar Dobre, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>20</sup> Teodor Bălan, *op .cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 31.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 36.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p.64.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p.65.

<sup>25</sup> Keith Hitchins, *România 1866-1947 (România 1866-1947)*, Humanitas, 1998, p. 254.

same way as Italy, which took a similar measure<sup>26</sup>. Austro-Hungary - Central Powers counted a lot on Romania's entry into war on their side - was therefore put in front of an accomplished fact. On the day when Austro-Hungary was entering the war, the Romanian language newspapers from Cernăuți displayed false headlines in special editions, on the fact that the Romanian Kingdom had entered into the conflict on Austria's side, the Romanian soldiers from the Regiment 41 Infantry being accompanied towards the railway station with three-coloured flags<sup>27</sup>. The Austrian military authorities counted on the Austrophile feelings of the volunteers with Romanian or Ukrainian nationality<sup>28</sup>.

The formula of neutrality displayed by the Kingdom of Romania was somehow more convenient than a possible association with the Entente, reason for which Ottokar Czernin communicated to the Romanian authorities: "considering the decisions of the Romanian Council of Ministers, the Central Powers find them to correspond to friendly relations and continue considering Romania as their ally. Therefore, we take into account largely the interests of the Romanians and we are expecting with full trust that Romania shall protect Moldova's frontiers and shall reject a possible Russian invasion"<sup>29</sup>. The strategic plan of the Russian Army General Staff foresaw that the North-West Army -made up of three armies with 12 corps, two of which would operate on the North-West of Warsaw - and another army, the fourth one, would go forward, towards Posen and Breslau<sup>30</sup>. Finally, the South-West army, made up of three armies with 12 corps, had the mission to conquer Galicia<sup>31</sup>.

Thus, Galicia became rapidly the operating theatre of the war between the Austro-Hungarian armies and the Tsarist armies, shaping the physiognomy of the East front. In the first days of August 1914, the Austro-Hungarian troops obtained some successes at Kransnik (1<sup>st</sup> Army, under the command of the General Dankl - Austrian army) and at Komarow, with the 4<sup>th</sup> Army, under the command of the General Auffenberg<sup>32</sup>. The first confrontations between the Habsburg army and the Tsarist army occurred on the August 7, 1914 in the locality Noua Sulita,

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<sup>26</sup> Gheorghe Platon (coordinator), *Istoria Românilor. De la independentă la Marea Unire (1878-1918) (History of the Romanians. From the Independence to the Great Union (1878-1918))*, vol. VII Tome II, Bucharest, 2003, p. 403.

<sup>27</sup> Apud Alexandrina Cutui, *Bucovina si Primul Război Mondial. Contributia clerului la război, prizonierii si refugiatii (Bukovina and the First World War. Contribution of the Clergy at the War. Prisoners and Refugees)* in "Analele Bucovinei" (*Bukovina's Annals*), XVII, 2/2010, p. 472.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*. 70,000 heads of cattle were seized in order to be supplied to the army, and also other kinds of assets, which were strictly necessary for the war; a wave of persecutions came upon those suspected from hostile feelings and upon those who were suspected of Russophile affinity.

<sup>29</sup> Gh. Platon, *op.cit.*, p. 406.

<sup>30</sup> Erich Zollner, *op. cit.*, p. 596.

<sup>31</sup> Zorin Zamfir, Jean Banciu, *op. cit.* p. 84- 85.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*.

followed by other battles at Boian, Mahala, Rarancea and Toporăuți<sup>33</sup>. The Austrians concentrated their troops - in order to attack the Russian Empire - at the border with Poland<sup>34</sup>, only the Brigade 35 remaining in the eastern side of Bukovina, which could not resist the Russian offensive, the Russian soldiers entering the territory of the Province on the September 2, 1914<sup>35</sup>. On August 30, 1914 the town Cernăuți was evacuated by the Austrian troops, being occupied by the Tsarist army, commanded by General Pigarevski in the first days of September. Two weeks later, the Russians would occupy Storojinet, soon arriving at the line of Siret<sup>36</sup>. Bukovina was three times occupied by the Tsarist troops (September/October 1914, November 26, 1914 – January 23, 1915 and June 1916), period during which this Province would be subject to difficult transformations specific to an occupation regime. In the Bukovina area, controlled by the Tsarist armies, it was introduced a military administration, doubled by a civil one made up of Russophile persons<sup>37</sup>. Each time, the Austrian troops recovered the territory lost in the hands of the Russians. The corps of the Ukrainian volunteers was crushed by the force of the Russian offensive, and a part of Bukovina's population was evacuated and deported<sup>38</sup>. Among those who were deported by the Russians in Siberia during the first occupation of Bukovina were two Mayors of Cernăuți, the Jewish Salo Weisselberg and the Romanian Nicu Flondor<sup>39</sup>.

During the second Russian occupation, the oppression was initiated by the Russian officers (Ukrainian ethnic) on the Romanians, the portrait of the Tsar Nicolai II was displayed everywhere in the public areas, and Vladimir of Repta, the metropolitan bishop of Bukovina, had to flee to Prague<sup>40</sup>. The Ukrainians, strictly to satisfy their interests, used to collaborate either with the Austrians or with the Russians, taking advantage of the junctures created. At Cernăuți, the newspapers spread the news (obviously false) that Romania had entered into war against Russia (on Austro-Hungary's and Germany's side)<sup>41</sup>. The German historian, Erick Prokopowicz, identifies - as per the analysis made by Ileana Maria Răteu - three types of behaviour /attitude manifested by the Romanians from

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<sup>33</sup> Dragos Vitencu, *Cemăutiul meu (My Cernăuți)*, Suceava, 2008, p. 60.

<sup>34</sup> Michael Lynch, *Reacțiune și revoluție: Rusia 1881-1924 (Reaction and Revolution: Russia 1881-1924)*, Bucharest, 2000, p. 72.

<sup>35</sup> Alexandrina Cutui, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

<sup>36</sup> Paul Leu, *Colegiul National "Ștefan cel Mare". Monografie, Etapa austriacă ("Ștefan cel Mare" National College. Monograph. Austrian Age)*, Suceava, 2000, p. 476.

<sup>37</sup> Florin Pintescu, Daniel Hrenciuc, *Din istoria polonezilor în Bucovina (1774-2002) (On the History of the Poles in Bukovina)*, Suceava, 2002, p. 94.

<sup>38</sup> Alexandrina Cutui, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 473.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 475.

<sup>41</sup> Nicolae Coman, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

Bukovina towards the Russian administration from Bukovina: 1. The Romanians who were in a tight contact with the Tsarist troops, preferring to leave Bukovina together with those; 2. the Romanians who retreated / fled in România, coming back to Bukovina after the retreat of the Russian troops; 3. the Romanians, military and/or civilians who defected from the Austrian army into Romania, where they acted in favour of Daco-Romanism<sup>42</sup>.

Regiment 41 Infantry fought - with huge casualties - at Broscăuți and Rarancea in August 1914. Regiment 9 Dragons was decimated in the fights from Galicia, and 4 squadrons were sent to Germany, due to the shortage of horses. Because of massive losses, the forces of Regiments 22 and 41 were remade more than 20 times<sup>43</sup>.

After the entry of Romania (August 14, 1916) into the war, the armed forces were sent to the East, to fight on the Italian front. The Austrian officers (Lieutenant Radomski from Regiment 22) got seriously involved in proving the Romanians who volunteered in the army and also to their co-nationals the tact that Romania had entered into the war on the side of the Central Powers<sup>44</sup>.

In cases of unfavourable military evolutions, the governor, Count Rudolf von Meran, moved his residence from Cernăuți to Vatra-Dornei and a War Council conducted by General Eduard Fischer empowered him to apply capital punishment to all the persons who committed severe misdemeanours, such as espionage or treason<sup>45</sup>. It was relatively easy to be charged of these accusations, being it necessary only the denunciation made by one person (the case of the priest George Lanivski, from Moldova, near Șipote, county of Vijnita, who was denounced by the pub-owner Eisig Iwanier, because he had manifested pessimism towards the victory of Austria in front of Russia, on the August 26, 1914. Arrested, imprisoned and humiliated at Rădăuți, Vatra Dornei, Gura Humorului and Suceava, the priest George Lanivski was released from prison two weeks later. The priest Dimitrie Topa was subject to the same treatment, groundless accusations, humiliations and calumnies. Other Orthodox priests - Halip from Berhomete on the Prut, Ignatic Caragea from Mămăiești Vechi, near Cernăuți, George Dracinski from Tăuteni, Zastavna, Adrian Andronic from Lucavita, Cristofor Iliut from Fundu-Moldovei, were accused, arrested and eventually released, these being charged only based on calumnious denunciations)<sup>46</sup>.

With the beginning of war and effective start of the military operations, the Austrian authorities introduced a military-type legislation, based on the article 14

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<sup>42</sup> Ileana Măria Rateu, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>43</sup> D. Vatamaniuc, *Voluntarii bucovineni în războiul pentru întregirea țării (Volunteers from Bukovina during the War for the Country 's Unification)*, in „Analele Bucovinei” (*Bukovina s Annals*), Bucharest, I, 1/1994, p. 24.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 43.

<sup>46</sup> T. Bălan, *op. cit.*, p. 66-80.

from the Law of 1867, according to which, if "necessity occurs", the state is entitled to take measures for which the Parliament's agreement is necessary, in a period of time when the latter cannot convene, thus, decrees-laws shall be published under the responsibility of the entire Ministry<sup>47</sup>. In this way, the military authority prevailed against the administrative authority in the entire Austrian state, exceptional measures being adopted.

By means of an imperial decree, the military commanding force was entitled to "have measures taken, have orders launched by those entitled to do this and to insist in their execution"<sup>48</sup>. In accordance with the same decree, some of the citizens' fundamental rights and liberties were suspended<sup>49</sup>. The courts with jury were closed, and a decree-law announced population that, beginning with the July 25, 1914, crimes should be judged by Courts-martial. The police officer or gendarme had the possibility to enter and control the house of an alleged suspect anytime, not being it necessary to get authorization from a judge, as had happened during peace<sup>50</sup>. The internal enemies of Austria came from the inside of the ethnical communities which did not adhere unconditionally at the idea of the Austrian state<sup>51</sup>. The authorities had in their view particularly the persons of Christian- orthodox confessions, suspected to have Russophile feelings<sup>52</sup>. Though suspicions that the Romanians would have certain Russophile feelings existed, no Romanian intellectual or peasant was proven to have or maintain connections with Russophile persons/associations<sup>53</sup>. The gendarmes were in charge with the detection of loyalty, treason or Russophile feelings<sup>54</sup>. The persons suspected of treason, espionage or hostility against the Habsburg authorities were confined in the detention camps from Thalerof (Styria), Munkacs (Hungary) and Olmutz (Moravia)<sup>55</sup>. After the outbreak of the Great War, it was forbidden to cross the border, and, if this was still allowed, the passport had to be endorsed by the Governor of the Country and by the military commanding officer. The border with Moldova was closed<sup>56</sup>. The police offices from Ițcani and Sulita Nouă were subordinated to the military command and the office from Ițcani was called "k.k.

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 42

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 43.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 42

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 48.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 51.

<sup>54</sup> Eugen Salar, *Organizarea si activitățile Jandarmeriei in Bucovina in perioada 1938- 1949 (Organization and Activities of the Gendarmerie in Bukovina, during the period 1938-1949)*, Suceava, 2013, p. 22.

<sup>55</sup> Anghel Popa, *Între fronturi. Bucovineni în România Primului Război Mondial (Between Fronts. Bukovina 's Inhabitants in România during the First World War)*, Câmpulung-Moldovenesc, 1998, p. 25.

<sup>56</sup> Teodor Bălan, *op. cit.*, p. 45.



Grenzschutzkommando Itzkany"<sup>57</sup>. The activity of these offices was reconfigured, adapted and redirected towards defensive espionage<sup>58</sup>.

The Romanians from Bukovina and those from Transylvania and Banat<sup>59</sup> were forced to enlist in the Austro-Hungarian army as volunteers, though the equipment, the training and the military education were inadequate<sup>60</sup>. The volunteers from Bukovina enlisted in the so-called "Legion from Bukovina"<sup>61</sup>. Many Romanians from Bukovina preferred to flee to Transylvania, the Kingdom of Romania or to Bessarabia, where they enlisted as volunteers either in the Romanian army, or they founded various committees of the refugees, or they deployed espionage or reconnaissance activities for the Romanian army<sup>62</sup>. Fate of those (women, old persons and children) who remained at home was questioned as the Austro-Hungarian authorities suspected them of loyalty towards the two-headed monarchy. Because of these suspicions, the Austrian authorities created Courts-martial<sup>63</sup>. Between September 1914 and June 1916, the following Courts-martial functioned in Bukovina: „k. k. Feldgericht der Gruppe Oberst Fischer" (this functioned successively at Cernăuți, Gura Humorului and Vatra Dornei, being presided by the Military Judge Hrycajko) "Gerich des k. k. 35. Landsturn Infanterie Brigade Kommandos" (this functioned in Bukovina between September 1914 and August 1915, its president being the Captain Auditor Felix-Szafransky, assisted by Richard Tekusch), "Gerich der. 43. Landwehr Infanterie Truppendivision" "Feldgericht Oberstlieutenat Papp" (presided by the Military Commanding Officer - Lt. Col. Daniil Papp), "k. u. k. Feldgericht des Etappen Bezirkskommandos Radautz" and respectively "Court-martial of the Lilienhof Brigade" (this one and the previous one were functioning at Rădăuți)<sup>64</sup>. Between the years 1916 and 1917, the Courts-martial from Bukovina were relocated to Bistrita. The Military Tribunals were presided by the First Lieutenant E. Urick-Cernăuți, Captain K.K. Chap, First Lieutenant E.von Blad, and Colonel S. Jamnczkyj-Rădăuți<sup>65</sup>.

Other Courts-martial functioned at Lemberg (k.u.k. Militarkommando Lemberg), Stanislau (Feldgericht des Etappen Bezirkskommandos Stanislau) and Colomeea (k.u.k. Feldgericht des Etappenkommandos in Kolomeea). A lot of

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, p.51.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 53.

<sup>59</sup> Sextil Pușcariu, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>60</sup> D. Vatamaniuc, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>62</sup> Alexandrina Cutui, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

<sup>63</sup> Volodimir Sapolovskyi, *Activitatea structurilor de forță austriece în Bucovina în condițiile stării excepționale (1914-1918) (Activity of Austrian Force Structures in Bukovina, in the conditions of Exceptional Conditions)* in „Analele Bucovinei" (*Bukovina 's Annals*), XIII, 2/2006, p. 622.

<sup>64</sup> Anghel Popa, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>65</sup> Volodimir Sapolovskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 635.

inhabitants from Bukovina, particularly from the northern side of Bukovina, were brought in front of the Courts-martial (the case of Iancu Flondor<sup>66</sup>). 80% from those confined subsequent to denunciations were released, as they were innocent<sup>67</sup>. Many of the orders and interdictions adopted by the Austrian military authorities were difficult to obey, particularly by peasants: the ban to put lights in the windows, to pull the bells in church, to graze the cattle on the hills, to light the fire in the highest places, mainly because the Austrians were not too consistent in announcing/taking these measures<sup>68</sup>. Renowned for his cruelty and for his rough measures, Eduard Fischer did not hesitate to call the Romanians *irredentists* even before the war - in 1913, at the Assembly from Cernăuți, which met to solve the church matter - in a report sent directly to the Minister of the Interior from Vienna<sup>69</sup>. Fischer's accusations were not necessarily true, the peasants being loyal to the Danube Monarchy<sup>70</sup>.

When in his mansion from Storojinet, Iancu Flondor, the leader of the Romanians from Bukovina<sup>71</sup>, was informed by means of a secret letter sent by the priest Atanasie Gherman (an old and loyal collaborator (May 1915)) on his possible arrest (being under supervision of the Austrian secret agents) and he was advised to leave to România<sup>72</sup>. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of February 1915, Iancu Flondor had given Ion I.C. Brătianu a *Memorandum* through the deputy Ioan Mavrocordat<sup>73</sup>. Fate made that this Memorandum would not reach the Romanian Prime Minister, being confiscated by Ottokar Czernin and having a main part in the process initiated by the Austrian authorities to Iancu Flondor at Lemberg/Lvov (he was judged in the period 1916 - October 1918)<sup>74</sup>. Spies and informers were watching the state of mind and all suspect movements, immediately labelled as being *irredentist* and reporting immediately to their superiors, the measures taken being confinement in the above-mentioned detention camps, renowned for their draconian regime, with *tortures* and *starvation*<sup>75</sup>. Among those who suffered because of the Austrian authorities was also the Polish owner Eduard Cazimir

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<sup>66</sup> Teodor Bălan, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 61.

<sup>69</sup> D. Vatamaniuc, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>70</sup> Volodimir Sapolovskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 625.

<sup>71</sup> Vlad Gafița, *Iancu Flondor (1865 1924) și mișcarea națională a românilor din Bucovina (Iancu Flondor (1865 1924) and the National Movement of the Romanians from Bukovina)*, Iași, 2008, p. 247.

<sup>72</sup> N. Tcaciuc-Albu, *O amintire despre Iancu Flondor (A Memory on Iancu Flondor)*, in „Revista Bucovinei” (*Bukovina s Revue*), Cernăuți, II, No 11, November 1943, p. 519.

<sup>73</sup> Arhivele Nationale Istorice Centrale (*Central National Historical Archives*, hereinafter called ANIC), Bucharest, *Iancu Flondor* folder, file 15, f. 2.

<sup>74</sup> Nicolae Ciachir, *Din istoria Bucovinei 1775-1944 (About the History of Bukovina)*, Bucharest, 1993, p. 79.

<sup>75</sup> Anghel Popa, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Winiowski/Winiarski from Rarancea who was denounced - seemingly from personal reasons - to have communicated to the Russians the location of the Austrian army and who was arrested on the August 23, 1914 and condemned by the Military Tribunal to 23 years of forced labour, sentence that he did not execute, because, meanwhile, he was proven innocent<sup>76</sup>. He was put in chains, beaten and walked in chains on the streets of Cernăuți, slapped in the face by officers, soldiers, gendarmes, civilians<sup>77</sup>.

Together with Winiarski, the peasants from Rarancea, Dionisie Clem, Ștefan Paulovii and George Teodoriuc were arrested, together with other 11 persons. They were carried between Cernăuți, Stanislaw and Miskolcz during the period August 24, 1914 and January 20, 1915, being released eventually as there were no pieces of evidence against them<sup>78</sup>. Other persons (Vasile Motrescu from Ciudeiu, county of Storojinet, Slevotchi Dmitrie, Vasile and Alexandru Puh, with their sons, Ștefan and Theodor, Mihaiu Onuleac from Cuciurmare, Cernăuți) were arrested by the gendarme Ioan Drescher on October 25, 1914 and convicted with the accusation of having sympathised/collaborated with the Russians. They were condemned by the Court-martial to punishments of 2 to 5 years of hard time in prison<sup>79</sup>. As Mayor of Cernăuți, Gheorghe Sandru succeeded in saving a lot of Romanians condemned by the Austrian authorities to capital punishment or prison<sup>80</sup>. Toma Babiaș, a Pole from Ruda/Vicșani, suffered as well, because he had dared to spread the idea of the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian two-headed monarchy, in August 1914<sup>81</sup>.

The priest Prelici from Rarancea was on his turn arrested, because he had an old style Russian calendar<sup>82</sup>, or the priest Brăileanu from the locality Frumosu was denounced because he had questioned Austrians' rights over Bukovina<sup>83</sup>. The case of the priest Topa from Cernăuți is also another example, similar to the one of the priest Dariciuc from Berhomet. Judge Târnoveanu from Siret had to give up at speaking in public about his opinions on war and a peasant from Șipoto Cameral was denounced for having assisted at the church service (requiem) of the priest Reut from Rădăuți, before being hanged. Priests Bucevchi (Budenit) and Pasăilă (Negrileasa) were also denounced and investigated by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. Iancu Fiondor was also denounced. At Cuciurul Mare, the Mayor Damian and other villagers were arrested and condemned by the Austrians to punishments of 8/10 years of hard labour, because they had allegedly taken

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<sup>76</sup> Teodor Bălan, *op. cit.*, p. 84 -85.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 81.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 83.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 83-88.

<sup>80</sup> Alexandrina Cutui, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

<sup>81</sup> Teodor Bălan, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>82</sup> Nicolae Coman, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 53.

part, with the Russian troops, at the plundering of some properties belonging to the Jews<sup>84</sup>.

Mobilized in the Austrian army (almost 10% of the Romanians), the Romanians from Bukovina fought on several fronts, some of them (120,000) becoming prisoners in the Russian detention camps, together with their brothers from Ardeal<sup>85</sup>. The legitimate interest of Romania in Bukovina (as well) has made Russia admit to move the Romanians' border on Prut upper north and to include the town Cernăuți, in accordance with a secret agreement signed by the Romanian government with the Entente on June 17, 1916. However, behind closed doors, the Tsarist government pursued to bring to live three secret projects about the integral occupation of Bukovina as part of an ampler plan, which aimed at extending the Russian influence towards the Balkans, the Straits and Constantinople and, respectively, the Middle East<sup>86</sup>.

On its turn, Austria tried – according to recently published documentary sources - to attract Romania on its side, offering Bessarabia as compensation and accepting some territorial concessions in favour of the Romanian state, in the (Romanian-majority) districts from Southern Bukovina. The three variants of dividing Bukovina - the essence of the discussions had previously to Romania's entry into war - represented the topic of the meetings held at the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (on the 5th, 7th and 8th of June 1915)<sup>87</sup>. During the military operations, Bukovina became a territory aimed at by the geopolitical interests of the two parties involved in the war, the Central Powers and the Entente. The Romanians from Bukovina understood the opportunity of accomplishing the national ideal, by enlisting as volunteers in the Romanian army, which, starting with 1916, entered into the war on the Entente's side<sup>88</sup> (the Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy), based on a Convention signed with this one on August 4/16, 1916: "I. Russia, England, France and Italy guarantee the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Romania, along its actual entire borders. II. Romania undertakes to declare war and to attack Austro-Hungary in the conditions established in the military Convention; Romania also undertakes to interrupt, since the declaration of war, any economic relations and any commercial exchange with all the allies' enemies; III. Russia, France, England and Italy recognize Romania's right to annex the territories of the Austro-

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<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>85</sup> Alexandrina Cutui, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

<sup>86</sup> Mihai Iacobescu, *Evoluția românilor bucovineni între anii 1821–1919*, II, în „Glasul Bucovinei”, Cernăuți-Târgu-Mureș, VIII, nr. 9–30, 1–2, 2001, p. 26.

<sup>87</sup> Constantin Ungureanu, *Trei variante austriece, din anul 1915, de cedare parțială a Bucovinei României (Three Austrian Variants, of 1915, of Partial Yield of Bukovina to Romania)* in "Analele Bucovinei" (*Bukovina's Annals*), X, 1/2003, p. 144; p. 146-153.

<sup>88</sup> Titu Maiorescu, *România și războiul mondial. Însemnări zilnice inedite*, București, 1999, p. 152–153.

Hungarian monarchy as foreseen and delimited under article IV. IV. The borders of the territories mentioned in the previous articles are delimited as follows: the border line shall begin at Prut, from a point of the actual borders existing between Russia and Romania, close to Novosulita and shall climb up the river to the border of Galicia, where Prut meets Ceremuş. From there, it shall follow the border between Galicia and Hungary, up to the point Stog, elevation 1655. Further, it shall follow the separation line between the waters of Tisa and Vizul, to reach Tisa, the village Trebuza, upper of the place where it meets Vizo. From this point on, it shall climb down the shore of Tisa up to 4 km below the place where it meets Someş, leaving the village Vesares -Nameni of România"<sup>89</sup>.

After the decision made by the Russian General Staff at Moghilev on April 14, 1916, it followed, among others, the acceptance of the offensive of General Alexei Brusilov, to attack the Austro- Hungarian forces from the South-West sector. Having practically limitless human resources, Russia shall launch a strong offensive on June 4, 1916, by using the tactics of attack in waves, on the entire Galician front, from Stryj to Cernăuți<sup>90</sup>. Launching the Brusilov Offensive, on the East Front, from Pripet, on May 24/June 6 – July 31 /August 13, 1916 increased the pressure of Entente on the Kingdom of Romania to enter the war on Entente's side<sup>91</sup>. Developing tactical manoeuvres imposed by the strategic priorities of the General Brusilov, Russian military units violated the territory of Romania at Cotu Hotin, Herța and Mamornita, the villagers living here being forced to flee, because of a vigorous attack of artillery executed by the Russian militaries<sup>92</sup>. The result of the Russian military manoeuvres was that the Romanian Government drafted and sent a protest to Russia, through Constantin Diamandy, the Romanian ambassador accredited at Petrograd<sup>93</sup>. During the period following this attack, the calls of General Alexeev, the head of the General Staff of the Russian Army, and of the General Joseph Joffre, commander of the French Army, for the integration of the Kingdom of Romania into the Great War, had the character of a true ultimatum<sup>94</sup>. On August 14, 1916, România sent the declaration of war to Austro-

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<sup>89</sup> Pavel Tugui, *Unele precizări cu privire la revenirea Bucovinei la România (Some Specifications on the Return of Bukovina at Romania)*, in „Analele Bucovinei” (*Bukovina's Annals*), 111/1996, nr. 2, p. 467- 468.

<sup>90</sup> Mihai Aurelian-Căruntu, *Războiul mondial la hotarele României. Informații despre ofensiva rusă de pe frontul din Bucovina și incidentul de la Mamornița (mai-iunie 1916). Documente (World War at the Borders of România, Information on the Russian Offensive on the Bukovina front and incident from Marmonita (May-June 1916). Documents)*, in „Suceava”, Yearbook of the Bukovina's Museum Complex, Suceava, XXXI-XXXII-XXXIII, 2004-2005-2006, 2007, p. 280.

<sup>91</sup> *Enciclopedia istoriei politice a României 1859- 2009 (Encyclopedia of the Political History of Romania)*, Bucharest, 2009, p. 147.

<sup>92</sup> Mihai Aurelian Căruntu, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 281.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibidem*.

Hungary<sup>95</sup>, through the agency of Edgar Mavrocordat. The successor of the Emperor Franz Joseph, who died on November 21, 1916, the Emperor Charles I (Charles IV, King of Hungary) had a first attempt to remove the Austro-Hungarian Empire from the war, but his offer, announced by means of a manifesto, was immediately disapproved by the Germans and refused by the Allies, by means of several memoranda, the first of them being issued on the 30<sup>th</sup> of December 1916, an attitude motivated by skepticism<sup>96</sup>. The later evolution of events made the troops belonging to the Central Powers take control again - in the summer of 1917 - over the largest part Bukovina<sup>97</sup> and integrally over Galicia, subsequent to the offensive started by the alignment Cernăuți-Hotin-Chișinău-Odessa<sup>98</sup>. Until the peace from Brest-Litovsk (March 15, 1918), these territories remained under the control of the Austro-Hungarian troops<sup>99</sup>.

With the entry into the war of the Kingdom of Romania on the Entente's side was created the *Corps of volunteers from Bukovina and Ardeal*, led by the General Constantin Coandă, Romanian military attache at the Command and General Staff of the Russian Army<sup>100</sup>. With the entry into the war of Romania, the situation of the Romanians from Bukovina aggravated<sup>101</sup>. In 1917, at Darnița, near Kiev ("our first Alba Iulia", as named by the historian Dumitru Vitcu from Suceava)<sup>102</sup>, a Congress of the Romanians was organized<sup>103</sup>. During the year 1917, as resources were becoming less, the Romanians from Bukovina together with other ethnic groups were forced to perform works in the benefit of the army, to support the war effort with collections of money, loans, requisition of wool, animal skins, metal objects, crops, a.s.o..<sup>104</sup>

România had a favourable moment in 1918 on the background of the victory of the principles of nationalities and self-determination. The entry of the

<sup>95</sup> Gheorghe Platon, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

<sup>96</sup> Lucian Leuștean, *România, Ungaria și tratatul de la Trianon 1918 - 1920, (Romania, Hungary and the Treaty of Trianon. 1918-1920)* Polirom, 2002, p. 12.

<sup>97</sup> Al. Marghiloman, *Note Politice, 1897-1924, (Political Notes, 1897-1924)* Bucharest, 1927, p. 22.

<sup>98</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Memorii. însemnări zilnice (Maiu 1917-Mart 1920). Războiul Național. Lupta pentru o nouă viață politică, (Memories. Daily Notes (May 1917 - March 1920). National War. Fight for a New and Political Life)* vol. I, Bucharest, s.a. p. 67.

<sup>99</sup> Ion Bulei, *Un război în cenușa imperiilor (A War in the Ashes of Empires)*, Bucharest, 2010, p. 31.

<sup>100</sup> Alexandrina Cutui, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

<sup>101</sup> See the speech of Take Ionescu on the entry of Romania in the War, Gh. Buzatu (coordinator). *Discursuri și dezbateri parlamentare (1864 2004), (Parliamentary Speeches and Debates)* Bucharest, 2006, p.181-184.

<sup>102</sup> Dumitru Vitcu, *Episodul „Dartiija” în epopeea întregirii nationale. O reevaluare („Darnita” Episode in the Epic of National Unification. A reevaluation)*, in „Codrul Cosminului” (*Cosmin 's Forest*) (Analele Științifice de Istorie - Scientific Annals of History), "Ștefan cel Mare" University, Suceava, New Series, no. 6-7 (16-17), 2000-2001, p. 267.

<sup>103</sup> Cezar Dobre, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>104</sup> Ileana Maria Rateu, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

Romanian army into the war was made in accordance with the Convention signed with the Entente on August 4/16, 1916, for the recovery of the territories occupied by Austro-Hungary (Entente's states recognizing Romania's rights over these), however the later occupation of 2/3 from the Romanian territory (on the background of the Allies' failure to comply with the commitments assumed) imposed the harsh conditions reflected in the text of the Treaty of Peace from Buftea/Bucharest (May 24, 1918) and the perspectives - absolutely unjust - of giving away some Romanian territories to Austria and Bulgaria, Germany being interested in the Romanian oil<sup>105</sup>. One of the consequences of this peace was the withdrawal of the Romanian troops on the southern side of Bukovina.

In the autumn of 1918, the Austro-Hungarian army were defeated dreadfully on the Italian front, and on the November 3, Austro-Hungary signed the armistice at the Villa Giusti<sup>106</sup>. Previously, aware of the extremely difficult internal situation of the monarchy, at the Crown Council from Vienna on September 21, 1918, the minister of foreign affairs, Count Burian, proposed the cease of the military operations<sup>107</sup>. In March 1918, the Austrian authorities, helped by two investigations offices from Cernăuți and Suceava, made lists with the Romanians who had fled in the Kingdom (Victor Jemna), operating arrests from among the intellectuals who were deemed to be sensitive at the Romanian propaganda<sup>108</sup>. Many of the Romanian teachers from Suceava were, on that occasion, arrested by the Austrians (Severin Procopovici, Simion Ivanovici, Eusebie Cosmiuc, George Palamerescu, attorney-at-law Victor Iliut and the clerk Titus Gribovschi from Rădăuți)<sup>109</sup>.

Later on, the surrender of Germany (11<sup>th</sup> of November 1918, Compiegne) saved the Romanian State from the humiliation of the Treaty from Buftea/Bucharest, and the army - led by the General Constantin Coandă - was mobilized for the second time (this time, however, without having to perform military operations). Bukovina was overcome with revolt, due to the manifestations caused by the Ukrainian groups, and also by the Austrian ex-prisoners who had returned from the Russian prisons. The Ukrainians claimed the Northern side of Bukovina up to Prut<sup>110</sup>, entrusting Romania the Southern side, up to Siret, and the middle land, placed between Siret and Prut, had to be considered *Condominium* until the definitive border would be fixed<sup>111</sup>. In

<sup>105</sup> *Relațiile internaționale reflectate în dezbaterile Parlamentului României*. Volumul al II-lea, *Senatul, (International Relations Reflected in the Romania's Parliament's Debates, 2<sup>nd</sup> Volume, the Senate)* Bucharest, 2011, p. 240.

<sup>106</sup> Cezar Dobre, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>108</sup> Ileana Maria Rateu, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 118; Teodor Bălan, *op. cit.*, p. 198-202.

<sup>110</sup> Mihai Ștefan Ceaușu, *Ion Nistor, luptătorul pentru unirea Bucovinei cu România (Ion Nistor, the Fighter for the Unification of Bukovina with Romania) in Ion Nistor (1876-1962)*, Iași, 1993, p. 118-119.

<sup>111</sup> Arhivele Diplomatice ale Ministerului Afacerilor Externe (*Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, hereinafter called A.M.A.E.), Bucharest, folder 71 *Polonia. Relații cu România 1920-1944 (Poland. Relations with Romania 1920-1944)*, vol. 52, f. 3.

these conditions, the National Council of the Romanians from Bukovina requested the Government from Iași and the King Ferdinand to order the Romanian army to intervene, in order to "defend the rights of the Romanians from Bukovina against any usurper and to make order and bring peace in the country"<sup>112</sup>. The victories from Mărăști, Mărășești and Oituz<sup>113</sup> reflected the heroism of the Romanian army, however, in the autumn of 1917<sup>114</sup>, the Bolshevik Revolution burst in Russia, fact that put Romania in an extremely and at the same time ingrate situation<sup>115</sup>.

Though victorious, it had to sign the shameful Treaty of Peace from Buftea/Bucharest (May 24, 1918)<sup>116</sup>. The victory of the Entente's troops, visible with the entry of the USA on its side (1917), associated with some phenomena that were characteristic to the disaggregation of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires, offered an un hoped-for chance to the peoples to remake/ found their national states<sup>117</sup>. In the circumstances of the year 1917, when the destiny of the two-headed monarchy went towards the dissolution of its multinational political system, the area of the historic Bukovina was disturbed by national movements of the ethnic communities, which, each of them wanted to rebuild its national independent state. The Ukrainians, whose aspirations aimed at founding a self-governing state to include parts of Bukovina and Galicia, entered in conflict both with the Romanians and with the Poles. The Galician Ruthenians benefited from the support of Tsarist Russia, respectively of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Galicia being thus qualified as a true Austrian "Piedmont". Here, the idea of founding a Ruthenian state was gradually born, either in form of a state federation founded under the umbrella of the House of Habsburg, or even in form of an independent state.

The Ruthenians/Ukrainians from the Austro-Hungarian Empire made important steps towards the foundation of an own state, whereas their co-nationals within the Russian Empire (Bessarabia) acted towards the foundation of a Republic within the democratic Russia. In both situations (Bukovina and Bessarabia), their interests stroke against the Romanians' goals, the divergent actions causing tensions that generated conflicts"<sup>118</sup>. In July 1917, Rada entrusted Vladimir Vinnincenko with the task of forming an Ukrainian government, where Semion Petliura was in charge with the military problems. As the Bolsheviks had

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<sup>112</sup> *Ibidem*. f. 4.

<sup>113</sup> Henri Berthelot, *Memorii și corespondență (1916-1919) (Memories and Correspondence (1916-1919))*, Bucharest, 2012, p. 41.

<sup>114</sup> Petre Otu, *Mareșalul Constantin Prezan. Vocația datoriei (Marshall Constantin Prezan. Vocation of Duty)*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 151.

<sup>115</sup> Ion Bulei, *op. cit.*, p. 27-28.

<sup>116</sup> Alexandru Marghiloman, *op.cit.*, p. 222.

<sup>117</sup> Ion Bulei, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>118</sup> Ștefan Purici, *Relatii româno-ucrainene în epoca contemporană (Romanian-Ukrainian Relations during the Contemporary Age)*, in „Glasul Bucovinei” (*Bukovina's Voice*), no. 3 - 4, X, no. 39-40/2003, p.33.



taken over power (October 25/November 7, 1917) the Central Rada proclaimed, on December 25, 1917, the independence of the People's Republic of Ukraine<sup>119</sup>. At the end of the year 1917, dissensions occurred within the Central Rada and the leadership of the People's Republic of Ukraine, creating an autonomist current supported by the hetman Pavel Skoropadski, backed up by the Germans, who would lead Ukraine during the period March - November 1918.

Still, on January 22, 1918, Rada proclaimed the Ukrainian Republic "free and sovereign". On July 15, 1917, the newspaper "Kolnische Zeitung" spread the idea of an Austro-Ukrainian secret agreement "by means of which the separation of the East Galicia, which population is majority Ukrainian, from the West Galicia, to be pronounced and this territory should pair (unite - CC.) with Bukovina"<sup>120</sup> and form an autonomous province of the People's Republic of Ruthenia/Ukraine. The Russophiles from Bukovina requested the creation of Carpathian Russia, which would also include a part of Bukovina and other voices asked for the entire Moldova (part of the Kingdom of Romania). Within the peace from Brest-Litovsk, a request was for the provinces Galicia, Bukovina, Carpathian Russia to be included in the West Galicia, guaranteeing the full autonomy. By means of the secret treaty from February 9, 1918, the Central Powers made important concessions to Ukraine. It is about - as we already know - the famous agreement "bread against territories"<sup>121</sup>.

At the beginning of the war - during the Romanian-Russian treaties - Ion Nistor presented to the Prime Minister Ion I.C.Brătianu several memoranda, which historically, ethnographically and economically prove - with documents - the political, economic, religious and cultural importance that Cernăuți had for the entire Bukovina<sup>122</sup>. Being in Chișinău, Ion Nistor founded the « Romanian Mission from Bukovina » (July 2, 1917). The Bukovina refugees also drafted a « Statute for the Organization of the Romanian Propaganda Service in Bukovina » with the consent of the Romanian Minister of Internal Affairs, which was - as known - in Iași. Later on, Ion Nistor interfered at the Romanian Government in order to organize units of Romanian volunteers, selected from among the prisoners of the Austro-Hungarian army which was in Russia, units that would fight on the south-western front of Moldova<sup>123</sup>. On June 9, 1917, the official reception of the first detachments of volunteers from Ardeal, Bukovina and Banat took place in the Piața Unirii (*Unification Square*) from Iași. Together with other refugees, the National Committee of the Romanians who fled from Austro-

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<sup>119</sup> Florin Anghel, *Pe cine nu lași să moară...nu ți ne minte (Those whom you do not lei die ... do not remember)*, in „Magazin istoric” (*Historic Revue*), Bucharest, New Series, XXXIV, no. 11(416), November 2001, p. 6.

<sup>120</sup> Ion I Nistor, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>121</sup> Gheorghe Platon, *op.cit.*, p. 499.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibidem*, p.471.

Hungary was founded in Odessa on January 21, 1918. This got actively involved in the propagation of the national unification of the Romanians.

In parallel, the *Congress of the Oppressed Nationalities from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy* was organized in Rome on April 9, 1918 (Simion Mândrescu, Dr. N.Lupu, G. Mironescu, D. Drăghicescu) which adopted decisions on the disintegration of the Danube Monarchy. Later on, the “National Committee of the Romanians from Transylvania and Bukovina” was founded in Paris (April 17/30, 1918), under the conduct of Traian Vuia. Beginning with May 10, 1918, Robert Lansing, the State Secretary of the USA, wrote to Woodrow Wilson about the necessity to dismember the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. On the June 24, 1918, he drafted a *Memorandum on the United States policy in relation to the nationalities now within the Austro-Hungarian Empire*<sup>124</sup>, approved by Wilson on June 27, 1918. The document explicitly admitted the necessity of the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the foundation of national states. Ignacy Paderewski, Vasile Stoica and Hlinko Hinkovic acted consistently by means of propaganda for the reforming of their national states. On June 19, 1918, the “Action Committee of the Romanians from Transylvania, Banat and Bukovina” was founded in Italy and was conducted by Simion Mândrescu, who acted coherently and consistently in favour of the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy<sup>125</sup>.

Finally, on October 3, 1918, the *National Council of Romanian Unity* was created in Paris under the direction of Take Ionescu<sup>126</sup>. The events came one after another very fast; therefore rapid decisions had to be made. Initially, on October 18, 1918, the Ukrainians from Galicia founded *Ukrainska Nationalna Rada (National Ukrainian Council)*. This Rada declared the regions East Galicia, Sub-Carpathian Russia, Bukovina - up to Siret, Ukrainian provinces (Cernăuți, Storojinet, Siret)<sup>127</sup>. On November 3, 1918, at the suggestion of the Rada, an *Assembly* was organized at Cernăuți which declared the northern part of Bukovina, up to Siret, Ukrainian territory, manifesting claims over some villages from the counties Câmpulung and Suceava<sup>128</sup>. As the National Romanian Council refused to negotiate with the representatives of the Rada, the Ukrainians called for Aurel Onciul, who, on November 6, 1918, agreed with Omelian Popowicz on the division of Bukovina, based on the census from 1910. In accordance with this agreement, the Ukrainians took over control over the main institutions from Cernăuți<sup>129</sup>. On July 22, 1918, Constantin Isopescu-Grecul protested, on behalf of

<sup>124</sup> Gheorghe Platon, *op.cit.*, p. 478.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 4.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>129</sup> Vladimir Trebici, *Unirea Bucovinei cu România (Unification of Bukovina with Romania)*, in „Analele Bucovinei” (*Bukovina's Annals*), I, 1/1994, p. 19.

the Romanian Parliamentarian Club from the Vienna Parliament (George Grigorovici, Teofil Simionovici, Alexandru Hurmuzaki and Gheorghe Sârbu), at the perspective of dividing Bukovina, recognizing the feelings of anxiety shared both by the Romanians and by the Germans from Bukovina<sup>130</sup>. Only a Romanian-German Bukovina - as mentioned Grecul in its speech - having the Prut as northern border and Cernăuți as the Capital, and including on the South the triangle yielded by Romania, is certainly possible as administratively independent territory of Bukovina. Another configuration of Bukovina could not satisfy - he concluded - the Romanians either, or the Germans and it would mean the end of the Romanians in Austria"<sup>131</sup>.

On the October 4, 1918, Constantin Isopescu-Grecul declared in the Austrian Parliament that he would speak both on behalf of the Romanians from Ardeal to ask for the "right of self-determination on their future destiny"<sup>132</sup>. On October 17, 1918, the Prime Minister Husarek Heinlein took the floor in the Austrian Parliament and announced the Government's intention to introduce "the system of federal self-governing" and the Emperor Karl IV of Habsburg published on October 4/7, 1918 his famous Proclamation *To my faithful peoples* where he announced his subjects on his intention to turn Austria into a «federal state»<sup>133</sup> and that the faithful peoples would "cooperate in the great task through National Councils formed from the ranks of Imperial Assembly deputies of every nation"<sup>134</sup>. The day following the publication of the Proclamation, Constantin Isopescu-Grecul went again to the Emperor Karl IV, subsequently declaring in Reichrath that "in conformity with the principle of nationalities, the four million of Romanians from Austro-Hungary demand their self-determination within their own state"<sup>135</sup>, before Alexandru Vaida Voevod had requested, in the Budapest Parliament, the same thing for the Romanians from Transylvania. On October 5/18, 1918, Constantin Isopescu-Grecul went to the Emperor again. Asked by the Emperor about the attitude that the Romanians would have towards the situation created and towards the ideas of Woodrow Wilson, Constantin Isopescu-Grecul answered: "to my conviction, all the Romanians from Austro-Hungary would vote

<sup>130</sup> Ion I. Nistor, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>131</sup> Rodica Iașencu, *Unirea Bucovinei cu Regatul României (I) (Unification of Bukovina with the Kingdom of Romania)*, în „Analele Bucovinei” (*Bukovina's Annals*), IX, 1/2002, p. 150.

<sup>132</sup> Constantin Loghin, *Unirea Bucovinei (Recapitulări) (Bukovina's Unification (Recapitulations))*, în „Revista Bucovinei” (*Bukovina's Magazine*), II, No. 11, 1943, p. 522-523.

<sup>133</sup> Gheorghe Platon, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

<sup>134</sup> Marin C. Stănescu, *Armata română și Unirea Basarabiei și Bucovinei cu România. 1917-1919 (Romanian Army and Unification of Bessarabia and Bukovina with Romania, 1917-1919)*, Constanta, 1999, p. 168.

<sup>135</sup> Constantin Isopescu-Grecul, *Amintiri asupra evenimentelor (Memories of the Events)*, în Ion I. Nistor, *Amintiri bucovinene din vremea Unirii (Memories on Bukovina during Unification)*, Iași, 2000, p. 89-90.

against the monarchy”<sup>136</sup>. Constantin Isopescu-Grecul declared that „as far as we, the Romanians, are concerned (..), please give us the possibility to put the foundations of our own state on the historic territory of our nation from Hungary and Bukovina, liberated from the yoke of our ethnic adversaries. (..). We, the Romanians, have left only one direction in our existence - the right to national self-determination. We are all united and we know what we want.”<sup>137</sup> He admitted, out of reason of "necessity", the "joining of the northern side of Bukovina to) a Ukrainian state.

As it happens that the Ukrainian districts need to be separated from Galicia in order to be incorporated in the Ukrainian-Galician administrative territory, our Ukrainian compatriots would not face too many difficulties here, with us, the Romanians, but only if Bukovina kept „ts autonomy as independent province”<sup>138</sup>. The attitude - insufficiently trenchant - of the Romanians deputies from Vienna did not satisfy the Romanians from Bukovina. In his intervention, the deputy George Grigorovici sustained the maintaining of Bukovina's unity, asserting that "we want unification and we shall have it"<sup>139</sup>. The German deputy Franz Kesmann requested the compliance with the rights of the German minorities, whereas Nicolae Wasilko, Ukrainian deputy, requested the division of Bukovina in order to obtain a Ukrainian state, exclaiming: «The Romanians should not believe that King Ferdinand shall ever rule the entire Bukovina!»<sup>140</sup>. The Jews, West Galicia and Bukovina represented by Benno Straucher, hoped to maintain the integrity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire<sup>141</sup>. Alexandru Hurmuzaki's opinion was that it was necessary to extend the borders over Pocutia (Ion Nistor would present a memorandum at the Peace Conference on behalf of the Entente) and Kramarz (the representative of the Czech people) accepted the idea of a common border with România<sup>142</sup>. The negotiations reached a deadlock and the Romanian deputies were deprived of a firm and precise reaction. At the initiative of Sextil Pușcariu on the 12<sup>th</sup> of October 1918, an assembly of a group of Romanian intellectuals (Alexandru Vitencu, Dionisie Bejan, Ștefan Saghin, Octavian Gheorghiu, Vasile Marcu) was convened in the house of Doctor Isidor (Dodo) Bodea<sup>143</sup>. Here, the

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<sup>136</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>137</sup> Radu Economu, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>138</sup> Viorica Moisuc, Ion Calafeteanu, *Unirea Basarabiei și a Bucovinei cu România 1917-1918, Documente (Unification of Bessarabia and Bukovina with Romania, 1917-1918, Documents)*, Chișinău, 1995, p. 254-256.

<sup>139</sup> Petru Rușindilar, *George Grigorovici și social-democrația în Bucovina (George Grigorovici and Social-Democracy in Bukovina)*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 95.

<sup>140</sup> Al.Procopovici, *Din vremurile Unirii noastre (From the times of our Unification)* în Ion I. Nistor, *op.cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>143</sup> Maximilian Hacman, *Primul sfat pentru Unire la doctorul I. Bodea (First fast advice for the Unification at doctor I. Bodea)*, în Ion I. Nistor, *op.cit.*, p. 76-77.

decision was made to publish a Romanian newspaper called - at the proposal of the lawyer from Cernăuți, Vasile Bodnarescu - "Glasul Bucovinei" (*Bukovina's Voice*)<sup>144</sup>. On October 9/22, 1918, the newspaper would have its first apparition<sup>145</sup> asking for the right «to make our own future which we desire within the Romanism»<sup>146</sup> The first column "What to we want?" written by Sextil Pușcariu<sup>147</sup> expresses the political programme of the Romanian intellectuals from Bukovina<sup>148</sup>. On October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1918, a meeting took place in the house of Alexandru Hurmuzaki, president of the Bukovina's Diet and member of the Viennese Parliament, where the following were present: Sextil Pușcariu, Nicu Flondor, Aurel Turcanu, Ipolit Tarnavchi, Niculită Popovici and the deputy Aurel Onciul, supporter of the national interests of the Ukrainians<sup>149</sup>. This group was joined by Iancu Flondor, the Chief of the Romanian National Party<sup>150</sup>.

The next issue of the newspaper "Glasul Bucovinei" announced the convening of the Assembly of the Romanians from Bukovina, which would become Constituent, from October 27, 1918. The Assembly - self-proclaimed Constituent - decided the unification of Bukovina at the other Romanian provinces, forming a Romanian independent state. On that occasion, Iancu Flondor declared that "the national serfdom, as painful and shameful, which has been lasting for almost one and a half century, is about to end. The Romanian people from Bukovina are about to tear arid remove the chain that has locked up its soul. Free, under the power of national unity. You shall decide today what it is best for a happy and glorious future of the Romanian people from Bukovina"<sup>151</sup>. He formed a Government of Bukovina and appointed three vice-presidents (among them, Sextil Pușcariu) and three secretaries (Lawyer Vasile Bodnarescu was one of them)<sup>152</sup>.

On October 27, 1918, the Romanians from Bukovina chose a National Council made up of 100 persons (50, initially) conducted by the priest Dionisie, Chevalier of Bejan<sup>153</sup>. This Council decided the «Unification of the entire Bukovina with the other Romanian countries, into a national independent state». Iancu Flondor was appointed by the National Council to form a government - a

<sup>144</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 78.

<sup>145</sup> Teodor Bălan, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>146</sup> Rodica Iațencu, *op.cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>147</sup> Sextil Pușcariu, *op. cit.*, p. 318-319.

<sup>148</sup> Idem, *Cum a luat ființă „ Glasul Bucovinei" . Pagini de ziar {How "Bukovina s Voice " was founded. Newspaper Pages}* in Ion I. Nistor, *op.cit.*, p. 182-187.

<sup>149</sup> Alexandru Hurmuzaki, *Amintiri din timpul Unirii (Memories from the Unification)*, in Ion I. Nistor, *op.cit.*, p. 83-84.

<sup>150</sup> Maximilian Hacman, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>151</sup> Viorica Moisiuc, *op.cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>152</sup> Teodor Bălan, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>153</sup> Constantin Loghin, *op.cit.*, p. 525.

configuration made of 14 state secretaries; however, he could not exercise his duties fully, due to the Ukrainian legionnaires. These were attempting to create a Ukrainian entity, which would contain Bukovina and Galicia, in the spirit of the promises made to the Ukrainians by the Austrian Chancellor Seidler<sup>154</sup>.

A resolution was adopted: “1. The representatives of the people from Bukovina, met today, 27<sup>th</sup> of October 1918, in the Capital of Bukovina, declare themselves, under the power of national sovereignty, Constituent Assembly of this Romanian country. 2. The Constituent Assembly decides the Unification of the entire Bukovina with the other Romanian countries, into a national independent state and shall proceed towards fulfilling this aim in full solidarity with the Romanians from Transylvania and Hungary. 3. In order to lead the Romanian people of Bukovina and in order to defend their rights and to make the tight connection between all the Romanians, the Constituent Assembly sets up a Romanian National Council, made up of 50 members. This Council shall represent us, as representative at the Peace Conference and, besides this, we shall not recognize anybody else to have the right to decide or to treat with the people of Bukovina. The Constituent Assembly rejects with determination any attempt that would aim at harming Bukovina, wishing to get along with the co-inhabitant peoples”<sup>155</sup>.

After the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Poles took control over the western regions and the Ukrainians, over the eastern regions. On November 1, 1918, the West Ukrainian People's Republic was proclaimed, which extended its control over Polish-majority Lvov, leading to spontaneous conflicts with the Poles. The Ukrainian National Council officially took over power at Lemberg, Stanislaw and Ternopol. This Council proclaimed, on November 13, 1918, the West Ukrainian People's Republic, which contained, beside East Galicia, Sub-Carpathian Ukraine and a part of Bukovina<sup>156</sup>. Due to this reason, conflicts rapidly occurred between the Ukrainians and the Poles, on one side, and the Romanians and Ukrainians, on the other side. In the circumstances presented by us in the previous page, when the Ukrainian danger created a vacuum of power to the Iancu Flondor Government, which was put in the impossibility to exercise its duties, the Lawyer Vasile Bodnărescu was sent to Iași (November 2, 1918). Vasile Bodnărescu left for Iași through Mamornita<sup>157</sup> together with Nicu Gherghel, the owner of Herța, reaching Dorohoi, a place from which they left for Iași the following day<sup>158</sup>.

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<sup>154</sup> Teodor Bălan, *Rolul lui Vasile Bodnărescu în preajma Unirii, (The Role of Vasile Bodnărescu in the Unification)* Cernăuți, 1938, p. 3.

<sup>155</sup> Radu Economu, *op.cit.*, p. 7-8.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>157</sup> Gheorghe Șandru, *Din amintirile mele (From My Memories)*, in Ion I. Nistor, *op.cit.*, p. 224-228.

<sup>158</sup> Teodor Bălan, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

On November 4, 1918, Vasile Bodnărescu and Nicu Gherghel arrived at Iași, being welcomed by the Prime Minister Alexandru Marghiloman<sup>159</sup>. Bodnărescu handed over to the Romanian Prime Minister Alexandru Marghiloman the authorization signed by Iancu Flondor, respectively the text of the resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly on October 27, 1918. Marghiloman promised support, consisting in weapons, for the creation in Bukovina of a corps of gendarmerie and a national guard<sup>160</sup>. In parallel, Iancu Flondor - on November 5, 1918 - sent from Cernăuți a telegram to his brother-in-law, Sever Zotta, asking him to interfere at the General Alexandru Averescu in order to obtain urgently the order of sending the Romanian army. However, Averescu was not in Iași in those moments, still Zotta - as he informed Flondor - sent the telegram through the senator Pilescu, to the Prime Minister Alexandru Marghiloman<sup>161</sup>. This one was announcing in the Senate that he had taken Bukovina under his protection, ending with these words «Long live Romania!»<sup>162</sup>. By now, the newspapers from Iași announced the entry of the Romanian army into Bukovina. "The Gendarmerie from Suceava begs for the protection of our gendarmerie against the Bolsheviks, who are robbing. The same for Ițcani. Gura Humorului insists in getting urgent support. Subsequent to these documents, I am writing for the border troops to occupy Suceava and Ițcani. I repeat the same order for Gura Humorului. Measures must be taken to protect the population against excesses. Later on, these must spread as soon as possible towards Cernăuți. I entrust these orders to Hârjeu and I telegraph the prefects from Suceava and Botoșani"<sup>163</sup>.

On November 6, 1918, the Government Alexandru Marghiloman was replaced, by King Ferdinand, with a Cabinet led by General Constantin Coandă<sup>164</sup>. The latter gave affirmative answer. Returned to Cernăuți on November 5, 1918, through Botoșani and Mamornita, Vasile Bodnărescu found out from Iancu Flondor that the latter had sent him a telegram to Iași, in which he was given approval to request the Romanian Government to order the army to enter Bukovina. Nicolae Iorga mentioned in his memoirs: «I am at dinner and the news comes that the Ukrainians occupied Cernăuți with their bands and Flondor requests help consisting in at least ten thousand men, otherwise, he shall resign»<sup>165</sup>. "The more and more critical situation" - said Iancu Flondor - "asks for

<sup>159</sup> Al. Marghiloman, *op.cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>161</sup> Radu Economu, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>163</sup> Alexandru Marghiloman, *op.cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 120.

<sup>165</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Memorii. Însemnări zilnice (Maiu 1917 - Mari 1920). Războiul Național. Lupta pentru o nouă viață politică, (Memories. Daily Notes (May 1917 - March 1920). National War. Fight for a New and Political Life)* vol. II, Bucharest, s.a., p. 101.

imperiously urgent intervention of the Romanian army. Otherwise, the Bolshevik movement shall have the most severe consequences for the Romanian matter"<sup>166</sup>.

Under these circumstances, Bodnărescu returned to Iași, accompanied by the Officer Pridie from Bukovindj. They left Mamornita by the car of the Romanian Minister of Internal Affairs at Botoșani, arriving in Iași on the November 6, 1918. Meanwhile, the resigning Government Alexandru Marghiloman was replaced with the Government of the General Constantin Coandă. The next day, Bodnărescu exposed the situation from Bukovina to the General Arthur Văitoianu - taking part at the meetings of the Council of Ministers, as well - and requested the entry of the Romanian army in Bukovina. On November 8, 1918, Vasile Bodnărescu met General Cristescu, the Chief of the Romanian Staff and, later on, General Arthur Văitoianu, in order to obtain a hearing at the King Ferdinand<sup>167</sup>. Between November 9 to 15, 1918, Vasile Bodnărescu had successive meetings with important personalities of the political life from the Kingdom of Romania: Ionel and Vintilă Brătianu, Ion Duca, Gheorghe Mârzescu, Petre Poni, Ion Greceanu, Alexandru Constantinescu, Nicolae Iorga and A. C. Cuza. On November 16, 1918, Vasile Bodnărescu was received by the King Ferdinand I of Hohenzollern, the King of România. His mission ended on November 26, 1918, when he returned to Cernăuți.

On November 12, 1918, the *Romanian National Council*, met in public session at the Romanian National Palace, voted for the provisional Law on the powers of the Country of Bukovina<sup>168</sup>, which continued the autonomist traditions and mentioned that the National Council set up at the Constituent Assembly of Bukovina represented the supreme power of the country that exercised power as law-making body as well<sup>169</sup>. The newly-formed Government of the Country of Bukovina was presided by Iancu Flondor, whereas Sextil Pușcariu was sent - as secretary in charge with the foreign problems - to Iași. Sextil Pușcariu wrote the following about Iancu Flondor: "*In Bukovina, this providential man was Iancu Flondor* (our underlining). Without revolution, he would have lived probably retired at his estate, disgusted with the politics made by other Romanians with whom he had started, in their youth, an action of public life regeneration. Without Iancu Flondor, I am convinced that the revolution from Bukovina wouldn't have succeeded"<sup>170</sup>.

An important moment occurred in the progress of future events, on November 22, 1918, when Ion Nistor met Sextil Pușcariu, after the latter had been

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<sup>166</sup> Teodor Bălan, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>168</sup> Nicu Flondor, *Speech in the session of the National Council on November 13, 1918 on the agreement with the Ukrainians and on the Romanians over Nistru*, in *op.cit.*, p. 58-59.

<sup>169</sup> Mihai Ștefan Ceașu, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>170</sup> *Apud* Sextil Pușcariu, *op. cit.*, p. 330.



received by the King. Previously, a meeting between Iancu Flondor, Nicolae Iorga and Ion Nistor had taken place<sup>171</sup>. Iorga notes that the following were part of this meeting: Alexandru Hurmuzaki, Dionisie Bejan, Erast Trangul, Șesan, Sever Zotta, Radu Sbiera, Vasile Șandru, the Mayor of Cernăuți, Vasile Bodnărescu<sup>172</sup>, Stanislaw Kwiatkowski<sup>173</sup>. Iancu Flondor confessed Iorga on the fact that he had been threatened by Aurel Onciul to be hanged in the market, but he was saved by Dori Popovici<sup>174</sup>. Ion Nistor notified Pușcariu about the secrete provisions of the Convention of August 4/17, 1916, signed by and between the Entente and the Kingdom of Romania, Convention that recognized the right of the Romanians to join Bukovina and Transsylvania. Sextil Pușcariu was convinced by the necessity of unconditional unification of Bukovina with Romania, which would be used as model to Transylvania, waiving at the sending of own delegates at the Peace Conference from Paris<sup>175</sup>. During this meeting, it was agreed upon the acceptance of a number of refugees into the National Council from Cernăuți<sup>176</sup>. Calling for the armed forces, the General Iacob Zadik solved rapidly the problems with the Ukrainians from Cotmani, who wanted to form an own state (a republic)<sup>177</sup>. On November 23, 1918, Ion Nistor returned to Cernăuți, with Sextil Pușcariu, as representative of the Romanian Government, in order to treat with full powers all the matters related to the act of the unification<sup>178</sup>. In the session of the National Council on November 25, 1918, Gheorghe Tofan read a statement on behalf of the refugees, where he pronounced for the unconditional unification<sup>179</sup>. Iancu Flondor and Dionisie Bejan<sup>180</sup> accepted - subsequent to the discussion had with Ion Nistor - to include 12 former refugees into the National Council, agreeing upon convening the General Congress which would vote on the unconditional unification of Bukovina with România<sup>181</sup>. Returned to Iași, on November 27<sup>th</sup>, 1918, Ion Nistor presented to the Government the unification act, drafted by him, which the Council had approved<sup>182</sup>.

Under Austrian administration, for 144 years, the fate of Bukovina (the north-western part of Moldova) was democratically decided on November 15/28, 1918 in the Synodic Hali of the Metropolitan Residence from Cernăuți, where the

<sup>171</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *op.cit.*, p. 123- 124.

<sup>172</sup> Dimitrie Bucevchi, *Amintiri din anul Unirii (Memories from the Unification Year)*, in Ion I. Nistor, *op.cit.*, p. 35-42.

<sup>173</sup> Grigore Nandriș, *Vitejii Romei (The Braves of Rome)*, in Ion I. Nistor, *op.cit.*, p. 131-132.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>175</sup> Dimitrie Marmeliuc, *op.cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>176</sup> Mihai Ștefan Ceașu, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>177</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>178</sup> Mihai Ștefan Ceașu, *op.cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>179</sup> Dimitrie Marmeliuc, *op.cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>180</sup> „Calendarul Glasul Poporului” (*People 's Voice Calendar*), Cernăuți, 1937, p. 61.

<sup>181</sup> Gheorghe Platon, *op.cit.*, p. 505.

<sup>182</sup> Vladimir Trebici, *op.cit.*, p. 210.

General Congress of Bukovina was convened and where the participants were 74 delegates of the National Romanian Council, 7 German delegates, 6 Pole delegates and 13 inhabitants from the Ukrainian localities Rarancea, Toporăuți, Cuciurul Mic, Ivancăuți and Putila (Mardare Teodor, Răileanu Nicolae, Tintă Gheorghe, Mintiei Ionică-Ivancăuți)<sup>183</sup>. The Romanian authorities alternated - depending on the situation - the utilisation of the historic principle with the one of nationalities, making use of the opportunities of the year 1918 in the reconstruction of the national state. This formula oscillated - in our opinion - between the national and the multinational state. The works of the Congress were conducted by Iancu Flondor, after the greeting of Dionisie Bejan, President of the National Romanian Council<sup>184</sup>.

The following were present on behalf of Bessarabia: Pantelimon Halippa, Ioan Pelivan, Ion Buzdugan and Grigore Cazacliu<sup>185</sup>. The Congress voted for the *Motion of Unconditional and Eternal Unification of Bukovina, with its ancient borders, up to Ceremuș, Colacin and Nistru, with the Kingdom of România*<sup>186</sup>. The representatives of the German population at the General Congress of Bukovina on November 28, 1918 unanimously voted for the *Declaration of Unification* of Bukovina with România<sup>187</sup>. The delegation of the Poles, representing the National Polish Council expressed, through the voice of their representative Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, the unconditional adhesion at the act of Bukovina's Unification with România<sup>188</sup>. Later on, the Poles from Bukovina would confirm the unconditional attachment at the Unification, in a telegram sent to the King Ferdinand I Hohenzollern. In accordance with the decision adopted by the Congress of the entire population from Bukovina and on the basis of the report drafted by the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, King Ferdinand I, the *Unifier*, decided by decree<sup>189</sup>: "Bukovina, within its historical borders, is and shall remain unified with the Kingdom of Romania for Eternity"<sup>190</sup>. The Decision of the General Congress of Bukovina was sanctioned by the Decree-Law nr.3744 from December 18/31, 1918, which was ratified by the Parliament of Greater Romania on December 29, 1919<sup>191</sup>. After four years of military bloody hostilities, Bukovina was severely affected. Many public institutions - schools, hospitals, churches, mayor houses, cultural houses - were destroyed or badly damaged. Livestock was critically devastated by the war, being it necessary for

<sup>183</sup> Nicolae Ciachir, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>184</sup> Iancu Flondor, *Către poporul român (To the Romanian People)*, in Ion I. Nistor, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>185</sup> Nicolae Ciachir, *op.cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>186</sup> Ioan Scurtu, Liviu Boar, *Minoritățile Naționale din România Documente (National Minorities from Romania 1918-1928. Documents)*, National Archives of Romania, 1995, doc. 3.

<sup>187</sup> I. Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei (History of Bukovina)*, Humanitas, 1991, p. 399.

<sup>188</sup> Viorica Moisuc, Ion Calafeteanu, *op. cit.*, p. 337-338.

<sup>189</sup> Ioan Bilețchi, *Câmpulungul în zorile Unirii, (Câmpulung at Dawn of Unification)* in Ion I. Nistor, *op.cit.*, p. 24- 27.

<sup>190</sup> Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs., fund 71/1914, vol. 90, f. 5.

<sup>191</sup> „Monitorul Bucovinei" (*Bukovina's Journal*), Cernăuți, fascicle 7, January 2, 1919, p. 1-2.

very many years to elapse until it was re-established. Many families were on mourning, after the loss of their children or close relatives, in the war. Lands remained unworked and crops were very poor. Communication ways were seriously damaged. It was only in 1925 when Bukovina reached the pre-war level of development, on the background of energetic and supported measures taken by the governments of the Kingdom of Greater Romania.

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