

THE UKRAINIAN MOVEMENT IN BUKOVINA. THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL PARTY

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Rezumat: Lipsa de unitate și organizare înregistrată în cadrul comunității ucrainene din Bucovina, anterior anului 1918, a fost depășită prin coagularea minorităților ucraineni în jurul Partidului Național Ucrainean, înființat în anul 1926 într-un context politic intern favorabil afirmării propriei identități naționale. Eforturile liderilor săi, derulate în vederea limitării pericolului deznaționalizării și asimilării, utilizării limbii materne, dezvoltării economice și exprimării culturale specifice etniei, susținute de forțe externe, nu au îndepărtat comunitatea ucraineană de la colaborarea cu partidele politice românești și de la implicarea în viața politică a României Mari. Pe fondul evoluțiilor internaționale de la sfârșitul perioadei interbelice, a devenit tot mai clar conturată ideea susținerii creării Ucrainei independente, iar teritoriile locuite de ucraineni au ajuns să prezinte un interes major pentru cele două mari puteri: Germania și URSS.

Abstract: The lack of unity and organization, registered within the Ukrainian community from Bukovina, prior to 1918, has been overcome by the clotting of the Ukrainian minorities around the Ukrainian National Party, founded in 1926, in a political context which was favorable to the affirmation of one's own national identity. The efforts of its leaders, undertaken in order to limit the denationalization and assimilation, of the maternal language use, of the economic development and of the cultural expression specific to the ethnicity, sustained by external forces, have not stopped the Ukrainian community from collaborating with the Romanian political party and their involving in the Great Romania's political life. Due to the international evolutions from the end of the inter-war period, the idea of sustaining the creation of the independent Ukraine became even more clearly outlined, while on the territories where Ukrainians lived, began presenting a major interest for the two powers: Germany and USSR.

Résumé: Le manque d'unité et d'organisation de la communauté ukrainienne de Bucovina, avant 1918, a été franchi par l'attachement des minoritaires ukrainiens au Parti National Ukrainien, fondé en 1926, grâce au contexte politique favorable pour la déclaration de leur propre identité nationale. Les efforts de ses leaders, vu le péril de la dénationalisation et de l'assimilation, de l'emploi de la langue maternelle, du développement économique et de l'expression culturelle ukrainienne, pévil soutenu par de forces externes, p'ont pas éloigné la communauté ukrainienne de la collaboration avec les partis politiques roumains et leur implication dans la vie politique de la Grande Roumanie. Vu les évolutions internationaux d'après la Première Guerre Mondiale, on a vu plus clairement apparaître l'idée de soutenir la fondation d'une Ukraine indépendante et, en plus, les territoires habités par les Ukrainiens présentaient un grand intérêt pour les deux pouvoirs: l'Allemagne et l'URSS.

Keywords: *Ukrainian minority, interwar period, representation, leaders, desideratum, political context*

Introduction

The northern part of Moldova, being under the administration of the Habsburg dynasty in the fall of 1774, has known an evolution, marked by important changes within the social and ethnic structure. If, when occupying the province, the Austrians have identified a number of almost 75 thousand people, out of which the majority were Romanians, according to the data presented by the Austrian census in 1910, the population of Bukovina summed up to 794.869 people, out of which 273.216 (34,4 %) Romanians, 303.013 (38,1 %) Ukrainians, 102.899 (12,1 %) Jews, 73.073 (9,2 %) Germans 36.079 (4,5 %) Polish, 10.391 (1,3 %) Hungarians, 1005 (0,1 %) Slovaks, 80 Slovenians, 31 Serbo-Croatians and 36 Italians¹.

The Bukovina population's general census, performed on February 28th 1919, at Iancu Flondor's request, minister-secretary of state, has revealed that the population of the province reached 811.721 inhabitants, out of which 378.859 (46,7 %) Romanians, 227.361 (28 %) Ukrainians, 88.666 (10,9 %) Jews, 68.075 (8,4 %) Germans, 34.119 (4,2 %) Polish people and 14.641 (1,8 %) other ethnicities². Romanians were the majority in the southern and western part of Bukovina, (county Suceava – 78,5 %, Gura Humorului – 73,1 %, Rădăuți – 79,9 %), Ukrainians being numerically superior in the eastern part (registering ratios between 89,2 % and 90,2 % in the counties of Vizhnitsa, Kitsman and Zastavna)³.

The 1930 census has best recorded the ethnical structure, which existed at national and provinces level, in numeric and percentage indicators. In Bukovina's case, out of the total of 853.009 inhabitants, 379.691 (44,5 %) were Romanians, 236.130 (27,7 %) Ukrainians 92.492 (10,8 %) Jews, 75.533 (8,9 %) Germans, 30.580 (3,6 %) Polish people, 12.437 (1,5 %) Hutsuls, 11.881 (1,3 %) Hungarians and 14.265 (1,7 %) other ethnicities⁴.

Throughout the inter-war period, the Ukrainian minority from Bukovina has enjoyed an active political representation, a consequence of previous manifestations, objectified in the formation of: the multi-ethnic political coalition (The Peasant Companionship, June 1904), based on a joint political

¹ I.E. Toroutiu, *Poporația și clasele sociale din Bucovina* [Population and social classes in Bukovina], Bucharest, 1916, p. 37.

² According to the data published in *Buletinul statistic al României* [Romania's statistic bulletin], series IV, volume XV, No 3, 1920, pp. 174 – 175.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Recensământul general al populației României din 29 decembrie 1930* [Romania's population general census of December 29th 1930], volume II, p. LXXVIII.

program, following the agreement between the Democratic Peasant Party, Ukrainians (represented by Stephan Smal-Stocki, Head of the Ukrainian Language Department of the Chernivtsi University, starting with 1906 – the year of its establishment), Germans (represented by Deputy Arthur Skedl) and Jewish people (represented by Deputy Beno Straucher)⁵; The Bukovina's Ruthenian National Council, also known as The Democratic Popular Party (November 12th 1905, at Chernivtsi), turned (June 16th 1907) into The Radical Party; the Ukrainian Branch of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party (1906) in The Ukrainian National-Democratic Party (1912).

Bukovina's ethnical communities, as well as Romanians, have organized themselves a modern political structure, a kind of political party, the fruit of the political experience offered by the functioning of the "Concordia" Political Society, and of the printed Romanian political newspapers⁶.

The political effervescence among the Ukrainian minority has been also favoured by demographic factors, since the population of Ukrainian ethnicity represented almost a third of the Romanian historical province's population total.

Content

The geographic proximity to other territories with a congener population, that is Czechoslovakia, Poland and Ukraine, has made a natural connection between Ukrainians, strengthened by the joint origin and the same nationality – be possible. Given this background, the connection between the Ukrainian political life in Bukovina and the one similar to Galicia, run by The Ukrainian National Party from Poland (UNPP) took place. Thanks to these connections, in 1926, the Ukrainian National Party (UNP) is being established, a political formation having its headquarters in Chernivtsi, which officially centralized and ran the political activity of Bukovina's Ukrainian minority⁷.

⁵ Mihai-Stefan Ceausu, *Evoluția partidelor și grupărilor politice germane din Bucovina* [Evolution of German political parties and groups in Bukovina], in *Partide politice și minorități naționale din România în secolul XX* [Political Parties and National Minorities from Romania in the 20th Century], Sibiu, „Lucian Blaga” University Publishing House, 2007, p. 335.

⁶ Teodor Bălan, *Lupta pentru tricolor. Un capitol din istoria politică a Bucovinei: 1898 – 1904* [The fight for tricolour. A chapter of Bukovina's political history], edition prepared by prof. dr. Marian Olaru, published under the aegis of the Romanian Academy's „Bukovina” Institute, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2008 pp. 24, 293 – 295.

⁷ *Arhivele Ministerului Afacerilor Externe, Fond România (1920-1944)* [Records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (further referred to as AMAE), Romania Fund (1920-1944)], volume 389, Review regarding the Ukrainian National Party, p. 57.

Prior to 1926, the political atmosphere among Bukovina's Ukrainian minority was precarious, the lack of organization and coordination, whether from the inside or outside of the country dominating. In these conditions, the Ukrainian National Party has perceived the necessity of sustaining and promoting the interest of the Ukrainian people, proceeding to the detailed organization of its activity. The component bodies of the Ukrainian National Party were represented by the central executive, or the Central Committee, which members coordinated the entire activity, except the one specific to the general congress, and the local executives or Local Council, backed by central executive branches⁸: financial and control branch, which managed financial issues and provided the accountancy control; the economic branch, specialized in the managing of the party's material means the press and propaganda branch, which members prepared reviews, published brochures in newspapers; the judicial branch (the folk's secretariat), with attributions related to legal/judicial counselling, in exchange of certain voluntary donations, meant to cover the expenses resulted. Such branches have been established by each township, their coordination being the responsibility of the Central Committee's members.

Under the management of its president, senator dr. Volodymyr Zalozetzky, of its other leaders, among which we mention dr. Mihalski Maier, Yuri Serbeniuk, dr. Leon Kohut, dr. Vasyl Dutchak – considered to be the soul of the Ukrainian movement, dr. Anton Kirilov, an attorney who founded a national fund, through which 10% of the income obtained by each Ukrainian had to be donated to the party⁹, dr. Gregor Kupczanko and dr. Huzar, the Ukrainian National Party has militated for the consolidation of the national spirit among the Ukrainian minorities, by promoting the idea of unity. In this sense, the High National Court, established in 1929 at Chernivtsi, had acquired periodical consignment updating attributions, in a specially created register, of the activity performed by any Ukrainian ethnic, and of judging all misunderstanding between the Ukrainian people or societies, condemning the acts of betrayal by exclusion within the community. Annually, the delegated from the entire country, members of the Ukrainian National Party, were meeting during the Great Congress.

The „Ceas” newspaper, edited in Chernivtsi, under the guidance of Yuri Serbeniuk, had the purpose of promoting the ideas of this party's program. Further,

⁸ AMAE. Fond URSS. Volumul 42. Regulamentul interior al Partidului Național Ucrainean cu sediul la Cernăuți [AMAE. USSR Fund. Volume 42. Internal regulation of the Ukrainian National Party, headquarters in Chernivtsi].

⁹ Alin Spânu, *Evoluția politică a minorității ucrainene din România în documentele serviciilor de informații (1918-1940)* [Ukrainian minority's political evolution in Romania, in the documents of the information services (1918-1940), in *Partide politice și minorități naționale din România în secolul XX* [Political Parties and National Minorities from Romania in the 20th Century], Sibiu, „Lucian Blaga” University Publishing House, 2006, p. 175.

by stating the pragmatic objectives, we will shortly analyze the way in which these were put into practice.

One of the main objectives of the UNP was the eradication of the danger of denationalization and assimilation of the Ukrainian people. The study of certain recorded documents indicate that this main desideratum of the Ukrainian National Party could be realized through various means, this is why we will further set our attention on the irredentist acts, supported and manifested among the Ukrainian youth, with negative effects upon the good cohabitation with the majority population.

Organized into 4 distinct Societies until 1929, the Ukrainian students founded a single association, called „Susor” affiliated to the “TESUS” Ukrainian student association from Prague. During holidays, Ukrainian students spread their own minority’s claims, individually, during their trips to villages, both legally – as members of the party, but also illegally – as adepts of the *Plast* Ukrainian scouts clandestine organization, founded in 1930.

While some of the young and some of the older members of the Ukrainian National Party were having the same goal, that is the creation of the independent Ukraine, the party’s management was stating, whenever it has the occasion, its full loyalty to Romania, leading a policy of accommodation¹⁰, on behalf of the Ukrainian people’s superior interests and the Ukrainism. Thus, at the 1932 general elections, the Ukrainian National Party supported the government, obtaining seats in the country’s parliament.

The same idea, of forming an independent Ukrainian state, was to be also agreed by Adolf Hitler, whose accession to power in Germany, following the winning of the parliament elections by the right extreme in January 1933, was to produce forced changes at international level¹¹. This issue was carefully followed by the Romanian state’s diplomatic representatives, who periodically sent, within the country, reports related to the trends manifested among the Ukrainian emigrants, or regarding them. Thus, we find¹² about a meeting which would have taken place at the beginning of 1933, in Locarno, between Colonel Yevhen Konovalets, Head of the Ukrainian National Organization (UNO), which has as purpose the subordination of the Ukrainian National Party to his own organization, benefiting, in this respect, from the support of the youth, and two Hitler delegates, including Rosenberg, during which

¹⁰ AMAE. *Fond România (1920 - 1940)*, volumul 389, p. 47. *Ucrainenii din România* [AMAE. Romania Fund (1920-1940)], Volume 389 p. 47. The Ukrainians from Romania].

¹¹ Cătălin Huțu, *Bucovina. Adevăruri trecute sub tăcere* [Bucovina. True facts under silence] Iași, Institutul European Publishing House, 2012, p. 14.

¹² AMAE, *Fond 71/URSS (1929-1933)* [AMAE. 71/USSR Fund (1929-1933)], Volume 39, *Chestiunea ucraineană* [The Ukrainian issue]. Bulletin no 6, dated April 1st 1933, of the Political Affairs Direction, The Oriental Section, contains *Noi informațiuni asupra acțiunii ucrainene* [New information on the Ukrainian action] prepared on the basis of the report submitted on March 17th 1933 by the Minister Cădere, who was in Warsaw.

the possibility of constituting the independent Ukraine has been discussed, which territory was to encompass Soviet Ukraine, Poland's voivodships and Bukovina. Initially seen by the soviet press – the „TASS” agency as lacking credibility, this information caused worrying among the Moscow's officials, when it was rumoured that Rosenberg could become Reich's Foreign Minister. The fear was well founded, given that the same Russian officials considered that one of the purposes of the German-Italian-Hungarian alliance was the solving of the Ukrainian issue, to the detriment of USSR¹³.

It is worth mentioning, in this context, that the idea of denationalization is not alien to Bukovina, actually dating back in the time of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, when, due to political reasons, the rulers of the time have constantly encouraged the Ukrainian population. Ever since the 19th century, the Austro-Hungarian Empire had in sight the creation of a so-called “buffer state”, with the role of blocking the expansion of the former Tzarist Empire towards the west. In this purpose, even since the first half of the 19th Century, the Austro-Hungarian Empire has supported the Ukrainian national movement and revival, which has initially manifested itself in Galicia¹⁴. The Austrian census of the Bukovina population, performed on December 31st 1910, indicated the rapid evolution of the de province Slavization. According to it, there were 305.013 Ukrainians and 273.216 Romanians. Numeric data have been disputed by I. E. Torouțiu, which thought of them as being false and who stated that, in fact, there were 313.254 Romanians and 263.013 Ruthenian, as well as by R. F. Kaindl, the latter invoking the lack of the census's scientific character, since the main reviewing criteria has been the conversational language¹⁵.

In order to encourage the Ukrainians' establishment in Bukovina, the Austro-Hungarian authorities have supported the Ukrainian cultural associations, allowing and encouraging the establishment of Ukrainian schools, the material subsidies being provided greatly by the “religious fund”, made up of donations and testamentary foundations made by old Romanian boyars and rulers, to the monasteries of Bukovina.

Among the objectives placed at the forefront of leaders' attention, one could count the representing of the Ukrainian people within the country and abroad, the fighting for the creation of primary, secondary and normal Ukrainian schools, as well as the introduction of the Ukrainian language in these teaching institutions, as teaching language, and subsequently, within justice and administration.

The new political context, occurring due to the returning of Bukovina's northern part back to Romania, has not limited the right of the minorities to access,

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

¹⁴ AMAE. Fond URSS. Volumul 42, a study entitled *Date asupra populațiunii ucrainene din Bucovina* [Data concerning the Ukrainian population in Bukovina], pp. 2-3.

¹⁵ Teodor Bălan, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

freely and for free, to education. Thus, the law for the state's primary education and the primary-normal education (July 24th 1924) guaranteed, in the article which made reference to minorities, the teaching of maternal language within the normal schools where the ratio of minority students was of at least 20% of the students' total number (art. 201). At the same time, the normative act imposed natural standards of knowing the Romanian language, in the case of minority teachers, who, in case they proved, during inspections, that they did not have enough knowledge as to teach Romanian language, Romanian history, Romanian geography and of the civic training taught in Romanian, were to be sent to take courses and exams (art. 228)¹⁶. Through these measures, Dr. Constantin Anghelescu, the Minister of Public Instruction, had in sight the integrating of minority students, with the help of teachers belonging to various minorities, in Romania's new organizational framework, without making a dent in their natural right of knowing and speaking their maternal language. Thus, it was not the case of "changing the identities of the Ukrainian peasants' children"¹⁷, by introducing Romanian language in the primary schools.

Subsumed to the claiming steps as far as the education was concerned, dr. Vasyl Dutchak has submitted a memoire to the Nations' Society, in the content of which he invoked the fact that the Ukrainians have previously held, in Bukovina, 190 primary schools, three high-schools and a normal school, as well as a special department within the Chernivtsi University. The memoire, signed by Vasyl Dutchak, has been drafted at the urge of Petru Sievici, follower of the establishment of the Ukrainian Republic, within which Bukovina's northern part was also included¹⁸.

Dr. Vasyl Dutchak's political ascension took place amid his reevaluation of the necessity of acquiring free legal counselling and advice by all the Ukrainian societies and people, becoming, in short time, a symbol of the Ukrainian community in Bukovina. Shortly after the unification of the province with Romania, his attorney office in Chernivtsi, situated on Regina Maria Street, No 9, would become „the Bukovina Ukrainian policy and minorities office”¹⁹. It is no coincidence that the requests of the Ukrainian inhabitants from some Bukovina townships, contained in the protest submitted to the Ministry of Public Instruction in 1925, related to the reintroduction of education in Ukrainian within the schools and localities where they

¹⁶ Ion Scurtu, Liviu Boar (coordinators), *Minoritățile naționale din România (1918-1925). Documente* [Romania's national minorities (1918-1925). Documents], Bucharest, 1996, pp. 691-692.

¹⁷ Mariana Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina: Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918-1944* [The Romanization of Bukovina. Execution of Great Romania's national revendications 1918-1944], Muenchen, 2001.

¹⁸ AMAE. Fond Geneva. Dosar Societatea Națiunilor. Referitor la minoritatea ucraineană din România (1927-1938). [AMAE. Geneva Fund. File „Society of Nations” concerning the Ukrainian minority in Romania (1927-1938)]. Volume 237, p. 14.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

lived, have been submitted and authenticated at dr. Vasyl Dutchak's attorney office. These requests have been rejected by the Chernivtsi school inspector, who considered them implementations of dr. Vasyl Dutchak's claiming steps²⁰. Such attitudes of certain Romanian clerks have generated protests from the ethnic minorities, not only from the Ukrainian one, representing de facto, the manifestation of the dissatisfactions with the national-liberal government policy (the gradual unification of the education system within all provinces and the diminishing of the maternal language education ratio), which, as Ukrainian and German ethnics sustained, has kicked in their cultural interests, by dissolving the Ukrainian and German classes in the 1927/1928 school year²¹.

Ever since 1922, dr. Vasyl Dutchak stated that the Romanian government's policy limited the constitutional rights of Bukovina's Ukrainians, of using Ukrainian language. Thus, by the review read during the Ukrainian General Meeting, on July 16th 1922 from Chernivtsi, of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, which co-founder he was, together with Bilech, dr. Vasyl Dutchak thought of various administrative and judicial orders, by which the using of Ukrainian language in the daily activity of courts and other institutions, was no longer allowed, as being illegal. As a sign of protest for the introduction of Romanian language in courts' activity, dr. Vasyl Dutchak has submitted a memoire of the Attorney's Body to the Court of Appeal. At the same time, as for the education issue, the Ukrainian General Meeting has protested against the introduction of Romanian language in the Ukrainian schools (90 Ukrainian primary schools, with 280 classes), the compulsoriness of studying History and Geography in Romanian at the Chernivtsi Ukrainian High-School, the dissolving of the Ukrainian high-school from Kitsman and Vizhnitsa, of the Ukrainian classes within the Siret high-school and of the Ukrainian girls' private Seminary.

No less important for UNP were considered the objectives which had as purpose the adopting of the Ukrainian language official character, next to the Romanian one, in the localities with a numerous Ukrainian population; economically, the establishment of Ukrainian popular /folk cooperatives and banks, as a first step of forming their own national economy, as well as the subsidy of credit and consumer cooperatives, by the state; politically, the administrative decentralization and consulting of the Ukrainian minority's representatives in adopting certain local administrative measures²².

²⁰ AMAE. Fond România (1920-1944). Volumul 386 [AMAE. Romania Fund (1920-1940). Volume 386] and in Daniel Hrenciuc, *Continuitate și schimbare. Integrarea minorităților naționale din Bucovina istorică în regatul României Mari (1918-1940)* [*Continuity and change. Integration of national minorities in the historical Bukovina within Great Romania Kingdom (1918-1940)*], Rădăuți, Septentrion Publishing House, 2005, p. 124.

²¹ *Glasul Bucovinei* [Bukovina's Voice], January 16th 1929, p. 1.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

The desire to achieve the guidelines set by the Ukrainian National Party in the economic and cultural fields, with the help of specialized branches, coordinated by the Central Committee, was strengthened by the cultural, economic and sports associations' activities. The inner efforts were supported from the outside, through the connections developed by the party's members with the political associations' representatives and Ukrainian associations from abroad, especially with those in Prague, Berlin and Lvov. At the same time, the Poland Ukrainian Party's management was closely supervising the way in which the Bukovina's Ukrainian National Party's leaders understood how to organize and run the acts of the Ukrainian movement emancipation.

Towards the end of the inter-war period, that is, in 1936, the UNP experienced an intensification of the previously generated propagandistic activity in Bukovina, in the context of international mutations and favourable political circumstances, from which the Ukrainian elite would take profit.

In the context of the Ukrainian Union meeting in Germany, in Berlin, on April 2nd 1936, occasioned by the anniversary of this union's existence, a greeting telegram sent by the German Socialist National Party was read. At the same time, Professor Paul Rohrbach, a specialist in the Ukrainian issue, evoked the necessity of organizing Ukraine with German support, an idea subsequently known under the name of „Rohrbach's theory”. He emphasized the need of unifying all Ukraine's parts “under Germany's sceptre”, indicating that „the third Reich will not refuse this task”²³. Not by chance, politically speaking, Germany became a pole of attraction for Bukovina's Ukrainian minority²⁴, so that the Ukrainian peasants from the proximity of the frontier, speaking about the new Ukrainian state and Adolf Hitler, considered the latter to be „Ukrainian people's saviour”²⁵. The actual state was taking place due to the expansion of the nationalist trend within the Ukrainian youth environments, given that in 1930 the bases of the first nationalist organization were founded, also known as the Ukrainian Revolutionaries' Legion, while four years later, in 1934, the Ukrainian nationalists have unified around the Ukrainian Nationalists Organization,

²³ AMAE. Fond România (1920-1944). Volumul 389. Extras din Nota Direcțiunii Generale a Poliției, nr. 956 din 17 aprilie 1936, referitoare la mișcarea ucraineană, relevat în cuprinsul scrisorii adresată ministrului României la Berlin, datată mai 1936. [AMAE. Romania Fund (1920-1944). Volume 389. Excerpt of the Police's General Direction's Note, no 956, dated April 17th 1936, related to the Ukrainian Movement, revealed in the content of the letter addressed to Romania's minister in Berlin, dated May 1936].

²⁴ Abstract in English of the study signed by Volodymyr Fisanoff, entitled *At the turn of conceptions and activities. Bukovina in search of European authenticity*, published in *Bukovina of 1918-1940: Foreign influences and inland development (Data and records)*, Chernivtsi, 2005, p. 292.

²⁵ AMAE. Fund URSS. Volumul 42. Buletin informativ datat 17 ianuarie 1939 [AMAE. USSR Fund. Volume 42. Informative bulletin dated January 17th 1939.]

from the South-Eastern Territories, under the commandment of Orest Zibachinski²⁶.

In other words, the issue was the inclusion of Galicia and Bukovina to Ukraine, a fact partially agreed by Petliurists, who yet stated that they do not intend to conquer the lands inhabited by Ukrainians, integral parts of Romania, but they only have in sight the obtaining of Galicia's autonomy and the setting of the Soviet Ukraine free.

The effort of reaching to a joint point of view regarding the supporting of one of the two political orientations, pro-soviet or germanophile, manifested within the Ukrainian intellectual and politicians, has determined them to reevaluate, any opportunity emphasized by the international events from the end of the inter-war interval, on the spot, which could contribute to the formation of the independent Ukraine.

On the other hand, Stalin and Hitler would dispute their supremacy regarding the territories inhabited by Ukrainians, each for the consolidation of his own strategic position in the area, but by totally different means and methods.

Thus, the third Reich has seen in the Ukrainian nationalist movement, an effective means of getting closer to Ukraine, by attracting the management of the Warsaw Petliurist emigration on its side, facilitating its own influence among the Ukrainian organizations from abroad. These were to be used for the running of a propaganda, supported in order to argumentation of the need of creating the Great Ukraine, by invoking the legitimate right of nations' self-determination. The German plan for the establishment of Great Ukraine meant the unifying of the territories inhabited by Ukrainians in Poland-Galicia, USSR, Czechoslovakia and Romania – northern Bukovina, Marmarosh, Bessarabia and south of the region²⁷. USSR acted in opposite manner, its attitude resulting in eliminating the separatist and nationalist Ukrainian elements, by various means: Ukraine's administrative reorganization, the joining of other strategic areas to other soviet republics, the insertion of ethnical groups among the majority population and the inhabitants' massive relocation in regions of Siberia, imposing the use of Russian language in the administrative, educational and cultural fields, as well as in justice, the recruiting of militaries faithful to Moscow.

The Ukrainian National Party has blended the Ukrainian community elite from Bukovina its leaders, holders of a high cultural level, of certain optimal social

²⁶ Abstract in English of the study signed by Ihor Piddubnyi, entitled *The Bukovinian political life in 1918 – 1940*, published in *Bukovina of 1918-1940: Foreign influences and inland development (Data and records)*, Chernivtsi 2005, p. 297.

²⁷ Mihai Iacobescu, *O lucrare inedită a istoricului Ion Nistor: Expansiunea germană către estul și sud-estul Europei, 1 ianuarie 1939* [An unpublished work of historian Ion Nistor: The German expansion towards the south-eastern Europe, January 1st 1939], in *Ion Nistor (1876 - 1962)*, coordinated by Alexandru Zub, Iași, „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University Publishing House, 1993, pp. 131 – 144.

relations and financial situations, adopting an attitude similar to the Hungarian and German minority parties. Thus, dr. Volodymyr Zalozetzky, regarded as the majority of his co-nationals as the Ukrainians' exponent in Romania, offered his electoral support to the various political parties which succeeded in governance, in exchange of new parliament mandates. Supported, in his turn, indirectly by political parties, the Ukrainian National Party became, in short time from its establishment, the most important Ukrainian political formation in the country, both by virtue of the members' number, as by the activity performed.

As for the external/foreign relations, dr. Volodymyr Zalozetzky presented himself as Romanian senator of Ukrainian nationality, and representative of the Ukrainian minority population in Romania, constantly supporting his congeners' interests. In the context of his participating (1933) in the Bern's Minority Congress, dr. Volodymyr Zalozetzky requested, on behalf of the Galicia and Bukovina's Ukrainians, the "territorial autonomy", seeing in it, the solution of the "minorities issue", while four years later (1937), during the Minorities Congress organized in London, which president he had been chosen, he militated for the extending of minorities' rights, the way they have been established by the peace treaties²⁸.

Conclusions

During the period which is subject to the present study, that is, the inter-war period, the Ukrainian minority, as well as the other Romanian citizens of other nationalities have enjoyed equal rights with the majority population, as enshrined by the country's laws,²⁹ and strengthened by the treaty signed (1920) by Romania, related to the protection of national minorities³⁰. All ethnical communities were offered the freedom of organizing their own cultural and political life, as well as the chance of participating in the administrative or parliament activity. Dr. Vasyl Dutchak's petitions, who acted on behalf of the Ukrainian community, addressed to the Nations' Society, were examined by a committee, composed of three members of the Council, after which, they had been previously submitted to the attention of the Romanian state, for further comments.³¹

²⁸ AMAE. USSR Fund. Volume 42. *Date asupra populațiunii ucrainene din Bucovina* [Data concerning the Ukrainian population in Bukovina], pp. 8 – 10.

²⁹ Ioan Scurtu, *Viața politică din România, 1918-1940* [Romania's political life, 1918-1940] Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 1982, p. 65.

³⁰ Ion Diaconu, *Minoritățile în mileniul al treilea, între globalism și spirit național* [Minorities within the third millenium, between globalism and national spirit], Bucharest, Asociația Română pentru Educație Democratică [Romanian Association for Democratic Education] Publishing House, 1999, p. 32.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 34.

The initial establishment and functioning of the Ukrainian National Party took place in a period politically dominated by the National-Liberal Party, in the context of the liberal governances from January 1922 –March 1926 and June 1927-November 1928. Equality in rights for all Romanian citizens, regardless of nationality, could be found, ever since 1921, in the National-Liberal Party's program, along with other requests, such as education development, administrative and legislative unification, country's restoration and development, all of these aiming at the development of the Romanian state³².

³² Ioan Scurtu, *op. cit.*, p. 47.