

**THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL TRAINING  
AND SPORT MOVEMENT IN CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS OF BUKOVINA  
(THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIX – EARLY XX CENTURIES)**

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**Rezumat:** *Originea și evoluția mișcării sportive în cadrul organizațiilor civice din Bucovina (a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea – începutul secolului al XX-lea).* În articol a fost analizată activitatea organizațiilor civice din Bucovina din a doua jumătate a secolului XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX care, în mod direct sau indirect, au valorificat în cadrul acțiunilor desfășurate diverse aspecte legate de practicarea sportului și educației fizice în rândul copiilor și tinerilor. Pe lângă studiile de specialitate, au fost utilizate publicațiile periodice ale vremii care au reflectat problemele privitoare la educația generației tinere și au propagat sportul și recreerea. Pe baza activităților organizațiilor respective și a statutelor acestora a fost realizată clasificarea asociațiilor.

**Résumé:** *L'origine et le développement du mouvement sportif chez les organisations civiques de Bucovine (la deuxième moitié du XIX-ème siècle le début du XX-ème siècle).* Dans article ci-joint, on analysa et caractérisa les activités des organisations civiques de Bucovine dans la deuxième moitié du XIX-ème siècle et le début du XX-ème siècle, qui mirent en valeur, totalement ou partiellement, au cadre des actions déployées des aspects différents liés de la pratique du sport et de l'éducation physique parmi les enfants et les jeunes. Auprès des études de spécialité, on étudia les périodiques de la région qui ont réfléchi l'importance des questions concernant l'éducation de la jeune génération et ont promu la propagation du sport et la manière de vivre sainement. On élabora, aussi, la classification des organisations à la base de leur activité et de leur statut.

**Abstract.** *The authors analyzed and characterized the activity of civic organizations of Bukovina in the second half of the nineteenth – early twentieth centuries, which directly or indirectly developed in their actions various aspects of physical education of children and youth. In addition to the specialized studies, there have been considered the regional periodicals that highlighted the problems upbringing the younger generation, promotion of healthy lifestyles, and sports. The classification of the societies was developed based on their statutory activities.*

**Keywords:** *Bukovina, public organization, physical training, sport, children and youth, activity.*

## INTRODUCTION

The problem of upgrading the efficiency of physical training and sports activity with the population, particularly with children and youth, is actual nowadays. This is due to the progression of deviations in the physical development of preschool children, pupils and students, smoking extension and other bad habits among young people. It causes the deterioration of the population health and the younger generation above all. The topicality of the problem is enhanced by low level of involvement children and young people in physical activity, the decline of the traditions of healthy lifestyle and active leisure, poor state of sports infrastructure.

Today, the society faces the task to find effective ways and methods of developing a healthy nation, both physically and mentally, able to respond adequately to the challenges of our time. The study of the domestic experience of body development in different historical periods is particularly relevant, especially because at the stage of building an independent Ukrainian state, when there were created favorable conditions for further exploration of the regional history, including physical education of children and youth in public organizations. Of particular interest to the researchers is the activity in this area of NGOs of Bukovina in the second half of the XIX – early XX century. It is at this time when the legal framework of public organizations in the province was confirmed, there was quantitative increase and diversification of their activity areas, and singling out those which completely or partially solved the problems of physical education of children and youth.

## HISTORIOGRAPHY, SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

The scientific development of theoretical and methodological foundation of physical education in public organizations, the preconditions of emergence of the physical education system in Bukovina was established by historians, ethnographers, pedagogues, community leaders of the land in the period under research (G. Vihlitskyi, E. Worobkiewicz<sup>1</sup>, M. Mishler, A. Nasbaum, J. Polek, A. Ficker<sup>2</sup>). An important factual material on the history of the origin of national

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<sup>1</sup> Worobkiewicz E. *Die geographisch-statistischen Verhältnisse der Bukowina* [Geographic and statistical conditions in Bukovina], Lemberg, 1893. 114 s.

<sup>2</sup> Ficker A. *Hundert Jahre (1775-1875)* [A Hundred Years (1775-1875)], Wien, 1875. 29 s.

social movement and physical education of the younger generation is included in the works of A. Votava, M. Garas, A. Hodel, T. Yorg, R. Kaindl, S. Kassner, M. Korduba, F. Lang etc.

The content and objectives of the physical education and sports movement in Bukovina lands of different historical epochs were considered by Soviet scientists M. Honzha, I. Gritsenko, I. Kompaniets, M. Lishchenko, V. Pichet.

Some aspects of body development in the organizations in the studied period, namely the issues of educational activities of NGOs in the Western Ukrainian lands of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, attracted the attention of I. Andruhiv, A. Vynnychuk, V. Zvozdetska, V. Muzhychok, A. Nahirnyak, R. Naida, M. Pantiuk, Ye. Prystupa, R. Rasevich, B. Savchuk, B. Stuparyk, B. Trophymyak, M. Chepil, A. Yuzyk, B. Yakymovych; the didactic aspects of the defined problem were analyzed by T. Zavorodnia<sup>3</sup>; the impact of physical culture and sports associations on physical education in elementary schools of the region were considered by N. Hnes', and the system of physical education management in Bukovina – by A. Tsybaniuk.

The investigation of the activities of public organizations of Bukovina, which carried out an effective physical education of children and youth, requires the analysis of laws and regulations that regulated social movement in the province, the classification and periodization of their functioning. The crucial significance of the scientific periodization was emphasized by the scholars of pedagogy, history of education and the system of physical education in the Ukrainian lands (T. Zavorodnia, D. Penishkevych, B. Stuparyk etc.).

To perform the determined tasks we used complex methods of research: theoretical – methods of particular historical analysis, classification, monographic methods to organize and classify philosophical, historical, educational, methodical literature; comparative analysis – a retrospective analysis of legal documents, archival sources, statistical reports of institutions and periodic press agencies to determine the content, methods and forms of physical education in public societies; comparative analysis of statutes, textbooks and teaching

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<sup>3</sup> Завгородня Т. *Освітньо-виховна діяльність українських товариств Галичини (1919-1939 рр.)* [Educational activity of the Ukrainian associations in Galicia (1919-1939)], in: Д. Герцюк, А. Гаратик (ред.), *Розвиток української та польської освіти і педагогічної думки (XIX–XXI ст.)* [The Development of Ukrainian and Polish Education and Pedagogy (XIX–XXI centuries)], Том 2, *Діяльність громадських й культурно-освітніх товариств як чинник розвитку українського та польського шкільництва: зб. наук.пр.*, Львів, ЛНУ імені Івана Франка, 2012, с. 13-26.

materials; domain-target analysis of primary sources, periodicals material of the studied period, and general scientific methods – abstraction, logical, systemic and structural ones.

We used the materials of the State Archive of Chernivtsi Region as the sources of our research. They include legal documents, regulations, statutes of the organizations, newspapers and magazines published in Bukovina in the period under study.

### **THE PRECONDITIONS OF PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS OCCURRENCE AND THEIR LEGAL BASE**

The establishment, aspects of activity and dissolution of societies in the Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) empire were governed by the decree from October 13, 1813, which provided for the foundation of charitable organizations whose aim was only to support families whose breadwinners were mobilized into the army. Therefore, based on this law, by 1825 there were established only two societies in Bukovina – charitable “Society for the assistance to the poor members of the community Câmpulung Moldovenesc” (“Der Verein zur Unterstutzunhilfs bedürftiger Mitglieder der Kimpolung”) and physical education and sports “Shooting Society in Chernivtsi” (“Der Schützen Verein in Czernowitz”)<sup>4</sup>.

In the 50s – 60s of the XIX century NGOs of charitable and cultural directions were functioning in Bukovina according to the above mentioned decree from 1813. These unions (and their total number was 16) included in particular “The Society of land culture in the duchy of Bukovina” (1851)<sup>5</sup>, “The Franz Josef Society” (“Franz-Josef-Verein in Czernowitz”) (1856)<sup>6</sup>, “The Society of empress Elizabeth” (“Der Kaiserin Elisabeth-Verein in Czernowitz”) (1857), “The Society of heir Rudolf” (“Der Kronprinz Rudolf-Verein in Czernowitz”) (1866)<sup>7</sup> and others.

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<sup>4</sup> Ю. І. Тумак, *Стан діяльності громадських та фізкультурно-спортивних товариств Буковини XIX-XX ст.* [The condition of the activity of public and physical training and sport organizations of Bukovina in the XIX-XX centuries] in “Науковий вісник Чернівецького університету. Педагогіка і психологія”, 2012, № 629, с. 152-158.

<sup>5</sup> Loghin C. *Din trecutul Societății pentru cultură (1862-1932)* [From the past of Society for culture (1862-1932)], Cernăuți, 1932, 62 p.

<sup>6</sup> *Bericht über den Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Verein nach 25-jährigen Bestande desselben, erstattet vom Vereins-Comites*, Czernowitz, 1880, 16 p.

<sup>7</sup> Zukowski O. *Bukowina pod względem topograficznym, statystycznym i historycznym ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem zwiolu polskiego* [Bukovina in terms of topographical,

Thus, the purpose of these organizations was comprehensive assistance to poor families, the sick residents of the region, widows and orphans, as well as financial support to poor students and artisans without distinction by nationality and religion. These principles of charitable societies remained until the early 20th century.

The return to constitutional monarchy and Bukovina's receiving the status of the crown land had an impact on the cultural development of all ethnic groups in the region, their national consciousness. The growth of social, ethnic and social activity of public circles and the consequent need in founding various organizations required a new reformed legal framework.

In November 15, 1867, the "Organizations Law" came into force, the provisions of which regulated the activities of all NGOs in Austro-Hungarian Empire. Due to this act the state's attitude to the NGOs movements was based on the principles of ensuring freedom of every citizen, the right to create NGOs and free participation in their activities<sup>8</sup>. The term "public organization" was interpreted by this law as a voluntary association of several persons governed by established internal order to achieve certain formulated objectives<sup>9</sup>.

The functioning of an organization began after the issuance of the official permission by the Regional Government. The term of the consideration of statutory documents was four weeks. The government independently decided if the newly formed union was of non-political character on the basis of the submitted documents: the statute, the organizers' characteristics etc.

The controlling function was exercised by the police and the Regional Government, whose forms of control of this activity, as we determined, was the presence of the representatives of the controlling bodies at all events and the systematic analysis of unions boards' written reports<sup>10</sup>.

The act about "the Organizations law" identified two types of unities – general and political. General organizations included all unities, except financial focusing organizations (profitable and mutual banks), trade unions, religious and

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statistical and historical heritage with special emphasis on Polish element], Czerniowce-Lwow, 1914, 145 p.

<sup>8</sup> *Gezetz vom 15. November 1867 über das Vereinsrecht*, in „Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich“, Wien, 1867.

<sup>9</sup> *Österreichisches Staatswörterbuch. Handbuch des gesamten österreichischen öffentlichen Rechtes*, Wien, 1909, Vol.4, 792 S.

<sup>10</sup> Deržavnyj Archiv Černiveckoï Oblasti [State Archive of Chernivtsi Region], Fond [Fund] 10 (Police authorities of the city Chernivtsi), Opys [Description] 1, Sprava [Case] 137 (Directions of the Ministry of Police in Vienna on the establishment of a police oversight of the societies' operations, existing in Bukovina, 1864).

spiritual orders. Among the various general associations that emerged in Bukovina, there were defined three main groups: charitable, generally useful organizations and associations for entertainment.

A considerable distance of the Bukovina region from administrative and cultural centers of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy contributed to the establishment of such associations that would directly meet the socio-cultural needs of all segments of the population. The public organizations, which were together named as "generally useful", included a large group of professional, scientific, literary and artistic unions. In most cases, the purpose of their activities was the national-cultural and professional development. Among the associations of this type the following ones were of particular interest: "The Society for the Promotion of Scientific Education in Chernivtsi" (1869)<sup>11</sup>, "A Friend of the people" (1883), the overall objective of which was to support all scientific and cultural initiatives in the region, the creation of scientific clubs, local history museum and libraries, study of multinational Bukovina culture, improving the financial conditions of the population, including rural residents<sup>12</sup>.

The most numerous group in a public organizations movement of Bukovina in the second half of the nineteenth century were interethnic professional societies of self-help, which brought together the representatives of one occupation and were aimed at social and professional protection of their members. Such organizations were represented by: "The Association of doctors in Chernivtsi" (1869), "The Association of volunteer firefighters in Chernivtsi" (1869), which later reformed into a regional union, "The County agricultural organization in Radauti" (1870), "The first Bukovinian association of postmen and clerks" (1870), "The Bukovina land teachers' Society" (1870)<sup>13</sup>, the teaching union "Postup (Progress)". (See Table no. 1, in the end of the article).

Since 1873 the union "Postup (Progress)" published its own periodical "The Bukovina educational leaflets" ("Bukowiner Pädagogische Blätter"), on the pages of which there were published various materials on the activities of the union, particularly in the field of physical education of the land population<sup>14</sup>,

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<sup>11</sup> *Statuten der Gesellschaft zur Förderung wissenschaftlicher Bildung in Czernowitz*, Czernowitz, 1869. 23 S.

<sup>12</sup> *Festenburg Rückblick auf die Wirksamkeit des Vereins für Landeskultur und Landeskunde im Herzogtum Bukowina*, in „Mitteilungen des Vereins für Landeskultur und Landeskunde im Herzogtum Bukowina“, Vol. 1, Heft 1, Czernowitz, 1857. P. 25.

<sup>13</sup> *Bericht über den Bukowiner Landes-Lehrer Verein für 1879*, in „Czernowitzer Presse“, Mai 24, 1880, S. 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Гимнастическіи игры для дѣтей* [Gymnastic games for children], in "Bukowiner

they analyzed the latest and innovative techniques for the time<sup>15,16</sup>, girls' physical education<sup>17,18</sup>, the issues of daily regime and nutrition<sup>19</sup> etc. Thus, the process of promoting physical education among the younger generation was considered by teaching unions as the methodical assistance to the organization that singled out body development of children and young people as one of their main sphere of activities.

The aesthetics of motion and music education have always been the point of interest for the regional population. In 1862 "The Society for music art promotion" was founded in Chernivtsi. In the eighties of the XIX century two more artistic organizations were formed which fostered choral and church music. On the initiative of the members of the "Music Society", in 1877, the construction of a concert hall (currently – the building of the Chernivtsi Philharmonic) was completed. It became the cultural center of Bukovina<sup>20</sup>. Totally this group combined 13 societies, including those, whose one of the main activity directions was determined as spiritual perfection through regular exercise, which included the moves to the music.

The researcher of German NGOs movement of the region S. Osachuk notes that these musical associations became the force that maintained inter-ethnic friendly relations, and, in turn, cherished national spirit, as far as each ethnic group of the land capital had its own singing or literary society.

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Pädagogische Blätter", Czernowitz, 1876, Nr.17, S. 268-269.

<sup>15</sup> Андрюк П. *Яких средств може учитель уживати, щоби утримати добру карність межи шкільною молодіжкою перед і по науці і поза школою?* [What measures can a teacher take to ensure the children's obedience before and after classes and beyond school?], in "Bukowiner Pädagogische Blätter", Czernowitz, 1895, nr. 2, p. 26-27.

<sup>16</sup> Галицький Л. *Ціль цлого вихованя молодъжи є отвертый и чесный характеръ* [The objective of youth upbringing is an open and honest character], in "Bukowiner Pädagogische Blätter", Czernowitz, 1880, nr. 4 and 5, p. 23-26.

<sup>17</sup> Кримська І. *Уваги і гадки о домашнім вихованю дівчат* [Observations and reflections on the girls' domestic education], in "Bukowiner Pädagogische Blätter", Czernowitz, 1898, nr. 20, p. 311-313.

<sup>18</sup> Мірепка К. *Наука про здоровле в дівочих школах* [Education about health in schools for girls], in "Bukowiner Schule", 1909, 2, vol. VI, p. 75-77.

<sup>19</sup> Євстафієвич Д. *Про потребу плеканя здоровля в народній школі* [On the need of health care in public schools], in "Bukowiner Pädagogische Blätter", Czernowitz, 1900, nr. 11, p. 178-180.

<sup>20</sup> Демочко В., Коцур А. *До історії виникнення площі Філармонії в Чернівцях* [On the history of the origin of Philharmonic square in Chernivtsi], in *Буковина – мій рідний край*, Чернівці, 1997, p. 91-92.

The first Ruthenian literary and dramatic society in Chernivtsi was founded on January 22, 1884, by I. Worobkiewicz. It aimed at fostering “national Rus stuff” with the means of singing, dramatization and, what is really important, folk games and music.

So Bukovina professional organizations, literary-scientific and artistic (cultural) associations, without aiming at promotion physical education of children and youth, in their own way affected the level of the methodical provisions of the process, presented and distributed gaming and dancing experience of people in the region.

One of the first apolitical and “without national” (literal translation – Y. T.) physical education and sports organization was “The General gymnastic society in Chernivtsi” (“Allgemeine Turnverein in Czernowitz”), which in 1867 grouped all Bukovina supporters of a healthy lifestyle. The popularity of classes among the population of the province is witnessed by the fact that gymnastic society continued its functioning even in the days of the World War I. Unfortunately, only the financial reports of the association authorities for that period were preserved in the State archive of Chernivtsi region.

A healthy mind in a healthy body was taken care of at this time in “The Chernivtsi skaters society” (1873), and “The First Bukovinian cycling club” founded in 1886-1887. Such unions emerged in the region from time to time – in 1879 and 1888, though A. Andreichuk (the researcher of physical education and sport in Bukovina in the Austrian period) calls ice-skating an exotic sport for Bukovina.

Active interest in a healthy lifestyle, the natural and climatic conditions, the general tendency of the development and promotion of physical culture and sport contributed to the cultivation of such sports as mountain climbing and hiking. This is confirmed by the fact of the establishment of a sports club “Österreichischer Touristenklub” in Chernivtsi in 1883.

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century we observe the tendency of diversification of kinds of sports that developed in the province. Thus, in 1896 in Chernivtsi there was established a tennis club – “Lawn-tennis club”, in 1902 – a fencing club “Chernfehtklub”. Subsequently, the club becomes a kind of martial arts center and in 1908 there were competitions in different kinds of wrestling and boxing<sup>21</sup>.

The third group of associations were the societies that saw their main

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<sup>21</sup> Андрійчук А. *Історія фізкультури і спорту на Буковині в австрійський період (1774-1914 рр.)* [History of Physical Education and Sport in Bukovina in the Austrian period (1774-1914)], in “Час”, 1994, № 43, с. 6.



purpose in secular communication and leisure. These were the “Casino-Societies” that combined men without national and status distinction. Related societies emerged in the region in the sixties of the XIX century, in Chernivtsi in 1860 and 1877; Suceava and Radauti during 1861-1862. A dozen of recreational associations were opened in seven cities of the region during 1868-1881. Sports club “Casino-bowling”, founded in 1881, systematically held competitions in bowling<sup>22</sup>. It should be noted that the regional press supported the need for the establishment of such institutions. Beside them, the social elite of the region spent time in shooting associations (“Schutzenvereine”) acting on the territory of the county: beside the capital of the duchy (79 permanent members in 1879), in Câmpulung Moldovenesc (since 1868), Radauti (since 1871), Dornavatra (since 1883), Suceava (1886)<sup>23</sup>.

Of course, shooting associations’ activity was mostly entertaining, because contemporary interpretation of the term “exercising” or “sport” meant, above all, rest and entertainment. However, we cannot help highlighting their role in the development of public organizations that were taking care of different aspects of physical education of children and young people. Shooting unions were among the first ones to engage in competitive activities, international cooperation with adjacent organizations, promotion of their own sport, creating a network of shooting galleries. Although the provisions of the associations’ regulations did not restrict sex, age, education, financial status, these organizations were of a closed type. The above defined directions of their activity had a narrow audience – wealthy adult male representatives.

Over time the regulations of shooting associations were edited that concerned the rights and duties of their members, the amount of money contributions, etc. The new areas of operation were determined, such as sport hunting. However, the idea to encourage at least gymnasia school youth to mass and systematic training in sports shooting was considered only in the papers.

### **THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN BUKOVINA: NATIONALLY BIASED ORGANIZATIONS**

The second half of the nineteenth century is defined by systematic

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<sup>22</sup> *Hauptbericht und Statistik über das Herzogthum Bukowina für die Periode vom Jarhe 1862-1871*, Lemberg, 1872, 576 S.

<sup>23</sup> *Vierundfünfziger Jahres-Bericht des Schutzencorps-Rathes an die Generalversammlung des Bürgerlichen uniformirten Schutzencorps in Czernowitz*, Czernowitz, 1880, S. 14.

attempts of uniting on a national basis. The opportunities for the establishment of national cultural and educational organizations were widely used by the Romanian community<sup>24</sup>. On May 1, 1862, the first purely national “Association of the Romanian culture and language in Bukovina” was founded in Chernivtsi. That’s when 183 members entered this union; later the number increased to 221 persons. Referring to the A. Mihayesa’s materials we can state that the main objectives of the association were determined by cultural orientation, i. e. making familiar with and the study of the Romanian language, literature and culture in general. Particularly considerable attention was paid to the work in this direction with the younger generation<sup>25</sup>. The researchers of the Bukovina history (I. Dugan, I. Dutchak, V. Muzhychok, S. Osachuk etc.) emphasize that the Romanian community knowingly defined physical culture as the future weapon in resolving national issues. Although it was still far to the organization of the society whose founding idea would be physical education of all strata of the population, almost all national organizations indirectly contributed to physical education and sports activities, especially among the younger generation.

The foundation of the NGO of promoting Ukrainian literature “*Ruska Besida*” in 1869 was the “respond” of the Ukrainian community to the appearance of the Romanian union. The regulations of “*Ruska Besida*” stated that their main task was the expansion of education and welfare of the Ukrainian people in Bukovina. A member of the first Ukrainian society according to the provisions of the statute could be every literate “*Rusyn*” (the term identified the Ukrainians and the Russians – Y. T.). According to the researchers of the local history D. Kwitkowskyi, T. Brynzan and A. Zhukovski, the emergence of the Ukrainian Bukovinian organization caused a backlash among some of the Romanians. This resulted in a large number of attempts to discredit the activity of the society, which caused the increased alienation of its members and was the reason for the deceleration of the organization activity.

One of the main directions of the activities of “*Ruska Besida*” was the rise of the local Ukrainians’ social life, namely the recognition of the need for such

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<sup>24</sup> Mihai Androhovici (coord.), *Enciclopedia educației fizice și sportului din România, județul Suceava: origini, tradiții, cronologie* [Encyclopedia of Physical Education and Sport in Romania, Suceava County: origins, traditions, chronology], Gura Humorului, Editura Terra design, 2008, pp. 10-11, 45

<sup>25</sup> Міхаєса О. *Перше румунське національне товариство на Буковині* [The first Romanian National Society in Bukovina], in “Буковинський історико-етнографічний вісник”, вип.1, Чернівці, 1996, р. 47.

work as the promotion of the organization. To achieve the objective, they used different means: organizing public lectures and conversations, economic, industrial and ethnographic exhibitions, reading rooms, etc.<sup>26,27</sup>. Also it presupposed the opening of libraries, museums, and publishing activity. Also great attention was paid to organizing mass events of physical culture and sports focus – entertainments and games, strolls, etc.<sup>28</sup>.

“*Ruska Besida*” conducted powerful propaganda work on the pages of its own calendar, which was published at the expense of this public organization. The editors used various methods of informing the province’s population about the importance of sticking to the rules of a healthy lifestyle, the needs for physical training and sport for children and youth, new types of physical activity and more. The “educating and funny” part of the calendar in 1881 presented the rules of healthy living called “Wise sayings of Mykyta Perekrutyvyaz” in a humorous but very accessible form. One of these statements clearly outlined: “I do not care how I live as long as I am healthy”<sup>29</sup>.

Bukovinian-Ruthenian society Calendar in 1890 presented a preview of “the books needed for each literal Rusyn” including the statute of the Ukrainian physical culture and sports society “*Sokol*” (Falcon)<sup>30</sup>.

It is impossible to avoid highlighting the importance of creating reading rooms in the activity of the society “*Ruska Besida*”, as far as a reading room became the center of education and culture for the Ukrainian people<sup>31</sup>. Beside education, it created conditions for the introduction of various novelties: S. Kravchuk, a resident

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<sup>26</sup> *Вашківці* [Vashkivtsi], in “*Руська Бесіда*”, Чернівці, 1894, Ч. 21, травень 20, с. 3.

<sup>27</sup> *В Станівцях малих отворено читальню “Р. Бесіди”* [The reading room of “*Ruska Besida*” opened in Stanivtsi], in “*Ruska Besida*”, Чернівці, 1898, Ч. 7, липень 8, с. 7-8.

<sup>28</sup> *Статут філії товариства “Руська Бесіда”* [Statute of the branch of the society “*Ruska Besida*”], Чернівці, 1909. 8 с.

<sup>29</sup> *Буковинський православний календарь на 1892* [Bukovina Orthodox calendar for 1892], Чернівці, “*Руська Бесіда*”, XIX. 101 с.

<sup>30</sup> *Книжки потрібні для кожного писемного русина* [Books required for each literal Rusyn], in „*Буковинсько-православний календарь на звичайний рок 1890*”, Чернівці, “*Руська Бесіда*”, XVII.

<sup>31</sup> Deržavnyj Archiv Černiveckoї Oblasti [State Archive of Chernivtsi Region], Fond [Fund] 3 (Land authorities of Bukovina), Opys [Description] 1, Sprava [Case] 10950. *Оперативные донесения Черновицкой дирекции полиции о ходе собраний филиала украинского общества “Руська Бесіда”*. [Operational reports of Chernivtsi Directorate of the Police on the meetings of the branch of the Ukrainian society „*Ruska Besida*”], 1910-1914. 6 л.

of the village Lashkivka in Kitsman district, writes in the letters to his relatives that in autumn, 1890, chess were brought to the reading room. The game attracted the interest of observers, especially brothers S. and I. Chornoguz (15 and 17 years old), who went to the city book shops for more information and brought thematic brochures to a local reading room of "Ruska Besida"<sup>32</sup>.

The reason for the slow creation of the network of Ukrainian folk reading rooms in Bukovina (during 25 years of the NGOs movement in the region there were only 46 reading rooms, and in 1902 – 64) were: innkeepers' and clergy's hostility; concerns of local authorities about spreading revolutionary and national liberation ideas in the reading rooms and possible unrest; the lack of nationally conscious leaders, relevant literature and the inertia of the majority of the peasantry. In the villages, there were even less people who had the experience of physical culture activity and the desire to make it public was even smaller<sup>33</sup>.

The idea of the education for the Ukrainians, protection and promotion of the Ukrainian language favored the creation of the society "Prosvita" (Enlightenment) in Galicia (1868), the main purpose of which was defined as helping people in material and political life, spreading national culture through their own publications, etc.<sup>34</sup>. Subsequently the educational movement spread to Bukovina. But at first "Prosvita" united mostly older urban population, and the younger generation and the peasantry remained aloof of its activity<sup>35</sup>.

The idea of the unity of "Galician Rus" (ethnic Ukrainian lands which were a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy: Bukovina, Galicia and Transcarpathia – Y. T., O. T.) with "Great Russia" intensified in the last quarter of the XIX century. The proponents of the theory of a united Russia from the Carpathians to Kamchatka were known figures of that time – V. Volian, D. Zubrytskyi, Y. Holovatskyi, N. Kupchanko, K. Kozarkevych and others<sup>36</sup>. To coordinate this

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<sup>32</sup> Новини [News], in "Русска правда", 1890, вересень 15, с. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Ботушанський В. *Антиалкогольний рух на Буковині у 70-из рр. XIX – на початку XX ст.* [Prohibitionist Movement at Bukovyna in 1870s and at the Beginning of 20th Century], in Україна-Європа-Світ. Міжнародний збірник наукових праць. Серія: Історія, міжнародні відносини, Вип. 5. У 2 ч.: Україна-Європа-Світ: історико-політичні та гуманітарні аспекти розвитку, Тернопіль: Вид-во ТНПУ ім. В. Гнатюка, 2011, Ч. 2, с. 39-49.

<sup>34</sup> Кубійович В. *Енциклопедія українознавства* [Encyclopedia of Ukrainian studies], Львів, 1996, Т. 6, с. 2005-2400.

<sup>35</sup> Грушевський М. *Ілюстрована історія України* [Illustrated history of Ukraine], Київ, 1990. 524 с.

<sup>36</sup> Андрусак М. *Нариси з історії галицького москвофільства* [Sketches on the history

movement in villages the centers of “The M. Kachkovskiy Society” were formed<sup>37</sup>.

Any manifestations of the Ukrainian national life caused active hostility, whether it was a general meeting or a mass entertainment event for youth. Fighting Russophilism required unity of the community, involving broad layers of Ukrainian peasants to their own organization. So, rural youth required a new idea to meet national needs. This need was one of the preconditions for the birth of the “Sich” movement in the province.

Following the Romanians and Ukrainians in 1867 “The Society of fraternal assistance” was established by the Polish, and two years later its Polish “Athenaeum” started to function<sup>38</sup>. The purpose of establishing the Polish reading rooms did not differ from the relevant Ukrainian and Romanian unions: support for the national language and culture, development of education etc.

Almost simultaneously with the Romanians, Poles and Ukrainians the modernization of national life led to the uniting of the Bukovinian Germans. Mainly urban residents participated in the first political and public associations of the Germans: the majority of societies founded by officials and intellectuals were either nationally mixed or limited by city boundaries. The appearance of the society “The German reading room in Chernivtsi” (“Deutsche Lessehalle in Czernowitz”) in 1871 is defined in studies of local history scholars as the first attempt of the Germans to unite in a national organization<sup>39</sup>.

On October 8, 1871, there was held the first founding general meeting of the German reading room at which the board was elected: head, cashier, secretary and other members. Interestingly, the purpose of the existence of the society was uniting Germans for communication and creating conditions for reading newspapers and books. Moreover, the events organized by the society had to be mass<sup>40</sup>.

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of Galician Russophilism], Львів: Просвіта, 1935. 78 с.

<sup>37</sup> Левицький К. *Історія політичної думки галицьких українців 1848-1914* [History of the political thought of the Galician Ukrainians], Львів, Друкарня о. о. Василян у Жовкві, 1926. 432 с.

<sup>38</sup> Філіпчук В. *Деякі аспекти історії поляків та українсько-польських стосунків на Буковині* [Some aspects of history of Poles and Ukrainian-Polish relations in Bukovina] in „Буковинський журнал”, 1998, Ч. 1. с. 92.

<sup>39</sup> Осачук С. *Німці Буковини. Історія товариського руху (друга половина XIX – початок XX ст.)* [Germans of Bukovina. History of the society movement (the second half of the XIX - early XX centuries)], Чернівці: Золоті литаври, 2002. 288 с.

<sup>40</sup> Deržavnyj Archiv Černiveckoi Oblasti [State Archive of Chernivtsi Region], Fond [Fund] 3 (Land authorities of Bukovina), Opys [Description] 2, Sprava [Case] 22002.

Nationally conscious circles of Chernivtsi Jews joined the association “Chernivtsi Jewish reading room” (1887), which proclaimed its main focus of activity in preserving national consciousness among the Jews, their spiritual and literary education etc.

It must be emphasized that in this period (1862–1872) there appeared a definition in the names of the societies – Romanian, German, Russian and more. This fact is reflected in the founding documents of the association – statutes. In addition, the content of these national organizations included folk and moving games, organization of mass physical culture and sports events of national character, local history walks and more.

### **STUDENTS’ ORGANIZATIONS, MILITARISTIC UNIONS AND CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS**

A powerful center of social life of the representatives of the younger generation in Bukovina was established in October 4, 1875, and it was named “k. k. Franz-Josephs-Universität in Czernowitz”. Its opening favored the immigration of scholars and faculty members. This led to the emergence of public and political activists, who, after a certain time, became the leaders of the national movements of different ethnicities of the land. The foundation of Chernivtsi University was an integrating factor, without national colors, in the development of the society movement. Besides, the institution was set up like a German alma mater, where a corporate movement was an integral part.

At the end of October, at the initiative of the rector of the institution, Professor K. Tomashchuk, “The Academic reading room” was formed, which was intended to educate its members spiritually enriched, faithful citizens to the Kaiser and the empire, who recognized the equal rights of all nations and religions. The statute did not provide any national preferences, but they recognized the leading role of the German culture and language<sup>41</sup>.

The growing number of students in the first years of the university functioning was the cause of emergence of a number of student unions: the international conservative association “Austria” (1875), academic corps “Gothia”

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*Переписка с уездными управами по вопросам организации и надзора за деятельностью обществ* [Correspondence with county governments on the organization and supervision of the societies’ activities]. 1898-1903. 66 л.

<sup>41</sup> *Statuten der Akademischen Lesehalle an der k. k. Franz-Josephs-Universität zu Czernowitz*, Czernowitz, 1889. 16 S.

(1876), "Alemania" (1877), the academic society of naturalists (1877), mathematicians and physicists (1881), the Society of pharmacists (1885), "Humanitas" (1900), whose participants were students of all nationalities.

Students were the most active participants of the national movement, they often assumed the leading element in the national social life. So at the same time there appear student unions with clearly defined national restrictions. Among them, the Romanian society "Arboroasa" (1875), whose members were 44 of 54 Romanian university students, "Junimea", in which, for almost five years of existence, there were 85 members, and "Bucovina" (1880).

Bright representatives of student life were the Ukrainian National Academic Society "Union" (1875), the Polish Catholic academic association "Ognisko" (1876)<sup>42</sup>, the German Academic Society "Dacia" (1876). Like the Viennese Zionist society "Kadimah" (Forward) a corporation of Jewish students "Hasmonaea" was founded in the capital of the duchy in 1892, which opposed the German assimilation of Jews<sup>43</sup>.

It should be noted that the statutory provisions of these organizations in defining their common goals or objectives pointed the protection of young people against denationalization. So, as the researchers of the regional history state, the national movement of different ethnic groups in Bukovina led to failures in education of non-national citizens of Austria-Hungary.

Based on the analysis of the legislative acts, the archival sources, reports, the materials of periodicals, we determine the milestone of the organizations movement in the sphere of physical culture its organizational stage (1867–1899) – the stage of approval the state legal framework regulating organizations movement in the country, including Bukovina; quantitative and qualitative growth of "generally useful" international and national organizations of the region of various directions: charitable, professional, arts, entertainment, physical culture, sports and more. A large network of such organizations provided social demands of all segments of the population in Bukovina.

The political situation in Europe in the early twentieth century was reflected in the organizations movement in the Bukovina region. At this time various societies of militaristic character began to function. The Polish "Sokol" (Falcon) (1892) and the gymnastic Ukrainian Union "Sich" (1904) became both

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<sup>42</sup> Biedrzycki E. *Historia polakow na Bukowinie* [The History of Poles in Bukovina]. Krakow: Nakladem Uniwersytety Jagiellonskiego, 1973. 261 s.

<sup>43</sup> Broszat M. *Von der Kulturnation zur Volksgruppe. Die nationale Stellung der Juden in der Bukowina im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, in „Historische Zeitschrift“, №200/3, 1965. S. 585.

the units of voluntary fire protection in rural areas and well-organized centers of national movement. The activity of "Sokol" developed in several major areas – namely promoting gymnastic and sporting activities among all members of the Polish community, mostly young people, including schoolchildren, and the development of tourism, local history, Polish culture and education<sup>44</sup>.

Bukovinian "Sich" movement started in 1902 when the first firefighting and gymnastic organization "Sich" was established in the town Kitsman. Next to the firefighting activity, one of the main objectives of "Sich" was education of the national dignity, patriotism among wide circles of the Ukrainian peasantry. An important part of this was given to the physical strengthening of the body through mobility training, endurance, coordination of collective actions, self-organization.

"Sich" ideas quickly and widely spread on the territory of the region. In 1904 organization "Sich" was founded in the city Chernivtsi, which became the coordination center of the "Sich" movement in Bukovina. According to its statute, it was purely gymnastic and to achieve its goals it undertook certain obligations: a) to keep the gymnastic organization and conduct gymnastics classes for both members and students of the society; b) to support its own library with systematic subscriptions and publishing professional works, brochures, periodicals.

Physical culture and sports activity of the organization was provided by relevant statutory requirements – namely, the organization of physical training classes with the elements of firefighting, archery, horse riding, swimming, rowing, wrestling, cycling, dancing, etc.

98 "Sich" organizations were active in the province in the middle of the year 1909. "The Union of Sich" systematically observed the activity of its branches, estimating the number of new members, sports events conducted for particular time period, the effectiveness of propaganda among the population of their settlements, the presence of girls. Consequently, 25 of the above-defined associations were rated very successful, the work of 37 was evaluated as "good", 16 of them singled out certain problems that had to be coped with. Only 10 organizations existed on paper only<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> *Дробни вісти. Читальня польська* [Small news. Polish reading room] in „Буковина”, Чернівці, 1886, Ч.1, 1 січня, с. 4.

<sup>45</sup> Гуйванюк М. *Діяльність галицьких та буковинських "Січей" у справі фізичної підготовки української молоді* [Activity of Galician and Bukovinian "Sich" associations in the field of physical preparation of young Ukrainians], in *Питання історії України. Зб. наук. статей*, Чернівці: Золоті литаври, 2001. Т.4, с. 81-85.



The first official sports association of the Bukovina Germans became "The German Football Club" (1903). The organizing group, composed of 20-30 activists, tried to develop football as a team sport game, and this goal was clear from the name of the organization. Almost immediately the range of interests of the members expanded and, by mutual agreement, they identified the following areas of the activity, such as the development of gymnastics, tourism and leisure organization in the open air.

In 1909 at the initiative of the school inspector Professor R. Kaindl and social activist J. Rudolf the reformed company received a new name - "The German gymnastics and sports association "Jahn" in Chernivtsi" ("Deutscher Turn- und Sportverein "Jahn" in Czernowitz"). The theme was the statement, based on the principles of F. Jahn: "Sports and gymnastics, not for records, but for the physical and spiritual education"<sup>46</sup>.

The board of the association took care of the harmonious development of its members and planned various activities - gymnastics, soccer, tennis, swimming, winter sports and more. On the basis of the association there were organized women, girls and youth teams. Experts of the football section promoted football, developed various provisions on competition, studied innovations and developed guidelines for training teams, also conducted demonstration trainings and games. The society determined harmonious education of children and youth as one of the main objectives of the gymnastic direction. The above mentioned objectives were reached by means of tourism, gaming and entertainment, lessons of music and its use in the classroom. The branches of the society emerged in the settlements of the region; the most powerful were created in Storozhinets and Radauti.

Continuing cooperation with schools, the organization "Jan" planned to establish with the assistance of "The Austrian imperial unions of conscript youth" a scout corpus to improve the quality of work with the younger generation. After all, the society's charter in 1913 in the section "Types of membership" stipulates that "the extraordinary members" are students under 18 years old<sup>47</sup>.

In the early decades of the twentieth century youth organizations acting on the basis of the Baden-Powell theory launched their activities in the province. In

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<sup>46</sup> Hodel A. *Einiges aus der Geschichte des Turn- und Sportverein "Jahn" in Czernowitz*, Czernowitz, 1928, S. 5.

<sup>47</sup> Кожолянюк Г. *Етнографія Буковини [в 3-х томах]* [Ethnography of Bukovina (in 3 volumes)], Чернівці: Золоті литаври.

1913 the German youth of the land was involved in the overall Austrian Scout Movement. In May 1913 a branch of “The Austrian wandering bird” opened in Bukovina – the association which developed youth tourism, brought up a “sense of beauty in nature” and made it possible to discover their country, region, and nation.

Bukovinian youth caught the Plast idea which was widespread in the western Ukrainian lands. In the early 1914 Chernivtsi University students, the most active members of the “Sich” and “The Students’ Union” started broad propaganda work among school youth. Soon the group of “Plast” fans began functioning. In late March of that year there were meetings, which resulted in the founding of the Second Bukovina Regiment of the Ukrainian Plast named after Ivan Bohun. The first instructors of the Plast organizations were Bukovina reserve officers of the Austro-Hungarian army.

The rapid spreading of the Plast in the region led to the network of circles with a great number of members: in June 1914 they numbered about 800 people. One reason for this spreading was the lack of organizations whose members could be representatives of the Ukrainian gymnasium youth of the region<sup>48</sup>. The representatives of the pre-war Bukovina Scout organization kept closely in touch with the Galician *plastuns*: actively participated in two Plast congresses, received thematic literature, shared their experience in organizing events, campaigning among children and youth etc.

Researcher of western Ukrainian Plast B. Savchuk, when comparing Plast activity in the West Ukrainian lands, stated that indistinct pro-military direction in Bukovina was one of distinguishing features in the formation of the organization<sup>49</sup>.

Another group of organizations operating in the territory of the duchy and taking care of various aspects of the comprehensive education of children and youth in the study period were national-religious societies, mostly catholic ones: “Christian-German Youth Union in Gurahumora”, “Catholic-German Youth Union in Radauti”, “Catholic-German Youth Union in Chernivtsi”. They determined their main goal to be spiritual wellbeing of the Christian youth, organizing mutual support, the rise of national consciousness, a system of self-education, providing conditions for playing music and sports<sup>50</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> Квітковський Д., Бринзан Т., Жуковський А. *Буковина: її сучасне і минуле* [Bukovina: its present days and past], Париж-Філадельфія-Детройт, 1956. 955 с.

<sup>49</sup> Савчук Б. *Український Пласт. 1911-1939* [Ukrainian Plast. 1911-1939], Івано-Франківськ “Лілея-НВ”, 1996. 264 с.

<sup>50</sup> Deržavnyj Archiv Černiveckoї Oblasti [State Archive of Chernivtsi Region], Fond

The beginning of the twentieth century is characterized with well formed understanding of the needs of female comprehensive upbringing, including physical education. Development of sport and a healthy lifestyle became one of the fundamental objectives of the society “German Catholic Girls Youth” (“Deutsches-katholisch Mädchenjungend in Radautz”) (1913)<sup>51</sup>.

Singling out unities of military and applied character, sports associations on a national basis, as well as women’s (girls’) unions, from a total amount of public societies led to the separation of the third – socio-integration period of the development of physical education in a society movement of the land. Accordingly, it covered the years 1900–1914.

### CONCLUSION

Thus, the physical education of the younger generation in Bukovina in the second half of the XIX – early XX century is defined as one of the key tasks of various NGOs of the land, especially firefighting-gymnastic, physical culture and sports, scouting, anti-alcohol societies and others.

Though a large number of artistic, educational, trade unions, religious societies didn’t consider physical education of children and youth to be their main objective, they affected the organization of their body education more or less. The spheres of these organizations’ interests were: the financing of sports activities of educational institutions and other public associations, creating a network of sports facilities, promotion of physical culture and sports, including activities for children and youth, healthy lifestyles, new types of physical activity, methodological support of physical culture and sports, international cooperation with relevant organizations, presentation and distribution of motor experience of the people in the region.

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[Fund] 3 (Land authorities of Bukovina), Opys [Description] 2, Sprava [Case] 28207. Переписка с Гурагуморским уездным управлением об утверждении устава немецкого общества “Дойч-Кристлихз югендбунд” г. Гурагумора. Устав [Correspondence with Gurahumora county government on the approval of the regulations of the German society “Deutsch-Christliches Jugendbund”. Gurahumora. Regulations], 1911-1912. 15 л.

<sup>51</sup> Гнатчук О. *Українські жіночі організації на Буковині (80-ті рр. XIX – 30-ті рр. XX ст.)* [Ukrainian female organizations of Bukovina (80-s of the XIX – 30-s of the XX centuries)], Чернівці: Пута, 2004. 211 с.

**Table no. 1. Public and physical culture-sport organizations of the region in the period under study**

<b>Name of the organization and the year of establishment</b>	<b>Type and kind of the organization</b>
„Schützenvereine“ (Shooting unities) in Czernowitz (1842) Câmpulung (1868) Czernowitz (1879) Radautz (1871) Dornavatra (1883) Suceava (1886)	Entertainment unities / shooting
“Die Gesellschaft der Landeskultur im Herzogtum Bukowina” (“The Society of land culture in the Duchy of Bukovina”) (1851)	Generally useful / artistic
“Franz-Josef-Verein in Czernowitz” (“The Franz Josef Society”) (1856)	Charitable
“Der Kaiserin Elisabeth-Verein in Czernowitz” (“The Society of empress Elizabeth”) (1857)	Charitable
“Kasino-Vereine” (Casino-societies) in Czernowitz (1860 and 1877) Suceava (1861) Radautz (1862)	Entertainment unities / casino
“Vereins zur Förderung der Tonkunst in der Bukowina” (“The Society for music art promotion”) (1862)	Generally useful / artistic
“Societatea pentru Cultura și Limba Română în Bucovina” (“Association for the Romanian culture and language in Bukovina”) (1862)	Generally useful / artistic
“Der Kronprinz Rudolf-Verein in Czernowitz” (“The Society of heir Rudolf”) (1866)	Charitable
“Allgemeine Turnverein in Czernowitz” (“The General gymnastic society in Chernivtsi”) (1867)	Generally useful / gymnastic
“Towarzystwo bratniej pomocy” (“The Society of fraternal assistance”) (1867)	Charitable
“Gesellschaft zur Förderung wissenschaftlicher Bildung in Czernowitz” (“The Society for the Promotion of Scientific Education in Chernivtsi”) (1869)	Generally useful /literary-scientific
ТОВАРИСТВО “Руська Бесіда” (“The “Ruska Besida” society) (1869)	Generally useful /literary-scientific
“Czytelnia” (Polish “Reading room”) (1869)	Generally useful /literary-scientific
“Ärzte-Verein in Czernowitz” (“The Association of medics in Chernivtsi”) (1869)	Generally useful / professional
“Gesellschaft Freiwilligen Feuerwehr” (“The Association of volunteer firefighters in Chernivtsi”) (1869)	Generally useful / professional

“Societatea sectorului agricol din Radauți” (“The County agricultural society in Radauti”) (1870)	Generally useful / professional
“Erste bukowinischen Gesellschaft Briefträger und Mitarbeiter” (“The first Bukovinian association of postmen and clerks”) (1870)	Generally useful / professional
“Bukowiner Landes-Lehrer Verein” (“The Bukovina land teachers’ Society”) (1870)	Generally useful / professional
“Postup” (the teaching union “Progress”) (1870)	Generally useful / professional
“Deutsche Lessehalle in Czernowitz” (“The German reading room in Chernivtsi”) (1871)	Generally useful / educational
“Asociatia Vânătorilor Districtul Rădăuți” (“Hunters Association in the District Radauti)(1872)	Generally useful / sports
“Schlittschuhlaufen-Verein in Czernowitz” (“Chernivtsi skaters society”) (1873)	Generally useful / sports
“Arboroasa” (“The Tree”) (1875)	Generally useful / academic
Українське товариство “Союз” (the Ukrainian National Academic Society “Union”) (1875)	Generally useful / academic
“Академічна читальня” (“Academic reading room”) (1875)	Generally useful / academic
“Austria” (the international conservative association “Österreich”) (1875)	Generally useful / academic
“Ognisko” (the Polish Catholic academic association “Fire”) (1876)	Generally useful / academic
“Gothia” (Academic corpus “Gothia”) (1876)	Generally useful / academic
Die wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft der Naturforscher (The academic society of naturalists) (1877)	Generally useful / academic
“Товариство ім. М. Качковського” (“M. Kachkovskyi society”) (1876)	Generally useful / educational
Akademische Gesellschaft “Dacia” (Academic society “Dacia”) (1876)	Generally useful / academic
“Glücksspiele-Bowling” (“Casino-bowling”) (1881)	Entertainment unities
“Die Gesellschaft der Mathematiker und Physiker” (The society of mathematicians and physicists) (1881)	Generally useful / academic
“Österreichischer Touristenklub” (“Austrian Tourist Club”) (1883)	Generally useful / sports
“Товариш народу” (“A Friend of the people”) (1883)	Generally useful / educational

“Gesellschaft der Apotheker” (“the Society of pharmacists”) (1885)	Generally useful / professional
“Erste Bukovina Radfahrer Club” (“The First Bukovinian cycling club”) (1886)	Generally useful / sports
“Перше руське літературно-драматичне товариство в Чернівцях” (“The first Ruthenian literary and dramatic society in Chernivtsi”) (1884)	Generally useful /literary-scientific
“Czernowitz Juden Lesehalle” (“Chernivtsi Jewish reading room”) (1887)	Generally useful / educational
Studentenverbindung “Humanitas” (students’ society “Humanity”) (1900)	Generally useful / academic
“Sokol” (Polish “Falcon”) (1892)	Generally useful /firefighting-gymnastic
“Gymnasten-Unterstützungs Vereinldliche-Sportklub Hagviruh” (Gymnastic-supporting sports club Hagviruh) (1896)	Generally useful / sports
Societatea Culturală a Muncitorilor “Avântul” (“Workers Cultural Society “Momentum”) (1899)	Generally useful / artistic
Societatea Vânătorilor din Județul Radauți “Dr. Gh. Nedeci” (Hunters’ society in County Radauți “Dr. Gh. Nedeci”) (1900)	Generally useful / sports
“Chernfechtclub” (Fencing club) (1902)	Generally useful / sports
“Deutsch Fußballclub” (“German football club”) (1903)	Generally useful / sports
“Січ” (Ukrainian gymnastic union “Sich”) (1904)	Generally useful /firefighting-gymnastic
Societatea “Frăția” (Society “Brotherhood”) (1909)	Generally useful / sports
Clubul de Sport din Bilca (Sport Club in Bilca)	Generally useful / sports
“Deutscher Turn- und Sportverein “Jahn” in Czernowitz” (“The German gymnastics and sports association “Jan” in Chernivtsi”) (1909)	Generally useful /firefighting-gymnastic
Clubul HLA (Club HLA) (1912)	Generally useful / sports
“Österreichische Wandervogel” (“The Austrian wandering bird”) (1913)	Generally useful /scout
“Deutsch-Christliches Jugendbund in Gurahumora” (“Christian-German Youth Union in Gurahumora”) (1913), “Deutsch-Christliches Jugendbund in Radautz” (“Catholic-German Youth Union in Radautz”) (1913), “Deutsch-Christliches Jugendbund in Czernowitz” (“Catholic-German Youth Union in Chernivtsi”) (1913)	Generally useful / educational
“Deutsches-katholisch Mädchenjungend in Radautz” (“German Catholic Girls Youth in Radautz”) (1913)	Generally useful / female
“Пласт” (“Plast”) (1914)	Generally useful /scout

**RELIGIÖSE ERZIEHUNG IN DER VOLKSSCHULE MIT HILFE  
DER LEHRBÜCHER FÜR DEUTSCH IN DER HABSBURGERMONARCHIE  
(ANFANG DES XX. Jh.)**

**RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS BASED ON  
THE GERMAN TEXTBOOK, IN THE HABSBURG MONARCHY  
(THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY)**

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**Rezumat:** *Educația religioasă în școlile populare din Monarhia Habsburgică pe baza manualelor de limba germană (începutul secolului XX). Articolul are ca obiect de studiu trăsăturile specifice ale educației religioase în „școlile populare”, pe baza manualelor de limba germană din perioada Austro-Ungariei (începutul secolului al XX-lea). Sunt analizate structura și conținutul manualelor de limba germană destinate atât populației germanofone, cât și populației negermanofone, scopul fiind clasificarea acestora pe grupe. Sunt evidențiate particularitățile metodicii studierii limbii germane în școala primară din perioada Austro-Ungariei, atât pentru elevii germanofoni, cât și pentru elevii negermanofoni.*

**Résumé:** *L'éducation religieuse dans les écoles populaires sur les manuels de langue allemande dans la Monarchie Habsbourgeoise (le début du XX-ème siècle). On consacre l'article ci-joint aux traits spécifiques de l'éducation religieuse des élèves dans les "écoles populaires" sur les manuels de langue allemande de la période de l'Autriche-Hongrie (le début du XX-ème siècle). On y analyse la structure et le contenu des manuels de langue allemande destinés à la population germanophone, mais aussi non-germanophone, le but étant leur classification par groupes. L'article présente, aussi, les particularités de la méthode d'apprentissage de la langue allemande à l'école primaire, pour les élèves germanophones et pour les élèves non-germanophones de l'époque de l'Autriche-Hongrie.*

**Abstract:** *The article highlights the main principles of religious education in public schools on the basis of German language textbooks during the reign of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (the early XXth century). The structure and content of German language textbooks for primary schools for German-speaking and non-German-speaking population*

*has been analysed. These textbooks have been divided into the groups. The main features of the German language teaching methods in primary school for a German-speaking and non-German-speaking student during the Austro-Hungarian Empire have been depicted.*

**Keywords:** *religious education, German language teaching methods, textbooks, public school, lexical, grammar material.*

## **Einführung**

Die Zukunft jedes Landes hängt übertrieben von den Werten ab, die dem Nachwuchs beigebracht werden. Als wichtige Bestandteile von Theorie und Praxis des Erziehungsprozesses galten für eine lange Zeit in der Geschichte des Schulwesens in Österreich-Ungarn religiöse Vorstellungen, die seinem Wesen nach pädagogisch und anthropologisch waren. Das bedingte die Bedeutung der religiösen Erziehung bei der Bildung von geistigen und moralischen Werten sowie der persönlichen Weltanschauung. Das Lehrwerk für für deutsche Sprache war jene Quelle, die die Schüler einer Volksschule mit Geistigkeit, ehrenvoller Einstellung zu ihren Angehörigen und liebenswürdigen Vorsätzen ihrer Umgebung gegenüber erfüllte.

## **Die Beschreibung der Probleme**

Beim Charakterisieren der Entwicklung von Linguodidaktik im historischen Rückblick stützten wir uns auf die Werke von europäischen und amerikanischen Wissenschaftlern.

Sowohl in der sowjetischen Zeit, als auch in der ukrainischen Geschichtsforschung ist die Geschichte der Methodik des Deutschunterrichts in der Bukowina (in den zu der Habsburgermonarchie gehörenden Gebieten) bis 1918 sehr wenig erforscht. Dagegen gab es zahlreiche Studien zur Geschichte der Methodik des Deutschunterrichtes im Russischen Reich. Unter den Standardwerken sind beispielsweise die von I. Rachmanow (1947), W. Rauschenbach (1971), O. Miroljubow (1973), G. Wedel (1979).

Die Geschichte der Methodik im Deutschunterricht in den westeuropäischen Ländern, wie in Großbritannien, und den USA wurde u. a. von W. Mackey (1969), P. Rodgers (1986), J. Richards (1991). Z. Murik (1991), H. Neuner, H. Hunfeld, W. Gülen (alle 1993), L. Braun (2001), S. Bornetto (2005) untersucht.

Die Geschichte des Bildungswesens in Österreich-Ungarn war der Forschungsgegenstand der österreichischen Wissenschaftler F. Hörburger



(1967), H. Engelbrecht (1986), J. Scheipl (1987), E. Schuster (1979), G. Staudinger (1987), I. Mitterer (1992), M. Loew (1998), J. Rinner (1996), E. Olentchouk (1998), W. Kissling (2015), E. Lechner (1999), G. Czeban (1999).

Die Geschichte der religiösen Bildung im österreichischen Schulsystem wurde in den wissenschaftlichen Werken von V. Yelensky, A. Sbruieva, M. Zakowych, O. Matvienko, V. Mishak untersucht. Unter den österreichischen Wissenschaftlern sollte man Georg Geiger, Gert Otto, Günter Stachel nennen<sup>1</sup>. Die Methoden, Ansätze und den Inhalt der Unterrichtsstunden der religiösen Ethik erforschten R. Schelander, R. Schilmöller, C. Ungureanu, R. Wagner, M. H. Ceaușu, T. Ugovsek, M. Jonach, J. Rinner, E. Plancher, R. Kadan, H. Schluß.

### Der allgemeine Rahmen

Die erwähnten Forscher untersuchten aber nicht die Entwicklungstendenzen von Methodik des Deutschunterrichts in der Bukowina, weil diese Fragen außerhalb ihrer Forschungsinteressen lagen. Als Quellenmaterial und als Bewertungsorientierung für die Schlussfolgerungen zum Thema unserer Forschung dienten Ausgewählte historiographische Werke.

Unter Berücksichtigung dieser Information stellen wir als Ziel dieses Artikels die Struktur- und Inhaltsanalyse von Lehrwerken für Deutsch für die Grundschule in der Bukowina, die Untersuchung der Bedeutung der religiösen Erziehung in der Forschungsperiode sowie der Besonderheiten des Deutschunterrichts für deutschsprachige und nicht deutschsprachige Schüler in Österreich-Ungarn.

### Die allgemeinen Prämissen und deren Einfluss

Das Lehrwerk für Fremdsprache betrachten wir als eine Systemkomponente des Deutschunterrichts, die den Forderungen eines gültigen Programms und den Aufgaben der bestimmten Lehranstalt sowie Alters- und anderen Besonderheiten der Schüler entspricht. Es soll das Sprachmaterial, Beispiele der mündlichen und schriftlichen Rede, Angaben zum Land, dessen Sprache gelernt wird, enthalten. Das Material soll unter Berücksichtigung seiner

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<sup>1</sup> Валентина Мішак, *Особливості становлення та розвитку уроку релігії в австрійській школі* [Besonderheiten der Gründung und Entwicklung der Religionsstunde in der Österreichischen Schule], in: "Порівняльна професійна педагогіка", 2012, №1, S. 144-151, <http://khnu.km.ua/root/Res/2-7003-50.pdf>.

funktionellen Belastung in verschiedenen Kommunikationsformen und unter Berücksichtigung der positiven Erfahrung der Schüler beim Sprechen in der Muttersprache unter Vermeidung der Interferenz ausgewählt und organisiert werden. Das Material im Lehrwerk sollte auf solche Weise geteilt werden, dass es den Inhalt einzelner Unterrichtsstunden umfasst. Jede Stunde sollte in der Regel enthalten: einen Text, lexikalisch-grammatische Anmerkungen zum Text, grammatisches Material, Übungen, Anschauungsmaterial. Das Lehrwerk soll das Konzept einer bestimmten Unterrichtsmethode realisieren und zentraler Bestandteil der Lehrprozessleitung, eine effiziente Optimierungsart vom Sprach- bzw. Fremdsprachenlernen sein.

Nach der Analyse von Hauptgrundsätzen der Lehrwerke für Deutsch gehen wir zu ihrem Inhalt und Struktur über.

Während der Arbeit in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek wurden von uns fünf Lehrwerke von K. Tumlirz und 15 Lehrwerke von K. Kummer für den Deutschunterricht in der Volksschule gefunden. Sie alle wurden vom Lehrprogramm und vom k. k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht empfohlen.

Wir beginnen unsere Vorstellung mit dem ersten Teil der Lehrbücherreihe für Volksschulen von K. Kummer *Lesebuch für österreichische allgemeine Volksschulen<sup>2</sup>. Erster Teil*. Dieser wurde für das Erlernen der Buchstaben und ihr Lesen bestimmt. Das Lehrwerk hat eine Einführung.

Das erste Lehrbuch für jüngere Schüler umfasste die Laute, die Buchstaben sowie die Lese- und Rechtschreibregeln. Zu jedem Buchstaben der Fraktur wurden graphische und orthographische Informationen hinzugefügt. Außerdem gab es eine Zeichnung dazu, die den ersten Buchstaben im Wort sowie Wörter mit dem zu erlernenden Buchstaben zeigte. Mit jedem neuen Buchstaben wurde die Zahl der Beispiele größer, es kamen immer schwierigere Wörter zum Lesen und Schreiben, insbesondere mit verdoppelten Buchstaben, Ausdrücken und Phrasen. Nachdem das ganze Alphabet gelernt worden war, führte man Beispiele der schriftlichen graphischen Buchstabenverbindungen in Wörtern sowie Lesebeispiele für Wörter, Ausdrücke und Sätze ein. Die Sätze im Lehrbuch waren inhaltlich nicht verbunden. Die Etappe der graphischen Verbindung von Wörtern schloss kurze Lesetexte in Form von Gedichten, Rätseln, Fragen usw. ein.

Der zweite Teil des Lehrbuchs enthielt Lesetexte und fing mit dem Bild eines betenden Mädchens an sowie dem Titel *Gott sei mit uns* und der Vorschrift „Mit Gott fang an, mit Gott hör auf, das ist der beste Lebenslauf“. Die Länge der

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<sup>2</sup> Karl Kummer, Raimund Hofbauer, *Lesebuch für österreichische allgemeine Volksschulen. Erster Teil*. Wien, k. k. Schölbucher-Verlag, 1912, 112 S.

Texte betrug drei bis 5-6 Sätze und schloss Themen ein wie: „Wenn das Kind aufwacht“; „Morgengebet“; „Ich sehe“; „Ich höre“; „Ich spreche“; „Ich spiele“; „Fünf treue Diener“; „Ich gehe“; „Zwei Lastträger“ usw.

Wir führen einige Textbeispiele aus dem Lehrbuch an (die Originalsprache ist beibehalten):

### ***Wenn das Kind aufwacht***

*Guten Morgen, lieber Sonnenschein! Guckst in mein Fenster schon herein? Was machen denn die Vögelein?*

*„Die Vögelein sind schon aufgewacht und haben für die stille Nacht dem Schöpfer ihren Dank gebracht. Und willst du fröhlich sein, mein Kind, so fröhlich, wie die Vögel sind, mußt du ihm danken auch geschwind“<sup>3</sup>.*

### ***Morgengebet***

*Vom Schlaf bin ich gesund erwacht, dir, lieber Gott, sei Dank gebracht! Nimm mich auch heut in deine Hut und mache mich recht fromm und gut, daß ich, o Gott, den ganzen Tag dein liebes Kindlein bleiben mag!<sup>4</sup>.*

### ***Zwei Lastträger***

*Zwei Lastträger kenne ich, tragen mich und tragen dich, kriegen keinen Heller Lohn, tragen keinen Dank davon. Stumm und still und ohne Klage dienen sie uns alle Tage; sicherlich wirst du sie kennen, hurtig ihre Namen nennen<sup>5</sup>.*

### ***Ich fühle***

*Ein Herz, ein Herz hab' ich in der Brust, so klein und klopft doch so voller Lust und liebt doch den Vater, die Mutter so sehr. Und wißt ihr wo ich das Herz hab' her? Das hat mir der liebe Gott gegeben, und Herz und die Liebe und auch das Leben<sup>6</sup>.*

Weitere Texte hatten größeren Umfang, ihr Inhalt hatte lehrreiche und erzieherische Aspekte, enthielt Verhaltensregeln in der damaligen Gesellschaft. Außerdem machte man die Schüler mit der Arbeit von Bauern, verschiedenen Berufen<sup>7</sup> („Beschäftigungen der Menschen“), dem Verhalten in der Familie,

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 61.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 62.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 63.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 67.

respektvollem Benehmen zu den Eltern usw. bekannt.

Die Struktur und der Inhalt des vorgeschlagenen Deutschlehrbuchs für die Grundschule schloss das Erlernen der Schreibtechnik im Zusammenhang mit dem Erlernen der Lesetechnik ein. Da das Lesen mit dem Schreiben eng verbunden ist, wurden diese zwei Techniken parallel beigebracht. Die Texte aus dem Lehrbuch stellten das alltägliche Leben der damaligen Gesellschaft dar und ihr Inhalt befasste sich mit den religiösen, moralischen und ethnischen Normen des Benehmens von Kindern in der Familie, in der Schule, auf der Straße. Die Schüler in den ersten Klassen lernte man Buchstaben schreiben, graphische Bilder von Buchstaben, Wörtern, Ausdrücken, kurzen Sätzen mit Fraktur nach dem Muster wiedergeben. Unter den Lesetexten waren kurze Erzählungen, Gedichte, Zungenbrecher, geflügelte Wörter, Rätsel usw. Die Kontrolle der graphischen Schreibfähigkeiten wurde nach Kriterien wie die Richtigkeit und Deutlichkeit der Buchstaben sowie das korrekte Schreiben von funktionellen Varianten jedes Buchstabens durchgeführt. Bei der Beherrschung der Lesetechnik sollten die Schüler bewusst graphische Einheiten erkennen und nennen, Laute und Konsonanten verbinden, erste Silben aussprechen, Buchstabenkonfiguration und ihre lautlichen Übereinstimmung verstehen; alle Silben in Wörter einbinden, sie nennen und ihre Bedeutung erkennen; diese in Sätzen verbinden und den Inhalt des gelesenen Satzes und später des Textes verstehen. Die Kontrolle der Lesetechnik geschah unmittelbar beim Lesen der Texte vom Lehrbuch.

Es muss darauf hingewiesen sein, dass das Lehrbuch für österreichische allgemeine Volksschulen mit Deutsch als Muttersprache bestimmt wurde. Auf der Umschlagseite der Auflage ist das Foto von Franz Joseph II. Das Buch endet traditionell mit dem Kaiserlied, wie die meisten Lehrwerke für Volksschulen.

Das nächste analysierte Lehrbuch für den Deutschunterricht ist das Lehrwerk für Volksschulen von K. Kummer *„Lesebuch für österreichische allgemeine Volksschulen. Zweiter Teil“*<sup>8</sup>.

Das Lehrwerk war für die 2. Klasse einer fünfjährigen Volksschule bestimmt und bestand aus sechs Themen mit Unterthemen. Das erste Thema lautete: *Elternhaus und Schule* und umfasste 60 Texte mit verschiedener Struktur: Gebete, Gedichte, Rätsel, Erzählungen usw. Dazu gehörten Texte mit den Titeln: „Im Namen Gottes (Alter Spruch)“; „Morgengebet“; „Gute Eltern“; „Mutterliebe“; „Der Großvater“; „Der Weg zur Schule“; „Was man in der Schule

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<sup>8</sup> Karl Kummer, Franz Branskij, Raimund Hofbauer, *Lesebuch für österreichische allgemeine Volksschulen. Ausgabe in vier Teilen. Mit Sprachübungen von Franz Branskij*, Wien, k. k. Schulbücherverlag, 1914, 207 S.

treibt“; „Abendlied“; „Abendgebet“ u. a. Die Textthematik stimmte mit dem genannten Thema überein.

Das zweite Thema war *Der Körper des Menschen, Speise und Trank* und umfasste 20 Texte, darunter: „Die Glieder des menschlichen Leibes“; „Hören“; „Schmecken, Riechen, Fühlen“; „Das gutherzige Mädchen“; „Der süße Brei“ u. a.

Das dritte Thema hieß *Haus, Hof und Garten* und umfasste 45 Texte, zu denen gehörten: „Das Wohnhaus“; „Maurer und Zimmermann“; „Die beiden Arbeiter“; „Die Haustiere“ u. a.

Das Thema *Feld und Wald* bestand aus vier Unterthemen: „Herbst“ „Winter“; „Frühling“; „Sommer“ mit den Texten zum Hauptthema.

Das Lehrwerk hatte außerdem Anhänge (A; B; C).

Anhang A „Sprachübungen“ mit Aufgaben zum Gebrauch einer grammatischen Struktur auf dem Ausdrucks- oder Satzniveau. Als Beispiel dazu: **Die Klein- und Großbuchstaben. 63. Lesestück.** 1. *Schreibt die ersten und zweiten Teile des 63. Lesestückes ab! Einzelne Wörter sind in diesem Satz mit Großbuchstaben geschrieben.* 2. *Setzt unter jeden Großbuchstaben ein Kreuzlein.* 3. *Schreibet das kleine U, B, C. ab.* 4. *Schreibt das große U, B, C. ab!* 5. *Setzt unter jeden der fünf Reinlaute des großen U, B, C ein Kreuzlein!* 6. *Lest der Reihe nach die Mitlaute, zuerst im großen, dann im kleinen U, B, C (die Originalsprache beibehalten).*

Anhang B „Übungen für das Rechtschreiben“. Zum Beispiel, S. 185 „nn“. 1. *Setzt folgenden Hauptwörtern den bestimmten Artikel vor: Kanne, Tanne, Wanne, Rinne, Sonne, Donner.* 2. *Wendet folgende Zeitwörtern in einem Satze an: können, rennen, brennen, spinnen.* 3. *Die folgenden Wörter sind nach Silben zu trennen: Spinne, Spinnerin, Tanne, Tannenwald, Tannenbäumchen z. B. Spinne.*

Anhang C. „Aufsatzübungen“. Zum Beispiel: **Die Schultafel.** *Was ist die Schultafel? Wo steht sie? Welche Farbe hat sie? Wie ist sie ihrer Form nach? Wozu dient sie?*

Wir sehen, dass die vom Autor angebotenen Übungen die Fertigkeiten der mündlichen und schriftlichen Rede bei den Schülern formten und entwickelten. Die Texte dienten zum Lesen und zum Erlernen von bestimmten grammatischen Modellen und lexikalischen Einheiten. Sie waren ziemlich klein (4 bis 10 Sätze), aber enthielten die Information, die für den Schüler der Grundschule in der damaligen Gesellschaft nötig war. Wie schon erwähnt wurde, enthielt das Buch Rätsel, Reime, Gedichte, deren lexikalisches Material das genannte Thema widerspiegelte. Angebotene Texte waren von den Werken unterschiedlicher Genres eines bestimmten Autors. Ihr Inhalt richtete sich auf die moralische und ethische Erziehung der Schüler aus. Das förderte die harmonische Entwicklung der Persönlichkeit und kam zum im alltäglichen Verhalten des Menschen zum

Ausdruck, seinem Verhältnis zu anderen Menschen. Solchen Verhältnissen lagen die Kenntnisse der Kinder über Moral und die Kultur zugrunde, die Ehre und die Liebenswürdigkeit zu jedem Menschen, die Einstellung zur Umgebung, zur Natur, gerechte Einschätzung eigener und fremder Taten, Verallgemeinerung und Akkumulation der Erfahrung des moralischen Verhaltens.

Bemerkenswert, dass zwei Lehrwerke eine gleiche Struktur und gleiche Themen hatten. Die beiden Ausgaben unterscheiden sich nur durch die Zahl von Texten und ihre Titel. Der zweite Teil der Ausgabe hatte mehr Texte als der erste, mehr Übungen für die Bildung von Fähigkeiten und Entwicklung von Sprachkenntnissen. Die meisten Texte sind in beiden Ausgaben gleich. Wir können annehmen, dass durch gründliche Ansatz zur Wiederholung des gelernten Stoffes diene.

Für das tiefere Verständnis der Deutschunterrichtsmethodik analysieren wir die Lehrwerke für Volksschulen für nicht deutschsprachige Schüler. Eine solche Analyse gestattet uns konzeptuelle Ideen zeitgenössischer Pädagogen bei den Studien der deutschen Linguodidaktik für ukrainisch-, polnisch-, rumänischsprachige u. a. Bevölkerung, die in den westukrainischen Gebieten lebte, zu untersuchen.

Vor der Analyse möchten wir anmerken, dass die Deutschlehrbücher nach 1918 herausgegeben wurden und der zeitliche Rahmen der Untersuchung reicht nur bis 1918 reicht. Es wird dadurch erklärt, dass die Lehrbücher von Karl Tumlirz mehrmals neu herausgegeben wurden. In den meisten Büchern dieses Autors blieben die Struktur und der Inhalt ohne Veränderungen, konzeptuelle Ideen, Ansätze, Methoden, Prinzipien des Autors. Sie umfassen etwa die Jahre 1904-1912. Aus diesen Gründen erscheint es uns angemessen, die Bücher, die später nach 1918 herausgegeben wurden, zu analysieren, weil ihr Inhalt und Struktur viel früher ausgearbeitet wurden.

Die durchgeführte Suche nach den Lehrwerken von Karl Tumlirz in der Westukraine (Galizien, die Bukowina, Transkarpatien, Westwolynien) gestattet uns zu behaupten, dass ihre Menge sehr begrenzt ist. Wir konnten bedauerlicherweise nur eines finden. Jedoch überzeugt eine Reihe von Artikeln in der pädagogischen Ausgabe „Bukowiner Schule“ (1905)<sup>9</sup>, sowie Diskussionen über die Anwendung von Lehrwerken von Karl Tumlirz („Kamenjari“ (1909)<sup>10</sup>;

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<sup>9</sup> Karl Tumlirz, *Beiträge zur deutschen Sprachlehre*, in: „Bukowiner Schule. Zeitschrift für das Volksschulwesen“, II. Jahrgang, 1905, 1 Heft, S. 2-8; 2 Heft, S. 66-72.

<sup>10</sup> Остап Попович, *Німецький учебник д-ра Тумлирца* [Deutsches Lehrwerk von Dr. Tumlirz], in: „Каменяри“, 1909, 10 червня, с. 3-4.

„Bukowiner Schule“ (1911)<sup>11</sup>; (Dershavnyy archiv Czernivezkoji oblasti. Fond 211. Spr. 9648, op. 1., (1908)<sup>12</sup>), dass die Lehrwerke für den Deutschunterricht dieses Autors für nicht deutschsprachige Schüler in der Bukowina populär waren. Außerdem wurden die Lehrbücher von Karl Tumlirz in den Lehrprogrammen der Bukowina für die ukrainisch- und rumänischsprachige Bevölkerung empfohlen. In der an Materialien reichen Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek gelang es uns eine Lehrbücherreihe dieses Autors für Schüler mit Deutsch als Fremdsprache zu finden.

Nachdem wir die Voraussetzungen zum Gebrauch der später herausgegebenen Lehrbücher von Karl Tumlirz entworfen haben, kommen wir zu ihrer Analyse.

Das Lehrbuch von K. Tumlirz „Deutsches Sprachbuch für nichtdeutsche Volksschulen 1. Teil. Unterstufe“<sup>13</sup> eignete sich für den Deutschunterricht bei nicht deutschsprachigen Schülern in der Grundschule (Volksschule). Die Auflage umfasste 52 Themen. Dazu gehörten „Zählen und Rechnen“; „Die Uhr“; „Maß und Gewicht“; „Zu Hause“; „Haus und Hof“, „Das Zimmer“; „Die Küche“; „Der Hof und die Haustiere“; „Heimat und Vaterland“ u. a.

Das Buch kann man bedingt in drei Teile untergliedern. Der erste<sup>14</sup> – die Einführung der neuen Lexik mit Hilfe der Bilder und Übungen. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass Karl Tumlirz in jeder Lektion des Buches die Schreibtechnik jüngerer Schüler entwickelte, indem er ihnen die Übungen zur richtigen orthographischen Schrift deutscher Wörter anbot. Zu den Übungen gehörten Antworten auf die Fragen zum Inhalt des Gelesenen sowohl in der mündlichen, als auch in der schriftlichen Form. Die Fragen spiegelten die Lexik zum Thema wider, die während des Unterrichts angeboten wurde, sahen die Bildung von Fähigkeiten und die Entwicklung von Fertigkeiten beim Gebrauch des bestimmten Materials während des Dialogs vor. Jedes Thema hatte einige

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<sup>11</sup> В. Кукелка, *Як належить поступати при науці IV-ої часті німецького учебника Д-ра Тумлірца „Aus dem Leben des Kindes“* [Wie soll mit dem IV. Teil des Lehrwerks von Dr. Tumlirz „Aus dem Leben des Kindes“ unterrichtet werden], in: „Bukowiner Schule. Zeitschrift für das Volksschulwesen“, Czernowitz, VIII Jahrgang, 1911, II Heft, S. 162-165.

<sup>12</sup> Державний архів Чернівецької області [Staatsarchiv des Czernowitzer Gebietes], Фонд [Findbuch] 211 (Landesschulrat der Bukowina), Опис [Aktenregister] 1, Справа [Aktenmappe] 9648 (Briefwechsel mit dem Landesschulrates der Bukowina 1908), Аркуш [Blatt] 39-47.

<sup>13</sup> Karl Tumlirz *Deutsches Sprachbuch für nichtdeutsche Volksschulen*. 1. Teil. Unterstufe. Fünfte Auflage. Wien, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A. F., 1938, 75 S.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, S.1-46.

Unterthemen, die inhaltlich verbunden waren und den Wortschatz der Schüler erweiterten. Zum Beispiel das Thema „Haus und Hof“ (enthielt solche Lexik: das Haus, die Straße, das Dach, der Brunnen u.a., hoch, kalt, tief u.a.), Unterthemen: „Das Zimmer“ (enthielt solche Lexik: der Fußboden, die Tür, die Wand, der Sessel u.a.); „Die Küche“ (die Küche, der Herd, das Feuer, der Topf, das Geschirr, die Teller u.a.) u.a. Außer Substantive wurden auch Adjektive zu den Themen eingeführt. Zudem hatte jedes Thema eine Rubrik – „Schreibet und merket“, wo man einen Satz orthographisch richtig schreiben und eine grammatische Konstruktion behalten sollte.

Der zweite Teil<sup>15</sup> hieß „Mündliche Aufgaben“. Sie boten einen Text in der Form von Fragen und Antworten mit den Bildern zu neuen Wörtern. Danach gab es Aufgaben in der Form von Fragen, die leicht umgestaltet wurden. Das Ziel solcher Aufgaben war die Verständniskontrolle und der Gebrauch der neuen Lexik bei den Antworten auf die Fragen. In der weiteren Aufgabe gab es auch Fragen, die zwar anders waren, aber mit dem Thema verbunden und mit den nötigen lexikalischen Einheiten, die man selbständig bei den Antworten gebrauchen sollte. Danach gab es die Rubrik „Schreibet und merket“, die eine schriftliche Übung bot, wo man alle neuen Wörter aufschreiben sollte, sie behalten und eine bestimmte grammatische Konstruktion erlernen. Einer besonderen Aufmerksamkeit ist die Aufgabe 3 wert, die eine Wiederholung des ersten und des zweiten Textteils sowie ihre Rollenverteilung vorsieht: Schüler A – Ansager; B – spricht für den Vater; Schüler C – spricht für den Jungen; Schüler D – spricht für das Mädchen. Danach sollten die Schüler den ganzen Text nacherzählen.

Auf solche Weise wiederholte und ergänzte das zweite Buch den ersten Teil des Lehrwerks mit dem lexikalischen und grammatischen Material. Es ist zu bemerken, dass der zweite Teil des Lehrbuchs im Gegenteil zum vorigen an der neuen Lexik nicht so reich war. Das Ziel dieses Teils war, unserer Meinung nach, den korrekten Gebrauch des lexikalischen und grammatischen Stoffes bei der Kommunikation auf Deutsch zu kontrollieren. Sowohl im ersten, als auch im zweiten Teil des Buches hatten die Texte kleine Bilder im Kontext zu jedem neuen Wort.

Der dritte Teil<sup>16</sup> ist dem Lesen und den Übungen zu folgenden Themen gewidmet: „Der Tag und die Woche“ und Unterthemen „Der Morgen“; „Der Mittag“; „Die Nacht“; „Die Jahreszeiten“ mit den Unterthemen: „Der Frühling“; „Der Sommer“; „Der Herbst“; „Der Winter“.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 46-62.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 63-75.



Weiter führen wir Beispiele aus dem Text im analysierten Lehrbuch an (Originalsprache ist beibehalten):

### ***Der Morgen***

*Die Sonne geht auf. Der Hahn kräht. Es wird hell. Es ist Morgen. Marie erwacht. Sie steht auf und zieht ihre Kleider und ihre Schuhe an. Dann betet sie: „Lieber Gott, ich bitte dich, den ganzen Tag beschützte mich!“. Dann geht sie zum Brunnen und holt Wasser im Krug zum Waschen und Kochen. Die Mutter kocht Milch und Kaffee. Da läutet die Glocke. Es ist bald 8 Uhr. Johann und Marie gehen in die Schule. Dort lernen sie lesen, schreiben, rechnen und den lieben Gott, die guten Eltern und die Geschwister lieben<sup>17</sup>.*

### ***Die Nacht***

*Die Sonne ist untergegangen. Der Mond steht am Himmel. Es ist Nacht. Im Zimmer ist es dunkel. Auf dem Tisch steht ein Leuchter. In dem Leuchter ist eine Kerze. Die Mutter macht Licht. Da wird es im Zimmer hell. Die Kinder gehen schlafen. Sie geben den Eltern die Hand und sagen: „Guten Nacht“! Dann gehen sie ins Bett, schließen die Augen und beten.*

*Müde bin ich, geh' zur Ruh',  
schließe meine Augen zu;  
Vater, laß die Augen dein  
über meinem Bette sein<sup>18</sup>.*

Das Lehrwerk wurde mit dem Thema „Heimat und Vaterland“ beendet, wo der Unterschied zwischen diesen zwei Begriffen erklärt wurde.

Angebotene Texte gründeten sich auf die moralische und religiöse Erziehung, Bildung der Liebe zum Vaterland, Erziehung der kritischen Einstellung zur Umgebung. Der Inhalt des Textes entsprach den Alters- und psychologischen Besonderheiten der Schüler in der Grundschule.

Zusammenfassend ist zu sagen, dass das Deutschlehrbuch für nicht deutschsprachige Schüler der Grundschule unterer Stufe die Themen *Schule und die Umgebung der Schüler* enthielt. Das Lehrmaterial geht vom Einfachen zum Komplizierten. Es gab weder ein grammatisches Verzeichnis, noch Übersetzung der Wörter. Jede lexikalische Einheit wurde mit einem Bild illustriert. Angebotene Übungen formten Lese- und Schreibfähigkeiten, entwickelten die Fähigkeit, richtig

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 64-65.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 68.

das lexikalische und grammatische Material in Dialogen und Monologen richtig zu gebrauchen. Das Vorführen von Alltagssituationen in Rollen näherte den Prozess der fremdsprachigen Rede der realen Kommunikation in der Fremdsprache an. Was den Inhalt der Texte betrifft, so umfassten sie Verhaltensregeln der Kinder in der Schule, zu Hause mit den Eltern, mit älteren Personen.

Das Lehrwerk von K. Tumlirz *Deutsches Sprachbuch für nichtdeutsche Volksschulen. II Teil*<sup>19</sup> ist für die obere Stufe der Volksschule geeignet. Zu den Themen, die diese Ausgabe anbietet, gehören: „In der Schule“; „Die Familie“; „Der Mensch“; „Im Garten“ u. a.

Es ist zu bemerken, dass das Thema „In der Schule“ im Inhaltsverzeichnis auf den Seiten 3, 29, 33, 36, 40, 64 wiederholt wird. Auf diesen Seiten erweitert sich inhaltlich das Thema, das neue lexikalische und grammatische Material wird eingeführt. Das Lehrwerk beginnt mit dem Thema „In der Schule“, wo es sich inhaltlich um die Begrüßung des Lehrers mit den Schülern und ihre Befragung handelt und zwar *Wie heißt du? Was ist dein Vater? Wie alt bist du? Wo wohnst du? Was kannst du?* Die Schüler beantworten die Fragen des Lehrers und er gibt das Thema bekannt. Außer dem Gesprächsthema wurden den Schülern Buchstaben, Frakturbuchstabenkombinationen erklärt, Gedichte mit der Fraktur präsentiert; das Schreiben von Klein- und Großbuchstaben erklärt. Zu allen gedruckten Texten im Buch gab es Fragen zum Inhalt des Gelesenen, womit man das lexikalische und grammatische Material zum entsprechenden Thema prüfen konnte. Sowohl im ersten, als auch im zweiten Teil des Lehrwerks wurde die deutsche Orthographie geübt. Nachdem man die Fraktur gelernt hatte, bot man den Schülern Lesetexte an, die über das alltägliche Bauernleben erzählten. Diese Texte boten das Bildungselement, es handelte sich da um das lebenswürdige Verhalten der Schüler zueinander, ehrenvolles und respektvolles Verhalten zu den Eltern, Lehrern und älteren Personen. Zu den im Lehrbuch angebotenen Übungen gehörten: Antworten auf die Fragen, Antworten mit Hilfe der in Klammern angebotenen Wörtern, Beschreibung anhand des Textes und ohne Textbasis, Nacherzählung.

Es ist zu bemerken, dass Themen aus dem Alltag angeboten wurden: „Im Geschäft“, „Berufe“ u.a. Während der Präsentation eines grammatischen Themas wurde eine Haushaltssituation simuliert, wo das neue lexikalisch-grammatische Material gebraucht wurde. Das Buch enthielt Legenden aus anderen Ländern, dann wurde der Begriff Legende gedeutet und die Fragen zum Verständnis des

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<sup>19</sup> Karl Tumlirz, *Deutsches Sprachbuch für nichtdeutsche Volksschulen. II Teil. Oberstufe.* Fünfte Auflage. Wien, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A. F., 1934, 160 S.

Inhalts des Gelesenen gestellt. Außerdem gab es im Lehrbuch Musterbriefe, die die Schüler selbständig schreiben lernen sollten.

In Buchanhängen wurde das grammatische Material präsentiert, d. h. Beispiele der grammatischen Konstruktionen, die in den Themen behandelt wurden. Grammatische Regeln wurden im Lehrbuch nicht angeführt. Die Auflage enthielt eine Tabelle mit drei Grundformen der Verben.

Der Inhalt des Lehrwerks spiegelte das alltägliche Leben der Menschen jener Zeitperiode wieder. Es enthielt Information über die Kultur und Bräuche anderer Völker.

### Schlussfolgerungen

Wenn man die analysierten Lehrwerke für Deutschunterricht in der Volksschule für deutschsprachige und nicht deutschsprachige Schüler vergleicht, so sieht man sowohl gemeinsame, als auch unterschiedliche Anforderungen, Methoden, Verfahren zum Erlernen einer Sprache. Zu den gemeinsamen Anforderungen sollte man zurechnen, dass beide Lehrwerke für Deutschunterricht in der Grundschule von K. Kummer und K. Tumlirz im Lehrprogramm festgelegt wurden. Beide Lehrwerke wurden vom k. k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht (Anfang des XX. Jh.) bewilligt. Was die Lernverfahren betrifft, so sollte man das gleichzeitige Beherrschen von Lese- und Schreibtechniken, die Bildung von orthographischen Fähigkeiten und die Entwicklung der korrekten Rechtschreibung dazurechnen. Der Unterschied bestand in den Schriften, die man den Schülern während des Deutschunterrichts anbot. Für den deutschsprachigen Schüler war es die Fraktur, für den nicht deutschsprachigen die literarische deutsche Schriftart. Gemeinsam für die Lehrwerke für das erste Jahr war die Thematik der Texte, insbesondere Verhaltensregeln in der Familie, mit den Eltern, Altersgenossen, mit älteren Personen. Während des Deutschunterrichts für nichtdeutschsprachige Schüler bildete der Autor bei den Schülern lexikalische, grammatische Fähigkeiten, entwickelte die Fertigkeit das genannte Material in Dialogen und Monologen zu benutzen. Außerdem war die ganze neue Lexik durch Anschaulichkeit bekräftigt. Alle Methoden des Deutschunterrichts von K. Tumlirz entsprachen Grundsätzen der direkten Methode des Fremdsprachenunterrichts und ihren Realisierungsbesonderheiten in der Bukowina. Was nämlich die Besonderheiten betrifft, so handelt es sich hier um die Aufmerksamkeit auf grammatische Kenntnisse, was eine Abweichung von den Grundsätzen der direkten Methode ist. Bemerkenswert ist, dass sowohl K. Tumlirz, als auch K. Kummer in ihren Lehrwerken Rätsel für die Entwicklung des logischen Denkens der Schüler in der Grundschule und geflügelte

Worte als phraseologische Einheiten mit der indirekten Bedeutung systematisch angeben. In den Aufgaben wurde interdisziplinäre Integration berücksichtigt – Kenntnisse der Naturwissenschaft, Geschichte, Geographie u.a. Es ist zu beachten, dass das Lehrmaterial in analysierten Deutschlehrbüchern systematisch wiederholt wurde. In allen Büchern wurde die moralische und religiöse Erziehung der Schülerpersönlichkeit, Verhaltensregeln des Menschen in der Gesellschaft, die Unterscheidung des Guten vom Bösen, die Zufriedenheit über gute Taten berücksichtigt.

Das Verzeichnis von gefundenen Lehrwerken für den Deutschunterricht in den Volksschulen erlaubt uns die Lehrwerke in zwei Gruppen zu untergliedern:

- Lehrwerke für Lektüre mit originellen Werken der schöngeistigen Literatur, Märchen, Erzählungen, Gedichte, Rätsel. Die Bücher enthielten Texte religiöser Ausrichtung, Informationen über die geographische Lage von Österreich-Ungarn und historische Tatsachen der Habsburgermonarchie usw.
- Lehrwerke mit adaptierten Texten und Auszügen aus den authentischen Werken der schöngeistigen Literatur, Balladen, Märchen usw., auf deren Grundlage das grammatische Material gelernt wurde, Lese-, Schreib- und Redefertigkeiten entwickelt wurden.

Wenn wir alle gefundenen Lehrwerke gruppieren, so zählen wir die von K. Kummer (für deutschsprachige Schüler) zu der ersten Gruppe, zur zweiten gehören die Bücher von K. Tumlirz (für nicht deutschsprachige Schüler der Bukowina). Unserer Meinung nach sind die Lehrbücher von K. Tumlirz mehr für den Deutschunterricht für nicht deutschsprachige Schüler geeignet, obwohl beide Lehrwerke für den Unterricht für alle Schülerkategorien empfohlen wurden. Seine Ansätze, Prinzipien und Unterrichtsmethoden entsprachen der damaligen Entwicklung der Fremdsprachenunterrichtsmethodik. Lehrwerke von K. Kummer waren gerade für das Lesen und die Wortschatzerweiterung der Schüler, die Entwicklung ihrer intellektuellen Fähigkeiten, die Erziehung von religiösen und ethischen, moralischen Verhaltensnormen der Schüler in der zeitgenössischen Gesellschaft vorgesehen.

Die Voraussetzungen unserer Untersuchung in dieser Richtung soll die Analyse der Struktur und des Inhalts von Lehrbüchern für verschiedene Mittelschultypen während der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie sein.

# UKRAINIAN URBAN POPULATION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE: ETHNIC AND LINGUISTIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE LATE 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

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**Rezumat:** *Populația urbană ucraineană din Imperiul Rus: mutații etnice și lingvistice la finele secolului al XIX-lea.* Articolul analizează structura etnică și lingvistică a populației urbane din Imperiul Țarist. Sunt valorificate datele statistice, inclusiv rezultatele celui dintâi Recensământ general al populației Imperiului Rus, din anul 1897, și ale unor recensăminte locale, organizate în unele orașe ucrainene în anii '70 ai secolului al XIX-lea. Analiza lor comparativă este importantă pentru înțelegerea efectelor politicii de asimilare culturală realizate de autoritățile imperiale, precum și a premiselor mutațiilor din structura populației urbane. Autoarea indică cauzele descreșterii ponderii ucrainenilor în totalul populației urbane la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea.

**Résumé:** *La population urbaine ukrainienne de l'Empire Russe: mutations ethniques et linguistiques à la fin du XIX-ème siècle.* L'article ci-joint analyse la structure ethnique et linguistique de la population urbaine de l'Empire Tsariste. On y mit en valeur les données statistiques, y compris les résultats du premier Recensement général de la population de l'Empire Russe de l'année 1897 et de quelques recensements locaux, organisés dans les villes ukrainiennes les années '70 du XIX-ème siècle. Leur analyse comparative est importante, aussi, pour la compréhension, des effets de la politique d'assimilation culturelle que les autorités impériales réalisèrent, ainsi que des prémisses des mutations de la structure de la population urbaine. L'auteur y indiqua les causes de la diminution de la part de population ukrainienne du total de la population urbaine à la fin du XIX-ème siècle.

**Abstract:** *The paper is devoted to the ethnic and linguistic composition of Ukrainian urban population of the Russian empire. It deals with the statistical data, including the results of both Imperial census of 1897 and the local censuses, which were held in some Ukrainian towns during the 1870s. This comparison is important for understanding the consequences of the cultural assimilation policy pursued by the Imperial authorities as well as the social and political causes of the urban population structure transformation. The*

author discusses reasons why the percent of Ukrainians in the total amount of the urban population decreased significantly by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**Keywords:** Ukraine, urban population, ethnic and linguistic composition, Imperial census of 1897, cultural assimilation.

## INTRODUCTION

After the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth had ceased to exist in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the lands of today's Ukraine were split between the Habsburg monarchy and the Russian empire. It was nearly the same time, when the last element of the Ukrainian autonomy – *the Cossack Hetmanate* – had been eliminated and the territory of Ukraine was divided into the Russian Imperial governorates. Both central and local Imperial authorities pursued the policy of cultural assimilation of the Ukrainians, Poles and Jews, resisting any attempt to construct their ethnic identities.

It is generally accepted, that in the aftermath of the French Revolution the formation of the modern nations in Europe largely depended on the urbanization, industrialization and mass education. However, in Ukraine even as late as in the turn of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the majority of population lived in the countryside, being either half-educated or illiterate. The ethnic and linguistic composition of the urban population was by and large heterogeneous. Moreover, most of the Ukrainians considered the urban milieu as something unfamiliar or even hostile to their way of life and values. As H. Binder assumes, the cultural symbols important for the Ukrainian identity belonged rather to the rural area<sup>1</sup>.

Under such circumstance, the promotion of the Ukrainian language and culture among the urban area inhabitants as well as the resistance to the cultural assimilation was the task of crucial importance for the Ukrainian intellectual elite. It would be no exaggeration to say that the knowledge of the language and ethnic contacts in the urban environment gives us a clue to understanding the process of the nation building process in Ukraine.

During the last decades, several scholarly attempts to characterize the ethnic and linguistic composition of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ukrainian urban population

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<sup>1</sup> Гаральд Біндер, *Місто, урбанізація та націотворення в Україні* [City, urbanization and nation-building in Ukraine], in *Україна. Процеси націотворення* [Ukraine: the nation-building processes], Київ, "К. І. С.", 2011, с. 183.

were made. Among them, the above-mentioned monograph by H. Binder as well as the articles by R. Lozynskiy<sup>2</sup> and F. Klymchuk<sup>3</sup> should be noted. The studies by A. Gumeniuk<sup>4</sup>, M. E. Hamm<sup>5</sup>, T. Arzumanova<sup>6</sup>, L. Levchenko<sup>7</sup>, O. Pryshchepa<sup>8</sup>, A. Zadorozhniuk<sup>9</sup>, V. Konstantinova<sup>10</sup> reveal some regional aspects of the

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<sup>2</sup> Роман Лозинський, *Мовна ситуація в Україні (суспільно-географічний погляд)* [Lingual situation in Ukraine (social and geographic perspective)], Львів, Видавничий центр ЛНУ імені Івана Франка, 2008, с. 86-97.

<sup>3</sup> Федір Климчук, *Україноязычное городское население конца XIX в. в исторической ретроспективе* [The Ukrainian-language urban population of the end of XIX century in a historical retrospective view], in *Волинь-Житомирщина: історико-філологічний збірник з регіональних проблем* [Volyn – Zhytomyr region: historical and philological collection of the papers devoted to the regional problems], Житомир, Вид-во ЖДУ ім. І. Франка, 2013, Випуск 24, с. 115-133.

<sup>4</sup> А. О. Гуменюк, *Соціальна і національна структура міського населення Правобережної України (друга половина XIX ст.)* [Social and national structure of the Right-Bank Ukraine's urban population], in “Український історичний журнал” [Ukrainian historical journal], 1993, № 10, с. 77 – 85.

<sup>5</sup> Michael E. Hamm, *Kiev. A portrait, 1800-1917*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993, p. 55-134.

<sup>6</sup> Тетяна Арзуманова, *Мовні та культурні традиції на Слобожанщині наприкінці XIX ст. (на прикладі Харківської губернії)* [The linguistic and cultural traditions in the Sloboda Ukraine by the late XIX century (on the Krarkiv's province example)], in “Краєзнавство: науковий журнал” [Regional studies: scientific journal], 2010, № 3, с. 154-162.

<sup>7</sup> Лариса Левченко, *Статистичний аналіз національного складу населення Миколаївського військового губернаторства в XIX столітті (за матеріалами офіційної статистики)* [Statistical analysis of the Mykolaiv military governorate's population ethnic structure], in “Наукові праці: Науково-методичний журнал” [Scientific proceedings: scientific and methodological journal], Миколаїв, Вид-во МДГУ ім. Петра Могили, 2002, Том 17, Вип. 4. Історичні науки, с. 37-42 .

<sup>8</sup> Олена Прищеп, *Міста Волині в другій половині XIX – на початку XX ст.* [Towns of Volyn in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century], Рівне, ПП ДМ, 2010.

<sup>9</sup> А. Б. Задорожнюк, *Соціально-етнічна структура міського населення Подільської губернії та її вплив на розвиток регіону в XIX – на початку XX ст.* [Social and economic structure of the Podolia governorate's urban population and its influence on the regional development in the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century], in “Вісник Кам'янець-Подільського національного університету імені Івана Огієнка, Історичні науки” [Annals of the Ivan Ohienko national university of Kamianets-Podilskiy], 2009, Вип. 2, с. 136-145.

<sup>10</sup> Вікторія Константінова, *Урбанізація: південноукраїнський вимір (1861-1904 роки)* [Urbanization: Southern Ukrainian perspective (1861-1904)], Запоріжжя, АА

problem. In this article, I'll examine all available statistical evidences to determine how deeply the policy of assimilation transformed the Ukrainian urban population by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE IN THE RUSSIAN IMPERIAL MILIEU

The linguistic situation in the 19<sup>th</sup> Ukraine was rather specific. The official status of the Ukrainian language differed significantly from other regional languages of the Russian empire, such as Polish or Finnish. The official ideology considered the 'Great Russians', 'Little Russians' (Ukrainians) and 'Belorussians' as certain branches of the unified 'Russian people' as well as their languages were treated just as the dialects of the 'Russian language'. While the Ukrainian speakers of the Habsburg monarchy in Galicia, Bukovina and Trans-Carpathian area enjoyed the relative language freedom guaranteed by the 1867 Constitution, in the Russian empire the standardized Russian language was the only method of communication in local schools, universities, courts and public places. Moreover, until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when the Russian Academy of sciences recognized the Ukrainian as a separate language, Imperial authorities had suppressed any attempt of the Ukrainian intellectuals to promote the native language of the vast majority of the Ukraine's population.

From the early 1860s several groups of the Ukrainian *intelligentsia* called the *Hromadas* were formed in major cities of Ukraine such as Kyiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Odesa, Elisavetgrad and Chernihiv. Their aim was to resist the state Russification policy by means of education, art and the research work in the field of Ukrainian history and language. The most important *Hromada* was the one established in Kyiv by the historians Volodymyr Antonovych and Mykhailo Drahomanov, linguist Pavlo Zhytetskyi, ethnologist Pavlo Chubynskyi, composer Mykola Lysenko and some others. The *Kyiv Hromada* numbered from 70 to 100 members, including the students and professors of St. Vladimir's University, teachers, clerks, artists etc<sup>11</sup>. While the Ukrainian language was excluded from both basic public and higher education, the *Hromada* launched the so-called *Sunday schools* which provided the elementary teaching in the Ukrainian language. *Hromada's* members organized artistic performances in favor of the

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Тандем, 2010, с. 406-425.

<sup>11</sup>А. М. Катренко, Я. А. Катренко, *Національно-культурна та політична діяльність Київської громади (60-90-ті роки XIX ст.)* [National, cultural and political activity of the Kyiv Hromada (1860-1890s)], Київ, 2003.



Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko, published numerous pamphlets in support of the Ukrainian language etc.

Meanwhile, the Imperial authorities worked against such attempts. On July 18, 1863, the Russian Minister of the Interior Pyotr Valuev in his secret circular denied the fact of the Ukrainian language very existence and banned the publishing of any books and papers in Ukrainian except the belles-lettres<sup>12</sup>. The Ukrainian *Sunday schools* were shut down at the same time. The Valuev's circular was followed by the so-called Ems Decree of 1876 in which Alexander II suppressed both publishing activity and artistic performances in the Ukrainian. South-Western branch of the Russian Geographic Society which provided the researches in the Ukrainian history, ethnography and language was closed and many Ukrainian activists were either arrested or forced to emigrate. Being deeply concerned by the Polish ethnic nationalism as well as the policy of rival Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian ruling elite considered the Ukrainian language as a threat to the unity of the 'Russian people'. Therefore, they supported further cultural assimilation of the Ukrainians by all means.

### RUSSIAN OR 'LITTLE RUSSIAN'?

It is rather difficult to evaluate how effective was this policy of assimilation in the lands of Ukraine as far as the first and only Russian Imperial Census was carried out in 1897. It was preceded by some local censuses held in several Ukrainian towns during the 1870s. Even those censuses which results were carefully processed and published, not necessary reflect the ethnic and linguistic composition of the population. Some of them, i. e. the Kharkiv census of 1873, did not include the question about the native language at all. In the published materials of 1875 Mykolaiv census the speakers of the Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian were not distinguished: all of them were apparently identified as those whose native language is the Russian<sup>13</sup>. Only the results of the censuses in Zhytomyr (1873)<sup>14</sup>, Kyiv (1874)<sup>15</sup> and Kharkiv (1879)<sup>16</sup> seem to be correct enough

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<sup>12</sup> Johannes Remy, *The Valuev Circular and Censorship of Ukrainian Publications in the Russian Empire (1863-1876): Intention and Practice*, in "Canadian Slavonic Papers", Vol. 49, March-June 2007, no. 1/2, p. 87-110.

<sup>13</sup> Лариса Левченко, *Історія Миколаївського і Севастопольського військового губернаторства (1805-1900)* [History of the Mykolayiv and Sevastopol military governorates (1805-1900)], Миколаїв, Вид-во МДГУ ім. П. Могили, 2006, с. 160.

<sup>14</sup> В. Рогге, *Отчет Секретаря Волынского губернского статистического комитета*

to characterize the linguistic composition of the population. Their comparison with the results of the Imperial Census of 1897<sup>17</sup> gives a unique opportunity to judge how deeply the Russification affected the urban population of Ukraine.

The so-called All-Russia Census of 1897 covered almost all the Imperial governorates and provinces. The administrative borders of today's Ukraine include the former territories of nine governorates: Kyiv, Volyn, Podolia, Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Poltava, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, Taurida. While Kherson and Chernihiv governorates included some districts of today's Moldova and Russia respectively, some parts of the Bessarabia, Kursk and Voronezh governorates belong to Ukraine now. In the article, we will take into account only those 137 urban settlements that are now located within the administrative borders of today's Ukraine.

The census form of 1897 lacked a direct question about the respondent's ethnic origin or identity. The information fields №12 and 13 contained two standard questions: "native language" and "confession". As far as the vast major-

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*о деятельности комитета в течение 1874 года, читанный членом-секретарем комитета В. Рогге в годичном общем собрании статистического комитета 31 марта 1875 г.* [Annual report of the Volyn Governorate Statistical Committee 1874 given by the secretary member V. Rogge at the annual general meeting of the Statistical Committee on March 31, 1875], Житомир, 1875, 50 с.

<sup>15</sup> *Киев и его предместья Шулявка, Соломенка с Протасовым Яром, Байкова Гора и Демиевка с Саперною слободою по переписи 2 марта 1874 года произведенной и разработанной Юго-Западным Отделом Императорского Русского географического общества* [Kyiv and its suburbs according to the census of March 2, 1874 held and processed by the South-Western Branch of the Russian Geographical Society], Киев, 1875, с. 20-23.

<sup>16</sup> *Население г. Харькова по родному языку* [Kharkiv's population by the native language], in "Харьковский календарь на 1883 год". Статистический отдел. Таблицы, составленные на основании переписи 29 апреля 1879 г. [Kharkiv calendar 1883. Statistical section. Tables according to the census of April, 29 1879], Харьков, Типография Губернского Правления, 1883, с. 144-159.

<sup>17</sup> *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 г.* [The first general census of the Russian Empire 1897], Т. III. *Бессарабская губерния*, с. 70-73; Т. VIII. *Волынская губерния*, 1904, с. 86-89; Т. XIII. *Екатеринославская губерния*, 1904, с. 74-75; Т. XVI. *Киевская губерния*, 1904, с. 88-91; Т. XX. *Курская губерния*, 1904, с. 102-105; Т. XXXII. *Подольская губерния*, 1904, с.98 -101; Т. XXXIII. *Полтавская губерния*, 1904, с. 100-103; Т. XLI. *Таврическая губерния*, 1904, с. 94-97; Т. XLVI. *Харьковская губерния*, 1904, с. 102-105; Т. XLVII. *Херсонская губерния*, 1904, с. 90-95; Т. XLVIII. *Черниговская губерния*, 1905, с. 112-115.

rity of Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians called themselves Orthodox, only the information about the native language seems relevant enough to characterize the ethnic composition of the population of Ukraine. The census takers were instructed to point the Cyrillic letters "P.", "M. P." or "Б. P."<sup>18</sup> to identify the Russian, 'Little Russian' (Ukrainian) or Byelorussian languages. In fact, much depended on the census maker's personal views on the linguistic matter, whereas the Ukrainian and Byelorussian were still officially considered as the dialects of the unified Russian language. Moreover, many Ukrainian native speakers, especially those who graduated Russian schools, are supposed to point their mother tongue as Russian because of the higher social prestige of this language at that time<sup>19</sup>. There are numerous testimonies of the contemporaries according to which even in turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the 'Little Russian' language was frequently associated with the lower classes (see below). Therefore, the share of the Ukrainian speakers in the total population of Ukraine indeed may be a bit larger than the one shown by the census. On the other hand, one can suggest that those surveyed who pointed their native language as the 'Little Russian' more or less clearly identified themselves with the Ukrainian ethnic group, instead of the respondents who presented themselves as the Russian speakers.

### URBAN POPULATION OF UKRAINE BY THE END OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

According to the 1897 All-Russia census results, the Ukrainians were the second largest ethnic group of the entire Imperial population (17,81%) after the Russians (44,31%). Three Ukrainian cities – Odesa, Kyiv and Kharkiv, were ranked among the 10 largest urban centers of the Russian empire. Among 52 cities with the population more than fifty thousand, there were 12 cities located within the borders of nowadays Ukraine. Only about 13,5% of the Ukraine's population lived in urban area. The Kherson and Taurida governorates, which

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<sup>18</sup> А. А. Сафронов, *Из истории подготовки первой всеобщей переписи населения Российской империи 1897 г.* [Excerpts on the history of the First All-Russian census 1897], in "Документ. Архив. История. Современность" [Document. Archive. History. Modernity], Екатеринбург, Изд-во Урал. ун-та, 2001, Вып. 1, с. 211-231.

<sup>19</sup> А. Личков, *Юго-Западный край по данным переписи 1879 года* [The South-Western Region according to the 1897 census], Киев, Типография Императорского университета св. Владимира, 1905, с. 11; see also: А. Котельников, *История производства и разработки всеобщей переписи населения 28-го января 1897 г.* [The history of holding and processing the general census of January 28, 1897], Санкт-Петербург, Типография Акционерного Общества «Слово», 1909, с. 11.

territories were incorporated into the Russian empire by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, had the highest degree of urbanization (28,86% and 19,98% respectively). At the same time, only 7,35% of Podolia and 7,8% of Volyn population lived in the urban area. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ukraine remained a country with mostly rural population. The 1897 census confirms that the Ukrainian speakers still were the predominant linguistic group of the Poltava (92,98%), Podolia (80,93%), Kharkiv (80,62%), Kyiv (79,21%), Volyn (70,09%), Ekaterinoslav (68,90%), Chernihiv (66,41%) and Kherson (53,48%) governorates. However, the ethnic and linguistic composition of the urban population differed significantly (see Tab. 1 and 2).

Only in the towns of the Poltava governorate, the speakers of Ukrainian were in majority. The only exception was Kremenchuk with its large Jewish (46,94%) and Russian (19,25%) communities. Similar situation occurred in the Kharkiv governorate where only Kharkiv and Chuguev were mostly Russian speaking towns, while in other 15 urban settlements the Ukrainian language prevailed. In Chernihiv governorate, which included the lands of both today's Ukraine and Russia, the Ukrainian speakers were in majority of those urban communities which are now located within the borders of Ukraine. Other towns in which the speakers of Ukrainian comprised the largest linguistic group are listed below:

*Bessarabia governorate:* Akkerman (53,73%), Izmail (37,1%), Kiliya (39,21%);

*Volyn governorate:* Kremenets (47,01%);

*Ekaterinoslav governorate:* Aleksandrovsk (today's Zaporizhia, 42,98%), Bakhmut (61,75%), Verhnodniprovsk (56%);

*Kyiv governorate:* Vasylkiv (54,13%), Zvenyhorodka (49,26%), Kaniv (65,16%), Tarashcha (49,75%), Cherkasy (43,58%), Chyhyryn (66,63%);

*Kursk governorate:* Myropillya (98,27%);

*Podolia governorate:* Verbovets (55,47%), Olhopil (59,47%), Salnyk (74,56%), Stara Ushytza (59,58%), Yampil (49,69%);

*Taurida governorate:* Orikhiv (70,43%);

*Kherson governorate:* Ananyiv (43,18%), Beryslav (72,86%), Bobrynets (66,72%), Ochakiv (48,25%), Olviopol (today's Pervomaisk, 72,95%), Oleksandria (54,67%), Ovidiopol (53,69%).

Generally, in 72 of 137 urban settlements of today's Ukraine the Ukrainian speakers dominated over other ethnic and linguistic groups of population. However, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century most urban communities in Ukraine were more or less multi-lingual. It is not surprising that the Russian speakers formed a subsequent part

of almost every urban community of the empire. The Russian language dominated in Kyiv, Ekaterinoslav as well as in the newly colonized Kherson and Taurida governorates. The results of 1897 census show that the Russian and Ukrainian languages divided the majority of the Ukrainian urban population in almost equal halves. The Yiddish speakers composed the third largest group of the urban area inhabitants. This was partly caused by the creation of the so-called Pale of Settlement in 1791, which allowed the residency by the Jews only in the Western regions of the Russian empire, such as Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Belarus and Ukraine. Roughly, all the territory of today's Ukraine was included into the Pale of Settlement, with an exception of the Kharkiv governorate. The Yiddish speaking population dominated in the towns of Volyn and Podolia. The Poles remained one of the largest ethnic groups of the Ukrainian urban population, despite the anti-Polish sentiment officially implemented by the Tsarist Russia after the January Insurrection of 1863-64 in the lands of Ukraine.

The urban population of the Taurida governorate was the most heterogeneous one. The inhabitants of the urban area used to speak Russian (49,10%), Crimean Tatar (17,16%), Ukrainian (10,44%), Polish (2,21%), Yiddish (11,84%), Greek (3,56%), Armenian (2,21%), German (1,42%) etc. The Russian speakers dominated in 13 towns of the governorate while only the town of Orikhiv was mostly Ukrainian speaking. In some settlements of the Crimean Peninsula either Crimean Tatar or Greek speakers dominated.

As it is mentioned above, the results of the local censuses held in Zhytomyr, Kyiv and Kharkiv during the 1870s make possible to trace back the cultural assimilation process, whereas only those three enumerations fully reflect the linguistic diversity of the urban area in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Ukraine.

### **IMPERIAL MELTING POTS: A CASE STUDY OF KYIV, ZHYTOMYR AND KHARKIV**

The most part of the Volyn, Podolia and Kyiv regions had been incorporated into the Russian empire by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the Partitions of Poland. From the early 19<sup>th</sup> century the Imperial administration provided a policy aimed to overturn the influence of the Polish aristocracy and intellectual elite in the local urban area as well as to encourage Russian merchants, entrepreneurs, students and civil servants to settle there<sup>20</sup>. With the foundation of the St. Vladimir's University

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<sup>20</sup> Райнер Лінднер, *Підприємці і місто в Україні, 1860-1914 рр. Індустріалізація і соціальна комунікація на Півдні Російської імперії* [Entrepreneurs and City in Ukraine: 1860-1914's. Industrialization and Social Communication in the South of the Russian Empire], Київ, Донецьк, Промінь, 2008, с. 50.

in Kyiv (1834), which replaced the Polish Kremenets Lyceum as the most prestigious educational institution of the South-Western governorates, the cultural assimilation of the local upper class society intensified substantially.

However, even by the early 1860s such towns as Kyiv or Zhytomyr remained largely under the Polish cultural influence. When young Ukrainian students Mykhailo Starytskyi and Mykola Lysenko moved to Kyiv from Kharkiv in 1860, both were deeply impressed by the Polish domination in the local social environment. They had seen the majority of the St. Vladimir's University students wearing the Polish clothes, the Polish performances in the local theaters, the Polish dishes in the restaurants as well as the Polish speech on the streets<sup>21</sup>.

The things started to change after the suppression of the January Insurrection in 1863. It was the year when the Polish language teaching was banned in schools of the Russian empire. At the same time, the Orthodox religious instruction was implemented, while the history and literature appeared to be taught from the biased anti-Polish and anti-Catholic point of view. In 1869 all the Polish descendants were dismissed from both schools and civil administration; their positions were filled by loyal Russian clerks and teachers. During the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Russification of Kyiv and Zhytomyr continued, as it is seen from the censuses' results. Thus, it is evident that the cultural assimilation affected mainly the Ukrainian speaking community which declined by 8% in Kyiv (see Tab. 3) and in 5,6% in Zhytomyr (see Tab. 4). The number of the Russian speakers increased by 8,49% and 6,89% respectively. One should note that while in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Imperial administration fought against the Polish influence in the lands of the Western governorates, by the end of the century its efforts were directed first and foremost against the 'Ukrainian separatism'.

In Kharkiv there was no influential Polish or Jewish minority, so after the Cossack Hetmanate had been incorporated into the Russian empire, the assimilation policy was directed strictly towards the Ukrainians. In 1805 the Russification of the local elite was enforced by the foundation of Kharkiv University. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, merely 26% of Kharkiv's inhabitants recognized the Ukrainian as their native language (see Tab. 5). According to the contemporary accounts, the Ukrainian language lacked any social prestige in the town. Professor Mykola Sumtsov regretted that the history of Ukraine was eliminated from the school curriculum as well as the

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<sup>21</sup> Михайло Старицький, *До біографії М. В. Лисенка* [Excerpts on the biography of M.V. Lysenko], in *М. В. Лисенко у спогадах сучасників* [M.V. Lysenko in the memoirs of contemporaries], Київ, Музична Україна, 1968, с. 34.

Ukrainian language<sup>22</sup>. 'Foreign primary school deformed the children's speech, while secondary and high school transformed them into the Russians or the so-called Little Russians, who sometimes appeared to be hostile to their own parents' language and traditions', argued Sumtsov<sup>23</sup>. The Ukrainian historian Dmytro Bahaliy admitted that the young inhabitants of Kharkiv who had graduated the local schools, indeed felt themselves ashamed of their parents' Ukrainian language<sup>24</sup>. One of the leading Ukrainian activists Olena Pchilka noted that some local inhabitants of the Ukrainian origin proudly claimed that 'our Kharkiv is a canton of Moscow'<sup>25</sup>.

## CONCLUSIONS

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Ukrainians comprised the second largest ethnic group of the entire Russian empire's population, while the Ukrainian language was the native one for one in six of its inhabitants. The speakers of Ukrainian dominated in the majority of the population of today's Ukraine. At the same time, in the urban area of Ukraine the most common native languages were Russian (33,36%), Ukrainian (31,32%) and Yiddish (26,46%). One can assume that such a modest number of the Ukrainian speaking population in the urban area should be viewed as a consequence of the specific policy provided by the Imperial authorities. Until the serfdom was abolished in 1861, the vast majority of the Ukrainians lacked the freedom of movement, so their shift from rural to urban area was restricted from the very beginning of the urbanization. The government encouraged the migration of the civil and military servants, merchants and clergymen from the inner Russian regions to the Western provinces. The Imperial authorities set the Russian as the only official language in Ukraine and implemented numerous actions to limit the usage of the Ukrainian and Polish languages. Nevertheless, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Ukrainian was still widely spoken in the urban area of the lands of today's Ukraine. It

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<sup>22</sup> М. Ф. Сумцов, *Слобожане. Історично-Етнографічна Розвідка* [Sloboda Ukrainians. Historical and ethnographic survey], Харків, Видавництво "Союз" Харківського Кредитного Союзу Кооперативів, 1918, с. 185.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>24</sup> Д. И. Багалей, Д. П. Миллер, *История города Харькова за 250 лет его существования (1655-1905)* [The 250 years history of the Kharkiv city (1655-1905)], Т. II. XIX – начало XX века, Харьков, 1993, с. 131-132.

<sup>25</sup> Олена Пчілка, *Микола Лисенко: життя і праця (Спогади і думки)* [Mykola Lysenko: life and work (Memoirs and thoughts)], in *Микола Лисенко у спогадах сучасників* [M.V. Lysenko in the memoirs of contemporaries], Київ, "Музична Україна," 2003, Т. 1, с. 74.

dominated in 72 of 137 urban settlements of Ukraine, however in the largest towns of the country the Russian language was the most widespread. Between the 1870s and 1897 the number of those urban inhabitants who called the Ukrainian as their native language reduced significantly. Only the decline of the Russian empire in 1917 slowed the process of the Ukrainian urban population cultural assimilation.

**Table 1. The urban population of Ukraine by native language (according to the Imperial census of 1897)**

Governorate	Number of towns	Total number of inhabitants	Language					
			Ukrainian	Russian	Polish	Yiddish	German	other
Bessarabia (districts of today's Ukraine)	6	99810	33661	22978	907	21592	366	20306
			33,73	23,02	0,91	21,63	0,37	20,34
Volyn	12	233847	46060	44351	17834	118727	2009	4866
			19,70	18,97	7,63	50,77	0,86	2,07
Ekaterinoslav	9	241005	65166	98047	4394	62602	2378	8418
			27,04	40,68	1,82	25,98	0,99	3,49
Kyiv	12	459253	129354	152190	21581	142222	4767	9139
			28,17	33,14	4,70	30,97	1,04	1,98
Kursk (Putyvl and Myropillya towns)	2	20056	10899	8881	29	206	4	37
			54,34	44,28	0,14	1,03	0,02	0,19
Podolia	17	221870	72188	33353	10866	102204	464	2795
			32,54	15,03	4,90	46,06	0,21	1,26
Poltava	17	274294	156752	31246	2941	80491	1092	1772
			57,15	11,39	1,07	29,35	0,4	0,64
Taurida	17	289316	30197	142062	6387	34248	4100	72322
			10,44	49,10	2,21	11,84	1,41	25,00
Kharkiv	17	367343	198774	145504	4657	11795	2809	3804
			54,11	39,61	1,27	3,21	0,76	1,04
Kherson (Ukrainian part)	15	737650	128606	338498	23537	209043	12449	25517
			17,43	45,89	3,19	28,34	1,69	3,46
Chernihiv (Ukrainian part)	13	163611	101925	19597	1115	39416	330	1228
			62,30	11,98	0,68	24,09	0,20	0,75
Total	137	3108055	973582	1036707	94248	822546	30768	150204
			31,32	33,36	3,03	26,46	0,99	4,84



**Table 2. Inhabitants of the governorate capitals and the largest cities of Ukraine by native language (according to the Imperial census of 1897)**

Settlement	Total number of inhabitants	Language					
		Ukrainian	Russian	Polish	Yiddish	German	other
Berdychiv	53351	4395	4612	2741	41125	154	324
		8,24 %	8,64 %	5,14 %	77,08 %	0,29 %	0,61 %
Elisavetgrad (nowadays Kropyvnytskyi)	61488	14523	21301	1180	23256	425	803
		23,62 %	34,64 %	1,92 %	37,82 %	0,69 %	1,31 %
Zhytomyr	65895	9152	16944	7464	30572	677	1086
		13,89 %	25,71 %	11,33 %	46,40 %	1,03 %	1,64 %
Kamianets- Podilskiy	35934	9755	7420	2160	16112	106	381
		27,15 %	20,65 %	6,01 %	44,84 %	0,29 %	1,06 %
Ekaterinoslav (nowadays Dnipro)	112839	17787	47140	3418	39979	1438	3077
		15,76 %	41,78 %	3,03 %	35,43 %	1,27 %	2,73 %
Kyiv	247723	55064	134278	16579	29937	4354	7511
		22,23 %	54,20 %	6,69 %	12,08 %	1,76 %	3,04 %
Mykolaiv	92012	7780	61023	2612	17949	813	1835
		8,46 %	66,32 %	2,84 %	19,51 %	0,88 %	1,99 %
Odesa	403815	37925	198233	17395	124511	10248	15503
		9,39 %	49,09 %	4,31 %	30,83 %	2,54 %	3,84 %
Poltava	53703	30086	11035	1076	10690	302	514
		56,02 %	20,55 %	2,00 %	19,91 %	0,56 %	0,96 %
Sevastopol	53595	7322	34014	2753	3679	907	4920
		13,66 %	63,46 %	5,14 %	6,86 %	1,69 %	9,19 %
Simferopol	49078	3399	22426	1471	7808	706	13268
		6,93 %	45,69 %	3,00 %	15,91 %	1,44 %	27,03 %
Kharkiv	173989	45092	109914	3969	9848	2353	2813
		25,92 %	63,17 %	2,28 %	5,66 %	1,35 %	1,62 %
Kherson	59076	11591	27902	1021	17162	426	974
		19,62 %	47,23 %	1,73 %	29,05 %	0,72 %	1,65 %
Chernihiv	27716	10085	7985	374	8780	111	381
		36,39 %	28,81 %	1,35 %	31,68 %	0,4 %	1,37 %

**Table 3. Kyiv: linguistic composition changes between 1874 and 1897**

Year	Total number of inhabitants	Language				
		Ukrainian	Russian	Polish	Yiddish	German
1874	127251	38553	58173	7863	12917	2583
		30,29 %	45,71 %	6,18 %	10,15 %	2,03 %

<b>1897</b>	247723	55064	134278	16579	29937	4354
		22,23 %	54,20 %	6,69 %	12,08%	1,76 %

**Table 4. Zhytomyr: linguistic composition changes between 1873 and 1897**

Year	Total number of inhabitants	Language			
		Ukrainian	Russian	Polish	Yiddish
<b>1873</b>	43047	8392	8104	6454	19119
		19,50 %	18,82 %	15 %	44,42 %
<b>1897</b>	65895	9152	16944	7464	30572
		13,89 %	25,71 %	11,33 %	46,40 %

**Table 5. Kharkiv: linguistic composition changes between 1879 and 1897**

Year	Total number of inhabitants	Language			
		Ukrainian	Russian	Polish	Yiddish
<b>1879</b>	102049	29673	61529	1375	5135
		29,08 %	60,29 %	1,35 %	5,03 %
<b>1897</b>	173989	45092	109914	3969	9848
		25,92 %	63,17 %	2,28 %	5,66 %

## РИТУАЛ ПРОДАЖИ РЕБЕНКА (ИЗМЕНЕНИЕ ИМЕНИ) У УКРАИНЦЕВ И РУМЫН БУКОВИНЫ

### RITUAL OF THE "SALE OF THE CHILD" AND NAME CHANGE PRACTICED BY UKRAINIANS AND ROMANIANS IN BUKOVINA

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**Rezumat:** *Ritualul „vânzării copilului” și schimbarea numelui acestuia la ucrainenii și românii din Bucovina. Pe baza unui material factologic, în mare parte inedit, au fost supuse analizei două obiceiuri ale românilor și ucrainenilor din zona etnografică bucovineană, la care se apela în caz de boală sau de malformații ale copilului nou născut, în lunga perioadă premergătoare afirmării medicinei moderne. Vânzarea copilului și schimbarea numelui său, ca acțiuni magice, urmăreau protejarea micuțului de acțiunea „spiritelor rele”. Ritualurile erau însoțite și de alte acte de coloratură magică, reflectând concepția despre lume a omului din societatea tradițională.*

**Résumé:** *Le rituel de “la vente de l’enfant” et du changement de son nom aux Ukrainiens et aux Roumains de la Bucovine. A partir d’un matériel factuel en grande partie inédit, on analisa dans l’article ci-joint deux coutumes des Roumains et des Ukrainiens de la zone ethnographique de la Bucovine, auxquels on faisait appel en cas de maladie ou de défauts de l’enfant nouveau-né, pendant la longue période précédant l’affirmation de la médecine moderne. La vente de l’enfant et le changement de son nom en tant qu’actions magiques suivaient protéger le petit de l’action des “mauvais esprits”. On accompagnait le rite d’autres actes de colorature magique, qui réfléchissaient la conception sur le monde de l’homme de la société traditionnelle.*

**Abstract:** *Based on a factual material, mostly unpublished, the article analyzes two rituals, which were used by Ukrainians and Romanians from the ethnographic territory of Bukovina; these rituals were performed in case of illness or malformations of the new-born child, in the long period that preceded the modern medicine. The "sale of the child" and the change of his/her name as magical actions had to protect the infant from the actions of evil*

*spirits. The practices were accompanied by other magical actions, reflecting the worldview of inhabitant of the traditional society.*

**Keywords:** *sale of infant, name change, midwife, meeting godfather, childbirth, newborn, evil spirits, sacral boundary.*

### Постановка проблемы

Страх перед силами природы, многовековые обычаи и отсутствие медицинских знаний вынуждали людей в античный период, средневековье и даже в новое время прибегать к различным магическим обрядам с целью спасти детей от смерти или удалить болезнь. Из-за низкого качества жизни, уровня образования и культуры, эффективности профилактики, уровня доступности и качества медицинской помощи в традиционном обществе была очень высокой детская смертность. В буковинской этнографической зоне, к которой относится территория современных Черновицкой области и Сучавского уезда Румынии, упомянутые условия мало чем отличались от окружающих территорий.

В 1775 году северная часть средневековой Молдовы была аннексирована Австрийской империей и названа Буковиной. Генерал-майор Габриэль фон Сплени (командующий австрийскими войсками на Буковине) в том же году оценивал санитарное состояние края как очень запущенное. Не было на Буковине, по его словам, ни цирюльника, ни хирурга или врача вообще. Беременные женщины во время родов рисковали жизнью, потому что царили суеверия и невежество.<sup>1</sup> По данным черновицких исследователей, в 1865-1866 гг. на Буковине голодной смертью умерло 5823 чел., а в течение 1867 г. от голодной дистрофии – более 3 тыс. чел. Еще одной причиной тяжёлого положения крестьян, по их мнению, был недостаток всех видов медицинских и санитарно-гигиенических учреждений.<sup>2</sup>

Традиционный фатализм населения, плохое питание, нагота, алкоголизм, длинные посты и другие “религиозные раритеты”, крохотные дома без проветривания и с неубранным мусором во дворах и на улицах

<sup>1</sup> Габріель фон Сплени, *Опис Буковини* [Description of Bukovina]. Пер. з нім., передмова і коментар О. Д. Огуя, М. М. Сайка, Чернівці, Рута, 1995, с. 37.

<sup>2</sup> В. М. Ботушанський, Г. В. Чайка, *Еміграція з Буковини (60-ті рр. XIX – початок XX ст.)* [Bukovina's Migration (the 60's of the XIX Century – the beginning of the XX Century)], Чернівці, Технодрук, 2009, с. 29-30, 35.

составляли, по справедливому мнению сучавской исследовательницы Хариеты Марич-Сабол, неприятную реальность традиционного буковинского общества.<sup>3</sup>

Итак, в XVIII – первой половине XX вв. в буковинской этнографической зоне, где веками совместно проживали румыны и украинцы, условия проживания сельского или даже городского жителя не были благоприятными для предупреждения детской смертности. К этому добавлялись периодические засухи, которые приводили к голоду. Медицинская помощь была малодоступной. При рождении детей обычно обращались к повитухам, которые использовали весь имеющийся в то время арсенал инструментов и знаний народной медицины. Часто жизнь новорожденного зависела от знаний и навыков повивальной бабки, названной в этой зоне *моаша*. Но она, конечно, не могла изменить биологические данные новорожденного или вылечить его врожденные болезни. Она не могла радикально изменить и санитарно-гигиеническое состояние, которое существовало в то время в традиционном селе или в каждой крестьянской избе, куда ее приглашали. Единственное, что могли себе позволить крестьяне, – это в начальном этапе жизни новорожденного обеспечить ему купание и комфортный тепловой режим. В большинстве случаев, даже когда ребенок был здоровым и роженица переносила нормально роды, повитуха и женщина-роженица использовали много приемов магической практики, направленные на укрепление здоровья матери и ребенка. В ментальности многих народов мира существовало верование, что ребенок проводится богом в человеческий мир. А акушерка играла религиозную роль в сопровождении ребенка из мира богов в мир людей и давала социальное признание ребенка как члена сообщества.<sup>4</sup> Тем более, это касалось случаев, когда ребенок рождался с признаками определенной болезни или выглядел слабым. Исходя из миропредставлений о злых духах и олицетворяя представителей потустороннего мира в каждом конкретном случае, буковинцы нередко прибегали к обряду **продажи ребенка** или **изменения имени**.

Обычай изменения имени маленького человека из терапевтических

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<sup>3</sup> Harieta Mareci-Sabol, *Change your habits! Health and hygiene issues in Bukovina during the 19th century*, "Codrul Cosminului", XXI, 2015, No. 2, p. 357.

<sup>4</sup> David F. Lancy, "Babies aren't persons": a survey of delayed personhood, in: Hiltrud Otto, Heidi Keller (eds.), *Different Faces of Attachment. Cultural Variations of a Universal Human Need*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 84.

соображений и его «продажи» существовал у разных народов мира<sup>5</sup>. Например, в Тибете, ребенку, который часто болел, родители могли дать новое имя (обычно простого человека или того, который находился ниже по социальной лестнице), как способ обмануть злые силы чтобы те оставили малыша в покое<sup>6</sup>. У башкир, в случае частой смерти детей в семье, проводили обряд *продажи ребенка – бала hatыу*. Обряд сводился к покупке *здорового* ребенка. Купленный, что означает чужой, он не интересуется злых духов, озлобленных на родителей. У башкир ребенок передается через окно или хомут лошади – *вольчью губу*, у узбеков – через отверстие в центре крыши для прохождения дыма и света, а якуты с помощью волосяной веревки извлекают ребенка через трубу. Таким образом, перенесенный через сакральное отверстие (метафора пещеры, рождения снова) малыш становится нетронутым. За ребенка давали шубу, барана или платье.<sup>7</sup> Подобные обряды существовали у бесермян, татар-мишарей, мордвы, удмуртов и др.<sup>8</sup>. Арнольд ванн Геннеп в своей известной книге *Обряды перехода* приводит пример китайской церемонии *прохода через дверь*, которую устраивают для детей, в том числе и в случае их болезни. Больной ребенок проводится через специально сооруженную дверь. Ученый предполагал, что все эти действия как обряд *перенесения зла на что-то* проводятся в форме *прохождения зла на что-то*.<sup>9</sup>

### Историография и база исследования

Обряд фиксировали этнографы в течение XIX в. и в первой половине

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<sup>5</sup> См., например: Carol Laderman, *Wives and Midwives. Childbirth and Nutrition in Rural Malaysia*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1983, p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> Sienna R. Craig, *Pregnancy and childbirth in Tibet: Knowledge, perspective, and practices*, in: Helaine Selin, Pamela K. Stone (eds.), *Childhood across Cultures. Ideas and Practices of Pregnancy, Childbirth and the Postpartum*, Amherst (MA), Springer, 2009, p. 155.

<sup>7</sup> Р. А. Султангареева, *Жизнь человека в обряде (фольклорно-этнографическое исследование башкирских семейных обрядов)* [Human life in Ritual (A Folklore and Ethnographic Study of Bashkir Family Rituals)], Уфа, Гилем, 2005, с. 92.

<sup>8</sup> Е. В. Попова, *Семейные обычаи и обряды бесермян (конец XIX – 90-е годы XX вв.): Монография* [Customs and Rituals of Besermyans Family (the end of the XIX Century – 90's of the XX Century)], Ижевск, Удмуртский институт истории, языка и литературы УрО РАН, 1998, 241 с.

<sup>9</sup> А. ванн Геннеп, *Обряды перехода. Систематическое изучение обрядов* [Rites of Passage. A Systematic Study of the Rites]. Пер. с франц., М.: Издательская фирма «Восточная литература» РАН, 1999, с. 57-58.

XX в., когда прогрессирует интерес к жизни народов и племен. Хотелось бы отметить наиболее аутентичные работы, в которых обряд *продажи ребенка* описан на основе первоисточников. Среди них следует упомянуть труд С. Ф. Мариана *Рождение у румын*<sup>10</sup> и коллективную монографию исследователей Института этнографии и фольклора “К. Брэилоу” Румынской Академии наук под общим руководством И. Гиною *Праздники и обычаи*<sup>11</sup> (IV том, посвященный Молдове). Лингвистическо-мифологическая анкета, проведенная по инициативе Б. П. Хашдеу в 1884-1885 годах и опубликованная в I томе *Словаря исторического и народного языка румын* (1886-1893), вмещала 206 вопросов. О содержании ответов на анкету Хашдеу можно узнать из труда И. Мушли и О. Бирли *Типология фольклора из ответов на анкеты Б. П. Хашдеу*, где было научно систематизирован материал 17000 страниц рукописи. Исследованный нами обряд *продажи ребенка* был зафиксирован в с. Вишагу дистрикта Караш-Северин, селах Бобылна и Бая-де-Криш дистрикта Хунедоара. Информатор сообщил, что после крещения, *моаша* (повитуха) принимает ребенка и передает его через окно *для того, чтобы он жил*, притом она не сообщала имя малыша, пока домашние не заплатят 2-3 монеты<sup>12</sup>.

Наиболее фундаментальным исследованием этнографии румынского народа в настоящее время следует считать проект *Румынского Этнографического Атласа*, реализованного в 60-80-е годы XX в. усилиями сотрудников Института Этнографии и Фольклора “Константин Брэилоу” Румынской Академии наук. Чтобы понять масштаб и фундаментальность этого исследования, следует отметить, что при помощи вопросников, которые содержали 1200 вопросов, были опрошены 18000 субъектов из 600 сел. Полученная информация синтетически была занесена на более чем 1000 этнографических картах, тематически классифицированных в пяти томах. Более расширенный материал публикуется в *Румынских этнографических документах* (РЭД). В серии *Праздники и обычаи* вышло уже четыре тома.

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<sup>10</sup> S. F. Marian, *Nașterea la români: Studiu etnografic* [Birth to Romanians. Ethnographic Study], București, Lito-Tipografia Carol Gobl, 1892, pp. 222-227.

<sup>11</sup> Ion Ghinoiu (coord.), *Sărbători și obiceiuri: răspunsuri la chestionarele Atlasului Etnografic Român* [Celebrations and Rituals: Answers to Questionnaires of the Romanian Ethnographic Atlas], București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2004, Vol. IV, 440 p.

<sup>12</sup> I. Mușlea, O. Bîrlea, *Tipologia folclorului din răspunsurile la chestionarele lui B. P. Hasdeu* [The Typology of Folklore from the Responses to the Questionnaires of the B. P. Hasdeu], București, Editura Minevra, 1970, 634 p.

Четвертый том этой серии подводит итоги исследованиям на территории Молдовы, в том числе Буковины, что и вызвало интерес к изучаемому нами обряду продажи ребенка и изменения имени.<sup>13</sup>

Среди исследований в которых приводится обряд продажи ребенка следует упомянуть книгу И. Гиною, посвященную культурной антропологии: *Этот мир, потусторонний мир. Румынские ипостаси бессмертия*<sup>14</sup>, региональное исследование Г. Пацы *Край Ватра Дорней*<sup>15</sup> и др.

Украинские исследователи также не оставили без внимания родильную обрядность своего народа. Наиболее обобщающий характер носит монография Наталии Гаврилюк, посвященная родильным обычаям и обрядам. В работе использован метод картографирования, который позволил автору учесть фактор пространственных отношений во всем массиве этнической территории украинцев. Обряд «продажи ребенка» в таком виде, как отмечалось в румынском этнографическом пространстве, в ее труде не отмечен. Однако она указывает на изменение имени, но в форме покупки-продажи. Сразу после родов повитуха отправлялась к священнику, чтобы *получить молитву*, узнать имя ребенка и договориться о дне крещения. Украинцы были уверены, что от имени зависит счастье и достаток. Поэтому они хотели получить имя святого, которого отмечали в последующие дни после рождения ребенка, или хорошее имя, которое было распространено в этой местности, или имя, носители которого были красивые и успешные люди. С этой целью надо было нести священнику хлеб, пшено и курицу. Если имя не устраивало родителей, тогда несли вторую курицу священнику, и он менял имя.<sup>16</sup>

Много аутентичного материала о родильной обрядности было собрано на рубеже XIX – XX веков украинским этнографом, церковным деятелем Марком Федоровичем Грушевским (1865-1938). Ему удалось издать собранные исследования, основанные на многолетних наблюдениях и личном опыте общения с крестьянскими семьями, в 1906-1907 гг.

<sup>13</sup> Ion Ghinoiu (coord.), *Sărbători și obiceiuri ...*

<sup>14</sup> I. Ghinoiu, *Lumea de aici, lumea de dincolo. Ipostaze românești ale nemuririi* [This World, the Thereafter. Romanian Facets of Immortality], București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1999, 330 p.

<sup>15</sup> G. C. Pața, *Ținutul Vatra Dornei (studiu monografic)* [Vatra Dornei District (monograph)], Suceava, Editura Mușatinii, 1993, p. 83.

<sup>16</sup> Н. К. Гаврилюк, *Картографування явищ духовної культури (за матеріалами родильної обрядовості українців* [Mapping Phenomena of the Spiritual Culture (based on the Ukrainian Maternity Rituals)], Київ, 1981, 279 с.



во Львове под названием *Ребенок в обычаях и верованиях украинского народа*. Обобщая полученную информацию, он акцентировал внимание на том, что было очень распространенным верование в то, что, когда ребенок болен, необходимо просто изменить ему имя и таким образом можно выгнать демона, который причинил болезнь или несчастье. Этнограф описывает и обычай продажи ребенка. «Если у кого умирают дети, – передает информацию М. Грушевский, – то, когда ребенок заболевает, надо, чтобы кто-то его выкупил. Тот, кто покупает, дает матери копеек 2-3, вешает на шею ребенка крестик. Тогда этого человека считают крестным отцом: *покупной кум* должен положить деньги, а кума – обычную крыжму. Вообще можно продать первому встречному».<sup>17</sup>

Исследователь описывает обычай, существовавший на Волыни, согласно которому имя новорожденного некоторое время не произносили. Кума несла сразу ребенка к роженице и шептала ей на ухо имя, потому что мать должна услышать его первой, а другим не говорила, потому что боялась сглазу. А если кто-то и спросил бы, тогда баба отвечала: «Кума напилась и забыла».<sup>18</sup>

Полевые материалы, собранные на Старосамборщине, также раскрывают наличие исследованного нами обряда. В случае смертности детей в семье, – рассказывают этнографы Р. Гузий и Л. Горошко, – кумовья, неся ребенка к кресту, *купают* его через окно у матери за мелкие деньги или, вернувшись из церкви, продадут ребенка матери через окно. Еще один известный в древности обычай предвидел символическую *продажу* ребенка лицу, у которого никто не умер и хорошо *воспитывались* дети.<sup>19</sup>

Обряд изменения имени и «продажи ребенка» известный в разных регионах Украины. Дзенислава Михайловна Ганус, исследуя тему *Ребенок в системе народных верований и обрядов населения украинско-польского пограничья*, собрала полевой материал (2012–2013 гг.) во время экспедиционных исследований проведенных в 145 населенных пунктах Волынской, Львовской и Закарпатской областей. Было опрошено более 500

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<sup>17</sup> Мк. Грушевський, *Дитина у звичаях і віруваннях українського народу* [The Child in Ukrainian Customs and Beliefs], Київ, Либідь, 2006, 256 с.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, р. 59.

<sup>19</sup> Р. Гузій, Л. Горошко, *Родильні звичаї та обряди на Старосамбірщині (за матеріалами польових досліджень)* [Birth Practices and Rituals in Starosambirschna region (based on the field researches)], «Народознавчі Зошити», № 5-6, 2010, с. 616.

респондентов в основном 1917–1980 годов рождения. Это дает нам право считать эти исследования репрезентативными для данного региона Украины. В ее диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук отмечается наличие в украинском этнографическом пространстве такого явления, как «встречные кумовья», что, кстати, зарегистрировано и у румын. Наиболее распространенным, по ее данным, до сих пор является выбор *встречных (встричных, здыбанных, знайдених, лапаних, нагальних, розмаитих)* крестных родителей. В них видели не только нового человека, свободного от ассоциаций с трагическим прошлым, но и представителя высших сил, который способен победить судьбу. Как правило, за несколько дней до крещения ребенка отец выходил утром (до восхода солнца) на дорогу и просил за *главную пару* кумовьев первых встречных мужчину и женщину. В селах Западного Полесья (Шацкий р-н) чаще всего крестным отцом ребенка становился рыбак, потому что именно его утром встречал на дороге отец, поэтому рыбаков называли *общественными кумовьями*. Выбор *встречных* крестных родителей был широко известен и на территории Польши, где параллельно могли приглашать бедных людей из-под костела. Исследовательница утверждает, что обычай *встречных кумовьев* по всей Украине использовался вплоть до 1970-х годов.<sup>20</sup>

Источниками для данной статьи стали также полевые материалы проф. А. А. Мойсея, собранные во время экспедиционных исследований в 1997-2016 гг. в украинских и румынских селах Черновицкой области Украины и Сучавского уезда Румынии.<sup>21</sup>

### **Ритуал продажи ребенка (изменение имени)**

В антологии народных обрядов, посвященных рождению детей у румын, которые отражали характерную для XIX в. практику, С. Ф. Мариан раскрыл панораму семейной обрядности на всей территории, заселенной румынами. Будучи буковинцем по происхождению, месту службы и прожи-

<sup>20</sup> Д. М. Ганус, *Дитина в системі ...*, с. 98-99.

<sup>21</sup> *Материалы экспедиционных исследований проф. Мойсея А. А., проведенных в украинских и румынских селах Черновицкой области Украины и Сучавского уезда Румынии* [Materials of the Expeditionary Research conducted by Professor A. Moyses, in the Ukrainian and Romanian Villages of the Chernivtsi Region of Ukraine, and Suceava District of Romania].

ванию, он хорошо знал обряды местного населения. В XV подпункте *Изменение имени* книги *Рождение у румын* он приводит пример именно из Буковины. Если ребенок атакован и измучен злым духом, – передает этнограф собранную от буковинок информацию о мотивации подобных действий, – или ребенок тяжело болен, а быстрых методов лечения нет, то родители прибегают к обряду изменения имени. Родители верят, что этот обряд поможет избежать действия злого духа или обойти болезнь. Исследователь описывает следующую процедуру проведения обряда:

- родители передают больного ребенка соседке или другой женщине из села;

- соседка меняет имя ребенка, приходит к маме и дарит ей ребенка, называя новое имя;

- мать сначала делает вид, что не хочет брать малыша, потому что у нее и так много детей, а потом все-таки дает себя уговорить и берет ребенка. После этого старое имя не произносят и не сообщают соседям.<sup>22</sup>

В других местностях Буковины, сообщает этнограф, если женщине не везет с детьми, потому что они у нее умирают, то она с целью защиты прибегает к обряду *продажи ребенка*. Сценарий этого обрядового действия выглядел следующим образом: когда у женщины нет девочек, она ищет другую женщину, у которой много взрослых и здоровых девочек. Избранная женщина в свою очередь подходит к окну и спрашивает:

- Нет ли у вас девочки?

- Да, есть, – говорит хозяйка, – но не имеем счастья, чтобы девочки у нас жили.

- Продайте ее мне, потому что у меня, благодаря Богу, есть такое счастье.

- Хорошо ... продам с радостью ... сколько за нее дашь?

- Сколько просишь?

- Да ... что говорить ... много, потому что это не девочка, а настоящий цветок (пион).

- Вот сколько могу дать за нее, больше не могу!

- Принеси деньги сюда!

Чужая женщина передает через окно несколько клучеров (монет). Мать берет деньги и также через окно передает девочку. Новая мать берет ребенка на руки, три раза обходит вокруг дома, потом заходит в дом через дверь. И здесь говорит:

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<sup>22</sup> S. F. Marian, *Nașterea la români...*, p. 222.

- Не примите ли меня в дом, не накормите ли меня, потому что я здесь чужая и иду издалека. Не знаю, куда дальше идти, и еще есть у меня этот ребенок, и не знаю, как с ней дальше быть.

- Да, приму, почему нет! – отвечает мать девочки, – пожалуйста, проходите.

Женщина ставит девочку на кровать или на пол, если она не очень маленькая, а сама садится на лавку или стул, симулируя усталость.

- Как зовут маленькую? – спрашивает хозяйка.

Женщина говорит новое имя ребенка и оставляет ее настоящим родителям. Все верят, что после этого с ребенком будет все нормально, – завершает С. Мариан описание обряда.

В г. Кымпулунг процедура продажи ребенка проходила проще. Мать ребенка с родственниками стоят в доме у окна, *покупатели* – снаружи. Те, что в доме, называя имя ребенка, предлагают его продать за определенное количество монет. Те, что вне дома, платят, берут малыша и входят в дом через дверь. Процесс повторяется три раза. В с. Виковул де Сус Радауцкого округа, как и в других селах этой административной единицы, хозяева должны затем выкупить снова себе ребенка за деньги через окно. В противном случае, по их мнению, на том свете ребенок не будет им принадлежать.<sup>23</sup>

Со ссылкой на информацию, полученную от епископа Мельхиседека, С. Ф. Мариан вспоминает тот факт, что сын Штефана Великого Богдан II имел еще одно имя – Влад. Многие грамоты он подписывал двумя именами. Как мотивацию этнограф приводит народное верование в то, что двойным именем можно спрятать ребенка от злых духов.

Новую деталь в обряде продажи ребенка исследователь отмечает в Молдове, где после передачи через окно девочки собирают «неиспользованные тряпки из 9 домов, изготавливают для нее платьице». Подобные обряды существуют в Македонии, Трансильвании и Венгрии.<sup>24</sup>

На Буковине, подчеркивает этнограф, наиболее распространенными были имена, которые не встречаются в церковных книгах, в частности названия хищных зверей: для мальчиков – Лупу (Волк), Лупушор (Волчонок), Урсу (Медведь), Урсуликэ (Медвежонок), Урсаке (большой медведь); для девочек – Лупа (Волчица), Урса (Медведица). Такие имена, по мнению

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 223-224.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 225-226.

людей, должны запугать болезни и злых духов.<sup>25</sup> Обычай прослеживается еще с древних времен. В трех средневековых летописях, авторства Г. Уреке, М. Костина, И. Некулче, которые охватывают политическую историю Молдавского княжества с 1359 по 1741 гг., среди высокопоставленных чиновников 20 раз встречаются имя Лупул и 5 раз имя Урсаки.<sup>26</sup> Итак, давность этнографического явления не вызывает сомнений и оно засвидетельствовано письменными доказательствами начиная с XVI века.

Во время работы в рамках проекта *Румынского Этнографического Атласа* в Сучавском уезде были проведены масштабные исследования в 16 селах. Отвечая на вопрос о мотиве изменения имени, информаторы из сел Броштень, Пояна Стампий и Ватра Молдовицей сообщили, что это делалось в случае болезни ребенка. В с. Бороая добавили: «когда заболел ребенок». «Если ребенок болел, меняли имя, чтобы жил», – ответили в Думбрэвенах. В с. Мэлинь мотив уточняется: «В случае, когда ребенок мог умереть, ему давали имя святого, чтобы обмануть смерть». На вопрос о лицах, которые меняли имя ребенка, в 4-х селах указали на родителей (Думбрэвень, Мэлинь, Стулпикань, Ватра Молдовицей), в 3-х селах – на мать малыша (Бороая, Пэлтиноаса, Пояна Стампий); «мать передавала его кому-то на руки, произнося новое имя», – ответили в с. Броштень. В Стулпиканах отмечена особенность: имя менялось с Василия на Николая. В других селах этот обряд исполнялся *моашей* (повивальной бабкой) (с. Пэлтиноаса), священником, «родителями вместе со священником» (Стулпикань), другой мамой (Виковул де Жос). В некоторых случаях при болезни ребенка родители ограничивались только посещением колдуньи, не меняя имя.

Иногда, в случае тяжелой болезни, ребенка условно дарили. На Буковине малыша дарили женщине, которой везло с детьми (с. Долхешть).<sup>27</sup>

*Продажа ребенка* как обряд, который проводился в случае его болезни, был зафиксирован в селах Арборе, Бороайя, Калафиндешть, Думбрэвень, Мэлинь, Пэлтиноаса, Пояна Стампий, Ватра Молдовицей, Виковул де Жос. Основные этапы обряда сводились к передаче ребенка через окно за деньги женщине, которая имела много здоровых детей или родственнице. Это делали родители, крестная мать (нанашка). Следующий этап – вход «второй матери» через дверь в дом. Новое имя произносили

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

<sup>26</sup> *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei* [The Chronicle of Moldavia], Chișinău, Editura Universul, 2006, p. 575, 600.

<sup>27</sup> Ion Ghinoiu (coord.), *Sărbători și obiceiuri...*, pp. 42-43.

при передаче через окно. На завершающем этапе обряда ребенка передавали родителям с уже новым именем.<sup>28</sup>

Исследователи зарегистрировали на Буковине и другие формы проведения обряда лечения ребенка с использованием приема сокрытия (ухода) от злых духов. В с. Думбрэвень больного малыша проводили через отверстие, выкопанное на берегу реки. В другом населенном пункте (Мэлинь) ребенка проводили под борозду. Для этого выкапывали ров под межей, малыша, завернутого только в одну пеленку, проводили под землей, при этом пеленка оставалась в проходе. После такой процедуры в Стулпиканах ребенка «продавали».<sup>29</sup> Как показывают результаты опроса, в одном и том же селе могли бытовать различные формы обряда. Это делалось в поисках более эффективного метода лечения ребенка. Г. К. Паца, описывая край Ватра Дорней в отдельной этнографической студии, подтверждает бытование обряда «продажи ребенка» и изменения имени в этой части Буковины. Он вспоминает о существовании в прошлом обряда, призванного скрыть ребенка от болезни, чтобы «его не узнала болезнь». Вот почему, говорит он, можно сейчас найти людей с двойными именами: одно, которые знают все, – другое существует только в официальных документах.<sup>30</sup> Ион Гиною на основе огромного материала, собранного для *Румынского Этнографического Атласа*, указывает еще на один ритуал лечения больного ребенка: малыша проводят три раза через рубашку, но обязательно от воротника (смерти) до низу рубашки (рождения). Иногда больного ребенка проводят через блузку, которая принадлежит моаше (повитухе), при соблюдении 2 условий: ритуал осуществляется три раза, направление проведения – от воротника до низа.<sup>31</sup>

Моаша иногда может сама менять имя ребенка. Расскажем один случай из истории семьи проф. А. А. Мойсея. Его дед по материнской линии Шкьопу Александр Герасимович родился летом 1929 года в селе Тарасовцы Хотинского уезда слабым и хилым. Для его „спасения от смерти” медицинская сестра, которая выполняла роль акушерки, зарегистрировала новорожденного под своей фамилией – Фырфа. Так он жил до того момента, когда надо было идти в школу. Некоторое время его записывали Фырфа-Штепу, а затем постепенно он вернулся к своей настоящей фамилии. Он

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48.

<sup>30</sup> G. Pața, *Ținutul Vatra Dornei...*, p. 84.

<sup>31</sup> I. Ghinoiu (coord.), *Sărbători și obiceiuri...*, p. 169.

прожил 54 года. Когда, после смерти, понадобилась справка о его рождении, в архиве не смогли найти такие данные: в день его рождения был зарегистрирован другой человек – Фырфа. Таким образом, обманули не только смерть, но и службу регистрации актов гражданского состояния.

По данным полевых исследований Д. М. Ганус, достаточно часто обряд передачи ребенка через окно дополнялся обычаем *купли-продажи* ребенка. Как правило, выполнялось это действие отцом, имитирующим продажу ребенка, и крестным отцом, который собственно «покупал» младенца. Заплатив деньги, крестный брал ребенка на руки и сообщал, что теперь это его ребенок. Эти деньги мать отдавала в церковь *на Божье*. Иногда ребенка *продавали* родственнику, который имел собственных здоровых детей.

На Закарпатье обряд «купли-продажи» ребенка дополняли заменой имени на новое, защитное, которым с этого времени называли ребенка, а у бойков – проданного ребенка номинировали *проданом*.<sup>32</sup>

Следует отметить, что фамилия Продан, Проданик, Проданюк была распространена издавна на территории современной Черновицкой области и существует до сих пор. В переписи населения дунайских княжеств 1772-1773 и 1774 гг. эта фамилия зафиксирована в северно-бессарабских селах Михалково, Непоротово, Романковцы, Селище и др.<sup>33</sup>

Наши полевые исследования в 2013-2014 годах показывают, что обряды изменения имени и *продажи ребенка* существовали на территории Черновицкой области как в украинских, так и румынских селах. Из 25 анкет, в которых были даны ответы на вопросы об упомянутых обрядах, в 18 селах были получены положительные ответы. С 14 вопросников, розданных в соседних областях, только в четырех случаях зарегистрированы подобные обряды. Во всех селах, где существовал обряд изменения имени и символической продажи ребенка, мотивацией подобных действий послужила борьба за жизнь тяжелобольного сына или дочери. Никакой разницы в этом между румынами и украинцами не существовало. От села к селу, и даже на территории села могли существовать различные варианты проведения обряда. Могли выполнять это действие различные персонажи. Например, в *продаже ребенка* принимали участие родители, чаще – мать в украинских селах: Банилов-Подгорный, Камяна, Спасска, Старые Бросков-

<sup>32</sup> Д. М. Ганус, *Дитина в системі ...*, с. 103-104.

<sup>33</sup> *Recensămintele populației Moldovei din anii 1772-1773 și 1774* [The 1772-1773 and 1774 Moldova Population Census], Chișinău, Știința, 1975, Vol. 7, Part. 2.

цы Сторожинецкого района; Шипинцы, Нижние Становцы Кицманьского района; Онут, Добриновцы Заставнянского района; Усть-Путила Путильского района. Обряд зафиксирован в таких румыноязычных селах: Несвоя и Мамалыга Новоселицкого района, в Молодии Глыбокского района. В соседних областях родители выступали основными персонажами обряда, например, в с. Попельники Ивано-Франковской и Устечко Тернопольской областей.

Повитуха была главным лицом в осуществлении исследованного нами обряда в украинских селах Черновка Новоселицкого района и Верхние Становцы Кицманьского района, в румыноязычном селе Мамалыга и в г. Новоселица (смешанное население). Повитуха руководила обрядом *продажи* и изменения имени в селах Стебни и Коршов Ивано-Франковской области.

Крестные родители или кумовья выступали основными действующими лицами в обряде только в украинских селах Бабино Вижницкого района и Малятинцы Кицманьского района. Это можно объяснить тем, что в румынских селах кумовья появляются в жизни новорожденного позже (родины, крестины) и не играют такой интимной роли, как мать, отец или моаша.

Во всех зарегистрированных обрядах дверь и окно играли роль пограничного порога для перехода из одного состояния ребенка в другое. Наряду с этим, источник из села Мамалыга сообщил о проведении ребенка через разветвленную ветку дерева (Нистрян Анастасия Алексеевна, 1939 г. р.). Кроме того, в этом же селе зафиксировано участие гадалок в проведении обряда. В с. Попельники и Бабино перед тем как начинать обряд «продажи» ребенка через окно, шли в церковь и перекрещивали его, давали новое имя. Только после этого, если положительного результата не было, прибегали к магическому обряду.

Ребенка «продавали» человеку постороннему (Банюлов-Подгорный, Шипинцы, Мамалыга), многодетной женщине (Камяна, Несвоя, Нижние Становцы, Старые Бросковцы), женщине, у которой не умирали дети (Черновка), кумовьям или родителям (Бабино, Малятинцы), доброму человеку (Онут), близким родственникам (Коршив). Почти во всех селах за ребенка платили деньги, ему обязательно меняли имя. В селе Камяна часто новое имя было – Продан, что мы отмечаем в других селах украинского этнического пространства.

Процесс проведения обрядов изменения имени и «продажи ребенка» сопровождается магическими действиями, которые отражают концепцию



мировосприятия древнего человека. Элементы языческих верований часто переплетаются с христианским осмыслением окружающего мира. Мотивом болезни и смерти считалось действие злых духов. Крестьяне объясняли исследователю в XIX в., что «если ребенок атакован и измучен злым духом», тогда надо прибегнуть к обряду. Если христианские священники неблагоприятные события в жизни человека объясняют действием *нечистой силы*, то в народе сохранялись старые «языческие» названия. Н. Гаврилюк в монографии приводит названия, существующие еще в народной памяти украинцев: *прыстрип, уроки, крикливцы*, которые негативно влияют на роженицу и новорожденного.<sup>34</sup> В традициях румынского народа в конце XIX в. сохранились имена подобных злых духов: *Збурэторул, Самка, Авестица*, которые насылали на роженицу и новорожденного различные болезни, а *Урситоареле* планировали будущую судьбу ребенка.<sup>35</sup> То есть, окружающий мир традиционного человека наполнен злыми и добрыми духами, которые приносят несчастье или удачу. Их воспринимают как реальных действующих лиц. Исходя из этого, их можно обмануть, напугать, защититься от них определенными заклинаниями или обрядами. С этой целью использовались известные магические приемы. Например, переход сакральной границы: в нашем случае – двери, окна, граница между огородами, отверстие в земле, маленький тоннель, разветвления ветвей дерева, рубашка и др. Считалось, что ритуал пересечения сакральной границы означал прохождение через процесс смерти – рождения, в результате чего на свет приходил новый человек, тем более, с новым именем. К новому человеку у злых духов не было никаких претензий, потому что это уже был другой ребенок, которым они не собирались навредить. А. ванн Геннеп объяснял, что дверь – это рубеж между двумя периодами жизни. И, в таком случае, смысл обряда состоит в том, что дети переходят из опасного мира в мир благоприятный или нейтральный.<sup>36</sup> А злых духов можно было напугать, если новое имя ребенка было Лупул (Волк) или Урсул (Медведь). Все обряды можно было усиливать 3-х или 9-кратным повторением заговоров или ритуалом «продажи» маленького человека.

Вера в то, что существует «другой мир» была общепринятой. В Радауцкой этнографической зоне люди были уверены, что в случае, если

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<sup>34</sup> Н. К. Гаврилюк, *Картографування ...*, с. 90.

<sup>35</sup> S. F. Marian, *Nașterea la români...*, p. 23, 26, 149.

<sup>36</sup> А. ванн Геннеп, *Обряды перехода ...*, с. 58-59.

малыш не выкупается обратно родителями, то на том свете ребенок не будет им принадлежать. То есть, реальность загробной жизни и взаимосвязь своих действий с состоянием дел на «том свете» не ставилась под сомнение.

### Выводы

Таким образом, в исследованных нами населенных пунктах компаративный анализ не выявил существенных различий в проведении обряда у украинцев и румын. Некоторая разница была обнаружена в составе действующих лиц *продажи* детей, что уже было отмечено, однако фактологический материал достаточно незначительный для того, чтобы сделать вывод обобщающего характера (анализ сделан на основе полевого исследования). Однако, можно с уверенностью утверждать, что ритуал *продажи ребенка* и изменения имени как в украинском, так и в румынском этническом пространстве основывается на концепции мировосприятия людей дохристианской эпохи, в незначительной степени измененной в период христианизации. Кардинальные трансформации указанных ритуалов произошли в период перехода к массовому использованию услуг официальной медицины, которая доказала свое полное превосходство над средневековой практикой приема родов.

В буковинской этнографической зоне ритуал «продажи ребенка» и изменения имени был распространен равномерно как в украинских, так и в румынских населенных пунктах. Особых различий в его проведении у двух соседних народов не отмечено. Обряд имел широкое распространение далеко за пределами указанного ареала исследования, притом его сущность не менялась в пространственной локации. Различными были только некоторые несущественные детали. Следует предположить, что генезис обряда кроется в глубине истории человечества.

## RELATIONS MILITAIRES ROUMAINES-SLOVAQUES EN 1942

### ROMANIAN-SLOVAKIAN MILITARY RELATIONS IN 1942

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**Rezumat. Relații militare româno-slovace în 1942.** Studiul aduce în analiză un episod mai puțin cunoscut din anii celui de al Doilea Război Mondial. În cadrul marilor confruntări militare de pe Frontul de Est din anul 1942 au participat alături de Wehrmacht și armatele române, slovace și maghiare. Prinse în competiția dintre ele pentru redesenarea hărții politice a celor trei țări ele au trebuit să dovedească că sunt fidele Berlinului. Din această competiție România a căutat să își asigure o poziție mai bună în ochii Berlinului, în ciuda pierderilor uriașe din campania anului 1942. De aceea s-a impus o apropiere de Slovacia, partener care avea un țel similar, refacerea frontierei de sud cu Ungaria. Un moment semnificativ a fost vizita delegației militare române în Slovacia, respective vizita delegației militare slovace în România în februarie și martie 1942. Momentul a fost debutul unei cooperări militare care urmărea să pună presiune pe Budapesta. Deși cooperarea s-a limitat doar la sfera informațiilor militare și a spionajului armatei maghiare, rezultatele au fost benefice. Ungaria a fost nevoită să depună un efort militar mai mare, fapt ce i-a mărit atât dependența de Berlin, cât și vulnerabilitatea internă în cazul unei confruntări militare directe cu România și Slovacia.

**Résumé :** L'étude ci-jointe analyse un épisode moins connu des années de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. Dans le cadre de la grande confrontation militaire du front de l'Est de 1942, les armées roumaines, slovaques et hongroises participèrent aux côtés du Wehrmacht. Prises dans la compétition pour redessiner la carte politique entre elles, les trois pays ont dû prouver leur fidélité envers Berlin. En cette compétition, la Roumanie chercha à s'assurer une meilleure position aux yeux de Berlin, malgré les pertes immenses subies dans la campagne de 1942. Par conséquent, elle s'imposa un rapprochement de la Slovaquie, partenaire qui eut un but analogue, refaire sa frontière du Sud avec l'Hongrie. Un moment significatif fut la visite de la délégation militaire roumaine en Slovaquie, respectivement la visite de la délégation militaire slovaque en Roumanie en février et mars 1942. Ce moment représenta le début d'une coopération militaire qui devait mettre la pression sur Budapest. Quoique cette coopération se limite à la sphère des informations militaires et de l'espionnage, les résultats furent bénéfiques. L'Hongrie fut obligée de faire

*un effort militaire accru, ce qui augmenta sa dépendance envers Berlin, mais aussi sa vulnérabilité interne dans l'éventualité d'une confrontation militaire directe avec la Roumanie et la Slovaquie.*

**Abstract.** *This study raises the issue of a less known episode from the years of the Second World War. During the great military confrontation on the East Front in 1942, the Romanian, Slovakian and Hungarian armies got involved alongside with the Wehrmacht. Caught in the middle of the confrontation to redraw the political map, they had to prove that they are faithful to Berlin. During this competition, Romania sought to secure a better position in the eyes of Berlin, despite the colossal losses incurred during the 1942 campaign. Therefore, it was necessary to get close to Slovakia, a partner serving the similar purpose, namely to rebuild the southern border with Hungary. An important moment was represented by the visit of the Romanian military delegation to Slovakia, namely the visit of the Slovakian military delegation to Romania, in February and March of 1942. This moment represented the start of a military cooperation seeking to place pressure on Budapest. Although the cooperation was only limited to the exchange of military information and to spying the Hungarian army, the results were beneficial. Hungary was forced to make a greater military endeavour which increased both its dependence on Berlin and its internal vulnerability in case of a direct confrontation with Romanian and Slovakia.*

**Keywords:** *Eastern Front, war contribution, military delegation, Slovak army, military cooperation, spying*

## Introduction

Si pour la Roumanie la participation militaire contre l'Union Soviétique était justifiée par le désir de rétablir l'intégrité de son territoire par la libération de la Bessarabie et de la Bucovine du Nord occupées par l'Armée Rouge en juin 1940, pour la Slovaquie la collaboration militaire dirigée contre l'Union Soviétique n'avait aucune justification. Bratislava n'avait aucune revendication territoriale envers le puissant Etat de l'Est. La collaboration militaire de la Slovaquie avait d'autres ressorts. Les deux pays espéraient que "le nouvel ordre" nazi établi à la fin de la guerre allait leur permettre de refaire leurs frontières perdues en 1938-1940 ou de préserver au moins celles existantes face à la menace hongroise. Les mêmes réalités forcèrent la Hongrie à collaborer, à son tour, du point de vue militaire contre l'U.R.S.S. La collaboration militaire de la Hongrie avait comme but de préserver les frontières ou même de les augmenter aux dépens de la Roumanie et de la Slovaquie. Les trois pays étaient tombés dans un piège habilement tendu par l'Allemagne nazie. En même temps, les trois

étaient conscients qu'une éventuelle victoire contre l'Union Soviétique n'allait pas résoudre leur dispute territoriale. Par conséquent, chacun voulait faire en sorte de ne pas épuiser son potentiel militaire et ses capacités économiques dans la confrontation à l'Est. La Roumanie et la Slovaquie se trouvaient dans une position favorable parce qu'elles pouvaient s'allier n'importe quand contre l'adversaire commun représenté par la Hongrie. Cet aspect était très bien connu à Budapest, qui n'avait qu'un seul atout : son influence à Berlin. Avec l'aide de l'Allemagne, une potentielle alliance roumaine-slovaque aurait été nulle. Pour gagner la bienveillance du "patron" de l'Axe, le sacrifice matériel et humain du front de l'Est était nécessaire. Dans la situation créée, ces "alliés incompatibles" devaient manifester leur "soumission de manière ostentatoire" envers le Reich.

On analysa très bien les rapports entre les petits Etats alliés de l'Allemagne nazie dans un ouvrage signé par l'historien américain Larry Watts, mais celui-ci ne fit pas référence à la Slovaquie, aussi. En échange, les historiens roumains Petre Otu et Nicolae Ciachir présentèrent les relations militaires entre la Roumanie et la Slovaquie, pendant que Gheorghe Zbucnea fit référence dans son étude à celles diplomatiques. Les contributions qu'on vient de mentionner envisagèrent une présentation générale des rapports bilatéraux au cadre de l'Axe et n'étudièrent pas séparément les moments de la coopération. A son tour, le chercheur slovaque Jana Bauerová atteint partiellement, certains détails de la collaboration entre Bratislava et Bucarest de l'année 1942. L'étude ci-jointe fait référence à un moment spécial de la coopération roumaine slovaque de l'année 1942, moment quand la Roumanie et la Slovaquie projetèrent ouvertement une politique d'encercler l'Hongrie, avec toutes les conséquences qui en résultent.

### **Les objectifs et l'effort de la Roumanie et de la Slovaquie sur le Front de l'Est en 1942**

A la fin de la première année de guerre à l'Est, l'Axe et ses partenaires étaient loin d'avoir atteint leurs objectifs. En vue de l'offensive de 1942, Hitler changea le ton dans les relations avec ses petits alliés. Il écrit à Ion Antonescu une lettre en termes extrêmement amiables par laquelle il lui sollicitait un effort militaire équivalent à la participation sur le front de 27 divisions roumaines, qui représentaient deux tiers de la capacité de l'armée roumaine. En plus, il lui promit qu'il doterait les troupes roumaines avec armement moderne consistant en chars et artillerie lourde. Pour le convaincre, il lui déclara que la Hongrie augmenterait son effort de guerre. Mais, conscient de l'adversité entre les Roumains et les Slovaques, d'une part, et les Hongrois, de l'autre, il ne se pressa

de doter aucune des armées alliées. Afin de capter le dirigeant roumain, Hitler lui promet qu'à la fin de la guerre la Hongrie n'aurait pas la liberté d'agir militairement contre la Roumanie<sup>1</sup>.

Dès le début, Antonescu s'est montré tranchant envers les Allemands dans la question de la contribution des Hongrois. Il répondit au colonel Spalke en décembre 1941 que la Roumanie continuerait à contribuer à l'effort commun au cours de l'année 1942, mais qu'il ne pensait pas que la Hongrie ferait la même chose. Il attirait l'attention sur les manœuvres militaires effectuées par l'armée hongroise : "Nous nous demandons : contre qui, si la participation de la Hongrie à la guerre reste symbolique ? Ils suivent, probablement, d'autres buts, que nous ne connaissons pas. Les actions hostiles de la Hongrie envers nous auraient conduit en temps normal à la rupture des relations et à des hostilités"<sup>2</sup>. Il est difficile de croire que les exercices militaires des Hongrois à leur frontière avec la Roumanie avaient effrayé Antonescu. On est plutôt enclin à croire que son but était de presser Budapest afin que la Hongrie envoie des troupes plus nombreuses sur le front de l'Est et ne puisse pas préparer des unités militaires importantes pour la fin de la guerre. Un mois plus tard, il avertissait directement Adolf Hitler par une lettre que les Hongrois parlaient de la préparation d'une armée estimée à 1.500.000 soldats qui soit capable, à la fin de la guerre, d'assurer les intérêts hongrois. Antonescu se demandait de manière rhétorique à quelle fin était nécessaire une telle 1 2 armée si l'Allemagne aurait assuré les problèmes de l'ordre en Europe. Cela, bien sûr, dans les conditions où le Reich aurait gagné la guerre, mais en janvier 1942 l'Allemagne de Hitler était loin du succès attendu. Lors de l'entrevue de Hitler et Ion Antonescu de février 1942, le maréchal roumain parla au Führer sur les déclarations des Bulgares et des Hongrois concernant la nécessité de créer une armée qui assure aux deux pays "une force primordiale décisive dans l'organisation et le développement futur du continent". Mais Ion Antonescu envisageait la participation des deux pays à l'effort commun de vaincre l'Armée Rouge. Il appréciait la contribution hongroise comme étant "excessivement réduite" par rapport à l'effort de la

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<sup>1</sup> Rolf-Dieter Müller, *Alături de Wehrmacht. „Cruciada împotriva bolșevismului”. Aliți, voluntari, auxiliari 1941-1945* [Auprès du Wehrmacht. "La croisade contre le bolchevisme". Alliés, volontaires, auxiliaires 1941-1945], traduction Cristina Crâmpîță, București, Editura Militară, 2015, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Antonescu-Hitler. Corespondență și întâlniri inedite (1940-1944)* [Antonescu-Hitler. Correspondance et rencontres inédites (1940-1944)], volume I, édition par Vasile Arimia, Ion Ardeleanu, Ștefan Lache, București, Editura Cozia, 1991, doc.34, p. 159.

Roumanie<sup>3</sup>. Tout comme les Hongrois, les Roumains entendaient garder une partie de leur force militaire à l'intérieur du pays pour toute éventualité. Le général allemand Becker, chef de la société d'export pour armement, se plaignit à Ion Gheorghe, l'attaché militaire roumain à Berlin à ce moment-là, que la Roumanie n'envoyait pas directement sur le front l'armement que l'Allemagne lui livrait et qu'une bonne partie de cet armement restait à l'intérieur pays. En ce sens, il lui montra un télégramme de Manfred von Killinger, le diplomate allemand accrédité à Bucarest, par lequel Mihai Antonescu lui demandait de garder l'armement livré pour un éventuel conflit avec la Hongrie<sup>4</sup>.

Dans la relation avec les trois pays, les Allemands utilisèrent le ton amiable, mais aussi la pression. Hermann Göring avait averti Antonescu que les Allemands "tenaient un register spécial où l'on consignait la manière de laquelle certains pays agissaient pendant la guerre, et que ce registre pourrait être consulté lorsque le temps viendrait"<sup>5</sup>. Quoique le message des Allemands fût aussi évasif qu'en d'autres occasions, au début de l'année 1942 la Roumanie espérait encore dans une victoire de l'Allemagne contre l'Union Soviétique et continua à jouer la carte allemande dans la guerre.

En ce qui concernait la Slovaquie, les Allemands ne s'attendaient pas à une grande contribution. Mais celle-ci ne pouvait pas manquer, ni du point de vue militaire, ni du point de vue économique. Le 24 et le 25 février, Wilhelm von Keitel se déplaça à Bratislava pour obtenir l'appui de l'armée slovaque et négocier un nouvel accord concernant les usines d'armement du territoire de la Slovaquie qui appartenaient au groupe Škoda<sup>6</sup>. L'économie slovaque devenait de plus en plus dépendante des besoins du Reich. L'armée slovaque n'eut pas des missions différentes, sa capacité de lutte étant trop réduite. Mais elle aussi reçut des missions dépassant sa force opérative. Son faible rendement au cours de l'année 1941 obligea les responsables militaires de Bratislava de retirer aux pre-

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, doc.39, p.170-171.

<sup>4</sup> Le général Ion Gheorghe, *Un dictator nefericit. Mareşalul Antonescu (Calea României spre Statul satelit)* [Un dictateur malheureux. La Maréchal Antonescu (Le chemin de la Roumanie vers l'Etat satellite)], édition par Stelian Neagoe, Bucureşti, Editura Machiavelli, 1996, p.232.

<sup>5</sup> Larry L. Watts, *Aliaşi incompatibili. România, Finlanda, Ungaria şi al Treilea Reich* [Des alliés incompatibles. La Roumanie, la Finlande, l'Hongrie et le Troisième Reich], Bucureşti, Editura RAO, 2012, p.223.

<sup>6</sup> František Cséfalvay, Ľubica Kázmerová, *Slovenská republika 1939-1945. Chronologia najdôležitejších udalostí*, [La République Slovaque 1939-1945. La chronologie des plus importants événements], Bratislava, Historický ústav SAV, 2007, p.80.

miers mois de 1942 un tiers des effectifs pour les refaire<sup>7</sup>. L'armée slovaque comprenait la Division Rapide, la Division de Sécurité et le Régiment 31 d'artillerie. La Division Rapide avança vite et reçut des missions de sécurité à la Mer Azov, derrière les troupes allemandes. De cette manière, pendant l'hiver, après l'échec allemand devant Moscou et la stabilisation du front, la Division Rapide, la principale force offensive de l'armée slovaque, reçut un secteur de front large de 10 km, les militaires slovaques étant flanqués par une division allemande de chasseurs alpins et par la division SS Wiking. Dirigée depuis avril 1942 par le général-major August Malar, celle-ci défendit sa position avec succès jusqu'au printemps de l'année 1942<sup>8</sup>. Par contre, le Régiment 31 d'artillerie fut détruit en totalité en mai 1942 après une puissante contre-attaque soviétique, ses restes complétant les forces de la Division Rapide<sup>9</sup>. La Division de Sécurité eut à remplir la mission d'assurer la sécurité du territoire occupé dans la région de Minsk.

Dans ces conditions, la Hongrie a été obligée d'intervenir à son tour avec des troupes, faisant le jeu de l'Allemagne. Joseph Goebbels notait en 1942 dans un rapport confidentiel que "les Hongrois sont préparés à risquer encore plus de vies humaines". Il réalisait que l'Allemagne pouvait spéculer l'adversité entre la Roumanie et la Slovaquie, d'une part, et la Hongrie, de l'autre, lorsqu'il tirait la conclusion que les Hongrois "ne pouvaient pas rester les bras croisés pendant qu'on modelait la nouvelle Europe, pour prétendre ensuite une quote-part du succès" et qu'ils devaient lutter "s'ils voulaient recevoir de nouveaux territoires"<sup>10</sup>. A Budapest, le feld-maréchal von Keitel réussit à obtenir la participation de l'armée hongroise sur le front durant l'année 1942. Le feld-maréchal fit souvent référence à l'importante contribution roumaine à l'effort de guerre et

<sup>7</sup> Il y avait, aussi, des mécontentements dans l'armée slovaque vis-à-vis la participation à une guerre difficile contre l'Union Soviétique qui n'avait pas un but bien précisé ; à cause de cela, on enregistra de désertions et des actes de défaitisme. *Rezistența europeană în anii celui de al doilea război mondial 1938-1945* [La résistance européenne les années de la seconde guerre mondiale 1938-1945], volume 1, *Țările din Europa Centrală și de Sud-Est* [Les pays de l'Europe Centrale et de Sud-Est], București, Editura Militară, 1973, p. 79.

<sup>8</sup> Rolf-Dieter Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 103. Voir aussi František Cséfalvay, Lúbia Kázmerová, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>9</sup> Martin Lacko, *Dočasne pod Wehrmachtom: Slovenský Delostrelecký Pluk 31 na východnom fronte (február – júl 1942)* [Temporairement sous le Wehrmacht: le Regiment 31 d'artillerie slovaque sur le front d'est (février-juillet 1942)], en "Historický Časopis", ["La Revue d'Histoire"], l'année 54, 3/2006, p. 503.

<sup>10</sup> Larry L. Watts, *op. cit.*, p. 186.



réussit à faire les Hongrois croire que la Roumanie recevrait une récompense plus grande à la fin de la conflagration. C'est pourquoi, en janvier 1942, Ferenc Syombathelyi fut obligé à augmenter le nombre des troupes hongroises, offrant aux Allemands 17 divisions, qui constituaient la 2<sup>e</sup>-ème Armée Hongroise dirigée par le général-colonel Gusztáv Jány. Avec un effectif de 200.000 militaires, cette armée représentait le noyau militaire de la Hongrie. Dix grandes unités ont été envoyées directement sur le front, mais elles ne bénéficiaient pas d'une dotation adéquate. Les autres sept divisions ont reçu des missions d'occupation sur le territoire de l'Ukraine, dans des régions très vastes<sup>11</sup>.

Mais la Hongrie ne réalisa pas en 1941 que, dans la hiérarchie de Berlin, la Roumanie l'avait devancée. Quoique Horthy et ses collaborateurs aient essayé par différents moyens à convaincre Hitler que la Roumanie n'était pas un pays crédible<sup>12</sup>, pour le dirigeant allemand la Roumanie d'Antonescu était devenue un partenaire d'une importance maximale. Le potentiel économique, les ressources, le potentiel démographique, la position stratégique et l'armée de la Roumanie étaient des atouts dont la Hongrie ne bénéficiait pas. Et l'attitude de la Slovaquie, ensuite celle de la Croatie, qui pratiquement entouraient la Hongrie, la faisaient vulnérable. Avec des ressources limitées et une armée moins nombreuse, la Hongrie ne comptait pas dans la guerre contre l'Union Soviétique. Si l'on part de la théorie de Watts sur la différence entre la contribution militaire effective et la capacité de contribution, la Roumanie s'est placée sur une position beaucoup supérieure à la Slovaquie ou à la Hongrie. Ainsi, Watts supposait que "l'Etat A contribue avec 100 soldats d'une armée qui compte au total 1000 hommes, pendant que l'Etat B contribue avec 90 soldats d'un total de 100. Il est clair que l'Etat A a contribué avec un nombre plus grand de soldats en termes absolus et qu'on peut caractériser sa participation à la guerre comme étant plus active de ce point de vue. Mais l'Etat B a contribué avec une proportion plus grande de ses ressources et il a augmenté ainsi ses coûts et a amplifié sa vulnérabilité". En calculant la contribution en effectifs mobilisés sur le front et la capacité de

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<sup>11</sup> L'effort hongrois est d'autant plus considérable que 12 divisions allemandes assurèrent le territoire occupé tout entier. Rolf-Dieter Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>12</sup> Voir la lettre de Horthy adressé au Führer de 1-er juillet où il écrivait : "L'Allemagne ne connaît pas les Roumains comme nous les connaissons, jusque maintenant ils trompèrent leurs alliés. Du point de vue moral, ils sont pourris... Nous avons eu tout le temps les désirs et les intérêts des pouvoirs de l'Axe dans la tête, et nous fîmes tout le temps conscients que les Roumains ont construit des forteresses contre nous, édifiées par des ingénieurs français, avec l'argent des Anglais", apud Larry L. Watts, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

contribution représentant le total des militaires mobilisés de la Roumanie et de la Hongrie (on laisse de côté la contribution finlandaise que Watts inclut dans son analyse), l'historien américain conclut que la Roumanie l'a emporté avec 100 jusqu'à 300 % effectifs mobilisés<sup>13</sup>. Mais Hitler et les diplomates de Berlin ont attiré dans la guerre tous ces pays, sans favoriser aucune partie. Les promesses qu'ils firent à la Roumanie, à la Slovaquie ou à la Hongrie suivaient leurs propres intérêts, les problèmes territoriaux de l'Europe Centrale de l'après-guerre ne se trouvant pas au premier plan de l'agenda politique de Berlin.

Tous n'étaient pas d'avis que l'augmentation de la contribution militaire contre l'Union Soviétique était bénéfique pour les objectifs de la Roumanie. L'attaché militaire Ion Gheorghe notait, par exemple, que "la lutte pour le nord de la Transylvanie s'est transformé en une licitation néfaste et épuisante, en un cercle vicieux, qui malgré tous les sacrifices n'a apporté aucune solution en faveur de la Roumanie"<sup>14</sup>.

Les pressions faites sur la Roumanie, la Slovaquie et la Hongrie donnèrent des résultats. En 1942, le rôle des armées alliées changea. Les alliés – Roumains, Italiens, Hongrois ou Slovaques – durent ouvrir un flanc étendu à l'Est. Après l'échec de la blitzkrieg et la défaite devant Moscou, le Wehrmacht changea son attitude envers ses alliés du sein de l'Axe. A la différence du flanc nord, où l'armée finlandaise et les troupes allemandes n'avaient pas la force nécessaire pour reprendre l'initiative, le flanc sud, où, à côté des Allemands, luttaient des Roumains, des Croates, des Slovaques, des Hongrois ou des Italiens, devint le théâtre principal d'opérations du front de l'Est. Hitler fut obligé à ranger les troupes roumaines, slovaques et hongroises aussi loin que possible les unes des autres pour éviter tout incident. Ainsi, entre les unités hongroises du Don situées au nord de la zone d'opérations et celles roumaines du sud, on massa des unités italiennes, qui assuraient la région centrale. De puissantes unités militaires du Wehrmacht flanquaient toutes ces troupes<sup>15</sup>.

L'armée roumaine obtint un rôle beaucoup plus important une fois changée l'opinion allemande sur la capacité de lutte du soldat roumain. L'armée roumaine reçut des missions beaucoup plus importantes qu'en 1941, dont quelques-unes dépassaient sa capacité réelle de combat. Pour l'offensive de l'été 1942, les Roumains devaient collaborer à la conquête de la péninsule de Crimée, avec le puissant port de Sébastopol, assurer l'administration de la Transnistrie, en arrière

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<sup>13</sup> Larry L. Watts, *op. cit.*, p. 201-206.

<sup>14</sup> Le général Ion Gheorghe, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

<sup>15</sup> Rolf-Dieter Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 98-99.

du front, et défendre un flanc élargi à l'est du Dniepr et du Don pour l'offensive allemande du Caucase et sur le fleuve Volga. A son tour, une fois déclenchée l'offensive de l'été 1942, la Division Rapide slovaque avança avec la 4-ème Panzer Armee allemande vers Rostov sur le Don, traversa le Kuban et participa aux luttes de la région pétrolière Maïkop<sup>16</sup>. A la fin du mois d'août, les troupes slovaques occupèrent un alignement de défense aux alentours de Touapsé<sup>17</sup>. Elles y attendirent, tout en s'engageant dans les lutes avec les unités de guérilla soviétiques, jusqu'au moment où se déroula le grand drame de Stalingrad. La Division Rapide fut poussée en arrière, vers la rive est de la Mer Azov, et reçut l'ordre de se retirer. Le 23 janvier 1943, elle commença à se retirer vers la Crimée et réussit à se sauver par le détroit de Kertch<sup>18</sup>. A partir du 8 janvier 1943, la Division Rapide Slovaque fut subordonnée au Groupe d'armées de Angelis, avec quatre divisions allemandes et les divisions roumaines de chevalerie 6 et 9, et elle s'engagea dans les luttes du printemps pour la defense des détroits marins<sup>19</sup>. Les Hongrois, à leur tour, furent pris entre les unités allemandes et celles italiennes et arrivèrent vers la fin de l'année sur le Don. C'est ici qu'allait se préfigurer le désastre de l'armée hongroise dans la confrontation de Voronej.

La Roumanie ne perdra pas l'avantage qu'elle avait gagné en 1942. Cela eut aussi des implications sur les relations de la Roumanie avec la Slovaquie. Dans la nouvelle situation de 1942, lorsque le sort de la guerre était devenu incertain, la Roumanie choisit de s'approcher de la Slovaquie du point de vue politique, mais aussi militaire. Une alliance avec le petit Etat carpatique n'assurait pas à la Roumanie un succès indubitable, mais la pression que ce rapprochement mettait sur la Hongrie n'était pas à négliger.

### **La visite des délégations militaires roumaines-slovaques et ses implications**

Le rapprochement politico-diplomatique roumain-slovaque imposa aussi une collaboration plus étroite sur le plan militaire. Ainsi, dès 1942 on prit la

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<sup>16</sup> Nicolae Ciachir, *Relații româno-slovaçe și româno-croate între 1941-1944* [Relations roumaines slovaques et roumaines croates entre 1941-1944], en "Revista de Istorie Militară" ["La Revue d'Histoire Militaire"], 1(41) 1997, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> Jozef Bystrický, *Rýchla Divizia na východnom fronte v roku 1942*, [La Division Rapide sur le Front d'Est pendant l'année 1942], en "Vojenská História", ["L'Histoire militaire"], 1/2001, p. 58.

<sup>18</sup> Rolf-Dieter Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>19</sup> Josef Bystrický, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

décision d'accréditer des attachés militaires dans les deux capitales. En juin 1942 on nomma le lieutenant-colonel Constantin Ștefănescu attaché militaire à Bratislava et le commandant slovaque Jozef Parcan à Bucarest<sup>20</sup>. Des visites réciproques des délégations militaires slovaques et roumaines dans les deux pays préfacèrent ces actes diplomatiques. Le 4 février 1942, le ministre roumain de Bratislava, Gheorghe Elefterescu, annonça à Bucarest que le général Ferdinand Čatloš avait adressé une invitation aux dirigeants de l'armée roumaine d'envoyer une délégation à Bratislava pour participer à la fête de la première promotion de l'Ecole Supérieure de Guerre slovaque<sup>21</sup>. Le premier ministre Vojtech Tuka réitéra l'invitation, précisant que la fête allait être organisée le 14 février et que les autorités slovaques attendaient une délégation formée de 3 ou 4 officiers roumains proposés pour être décorés<sup>22</sup>. Les autorités militaires roumaines répondirent positivement à l'initiative slovaque et nominalisèrent les membres de la délégation qui devaient partir pour la Slovaquie.

La délégation ayant à sa tête le général Mihail Racoviță, accompagné par le lieutenant-colonel Aurel Balaban et les commandants George Georgescu et Emanoil Albeanu, arriva à Bratislava le 13 février. Les Roumains furent accueillis à la Gare centrale par le general Alexander Čunderlik et ensuite reçus au Ministère de la Défense par Ferdinand Čatloš. Entre le 14 et le 20 février 1942, ils visitèrent plusieurs objectifs en Slovaquie. Le premier jour, accompagnés par le chef de la Légation de la Roumanie en Slovaquie, Gheorghe Elefterescu, les officiers de l'armée roumaine participèrent à la fête de l'Ecole Supérieure de Guerre et ensuite furent reçus par le monseigneur Jozef Tiso. Quoique les officiers roumains ne fissent pas partie de ceux qui avaient été proposés pour être décorés, Tiso voulut respecter le programme et les décora. Il justifia son geste en déclarant qu'on devait "considérer ce geste comme l'expression de la décision commune de résister jusqu'à la victoire finale". Elefterescu, aussi, se montra déçu que les officiers qui allaient participer aux fêtes du 14 février n'étaient pas ceux proposés pour les décorations slovaques. Les autorités militaires hôtes auraient voulu décorer les officiers roumains en même temps que les soldats slovaques qui s'étaient distingués sur le front ou avaient été

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<sup>20</sup> Petre Otu, *Relații militare româno-slovaçe. 1939-1944. Mihai Antonescu visează o altă Mică Antantă* [Relations militaires roumaines slovaques. 1939-1944. Mihai Antonescu rêve une autre Petite Entente], en "Magazin Istoric" ["Magasin Historique"], février 1997, p. 43.

<sup>21</sup> František Cséfalvay, Lubica Kázmerová, *op. cit.*, p.80.

<sup>22</sup> Petre Otu, *op. cit.*, p.42.

blessés<sup>23</sup>. A son tour, le général Mihail Racoviță décora 16 officiers slovaques<sup>24</sup>. La presse slovaque popularisa de manière détaillée la présence des militaires roumains comme une occasion de resserrer les liaisons des deux pays aussi bien sur le plan militaire<sup>25</sup>. Le ministre roumain accrédité en Slovaquie rapporta que la visite des officiers roumains s'était transformée en une manifestation d'amitié roumaine-slovaque<sup>26</sup>. Le programme des officiers roumains a inclus des visites au Palais du Président et au Ministère de Guerre, une visite aux principaux objectifs touristiques de la capitale slovaque et une solennité le 14 février, un déjeuner au Ministère de Guerre et une excursion à travers le pays pour connaître diverses institutions militaires<sup>27</sup>. Le premier arrêt fut à Banská Bystrica, où le commissaire d'Etat Michal Samuhel les accueillit. Là aussi, les membres de la délégation rivalisèrent de déclarations concernant l'effort militaire commun sur le front de l'Est. Ensuite, la délégation visita plusieurs localités situées aux pieds des Tatras. Accompagnés par le lieutenant-colonel Emil Novotný et le capitaine Juraj Ohrival, les officiers roumains assistèrent à des cours de ski, visitèrent des unités militaires, des hôpitaux et des sanatoriums<sup>28</sup>. La presse slovaque offrit des espaces généreux à chaque moment de cette visite, soulignant les faits d'armes des militaires roumains<sup>29</sup>. La gazette officielle du régime politique de Bratislava, "Slovak", rapportait: "L'armée roumaine, qui lutte côte à côte avec notre armée et accomplit des actes de bravoure sur le front contre les bolchéviques, représente la garantie qu'on peut partager avec elle nos pensées dans l'avenir, et que l'on peut affirmer avec elle que, tout comme l'armée roumaine lutte pour la liberté et l'avenir de son pays, l'armée slovaque, régie par

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<sup>23</sup> Arhivele Ministerului Afacerilor Externe [Les Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères] (dans les pages à suivre A.M.A.E.), Fond 71 Slovacia [Fond 71 Slovaquie], vol. 12, f. 48.

<sup>24</sup> Petre Otu, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>25</sup> Serviciul Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale [Le Service des Archives Nationales Historiques Centrales] (dans les pages à suivre S.A.N.I.C.), Fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presa externă [Le Fond du Ministère de la Propagande Nationale. La presse externe], dossier 1268, f. 337.

<sup>26</sup> A.M.A.E., Fond 71 Slovacia, vol. 12, f. 64.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 70.

<sup>28</sup> Jana Bauerová, *Slovensko a Rumunsko v rokoch 1939-1944*, [La Slovaquie et la Roumanie pendant les années 1939-1944], Filozofická Fakulta Trnavskej Univerzity v Trnave, 2014, p. 43.

<sup>29</sup> Voir le journal "Slovak" de 14-18 février 1942 en S.A.N.I.C. Fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presa externă, dossier 1271, d. 82.

les mêmes visées, se tient là où la direction commune de la nouvelle Europe l'appelle"<sup>30</sup>. L'article Nouvelles preuves d'amitié roumaines-slovaques du 18 février parlait de l'importance des liaisons entre les deux armées qui collaboraient à la construction de la "nouvelle Europe"<sup>31</sup>.

Cette visite suscita rapidement la réaction de Budapest. Alarmées par le rapprochement militaire roumain-slovaque, les autorités hongroises répliquèrent par un rapprochement de la Bulgarie, qui aurait contourné la Roumanie de la même manière que la Hongrie se sentit contournée par la Roumanie et la Slovaquie. Les autorités militaires roumaines auraient voulu que la visite des homologues slovaques soit organisée le 10 mai, la fête de la Royauté roumaine, mais les Slovaques ont voulu retourner tout de suite la visite pour transmettre un signal clair à Budapest. Ainsi, la délégation militaire de la Slovaquie visita la Roumanie quelques jours plus tard, une semaine seulement après la Conférence des Chefs d'Etat-Major des armées bulgare et hongroise de Sofia<sup>32</sup>. Le 2 mars 1942, la presse roumaine publia un ample reportage sur l'arrivée de la Mission Militaire slovaque en Roumanie. Les représentants de l'armée slovaque qui retournaient la visite à leurs homologues roumains furent accueillis le 28 février à la Gare du Nord par le général Mihail Racoviță. La mission slovaque avait à sa tête le général Jozef Turanec<sup>33</sup>, accompagné par le lieutenant-colonel Emil

<sup>30</sup> A.M.A.E., Fond 71 Slovacia, vol. 12, f. 71-72.

<sup>31</sup> Jana Bauerová, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>32</sup> S.A.N.I.C. Fond Ministerul de Interne, Direcția Generală a Poliției [Fond Le Ministère des Affaires Intérieures, La Direction Générale de la Police], dossier 28/1942, f.10.

<sup>33</sup> Josef Turanec, bon connaisseur de l'Hongrie, est né le 7 mars 1892, absout l'Ecole d'Officiers de Bratislava et Esztergom et devint cadre actif dès 1913. Les années de la première guerre mondiale, il lutta en Galicie et en Transylvanie contre les armées russes dirigées par le général Brusilov, arrivant au degré de capitaine. De 1919, celui-ci entra dans l'armée tchécoslovaque et toujours en 1919, participa à la campagne contre Bela Kun. Après l'Accord de Vienne de 1938, il fut le chef de la délégation slovaque de délimitation de la frontière avec l'Hongrie. De 1-er janvier 1939, il organisa la Garde Nationale Slovaque et dirigea la division Ružomberok. Le 1-er octobre 1940, il prit la division Trenčín et partit sur le front soviétique le 27 juin 1941. Il reçut l'ordre slovaque "La croix militaire" et la Croix de Fer II-ème classe allemande. Le général épousa une Roumaine de Orăștie. S.A.N.I.C. Fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presa internă [Fond Le Ministère de la Propagande Nationale. La presse interne], dossier 651, f.12. Voir aussi Petre Otu, *op. cit.*; voir aussi Idem, *Relații militare româno-slovace (1940-1944)* [Relations militaires roumaines slovaques (1940-1944)], en Constantin Hlihor (coord.), *Structuri politice în secolul XX* [Structures

Novotný, le lieutenant-colonel Viliam Talský et le capitaine Juraj Ohrival. A côté de ceux-ci arrivèrent avec la même délégation le lieutenant-colonel Nils Brunson, attaché militaire de la Suède à Bucarest, et Carlo Sertica, secrétaire du ministre croate dans la capitale de la Roumanie<sup>34</sup>. Les deux chefs de delegations avaient fait connaissance sur le front, où le général Turanec dirigeait à cette époque-là la Division Rapide, tous les deux étant décorés par les Allemands avec la Croix de Fer. Dans la Salle de réception de la Gare du Nord, un représentant de la Légation slovaque à Bucarest, H.V. Klačko, et G. Foti, chef de la section des liaisons culturelles roumaines-slovaques du Ministère de la Propagande Nationale, accueillirent la délégation slovaque. Tout le long de la visite, les invités slovaques ont été accompagnés par le colonel Titus Şerb. Ils furent logés à l'hôtel Athenée Palace. Le soir de la première journée de la visite, Mihai Racoviţă les invita à un dîner à Casa Capşa. A cette occasion, Turanec déclara : "Je suis très heureux d'avoir eu la chance et l'honneur d'être désigné pour venir en votre pays afin de rendre hommage aux amis et aux camarades d'armes roumains, auxquels j'apporte en même temps l'assurance des plus sincères sentiments de profonde amitié"<sup>35</sup>.

La délégation slovaque visita le Grand Etat-Major de l'Armée Roumaine, où elle fut accueillie par le général I. Şteflea, signa dans les registres du Palais Royal, et le général Turanec déposa une couronne de fleurs au Tombeau du Soldat Inconnu. Ensuite, les membres de la délégation furent accueillis au Cercle Militaire. Des décorations furent accordées aux hôtes de l'événement, pour réparer l'erreur survenue pendant la visite de la délégation de la Roumanie en Slovaquie. Ainsi, I. Şteflea et V. Creţoiu reçurent la Croix Militaire Slovaque I-ère classe, N. Tătăranu et N. Pălăgeanu reçurent la même décoration II-ème classe et le sous-lieutenant Al. Duca Tell reçut l'Insigne militaire pour bravoure III-ème classe. A cette occasion, les représentants des deux délégations rivalisèrent de déclarations. Du côté roumain, le general Gheorghe Dobre disait : "j'ai l'honneur de saluer l'armée slovaque et ses représentants. La jeune armée slovaque, jeune par sa nouvelle organisation, mais plus âgée par son passé glorieux, s'est montrée fidèle au passé du peuple slovaque dans les brillants combats qu'elle a mené et qu'elle mène toujours aux côtés de nos armées"<sup>36</sup>. En même temps, on proposa pour être décorés Ferdinand Čatloš, général I-ère classe, Alexander

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politiques au XX-ème siècle], Bucureşti, Editura Curtea Veche, 2000, p. 373-374.

<sup>34</sup> A.M.A.E., Fond 71 Slovacia, vol. 12, f.83. Voir aussi František Cséfalvay, Lúbia Kázmerová, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>35</sup> S.A.N.I.C. Fond Ministerul Propagandei Naţionale. Presa internă, dossier 651, f. 12.

<sup>36</sup> *Loc. cit.*, f.15.

Čunderlik, général II-ème classe, commandant des forces terrestres, Anton Pulanich, général II-ème classe, commandant des forces aériennes, le colonel Augustin Malár, commandant de l'Ecole Supérieure de guerre et de la Division Rapide du front, Štefan Tatarko, lieutenant-colonel d'Etat-Major, Emil Novotný, lieutenant colonel d'Etat-Major, et le commandant Jozef Benedik<sup>37</sup>.

La visite continua pendant trois jours, le long desquels les militaires slovaques visitèrent l'Ecole Supérieure de Guerre et le Bataillon de garde du maréchal Ion Antonescu. A l'occasion du dernier dîner organisé en l'honneur des invités à Casa Capșa, on décora aussi, avec l'Insigne aéronautique slovaque, Gh. Jienescu, Ramiro Enescu, etc<sup>38</sup>. Les reportages de la presse continuèrent avec les visites de la délégation militaire slovaque à Brașov, où elle a visité la zone industrielle, l'Eglise Noire, et l'Eglise Saint-Nicolas de Șcheii Brașovului; un repas festif a été organisé au restaurant ARO. Le lendemain, les militaires slovaques partirent pour Predeal et visitèrent le Collège National „Nicolae Filipescu”, où ils assistèrent à un programme militaire des élèves, qui inclut des tirs et des démonstrations sportives. Ils assistèrent aussi à quelques leçons en classe. Le programme continua avec une visite au Château Peleş<sup>39</sup>.

Le jour suivant, Ion Antonescu les accueille au siège de la Présidence du Conseil de Ministres, où le général Turanec eut l'occasion de déclarer que “Nous autres Slovaques, nous sommes heureux de pouvoir lutter côte à côte avec eux [les soldats roumains] dans une fidèle amitié d'armes”. Lors de cette visite, Ion Antonescu décora le lieutenant-colonel Viliam Talský avec la Couronne de la Roumanie en grade de Commandeur. Antonescu et Turanec soulignèrent à cette occasion l'effort commun que les deux armées faisaient sur le front de l'Est et apprécièrent “l'amitié fondée sur la même unité d'épreuves subies et de croyances communes”<sup>40</sup>.

Le dernier jour, le général Turanec visita le Ministère de la Défense Nationale<sup>41</sup> et l'Hôpital Militaire Elisabeta, où il décora trois officiers roumains blessés dans les luttes de la péninsule de Crimée<sup>42</sup>. La presse roumaine et celle slovaque évoquèrent la visite de la délégation militaire slovaque en Roumanie. La gazette slovaque “Gardista” remarqua que la visite des militaires slovaques

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<sup>37</sup> A.M.A.E., Fond 71 Slovacia, vol. 11, f.499. Voir aussi Jana Bauerová, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>38</sup> S.A.N.I.C. Fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presa internă, dossier 651, f. 19.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, dossier 680, f. 10.

<sup>40</sup> Petre Otu, *Relații militare româno-slovace. 1939-1944...*, p. 42.

<sup>41</sup> S.A.N.I.C. Fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presa internă, dossier 680, f. 13.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 14.



contribuait à resserrer les liaisons entre les deux pays et apprécia le fait que la presse de la Roumanie, à son tour, a accordé de l'attention à cet événement<sup>43</sup>. Avant de partir, le général Turanec déclara qu'il avait été impressionné lorsqu'il avait vu les drapeaux des deux pays l'un à côté de l'autre, sur le quai de la Gare du Nord. Par la même occasion, les membres de la Mission Militaire slovaque souhaitèrent trois fois "Na stráž"<sup>44</sup> à l'armée roumaine pendant qu'on intonait l'Hymne Royal Roumain<sup>45</sup>.

A la différence de la visite de la délégation roumaine en Slovaquie, la visite de la délégation militaire slovaque en Roumanie cacha une contradiction des relations roumaines-slovaques. L'absence du chef de la Légation de la Slovaquie à Bucarest, Ivan Milecz, de ces festivités attira l'attention. Milecz fut obligé à déclarer maintes fois que l'échange de visites ne représentait pas le début d'une collaboration militaire entre les deux pays. Le général Čatloš se montra extrêmement indigné par l'absence du ministre plénipotentiaire slovaque et demanda à Elefterescu de s'intéresser discrètement quel était le motif de cette absence. Officiellement, le secrétaire du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de Bucarest, Gheorghe Davidescu, précisa que Milecz était malade. Le 14 mars, date à laquelle on anniversait l'indépendance de la Slovaquie, Ivan Milecz fut invité à tenir une conférence à la radio, mais il ne s'y présenta pas. Ce n'est qu'à ce moment-là que Elefterescu apprit de certaines sources du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de Bratislava qu'on avait demandé à Milecz de minimiser l'importance de la visite militaire pour ménager Budapest. A son tour, Manfred von Killinger, sans contacter les officiers slovaques, a suggéré à Milecz d'adopter cette attitude pour qu'on ne puisse pas affirmer "qu'il a protégé l'échange de visites". Killinger voulait savoir si "la politique visant l'encerclement de la Hongrie" était une réalité. Les Italiens, à leur tour, ont fait des démarches à Bratislava afin de savoir quel était le but de cet échange de délégations. Mais c'est Budapest qui a eu la réaction la plus dure. La visite du Chef du Grand Etat-Major de l'Armée Hongroise à Sofia visait à transmettre un signal puissant aussi bien à Bucarest qu'à Bratislava<sup>46</sup>. Il cherchait à resserrer les liaisons entre la Hongrie et la Bulgarie comme une tentative de Budapest de sortir de l'encerclement et en même temps de calmer Bucarest.

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<sup>43</sup> Loc. cit., dossier 1216. f. 371.

<sup>44</sup> "En garde", le salut officiel de la Garde Hlinka et du Parti Populaire Slovaque.

<sup>45</sup> Loc. cit., dossier 651, f. 15.

<sup>46</sup> Petre Otu, *Relații militare româno-slovace. 1939-1944...*, p. 42-43. Voir aussi Jana Bauerová, *op. cit.*, p. 44-46.

La presse internationale se livra à des spéculations à ce sujet. Le 10 avril 1942, l'agence TASS répandait l'information qu'à la suite de la visite de la délégation militaire slovaque à Bucarest un traité militaire secret avait été signé entre ce pays et la Roumanie, qui était dirigé 43 44 45 46 contre la Hongrie. Pendant la visite du général Turanec, on aurait élaboré un plan secret d'opérations auquel la partie slovaque devait participer avec 4 divisions d'infanterie et une brigade motorisée. En même temps, une délégation slovaque présidée par le général Runderling devait se déplacer en Croatie pour détailler un plan similaire et compléter l'alliance contre la Hongrie. Une preuve supplémentaire, selon cette information, était le fait que la Roumanie et la Slovaquie avaient profité de la fête du premier anniversaire de la proclamation de l'Etat croate indépendant pour échanger des diplomates et des accrédités militaires. Le commandant de la Garde Hlinka, Alexander Mach, aurait été parti vers la Croatie où il aurait été attendu par une délégation militaire roumaine. Les Hongrois étaient au courant de ces plans et ils firent une demande à Berlin. Ils supposaient que l'initiative de cette triple alliance venait de la part de la Roumanie. Une série de "démonstrations militaires" tripartites devaient avoir lieu pour "effrayer les Hongrois"<sup>47</sup>. Du Caire, aussi, on transmettait le même jour (le 10 avril 1942) des nouvelles sur l'existence d'une alliance militaire secrète entre la Roumanie, la Croatie et la Slovaquie<sup>48</sup>. C'est la propagande noire des Alliés, dont le but était de créer des divergences au sein de l'Axe, qui lança ces nouvelles, qui font partie de l'économie du déroulement du conflit militaire sur le front de l'Est. A Berlin on connaissait ces rumeurs, et l'Abwehr suivait ces mouvements. On ne trouva pas de documents qui soutiennent ces bruits, mais les relations entre les trois pays et le partenaire hongrois étaient tendues, et ce fait était connu aussi bien à Berlin qu'à Moscou. En réalité, les Hongrois cherchèrent à profiter de ces rumeurs pour réduire leur contribution militaire sur le front, là où les pertes étaient de plus en plus lourdes. Une hypothétique manœuvre militaire commune aux frontières de la Hongrie était un argument pour que les leaders de Budapest gardent à l'intérieur du pays des réserves militaires capables de faire face à une telle

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<sup>47</sup> A.M.A.E., Fond 71 Slovacia, vol. 12, f. Voir aussi Petre Otu, *Relații militare româno-slovaçe (1940-1944) ...*, p. 375.

<sup>48</sup> Gheorghe Zbucnea, *Problema maghiară în relațiile bilaterale: tentativa de refacere a Micii Înțelegeri și de stabilire a unei granițe comune* [Le problème hongrois dans les relations bilatérales: la tentative de refaire la Petite Entente et d'établir une frontière commune], en Constantin Hlihor (coord.), *Structuri politice în secolul XX* [Structures politiques au XX-ème siècle], București, Editura Curtea Veche, 2000, p. 402.

menace. C'est pourquoi les bruits répandus par l'agence TASS étaient accueillis avec satisfaction par les Hongrois.

La réaction de Budapest et les pressions de Berlin firent les Slovaques se distancer un peu de la Roumanie. A Bratislava il y eut même des signaux qui indiquaient une volonté de détendre les rapports slovaques-hongrois. Cela suscita un certain mécontentement à Bucarest. Mais le manque de confiance à l'égard de la Hongrie fit les Slovaques garder la liaison avec la Roumanie. Au moment de la crise politique roumaine-slovaque de 1942, les autorités de 47 48 Bratislava essayèrent à éclaircir l'atmosphère par un nouvel échange de décorations militaires.

Ainsi, on décora le maréchal Antonescu avec l'Ordre "La Grande Croix Militaire" I-ère classe avec une étoile, pendant que Radu Davidescu reçut le même ordre, II-ème classe<sup>49</sup>. Le chef de la Légation de la République Slovaque à Bucarest décora le maréchal Ion Antonescu avec le collier de l'ordre "La croix Slovaque"<sup>50</sup>. A la fin de l'année 1942 et au début de l'année suivante on fit un autre échange de décorations entre les militaires roumains et slovaques. Le Ministère de Guerre envoya 35 médailles roumaines et un général, deux colonels, 15 lieutenants-colonels, quatre commandants, quatre capitaines et neuf lieutenants slovaques furent décorés. Les Slovaques décorèrent, à leur tour, 32 officiers roumains avec différentes décorations<sup>51</sup>. Une fois de plus, il y eut des discussions et des controverses. Le lieutenant-colonel C. Ștefănescu ne fut pas d'accord avec la remise de décorations aux 32 officiers slovaques parce que "la proportion entre l'armée slovaque et celle roumaine est d'environ 1/3. Par conséquent, on devrait décorer avec des ordres slovaques 80 à 100 officiers roumains"<sup>52</sup>.

Les visites réciproques des deux délégations furent aussi le signal d'un rapprochement sur le plan militaire entre les deux partenaires. Mais la crise politique générée par ces événements retarda les rapports de collaboration. Néanmoins, le moment est significatif. Si en 1941 les contacts militaires entre les Roumains et les Slovaques ont manqué, dans la nouvelle conjoncture ceux-ci devinrent nombreux et intimes. Chacune des deux parties comprenait bien que le sort de la guerre n'était pas décidé et qu'on devait préparer le terrain pour toute éventualité.

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<sup>49</sup> Petre Otu, *Relații militare româno-slovace. 1939-1944...*, p. 43.

<sup>50</sup> S.A.N.I.C. Fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presa internă, dossier 739/1943, f. 148.

<sup>51</sup> Petre Otu, *op. cit.*

<sup>52</sup> Idem, *Relații militare româno-slovace (1940-1944) ...*, p. 378.

### Moments de la collaboration militaire roumaine-slovaque

Malgré les controverses que l'échange de visites généra, les effets de celles-ci furent positifs. Les contacts militaires s'avérèrent fructueux. "Les sacrifices que les Slovaques et la Roumanie firent dans cette guerre, loin de servir de stimulant à la Hongrie, lui montrèrent une fois de plus l'intérêt de garder ses forces aussi intactes que possible"<sup>53</sup>, écrivait Elefterescu au début de l'année 1942. Il était clair que, sous rapport militaire aussi, la Hongrie était la cible de ces contacts.

Le 11 mars 1942, Ion Antonescu proposa au général Mihail Racoviță de nommer un attaché militaire roumain à Bratislava, d'envoyer cinq officiers pour faire des stages d'une année dans les corps de troupes slovaques et deux officiers comme élèves à l'Ecole Supérieure de Guerre de la Slovaquie. La nécessité de resserrer les liaisons militaires roumaines-slovaques fut soulignée par le colonel Al. Cozloschi, qui, depuis le 1-er avril, remplaça le colonel Radu Davidescu, attaché militaire à Budapest. Dans une note de la II-ème Section du Grand-Etat Major du 4 mai, Cozloschi demandait que cette question soit résolue au plus vite. Les Slovaques avaient un puissant service d'informations en Hongrie, ce qui imposait la collaboration. Cozloschi établit de bonnes relations avec Ștefan Jurech, qui devait quitter son poste de la capitale hongroise, car il avait été nommé à la tête des troupes aériennes slovaques. Le capitaine Andrei Virgil de la section militaire de la Légation de la Roumanie à Budapest considérait qu'il était important de resserrer les liaisons roumaines-slovaques dans le contexte du départ des troupes hongroises pour le front. Les Slovaques accompagnaient ces troupes qui transitaient leur territoire national et qu'on suspectait de propagande anti-slovaque. Par l'intermédiaire de l'attaché roumain de Budapest, le Service d'Informations de l'Armée recevait des données relatives au nombre des troupes hongroises envoyées sur le front<sup>54</sup>. Les cercles gouvernementaux slovaques ont reçu avec satisfaction le nouvel attaché militaire roumain à Bratislava, le lieutenant-colonel Constantin Ștefănescu. Tiso déclara qu'il s'agissait d'un signe du resserrement des liaisons roumaines-slovaques et que la Hongrie était obligée à prendre des mesures similaires<sup>55</sup>. C. Ștefănescu transmettait le 22 juillet que le monseigneur Tiso l'avait accueilli et qu'ils avaient discuté des questions politiques

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<sup>53</sup> A.M.A.E., Fond 71 Slovacia, vol. 2, f. 15.

<sup>54</sup> Petre Otu, *Relații militare româno-slovace. 1939-1944...*, p. 43.

<sup>55</sup> A.M.A.E., Fond 71 Slovacia, vol.13, f. 33.

concernant l'inquiétude provoquée en Hongrie par le rapprochement roumain-slovaque. L'attaché militaire roumain se montrait très content de la manière de laquelle ses hôtes slovaques l'avaient accueilli à Bratislava<sup>56</sup>.

Un premier geste relevant du relâchement des rapports bilatéraux a été la visite préconisée du premier ministre slovaque Vojtech Tuka à Bucarest. Le premier ministre slovaque confia à von Ribbentrop que sa visite à Bucarest représentait une nécessité militaire, "afin de connaître l'armée roumaine et les progrès que fit le soldat roumain". Tuka confiait de plus qu'Hitler, lui-aussi, l'avait encouragé en ce sens<sup>57</sup>. En réalité, les Allemands n'ont pas encouragé ces contacts et la visite préconisée du premier slovaque fut ajournée *sine die*.

Ces contacts n'étaient pas sporadiques. Un mois plus tôt, en juin 1942, avait eu lieu une autre réunion des militaires des deux pays. Des officiers roumains et slovaques, ayant à leur tête les chefs des Légations des deux pays, visitèrent un hôpital de Vienne, où on traitait les blessés des deux armées. On a même organisé pour ceux-ci un micro-festival. La délégation roumaine se déplaça ensuite à Bratislava, où Ferdinand Čatloš et les membres de la Légation de la Roumanie, ayant à leur tête Gheorghe Elefterescu, Mircea Cristescu, conseiller de Légation, Moise Baltă, conseiller de presse, Mihai Pop, secrétaire de p Légation, et Th. Dumitrescu, l'accueillit. A Bratislava, ils ont participé au festival de l'Académie Militaire, dans la présence du ministre slovaque de la Défense, et à un festival artistique. Le spectacle, organisé par un groupe d'artistes roumains, jouit d'un réel succès. "Les chansons et les danses roumains ont plu tellement qu'à la fin, une partie de ceux qui étaient présents ont dansé la ronde paysanne des Călușari – comme symbole de l'union et de la fraternité roumaine-slovaque", nota le conseiller Moise Baltă<sup>58</sup>.

Mais c'est la sphère des informations qui a représenté le domaine significatif de la collaboration militaire. Le Service Spécial d'Informations de l'armée roumaine avait un bureau spécial qui cueillait des données économiques et politiques des pays alliés. Ainsi, en utilisant les milieux diplomatiques, politiques, militaires ou économiques de l'étranger, le bureau rassemblait des informations en Slovaquie qui concernaient l'Allemagne et la Hongrie<sup>59</sup>. Le

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<sup>56</sup> Alesandru Duțu, Lenuța Nicolescu, Alexandru Oșca, Andrei Nicolescu, *Atașatii militari transmit* [Les attachés militaires transmettent], vol. IV, 1940-1944, București, Editura Europa Nova, 2004, doc.35, p.1 68.

<sup>57</sup> A.M.A.E., Fond 71 Slovacia, vol. 11, f. 574.

<sup>58</sup> S.A.N.I.C. Fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presa internă, dossier 601, f. 126-127.

<sup>59</sup> Cezar Măță, *Serviciile secrete ale României în războiul mondial (1939-1945)* [Les

personnel qui collaborait avec ce bureau provenait des structures d'autres ministères (Affaires Etrangères, Guerre, etc.) et avait des missions informatives à l'étranger, étant instruit par le Service Secret d'Informations<sup>60</sup>. On réorganisa l'organigramme du Service d'Informations Etrangères en janvier 1942 et on la divisa selon les fronts. La Slovaquie appartenait au Front de l'Ouest, avec des centres informatifs dans les principales villes de l'ouest du pays et la résidence à Bratislava. Celle-ci envoyait en Roumanie des données concernant les intentions de la Hongrie, ses politiques visant l'occupation de toute la Transylvanie, la propagande hongroise, les mesures prises par les autorités hongroises au nord de la Transylvanie. De même, au sein du Service fonctionnait un groupe informatif qui s'occupait de la question des minorités ; on ne suivait pas seulement les Hongrois, mais aussi les Slovaques qui vivaient en Roumanie<sup>61</sup>.

En juin 1942, l'attaché militaire de Bratislava annonçait que la Slovaquie participait avec trois divisions sur le front de l'Est, convaincue qu'à ce moment-là le problème de résoudre les différends avec la Hongrie ne se posait plus. En attendant de nouvelles opportunités, les Slovaques préféraient ramasser des informations et se contenter avec les garanties offertes par les Allemands face aux "mauvaises et avides habitudes hongroises"<sup>62</sup>. Le capitaine Andrei Virgil, aide d'attaché militaire à Budapest, était informé que chaque transport hongrois vers le front était accompagné par quatre officiers slovaques pour empêcher la propagande anti-hongroise ou anti-slovaque. Par leur intermédiaire, les Slovaques purent apprendre le nombre des troupes envoyées sur le front par la Hongrie et le nombre de troupes qui restaient dans le pays, informations qui furent transmises à Bucarest<sup>63</sup>.

Le passage sur le territoire de la Slovaquie des troupes hongroises qui s'acheminaient vers le front fut repris après les pressions que les Allemands firent sur Budapest. Jusqu'au 1-er juillet 1942, les services d'informations slovaques rapportèrent le passage de 100 garnitures avec des troupes motorisées légères et 20.000 soldats<sup>64</sup>. Les troupes hongroises provoquèrent des

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services secrets de la Roumanie dans la guerre mondiale (1939-1945)], Iași, Casa Editorială *Demiurg*, 2010, p. 88.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107-109.

<sup>62</sup> Alesandru Dușu, Lenuța Nicolescu, Alexandru Oșca, Andrei Nicolescu, *op. cit.*, doc. 34, p. 147.

<sup>63</sup> Petre Otu, *Relații militare româno-slovace (1940-1944)...*, p. 377.

<sup>64</sup> A.M.A.E., Fond 71 Slovacia, vol. IV, f. 93.

incidents en traversant la Slovaquie. C'est pourquoi les Slovaques ont protesté et ont demandé que ces troupes passent par la Russie sous-carpatique. En juillet 1942, les Hongrois ont prétexté que cela était difficile à cause du mauvais état de l'infrastructure ferroviaire. Ils déclaraient que les chemins de fer n'étaient pas fonctionnels à cause de la détérioration des tunnels. Mais les Slovaques pensaient que les Hongrois "cherchaient un prétexte pour différer l'envoi de nouvelles troupes"<sup>65</sup>.

Dès le printemps 1942, le Service d'Informations de l'Armée avait appris que les Hongrois complétaient leurs effectifs avec des soldats roumains de la Transylvanie. Ion Lissievici envoya le lieutenant en réserve Simion Ghișa à Lemberg (Lviv) comme résident dans la gare de Galicie. Il devait surveiller les transports militaires hongrois qui s'acheminaient vers l'Est par cet important nœud ferroviaire et apprendre en quelle mesure les Roumains de la Transylvanie étaient mobilisés. Officiellement, sa mission était de trier les trains qui transportaient des soldats roumains blessés qu'on évacuait du front. Cette opération a été réalisée en collaboration avec les Slovaques, parce que dans l'armée hongroise on incorporait aussi des ethniques slovaques du territoire cédé à la Hongrie. Aussi, le commandant Lucian Hamzea reçut-il la mission d'aller à Bratislava en tant que vice-consul auprès de la Légation de la Roumanie. En réalité, il devait envoyer des informations sur la situation politique, économique et militaire de la Hongrie et collaborer avec les Slovaques pour obtenir ces informations. En même temps, le lieutenant-colonel Șeredan fut nommé vice-consul à Budapest avec la même mission<sup>66</sup>. La II-ème Section du Grand Etat-Major donna des instructions au Centre d'Informations "H" pour surveiller les troupes hongroises, étant intéressée par la dénomination et l'organisation des unités, les effectifs, l'armement et le pourcentage des Roumains inclus dans ces unités. Les informations devaient être obtenues auprès des militaires roumains de l'armée hongroise. Par contre, il était interdit de surveiller les troupes allemandes<sup>67</sup>. C'est ainsi qu'on apprit à Bucarest que les

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<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 99.

<sup>66</sup> Cristian Troncotă, *Glorie și tragedii. Momente din istoria Serviciilor de informații și contrainformații române pe Frontul de Est (1941-1944)* [Gloire et tragédies. Moments de l'histoire des Services d'informations et contreinformations roumains sur le Front d'Est (1941-1944)], București, Editura Nemira, 2003, p. 160.

<sup>67</sup> Pavel Moraru, *Momente din activitatea serviciilor secrete ale Armatei Române pe frontul de răsărit, Istorie în documente 1941-1944* [Moments de l'activité des services secrets de l'Armée Roumaine sur le front d'est. Histoire en documents 1941-1944], București, Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2009, doc. 4, p. 31-34.

Hongrois ménageaient leurs troupes, surtout les soldats d'ethnie hongroise. Les effectifs des unités hongroises avaient un personnel plus réduit que celui qui figurait dans les données transmises. Par conséquent, le général Ilie Șteflea accepta une diminution des effectifs des Grandes Unités roumaines envoyées sur le front comme une forme de pression sur Berlin<sup>68</sup>.

La participation de la Hongrie sur le front de l'Est fut attentivement suivie par le lieutenant en réserve Simion Ghișa, qui dirigea entre le 1-er mai 1942 et le 15 juin 1944 le Centre informatif de Lemberg, d'où il surveilla les unités militaires hongroises et leur emplacement dans un vaste espace entre Lemberg et Minsk<sup>69</sup>. Des activités similaires, qui dépassaient le statut des diplomates, étaient déployées non seulement par les Allemands, mais aussi par les Hongrois. Par exemple, le lieutenant-colonel Szantay Erno, attaché militaire de la Hongrie à Bucarest, a déployé des activités d'espionnage et de collecte d'informations sur le territoire de la Roumanie. L'Etat-Major de l'Armée connaissait les détails de son activité et manifesta son mécontentement parce que celui-ci avait dépassé ses attributions diplomatiques<sup>70</sup>.

Si la visite de Tuka à Bucarest n'eut plus lieu pour ne pas déranger Budapest de nouveau avec ce signal politique, sur le plan militaire le chef de l'armée slovaque put rencontrer Ion Antonescu. Pendant sa visite sur le front au mois de mai 1942, le général Čatloš voulut visiter Ion Antonescu, qui se trouvait, lui aussi, sur le front<sup>71</sup>. Les Allemands n'étaient pas d'accord avec cette entrevue et cherchèrent à déterminer le chef de l'Etat-Major slovaque à renoncer<sup>72</sup>. Mais Čatloš attendit à Cracovie le moment favorable, se déplaça à Lemberg où un avion roumain l'attendait et, le 2 juin, il alla rencontrer le maréchal de la Roumanie. Il obtint l'appui d'Antonescu pour résoudre certaines questions, surtout en ce qui concernait le problème de l'approvisionnement militaire et civil de la Slovaquie avec des produits roumains<sup>73</sup>. Dans le cadre des relations économiques militaires entre les deux pays, les Roumains voulaient acheter de l'armement slovaque, tandis que le pétrole roumain suscitait l'intérêt des Slovaques. Mais on ne pouvait pas réaliser ces échanges sans l'accord du patron

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<sup>68</sup> Cristian Trocnotă, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>69</sup> Cezar Mățã, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>71</sup> A.M.A.E., Fond 71 Slovacia, vol. 12, f. 250.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 268.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 283.



de l'Axe, et l'Allemagne avait le dernier mot dans ces échanges commerciaux<sup>74</sup>. Tous ces contacts, quoique réalisés d'une manière discrète et même en secret, ont déterminé, le long de l'année 1942, une intensification des liaisons militaires entre la Roumanie et la Slovaquie et ont obligé la Hongrie à contribuer toujours plus à l'effort militaire du front, ce qui lui a provoqué des vulnérabilités internes.

### Conclusions

Pendant l'hiver 1941 et 1942, Budapest comprit très bien que la guerre serait longue et que la Hongrie n'aurait pas de ressources pour continuer son effort militaire en Union Soviétique. Par conséquent, elle changea de position et s'approcha de la Bulgarie dans une tentative de protéger ses forces militaires. Les déclarations de l'Etat-Major hongrois à Sofia selon lesquelles les forces hongroises devaient être maintenues à l'intérieur du pays pour une éventuelle confrontation dans l'avenir – l'allusion à la Roumanie ne faisait aucun doute – et que ces forces devaient atteindre 1,5 millions de soldats suscitèrent de l'inquiétude à Bucarest. Mais l'Allemagne demanda à ses alliés de participer aux forces totales avec des troupes plus nombreuses. Dans ces conditions, la Roumanie a satisfait plus vite les sollicitations allemandes, car elle avait intérêt à ce que l'Union Soviétique soit détruite. Mais la Slovaquie, qui avait participé à la campagne de 1941 en se fondant seulement sur des promesses qui visaient l'après-guerre, s'est retrouvée dans une situation délicate. Tout comme la Hongrie, elle n'avait pas de prétentions territoriales envers l'U.R.S.S., étant obligée à lutter pour gagner la confiance de Berlin et des satisfactions territoriales plus tard. Ce jeu d'intérêts original agit en faveur de la Roumanie dans ses relations avec la Hongrie, mais à son désavantage dans les relations avec la Slovaquie. La Hongrie fut obligée à augmenter de manière substantielle sa contribution militaire sur le front de l'Est, ce qui lui provoqua des vulnérabilités internes. Par conséquent, pour réduire son effort de guerre, la Hongrie agrandit sa dépendance envers l'Allemagne. La Roumanie se trouvait dans une situation un peu différente. Elle augmenta elle-aussi sa participation dans la campagne de 1942 par rapport à celle de 1941 qui lui avait apporté la récupération de la Bessarabie et de la Bucovine. Mais, par son effort, la Roumanie put garder une

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<sup>74</sup> Ludovit Hallon, *Zápas slovenského a nemeckého finančného kapitálu o pozície v peňažníctve slovenska 1939-1945* [La lutte entre le capital financier slovaque et allemand pour la position dans les finances slovaques 1939-1945], en "Historický Časopis" ["La Revue d'Histoire"], l'année 58, 1/2010, p. 37.

relative indépendance par rapport à Berlin. La Slovaquie diminua sa contribution en effectifs militaires, celle-ci étant de toute façon trop petite pour l'effort commun. De cette manière, elle augmenta sa dépendance envers Berlin, ce qui nuisit aux relations politiques avec la Roumanie. Par conséquent, en 1942, dans leurs rapports bilatéraux ont survenu quelques moments de refroidissement. Cependant, par leurs contacts au niveau militaire, les Slovaques et les Roumains réussirent à établir les bases d'une collaboration qui mettait une pression croissante sur le régime de Budapest.

## **REASONS FOR THE COMPULSORY NATURE OF THE UKRAINIANS' REPATRIATION, FROM THE WESTERN ZONES OF OCCUPATION TO THE USSR, AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1945 – 1951)**

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**Rezumat:** *Cauzele caracterului forțat al repatrierii ucrainenilor din zonele occidentale de ocupație în URSS, după al Doilea Război Mondial (1945-1951).* În anii celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial, milioane de oameni au suferit din cauza mobilizării obligatorii, ca urmare a acțiunilor militare, a captivității sau a concentrării prin muncă forțată. Ucrainenii au reprezentat o mare parte a celor dislocați. În ultima etapă a războiului și în primii ani după încheierea lui, toți ucrainenii aflați în zona de ocupație sovietică au fost repatriați, obligatoriu, în URSS. Lupta politică s-a declanșat atunci când cetățenii sovietici aflați în zonele controlate de aliații occidentali nu și-au arătat dorința de a se întoarce în „Patria sovietică”. Refugiații politici ucraineni nu aveau suficiente motive pentru a reveni în URSS: frica de pedeapsă din partea sistemului pentru cei ce căzuseră în captivitate sau fuseseră duși la muncă forțată, neacceptarea sistemului totalitar sovietic, protestul împotriva represiunilor, persecuțiilor și asupririlor naționale specifice anilor de dinaintea războiului. Regimul sovietic a făcut tot posibilul pentru a-i aduce înapoi în URSS pe toți cetățenii săi și pentru a preveni, astfel, părăsirea țării, din motive politice. Cetățenii repatriați au devenit subiectul muncii silnice, făcându-se vinovați de a se fi aflat, cândva pe teritoriul inamicului.

**Résumé:** *Les causes du caractère forcé du rapatriement des Ukrainiens des zones occidentales d'occupation en URSS, après la Seconde Guerre Mondiale (1945-1951).* Les années de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, des millions d'hommes souffrirent à cause de la mobilisation obligatoire, à la suite des actions militaires, de la captivité ou de la concentration par travail forcé. Les Ukrainiens représentèrent une grande partie de ceux qu'on disloqua. Pendant la dernière étape de la guerre et les premières années après sa fin, on rapatria obligatoirement en URSS tous les Ukrainiens qui se trouvaient dans la zone d'occupation soviétique. La lutte politique se déclencha lorsque les citoyens soviétiques restés dans les zones contrôlées par les alliés occidentaux ne voulurent point revenir dans la “Patrie soviétique”. Les réfugiés politiques Ukrainiens n'avaient point de motifs suffisants pour retourner en URSS : la peur de la punition de la partie du système pour ceux qui ont été prisonniers ou menés à travail forcé, la non-acceptation du système totalitaire soviétique, le proteste contre les répressions, les persécutions et les oppressions nationales

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*spécifiques aux années précédant la guerre. Le régime soviétique fit tout son possible pour ramener en URSS tous ses citoyens et prévenir, de cette manière, le délaissement du pays, pour des raisons politiques. Les citoyens rapatriés devinrent le sujet des travaux forcés, étant coupables d'avoir été, jadis, sur le territoire de l'ennemi.*

**Abstract:** *During the years of the Second World War millions of people suffered from the compulsory shifts due to the military actions or captivity or due to the remove to the compulsory labour. Ukrainians made an essential part of those who were removed. At the final stage of the Second World War and during the first years after its end all the Ukrainian which appeared on the territory of the soviet zone of occupation were obligatorily repatriated to the USSR. The political fight started when the soviet citizens from the Western Allies' zones of occupation did not wish to return to the "Soviet Motherhood". Ukrainian political refugees did not have enough reasons to return to the USSR: fear of punishment by the system for the stay in the captivity or at the compulsory work, non-acceptance of the soviet totalitarian system, protest against repressions, national vexations and pursuit which were specific to the pre-war years. The Soviet regime tried all possible ways to return its citizens to the USSR, and by this not to allow political fleeing from the country. The repatriated citizens became subject to compulsory work with the guilt of staying in the enemy territory.*

**Keywords:** *repatriation, Ukrainians, Western Allies, zones of occupation, USSR, repression, Second World War.*

## Introduction

During the years of the Second World War, millions of people suffered from the compulsory removal: whether due to the military actions or military captivity, or being taken as forced labour for the Nazi Germany. Ukrainians made an essential part of those who were removed. And it was no mere chance as it was in Ukraine where massive battles took place in the result of which there were a lot of injured and captured, for the period of three years the territory of Ukraine was occupied by Germany and its citizens voluntarily and by enforcement were removed by Nazi to work to Germany. As a result, among those who left the country were those who wanted to avoid repressions of the soviet system at the final stage of the war and after it, for example, the warriors of the Ukrainian rebel army, political opponents of the soviet system, persons which cooperated with German occupation regime during the war years.

Soviet Union made all possible not to allow political flight from the West as the fact of emigration from the "prosperous country of the communist regime"

itself was painful ideological blow to the international image of the USSR. That is why, in February of 1945, during the meeting of the leaders of the anti-Hitler coalition in Yalta, Stalin insisted upon the repatriation to USSR of all citizens living in the territories occupied by the western allied members, underlining that the provision had to be assured in the corresponding agreements. It is clear that absolutely all the citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, including Ukrainians, were subject to immediate return. This process happened at the final stage of the war, when repatriation of the soviet citizens to the USSR began. It started with the USSR's zones of occupation and later from the Western Allies' zones of occupation. After the end of the war, repatriation to the USSR turned to the refoulement. The situation of Ukrainians from the territory of the western zones of occupation was a little bit better, as they had a choice whether to return to the USSR or to become political refugees. Those who did not wish to return to the territory of the Soviet Ukraine represented more than half a million. The Soviet system made all possible even by means of refoulement to repatriate to the USSR all "the displaced persons of the soviet origin", who in the result of the war appeared beyond the borders of the USSR.

This study reveals and illustrates the reasons of the Ukrainians' unwillingness to return to the USSR after the end of the Second World War, analysing the reasons of the compulsory nature of the repatriation, its methods and mechanisms. Some aspects of the process of repatriation in the USSR after the Second World War were studied by M. Kynytskyi<sup>1</sup>, Yu. Makar and S. Rudyk<sup>2</sup>, and L. Strilchuk<sup>3</sup>. The repressive measures of the Soviet Power concerning Ukrainians who were repatriated from the western zones of occupation were also considered by I Bilas<sup>4</sup> and B. Yarosh<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, the reasons of the

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<sup>1</sup> Куницький М.П., *Примусова репатріація радянських громадян до СРСР після Другої світової війни (український вектор)* [Mandatory repatriation of the soviet citizens to the USSR after the World War II (Ukrainian vector)], Луцьк, 2007, 248 с.

<sup>2</sup> Мака́р Ю.І., Рудик С.Я., *Проблеми видачі українських втікачів і переміщених осіб Радянському Союзові після Другої світової війни* [The issues of extradition of the returnees to the USSR after the World War II], in «Питання нової та новітньої історії зарубіжних країн Європи та північної Америки» [«The problems of the modern and early modern history of the foreign countries of Europe and Northern America»], 1995, Випуск 4, с. 140 – 149.

<sup>3</sup> Стрільчук Л., *Українські політичні біженці та переміщені особи після другої світової війни* [Ukrainian refugees and displaced people after the World War II], in «Літопис Волині: журнал» [«Volyn Chronicle: journal»], 2004, Число 3., с. 139 – 167.

<sup>4</sup> Білас І., *Репресивно-каральна система в Україні 1917 – 1953* [Repressive and punitive system in Ukraine in 1917 – 1953], Київ, 1994, 420 с.

compulsory nature of the repatriation were factually not studied.

### **Reasons for non-acceptance by the Ukrainians of the soviet reality**

To clearly characterize and analyse the reasons of unwillingness of some Ukrainians to return to the USSR after the end of the Second World War it is necessary undertake a detailed consideration of the political, social and economic situation which, in fact, caused the compulsory repatriation. The 20s – beginning of 40s of the XX century in the history of Ukraine, as well as generally in the history of the USSR, are known as the period of the mass expulsion of people and even of the nations. Soviet system cruelly persecuted and physically eliminated all the ideological opponents of the regime, the representatives of different political parties, other than the communist party, Ukrainian intelligentsia, clergy, the representatives of the so called bourgeois class, and even the country-people. Besides deportation and removal to special settlement – which undoubtedly were a terrible crime committed by the soviet power in relation to the population – there were also a number of other unpopular measures which entailed dissatisfaction, protests and non-acceptance of the power as it was. The methods of *sovietisation* attempted to bring spiritual life under the influence of one ideology reduced to poverty cultural processes and under the control of the totalitarian regime. Monotony suppressed culture and hindered its development. All-union elements of culture were put above those national and religious. A brutal atheistic pressure on the population began despite everywhere were still devout believers.

Such criminal and unpopular measures included first of all collectivization of the individual farms. The policy of submission of the rural areas to the totalitarian regime included several stages: the first stage was confiscation of the lands of the landowners, state officials, monasteries and settlements; realization of the aims of the second stage was hidden and delayed to later, having mustered the support of a part of the population to hold collectivization of the lands<sup>6</sup>. The beginning of the collectivization was accompanied by propaganda of the benefits of the collective farming comparing to individual. However, collectivization did not deliver positive results. Peasants did not wish to enter into collective farms voluntarily. That is why, even in 1928, in collective farms there were less than

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<sup>5</sup> Ярош Б., *Тоталітарний режим на західноукраїнських землях. 30-50-ті роки ХХ століття (історико-політологічний аспект)* [Totalitarian regime on the Western Ukrainian lands. 30-50-ies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (historical and political aspects)], Луцьк, 1995, 171 с.

<sup>6</sup> Іван Білас, *op. cit.*, p. 49 – 52.

2% of all the peasant homesteads holding not more than 2, 5% of all the areas under crops and 2, 1% of the cereals plantings<sup>7</sup>.

Stress speeds and tyrannical methods of collectivization lead to tragic results. Collectivization resulted in the disorganization and degradation of the agricultural sector. It was only in the 50-ies when it became possible to achieve the level of the production of the agricultural goods of 1928. However, physical elimination of the part of the Ukrainian peasantry was the most fundamental loss. Especially numerous casualties were suffered by the Ukrainian rural communities during the years of Famine-Genocide in the period of 1932–1933, which became a national tragedy for Ukrainians. Famine-Genocide of 1932–1933 is a terrible crime of the Stalin's totalitarian system committed against Ukrainian people. This crime can be classified as Famine-Genocide which had both social and national nature.

The Ukrainian intellectuals focused on the collectivization, as for example I. Bahryanyi who wrote about this: "During 1929 – 1932 in the process of the so called collectivization, the *sovietism* declared war to the well-to-do peasantry and did it by means of the slogan "elimination of the class of the Ukrainian kulak"<sup>8</sup>. In practice, it meant physical elimination of a great number of people who were honest workers and cereal-farmers and first of all of the Ukrainian peasantry. Such an elimination of "the class of the Ukrainian kulak" factually was an elimination of the Ukrainian nation because peasants made 70 % of it. As a matter of fact, with this slogan of the physical elimination millions of the Ukrainians were eliminated and they were not only the so called "kulak" but poor men, intellectuals, and workers too.

The totalitarian state was asserting itself by means of violence and terror. During the 30s, there were several waves of repressions in Ukraine which were held on the basis of the ungrounded accusations of the "subversive activity", "bourgeois nationalism" and under the slogan of the fight with "the rests of the enemy classes and parties". During the period of 1930–1941, in Ukraine, more than 100 different "organizations", "centers", and "groups" were found.

The scientific intelligentsia suffered from the cruel crackdown. For example, 250 persons were repressed in the Academy of Sciences among which there were 19 academicians. A wave of repressions also included military staff. For example, in Kharkiv military district more than 45 divisions and brigade commanders were repressed, and in Kyiv military district more than one thousand officers were arrested. The most massive repressions took place during the period of 1936–1938, basing on the incomplete data about 170 000

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<sup>7</sup> Богдан Ярош, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>8</sup> Багрянний І., *Чому я не хочу повертатися в СРСР?* [Why don't I want to come back to the USSR?], Вінніпег, 1946, 32 с.

persons who were affected in Ukraine<sup>9</sup>.

The distrust of the inhabitants of the western region of Ukraine was even more. Immediately after arrival to the Western Ukraine, the Bolsheviks announced about their “liberating” intentions, spreading terror among the local population. Daily work, cultural and political life stopped. Every new day brought new arrests, uncertainty and fear. During 1940-1941, the former landowners, owners of the enterprises, sellers, leaders and members of the political parties, policemen’s families and officers of the Polish army were removed from the western regions of Ukraine to the special settlements<sup>10</sup>. From the end of 1939 till June 1941, in the Western Ukraine, four large-scale deportation operations were held (February, April, June 1940 and May – June 1941). The deportation policy – which was realized by Bolshevik power during 1940–1941 and recognized as “the most effective means of political and social and economic changes in the region” – spanned the most numerous percentage of the population. Generally speaking, from the former lands of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth, from 311 to 329 thousands of people were evicted; 223 thousands of people were from the western regions of Ukraine<sup>11</sup>.

At the meetings organized everywhere in the western Ukrainian lands, the representatives of the soviet power promised the population a “heavenly life in the collective farming”. However, from the very beginning of its establishment, the soviet regime did not dare to start organization of the collective farming. Simultaneously with the processes of collectivization at the Western Ukraine the establishment of the bodies of the soviet government was in process as well as implementation of the new administrative system which was supposed to correspond to the soviet example in full. It is worth mentioning that beginning from the first steps after the reunion Stalin’s totalitarian system did not account for the national peculiarities determined by the customs and traditions. At the same time, despite the help of the whole country in the development of the production, culture, and education it was possible to notice significant efforts of the new administration to unify management of the economic, social, political, and cultural spheres of the Western Ukraine. Mass usage in the Western Ukraine during the stated period of the managers of any level preferably from the eastern regions of the republic was first of all politically substantiated. All that happened under the circumstances when Communist Party of the Western Ukraine, its management and rank-and-file members were cast political aspersions on. Many

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<sup>9</sup> Шабала Я. М., *Історія України: Навчальний посібник* [History of Ukraine: a study guide], Луцьк, 2006. –268 с.

<sup>10</sup> Михайло Куніцький, *op. cit.*, p. 38 – 39.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.



communists of the Western Ukraine disappeared without a trace during the "purges" of the 30s. To form local party bodies consisting of the "escaped" members Communist Party of the Western Ukraine by the traditions of the Stalin's personnel policy was rather dangerous.

Soviet regime ruthlessly destroyed traditional public and political structures of the western region. In order to do this, the government used military force and political repressions. Political organizations, parties, public alliances, cultural unions were immediately banned or taken under control<sup>12</sup>. Bolsheviks' government paid special attention to the anti-religious propaganda too. As it is known, the religion and the church always played special role in the life of the Ukrainians. Church was a kind of a barometer of the public mood of the Ukrainian community, especially in the Western Ukraine where the outpourings and aspirations existing in the society crystallized and revealed. That is why it is no wonder that the Christian morale was a ruling ideology. No political party had such an influence on the masses as the church had.

German and soviet war made the situation in Ukraine even worse. All those who were occupied by Germany, after war aroused mistrust of the government: accusations of the condoning attitude to the German occupants or even worse of the cooperation with them. Part of the population of the Western Ukraine (during the war years and after its end) entered Ukrainian Rebel Army (URA). As is known, the main task of URA was to create an independent Ukrainian state and to fight militarily both against fascists and soviet totalitarian system. Thus, after liberation Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from German occupants, the soviet government started military fight against URA; and again a wave of repressions ran down in the Western Ukraine.

The Ukrainians who served in the Red army also found themselves at low ebb, namely those who in the result of the military actions appeared in the military captivity. Soviet government especially suspiciously regarded those who stayed in the prison camps: the government considered them as German agents and traitor etc. During the years of war, all those who stayed in the grip of the enemy got (at the best case) into the penal battalions, explaining why the prisoners of the concentration camps were not encouraged with optimism.

Besides military prisoners on the territory of Germany and its allies at the end of the war, there were a lot of soviet citizens including Ukrainians. They were the people who voluntarily or involuntary were removed by the fascists to the compulsory works. Those who were in the territory of the soviet occupation were forced to return to the USSR, but those who lived in the Western Allies'

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<sup>12</sup> Людмила Стрільчук, *op. cit.*, p. 141-142.

zone of the occupation had the chance to avoid the mandatory repatriation. Speaking about the reasons of the unwillingness to return to the Soviet Ukraine, every social group had its own reasons but all of them rejected the soviet system.

### **Mandatory nature of the repatriation of the Ukrainians from the Western zones of occupation**

The soviet power tried to send back to USSR the maximally possible number of citizens. The process began by the Resolution of the Council of the People's Commissars dated 04. 10. 1944 about returning of the soviet citizens to their "Motherland". According to this resolution certain measures were undertaken and they were aimed at the creation of the corresponding structures of the republican, regional and state level<sup>13</sup>. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October of 1944, the Repatriation Office – headed by the general-colonel Filip Golikov – was in charge of voluntary and mandatory repatriation of the citizens to the Soviet Union. During the years of its functioning, the office submitted to the highest management of the country 58 reports on the development of the repatriation (spaced 10 days apart). Unfortunately, the information was schematically unanimous and not perfect from the point of view of statistics.

At the beginning of November 1944, Golikov gave an interview to the correspondent of TASS, where described the policy of the soviet regime on the issues of repatriation of the soviet citizens. In particular, he mentioned "the persons with a hostile attitude to the Soviet State as well as those who are trying with the help of cheating, provocation, etc. to poison consciousness of our citizens and make them believe that their soviet Motherland forgot about them, refused them and does not consider them soviet citizens. These people are intimidating our compatriots telling them if they return to their Motherhood they will be yield to repressions. It is not even worth objecting such nonsense... Soviet country remembers and takes care of the citizens who fell in the German slavery. They will be treated at home as the sons of their Motherhood. In the Soviet circles, they believe that even those soviet citizens who did actions under German pressure and terror contradicting the interests of the USSR will not be brought to justice if they are faithful in performance of their duty of returning to their Motherland"<sup>14</sup>.

The interview given by F. Golikov was later used as a special appeal of the

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<sup>13</sup> Холодницький В., *Репатріаційна політика Радянської влади на території Чернівецької області у 1944 – 1945 рр.* [Repatriation policy of the Soviet authorities in the territory of Chernivtsi region in 1944 – 1945], in «Вісник центру Буковинознавства» [«Bulletin of the Bukovina history centre»], 1993. Випуск 1, с. 172 – 183.

<sup>14</sup> Людмила Стрільчук, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

Government of the USSR to the army prisoners and interned persons. It was with hope accepted by the displaced persons although did not answer all the questions which bothered them. Finally, this problem was solved by the Decree of the USSR Presidium of the Supreme Council dated 07.07.1945 on "amnesty in connection with the victory over the Hitler's Germany". According to this Decree the war prisoners were announced non-triable, as they were imprisoned alive.

There existed a thought for a long time that practically all persons which were repatriated to the Soviet Union whether voluntarily or forcefully were repressed, discriminated and pursued. Speaking of the life of the dozens of thousands of the displaced persons (especially officers) it was tragic and this fact is proved documentarily. At the same, it must be admitted that a great number of the repatriated managed to avoid repressions.

To accept repatriated persons from the 1-2 Byelorussian and 1-4 Ukrainian fronts, 100 of camps were created, and every camp was designed to accept thousands of people. Among them there were 39 camps to check the civilians: 45 camps in the territory of Byelorussia and 55 camps in the territory of Ukraine. For the acceptance and check of the civilians, 30 camps of the mentioned 100 camps were designed and all the civilians were directed to them (16 such camps were functioning in the territory of Ukraine). At the same fronts, 46 transit points were opened, functioning for the acceptance of the civilians liberated by the Red Army, among which 16 in the territory of Byelorussia, and other 30 in the territory of Ukraine. For the entrance of the repatriated behind the demarcation line, 9 access-and-check points were opened<sup>15</sup>. The general measures were stipulated not only by the necessity of the thorough check of the displaced persons but also by the attempts to make a process of repatriation an organized one and to not allow the chaos and anarchy.

A little bit different was the situation with repatriation of the soviet citizens (including Ukrainians) which appeared in Western Allies' zone of occupation. The mentioned problem turned to be rather pressing for the allies as the vast majority of the soviet citizens which were taken away to forced labour or war prisoners stayed in the territory engaged in their combat operations. It is known that the legal acts regulating issues connected with those heaps of people were passed a little later and that complicated the repatriation of the "Soviet people". That is why all of them – after the release from the fascist captivity by the allies or yielding themselves to prisoners to the allied armies – appeared in the camps for the Soviet prisoners of war and for displaced persons. According to the calculations of the scientists, at the end of the war, 4.755.942 Soviet

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<sup>15</sup> Земсков В. Н., *Рождение второй эмиграции* [Birth of the second emigration], in «Социологические исследования» [«Sociology studies»], 1991, № 4, с. 3-24.

citizens from abroad<sup>16</sup> (more than half a million were Ukrainians) were in the focus of the soviet power that wanted them back to the USSR.

The USA, Great Britain and the USSR officially nailed down the oral agreements concerning the repatriation by the written agreement. The most suitable moment for that was the Crimean conference which started on the 5th of February 1945 in Yalta. Then, the term “forced repatriation” appeared in the texts of the agreements signed by USA, Great Britain and USSR. The archive documents clearly testify that the top soviet leadership, beginning with the autumn of 1944, was worried by the messages from the English-American sources that the majority of the soviet war prisoners seemed not to wish to return to the USSR; even so, the correctness of this information was doubtful<sup>17</sup>. They grounded on the fact that the majority of the soviet war prisoners (as a rule) originated from the workers’ and peasants’ community and they (if to think logically) could not have any objective reasons not to return to the USSR. Meanwhile, the abovementioned agreements provided that all the soviet citizens released from captivity by the English-American allies are subject to returning to the USSR, even if they are not willing to<sup>18</sup>. Although the truth was – as it was found out later – that having the status of the winners they did not have concurrent views concerning whom to consider as “all soviet citizens”, the Soviet diplomacy insisted that such citizens are all those who as of the day of the beginning of the Great War II lived to the east of the so called “Curzon line”, or the former Polish citizens (Ukrainians) who originated from the territories annexed to the USSR in 1939<sup>19</sup>.

While the political fight over the issue of repatriation was in process, the Soviet citizens were waiting for the shaping of their future in the camps, in the western zones of occupation. The formation of these camps began in summer of

<sup>16</sup> Михайло Куницький, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>17</sup> *Листування з радою Міністрів, міністерствами і центральними організаціями Союзу РСР з питань репатріації* [Correspondence with the Council of Ministers, ministries and central organizations of the USSR on the issues of repatriation], in Центральний державний архів Вищих органів влади та Управління у м. Києві (ЦДАВО Укр.) [Central state archive of the Highest Agencies of the State and Management in Kyiv (TsDAVO of Ukr)], Ф. Р-2, оп. 7, спр. 5785, арк. 135, 137, 149.

<sup>18</sup> Lubomir U. Luciuk, Bohdan S. Kordan (eds.), *Anglo-American perspectives on the Ukrainian Question. 1938 – 1951. A documentary collection*, Kingston (Ontario) – Vestal (Nev-York), The Limestones Press 1987, p. 163.

<sup>19</sup> Рудик С. Я., *До питання про причини, джерела та характер третього етапу української еміграції до країн Північної Америки* [On the question of the reasons, sources and nature of the third stage of the emigration of the Ukrainians to the countries of the Northern America], in «Питання історії нового та новітнього часу» [«Issues of the modern and early modern history»], 1994, Вип. третій, с. 79-92.

1944 and some of them were granted the right of self-management, inner autonomy, but with interdiction of the mob punishment. In the most of those camps, the administration consisted of the imprisoned soviet officers and the representatives of the allied armies stayed there as the inspectors and responsible for the outside guard<sup>20</sup>.

During the war with Germany and the first months after its end, the English and American forces extradited to the USSR "the eastern displaced citizens", mostly collaborators; however, beginning from September-October 1945 they started adhering the principle of the voluntary repatriation which spread to the so called "Eastern" too. Analysing the state of affairs, namely mass refusals to return to the USSR, attempting at all costs to avoid mandatory repatriation; in addition, the Western Allies were reconsidering their position concerning the mandatory repatriation of the citizens of the USSR to their "Motherland". That is why the persons which appeared in the zones of occupation had an opportunity to avoid mandatory return to the USSR.

As the processes of repatriation lasted more than five years and drastic changes connected with the beginning of the "Cold War" took place in the international politics, at that stage the mandatory repatriation was considered by the West as one of the mechanisms of the political and ideological fight with the Soviet Union and stretched far behind the "pure" repatriation of the citizens.

### **Repressive and punitive measures of the Soviet system against mandatory returnees**

The hard lines in the lives of the compulsory labourers and war prisoners of the World War II, as well as the difficult and painful processes of repatriation, checks and screenings were not the last challenges for many Ukrainians. Even those who managed to survive the tests of the Soviet repatriation missions, and those who were able to avoid Soviet concentration camps during the post war period found themselves in an unenviable state. The stigma "returnee" fixed to people by the Soviet system turned to be a sizable hurdle on their life journey. The decisions of the highest organs of state power and the new instructions of the Soviet system's punitive bodies were intensifying the repressions against

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<sup>20</sup> Стрільчук Л., *Примусова репатріація радянських громадян та створення таборів для переміщених осіб у перші повоєнні роки* [Mandatory repatriation of the soviet citizens and opening of the camps for the displaced persons in the first postwar years], in «Збірник навчально-методичних матеріалів і наукових статей історичного факультету» [«The source book of the study and methodological materials and scientific articles of the history department»], Луцьк, 1998, Випуск 3, с. 129 – 134.

former war prisoners and civilians repatriated from Germany. The peculiarity of this intensification was usage of all those who underwent checkout for the mandatory works<sup>21</sup>. Besides the filtration points, other new checkout and filtration camps were established. These were situated mostly in the European part of the country<sup>22</sup>. Waiting for the end of the checkout, the imprisoned persons were forced to work hard at the enterprises where the production processes were harmful for their health as well as in the metallurgic and coal industry, in the mines, quarries and pits.

One of the documents illustrates the mandatory allocation of the returnees to different production industries: “2.143.870 persons were taken into German captivity from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; 633.630 were men, 728.199 women, and 123.238 children younger than 16 years old. Only 732.855 people returned: 243.700 men, 489.155 women (among them, 218.908 able bodied men and 452.717 able bodied women), and 30.834 children under 16 (16629 lost their parents). Among a total of able bodied returnees, 131.714 people were sent to work in the production industry (53.165 men and 78.549 women); other 475.013 people were sent to work in the farming industry (135 265 men and 339725 women); 11.343 people were sent to the other activities (4.962 men and 6381 women), and 4.922 people were mobilized to the Red Army”<sup>23</sup>.

The archives contain a lot of documents that confirm the fact of the mandatory employment and resettlement of the returnees and the quotations say the following: “We were repatriated from France although we originate from the Western Ukraine; then we were sent to work as miners in Ordzhonikidze, in a mine named after V. Lenin... our numerous requests to allow us to return to the Western Ukraine where our families lived were not answered... (the letter was signed by 9 people). Date: 29.03.1947”<sup>24</sup>. Other similar letters written by the returnees got refusals. For example: “...our answer to your letter is that if you wish to move to Poltava for permanent residence, then you need to have an allowance issued by the regional executive committee of Poltava region and a

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>22</sup> Михайло Куницький, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

<sup>23</sup> *Матеріали з питань трудового та побутового влаштування репатріантів (доповіді, записки, листи, тощо)* [Materials on the issues of employment and settlement of the returnees (reports, notes, letters, etc.)], ЦДАВО Укр., Ф. Р-2, оп. 7, спр. 4240, арк. 135.

<sup>24</sup> *Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР* [Materials on the issues of employment and settlement of the returnees to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic], ЦДАВО Укр., Ф. Р-2., оп. 7, спр. 5823, арк. 11.

Certificate on the opportunity of provision you with dwelling space ... Zozulenko. Date: 22.12.1947"<sup>25</sup>, or "We are sending for your consideration a notice submitted by Bondarenko. A citizen Bondarenko informs that his daughter, repatriated from the Western Germany, is working at the station Chystyakovo, at the station gang. A manager of the personnel department, citizen Goncharov heartlessly treats repatriated citizens which work and under checkouts, calls them "German bitches" and is threatening: "I will send you away to the East, to taiga!" ... Citizen Bondarenko repeatedly (after the refusal) asks to allow his daughter Bondarenko H. to her parents and family... Zozulenko. Date: 25.04.1947"<sup>26</sup>. The persons sent for the checkout and filtrations were kept in "zariba zones"; they did not have the right to go to the city or to send a letter to their relatives. Those who were engaged in the checkout as well as those who underwent those checkouts were planned to get a certain monetary payment, but a significant part of that payment was deducted in favour of the state.

Another example characterizing the regime in those camps, order and methods of checkout and filtration is a letter written by a person kept in camp No. 48: "...here are people of different ages and of all nationalities. All of them were in the captivity in Germany, Romania, and Finland or lived in the occupied territory... The people imprisoned in these tuberculosis niduses have been waiting for the decisions determining their fates for months or even years; they are kept imprisoned factually without a court decision and without any investigation... for example, a person has been kept in the camp for six months and only even the seventh months come that person is called for examination. When the examination is over, another half of the year should pass until that person is called again. And only when that person starts airing his/her grievance then they answer: "Your duty is to sit and wait, we'll finish a checkout and then we'll see what to do with you"<sup>27</sup>. Another example is the following: "They are

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<sup>25</sup> Рада Міністрів Української РСР. Управління справами. 1947 рік. Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР [Council of the Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Executive Secretariat. 1947. Materials on the issues of employment and settlement of the returnees to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic], ЦДАВО Укр., Ф. Р-2., оп. 7, спр. 5830, арк. 123.

<sup>26</sup> Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР [Materials on the issues of employment and settlement of the returnees to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic], ЦДАВО Укр., Ф. Р-2., оп. 7, спр. 5823, арк. 205.

<sup>27</sup> Матеріали про роботу збірно-пересильних пунктів у справах репатріації в областях Української РСР [Materials on the work of the collection and transit points on the issues of repatriation in the regions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic],

working in the mines and are eating anything – sometimes it's rotten potato or half-rotten tomatoes and when good food is brought it does not get as intended, although almost all the payment is deducted to pay for the food. The deductions are made from the payment to a good worker, and they make, let's say, 1500 roubles... at this, the miner gets in hand 200 roubles per months. And that person has no right to spend this money to buy milk or some nutritious food from the market... In short, how can that person continue working in the mine, keeping to such a starving diet? It's impossible even to imagine. People are half-starved, dirty, wearing ragged clothes, without linen, lousy, living in barracks where there are millions of bedbugs and other parasites. When somebody is complaining, he/she is immediately told off – they are usually reminded that this it's not Germany or Finland. It turns out that here, on the native land, it is possible to go a long way, in the sense of abuse of people... those who served in the army of the enemy are worth of special attention, but those who were kept on the captivity and survived are tortured here...they are not the workers, they are special squads. When a weak person has not handled workload he/she is left in the mine, hungry, for the second shift, and when the person has not handled the second workload – then he/she is dragged to home"<sup>28</sup>. The copy of this letter was sent by the general Golikov to the Deputy Commissar of the Internal Affairs of the USSR, Chernyshov. On this letter, there is a notice of one of the responsible executives of the Repatriation Office Agency: "I have a lot of such examples"<sup>29</sup>.

Checkout and filtration camps were mostly located in the regions of the big industrial cities, coal mines, constructions and pits. All those who got there were engaged in the production. In the places where there was a special need for the work force, the term of the checkout stretched for many years. For example, the camps in the regions of Pechora, Vorkuta and other locations existed until 1950 and the checkout and filtration camp on the chemical factory in Leningrad existed until 1953. The most often one can find in the archive funds of the Central State Archive of the Highest Agencies of the State and Management the documents containing the following: "Explanation on the impossibility to fire from work: The returnees can fire from the enterprise on the grounds general for all workers according to the Code of Laws on Labour. There are no legal grounds for your resignation so the manager of the enterprise is entitled to

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ЦДАВО Укр., Ф. Р-2., оп. 7, спр. 5832, арк. 198.

<sup>28</sup> *Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР* [Materials on the issues of employment and settlement of the returnees in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic], ЦДАВО Укр., Ф. Р-2., оп. 7, спр. 5823, арк. 122.

<sup>29</sup> Людмила Стрільчук, *op. cit.*, p. 160.



refuse to resign you. According to the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, dated 25.08.1946, No. 1897, you, being a returnee by the agreement with the manager of the factory can be granted the right to move your family to the place of your employment”<sup>30</sup>. It has become a kind of a pattern for the refusal of the requests of the returnees to resign from the enterprise and move to their families. Yet, in the archives there are a few documents with information on allowing the resignation and moving to the worker's family; for example, “Repatriation Office at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic ordered to resign a citizen Virbst in case of confirmation of his family status”<sup>31</sup>. But such documents are very rare. The situation of the former war prisoners was even more complicated as they were sent inland to the checkout camps of NKVS. They were kept in “zariba camps”, having no right to go behind the borders of the zone or to send a letter to their relatives.

Every region had its own district commissioner in charge of acceptance and settlement of the returnees. As a rule, the heads of the personnel departments of the regional executive committees were appointed the commissioners. There was a secret instruction to the repatriation commissioners in the regional centers. The essence of the instruction was by any reason not to accommodate the returnees in the regional centers and in Kyiv. In this connection, we can come across numerous complaints filed by the people which underwent the checkout and filtration, but could not settle down in the cities where they lived before the war; the citizen Herman H. V. was refused to get the permanent residence in Kyiv, even if he spent some time in the transit and filtration camp from the Kyiv region<sup>32</sup>.

Most of the people which were repatriated during the first post-war years to the USSR were, as a rule, very ill and weak. Actually it was a natural phenomenon as their majority was starving for years and the absence of the medical care, constant nervous tension, and the stress affected them negatively. Fatalities on their way to the transit and clearing stations or already in the territory of the stations were often.

Besides checkouts, the Soviet power had the task of mentally re-educating

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<sup>30</sup> *Матеріали з питань трудового та побутового влаштування репатріантів (доповіді, записки, листи, тощо.)* [Materials on the issues of employment and settlement of the returnees (reports, notes, letters etc.)], ЦДАВО Укр., Ф. Р-2., оп. 7, спр. 4242, арк. 10.

<sup>31</sup> *Матеріали з питань трудового і побутового влаштування репатріантів по Українській РСР* [Materials on the issues of employment and settlement of the returnees in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic], ЦДАВО Укр., Ф. Р-2., оп. 7, спр. 5823, арк. 59.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

and forming a corresponding ideology for returnees. The report on the “culture-into-masses work” with the returnees of Sambir ZPP-323 contains the following information: “On 09.02.1946, the returnees and commissioners of the regions (agitators) presented 208 reports in which 26.835 returnees took part, also 84 lectures were rendered in which 5.906 returnees participated too; besides 26.490 discussions were held and 300.130 returnees took part in them”<sup>33</sup>. Whole array of agitators were working in the collection and transit and in the transit and filtration camps; their main task was to persuade the returnees to work in the production sphere and in the farming, as they needed work force mostly. In addition, the agitators were trying to explain the returnees that the methods of the repatriation were correct and the only possible.

At the end of 1945, at the transit and clearing station were created the “information desks” in order to help the returnees who were trying to find their relatives: “At the ZPP-323, 25 information desks are functioning and helping the returnees, answering to their questions. The information desks, as a rule, are headed by the regional agitators. As of 09.02.1946, 46.976 returnees were rendered their services and 3.117 received help in their search of the relatives (by means of enquires sent to the regional executive committees and regional offices of NKVS)”<sup>34</sup>.

Meanwhile, the returnees were suffering from the rough conditions in the checkout and filtration camps, unsatisfactory meal, mental tension, threatening and bullying. The situation with provision of the returnees with the goods of the first necessity is clearly illustrated by the telegram from the commandant of ZPP-325 in Kovel, sent to Zozulenko: “...because of the delay with carriages, more than 700 extra people are kept in Kovel camp for 13 days – all of them arrived to Ukraine from France. People are suffering from illnesses, the limit of food products is exhausted, and the persons are starving. The sentiments of people are extremely negative and I am asking for your directive to immediate placing of the carriages (50 carriages) to Kovel station. Otherwise, there might be a strike. The commander of the camp, Kinchadze. Date: 08.09.1947”<sup>35</sup>. In his turn, Zozulenko sent e telegram to Kovel, containing the following: “...to raise the spirits, we are proposing the

<sup>33</sup> *Матеріали з питань трудового та побутового влаштування репатріантів (доповіді, записки, листи, тощо)* [Materials on the issues of employment and settlement of the returnees (reports, notes, letters, etc.)], ЦДАВО Укр., Ф. Р-2., оп. 7, спр. 4242, арк. 31.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, арк. 30.

<sup>35</sup> *Матеріали про роботу збірно-пересильних пунктів у справах репатріації в областях Української РСР* [Materials on the work of the collection and transit points on the issues of repatriation in the regions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic], ЦДАВО Укр., Ф. Р-2., оп. 7, спр. 5832, арк. 61.

following slogan on the placards of the people who meet the new arrivals in the camp: "Long live the Soviet Socialist Ukraine – an integral part of the USSR" – make 50 of them, and "Brotherly greeting to the Soviet citizens who are returning to their Motherland!" – 50 units... Zozulenko. Date: 10.09.1947"<sup>36</sup>.

It would be a big mistake to consider that all returnees were sent to the mandatory work. Some of them, although it was a less part, were sent to the places where their families lived. According to the legislative documents, the returnees who successfully underwent checkout and filtration, were paid a one-time financial aid the amount of which was defined by the same filtration committees; the returnees were also provided with accommodation in the cases when they were not sent to their families. However, as the documents show, not all the returnees received the same amounts or any money at all. Some of the returnees were given retirement benefits and other following the decisions of the committees were deprived of them. Thus, the archive documents contain numerous complaints of the returnees, accusing that they did not get the retirement benefits or other small amounts. It often happened that the returnees had to start their life practically from the very beginning, as they did not have even the most necessary belongings. Among the archive documents there are a lot complaints of the returnees on the impossibility to get higher education or a job in the specialty, or to settle in the accommodation where they lived before (in the cities).

The returnees – civilians and war prisoners who were set free by the allies – were treated specifically. They were considered to be foreign intelligence agents. The repressive actions against the former war prisoners and returnees were elaborated and results-oriented. From the very first days of their freedom, they got into the "system of Gulag": humiliation, hunger, unsanitary conditions – all those measure were supposed to persuade them that they were guilty. Another goal was to influence the public opinion, form the ideology that something was wrong with those who returned from captivity. Finally, there was another aspect connected with the necessity of free of charge entrants into the labour force of those institutions of Gulag that could not exist without the slave labour<sup>37</sup>.

## CONCLUSIONS

Mandatory repatriation of the Soviet people and Ukrainians confirmed antipathy and antagonism in relation to the Soviet regime, and added to the impressions which were during the 20s-30s of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century with a great vengeance imposed on the Ukrainians by the Bolshevik regime. Study of the

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, арк. 35.

<sup>37</sup> Михайло Куніцький, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

documents and materials (related to the processes of the mandatory repatriation, checkouts and filtration of the soviet people) allow us to conclude that the actions of the party and state leadership of the USSR in relation to the returnees were more political ungrounded repressions which spread to absolutely everybody including war prisoners, grown up civil returnees as well as all the soviet military men – “surrounded” – which appeared in the territory recovered from enemy occupation. Some even more severe kinds of punishment were applied in relation to those who served in the German army, police, punitive and intelligence agencies of Germany.

A significant part of the former Soviet war prisoners and civil returnees from amongst those that were deported by the German occupation were groundlessly convicted by a court (or in its absence) to imprisonment and exile on the basis of one article of the Criminal Code related to the “state crime”. Repatriation as well as the following checkout and filtration of the returnees became another criminal aspect of the Soviet regime against its citizens. Instead of bringing to the border of the USSR and letting people go to home, to their families, the Soviet repatriation authorities put the sick, weak and disillusioned people to the rack of the humiliating checkouts which were far too severe.

Checkout and filtration camps (which often did not correspond even to the level of the concentration camps) became a kind of a prison for many months. The hardship and suffering of the returnees continued, as they were sent for work in industry and farms without any preparation or interest for their needs or wishes. It was simply convenient for the state to fill in the vacuum of the labour force deficit. Years passed before the returnees could move to their families and managed to get rid of the miserable mark of “returnee”.

**THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MOLDAVIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST  
REPUBLIC AND THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA (1970-1975).  
THE FIRST YEARS OF ACTIVITY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF  
INFORMATION AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WITHIN THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE MOLDAVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY**

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**Rezumat:** *Relațiile dintre RSSM și RSR (1970-1975). Primii ani de activitate a Secției Informații și Relații Internaționale din cadrul CC al PCM.* Din nevoia de a înțelege și de a percepe cât mai clar natura relațiilor dintre București și Chișinău din perioada postbelică am constatat că urmărirea activității desfășurate de anumite secții din cadrul CC al PCM ne-ar putea servi drept sursă de informare. Începând cu anul 1970 și-a început activitatea Secția informații și relații internaționale, aflată în subordinea directă a conducerii de partid. Rapoartele de activitate, notele informative, notele de corespondență ale secției referitoare la cooperarea cu partea română cuprind detalii de o importanță deosebită, deoarece ne permit identificarea gamei largi de raporturi în care au fost implicate județele românești și raioanele moldovenești de la începutul anilor 1970.

Între Botoșani, Iași, Suceava, Galați, Vaslui și Fălești, Bălți, Ungheni, Cahul, Vulcănești au fost realizate schimburi reciproce de delegații. La început schimburile erau prilejuate de marcarea unor zile importante din istoria comună, ulterior părțile au susținut cooperarea la nivelul grupurilor specializate. Chiar dacă selectarea persoanelor care mergeau în afară, în special, a celor care mergeau în RSR reprezenta o procedură mai complexă cu instruire corespunzătoare, iar delegațiile românești erau însoțite de cele mai calificate cadre ale Societății Unionale pe Acțiuni „Inturist”, totuși, aceasta a fost o modalitate de păstrare a legăturilor dintre românii din stânga și dreapta Prutului.

**Résumé :** *Les relations entre la République Socialiste Soviétique de Moldavie et la République Socialiste de Roumanie (1970-1975). Les premières années d'activité du Département de l'Information et Relations Internationales auprès du Comité Central du Parti Communiste Moldave.* Avec l'objectif de comprendre et de percevoir plus clairement la nature des relations entre Bucarest et Chișinău de la période d'après-guerre, on constata dans l'article ci-joint que suivre l'activité exercée par certaines sections du CC du CPM pourrait nous servir comme source d'information. Depuis 1970, le Département de l'Information et Relations Internationales commença son activité, sous la responsabilité directe des dirigeants du parti. Les rapports d'activité, les notes informatives, les notes de correspondance du département sur la coopération avec la partie roumaine comprennent des détails d'une importance particulière,

car ils nous permettent d'identifier la vaste gamme de rapports qui impliquèrent les départements roumains et les districts moldaves au début des années 1970.

*On réalisa des échanges de délégations entre Botoșani, Iași, Suceava, Galați, Vaslui et Fălești, Bălți, Ungheni, Cahul, Vulcănești. Au début, les échanges étaient occasionnés par l'anniversaire des jours importants de leur histoire, ensuite les parties appuyèrent la coopération au niveau des groupes spécialisés. Même si la sélection des gens qui sont allés à l'étranger, en particulier ceux qui sont allés en RSR faisait partie d'une procédure plus complexe avec la formation appropriée, les délégations roumaines étaient accompagnées par les cadres les plus qualifiés de la Société Unie par Actions « Inturist » ; cependant, ce fut une façon de garder les liens entre les Roumains de la partie gauche et de celle droite du Prut.*

**Abstract.** *From the need to understand and know more clearly the nature of the relations between Bucharest and Kishinev in the post-war period, we have found that following the activity carried out by certain departments within the CC of the MCP could serve as a source of information. Beginning with the year 1970, the Department of Information and International Relations began its activity, under the direct authority of the party leadership. Progress reports, information notes, correspondence notes of the department relating to the cooperation with the Romanian party include details of particular importance because they allow us to identify a wide range of relations in which Romanian counties and Moldavian districts were involved at the beginning of the early 1970s.*

*Mutual exchanges of delegations were made between Botoșani, Iași, Suceava, Galați, Vaslui and Fălești, Bălți, Ungheni, Cahul, Vulcănești. At the beginning, exchanges were occasioned by the marking of certain important days in the common history, later on the parties supported the cooperation at the level of specialised groups. Even though the selection of the persons who would go abroad, especially, of those who would go into the SRR represented a more complex procedure with the appropriate training, and the Romanian delegations were accompanied by the most qualified specialists of the "Inturist" Joint-Stock Company, however, this was a method of maintaining the connections between Romanians on the left and right side of Prut.*

**Keywords:** *cooperation, border, MSSR, SRR, tourist, visits*

## Introduction

If in a previous study<sup>1</sup>, we have raised the issue of the evolution of the relations between the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (MSSR) and the Socialist Republic of Romania (SRR) in the light of the activity carried out by the

<sup>1</sup> Olesea Palamarja, *Politics and Tourism in MSSR: a Case Study of the Tourists from the Socialist Republic of Romania (1964-1979)*, „Codrul Cosminului”, 2015, nr. 2, pp. 261-286.

Department of External Tourism attached to the Central Committee (CC) of the Moldavian Communist Party (MCP), this time we intend to follow the progress of the relations between Kishinev and Bucharest presented through the materials of the Department of Information and International Relations. It is a topical subject, due to the fact that the materials contained in the files of the Department offer information, largely unpublished.

The modest number of the publications regarding the relations between Kishinev and Bucharest in the Cold War period represents a justification or perhaps a stimulus to raise issues which could trigger the curiosity of a wider category of people. And from here started the idea to insist upon the activity carried out by certain structures within the CC of the MCP dedicated to the cooperation with the SRR.

Valuable contributions to the historiography dedicated to the issue raised were brought by researchers, such as: Gheorghe and Elena Negru,<sup>2</sup> Gheorghe Cojocaru,<sup>3</sup> Ruslan Șevcenco,<sup>4</sup> Igor Cașu<sup>5</sup>. The works published after 1990, include materials which reflect in one manner of another the relations between SRR and MSSR, however, approached more in the context of the Romanian Soviet relations. A few important work were published with the publishing house of the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism by Ion Constantin<sup>6</sup> and Vasile Buga<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Elena Negru, Gheorghe Negru, „Cursul deosebit” al României și supărarea Moscovei. Disputa sovieto-română și campaniile propagandistice antiromânești din RSSM. Studii și documente, vol. 1 (1965-1975), [Romania's „Peculiar politics” and Moscow's anger. Soviet-Romanian dispute and anti-Romanian propaganda from MSSR. (1965-1975). Study and documents], Chișinău, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Gheorghe Cojocaru, *Confruntarea sovieto-română pe frontul ideologic din RSS Moldovenească (1968-1978)*, [Romanian-Soviet confrontation on ideological front of the Moldavian SSR (1968-1978)], Iași, Tipo Moldova Publishing House, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Ruslan Șevcenco, *Relațiile internaționale ale RSS Moldovenești (1945-1955)*, [International relations of the Moldavian SSR (1945-1955)], Studia Universitatis: Seria Științe Umanistice, No. 4, 2009.

<sup>5</sup> Igor Cașu, „Politica națională” în Moldova Sovietică, 1944-1989, [„Nationalities Policy” in Soviet Moldova, 1944-1989], Chișinău, Cartdidact Publishing House, 2000.

<sup>6</sup> Ion Constantin, *Problema Basarabiei în discuțiile româno-sovietice din timpul Războiului Rece, 1945-1989*, [Bessarabian issue within Romanian-Soviet discussions during the Cold War, 1945-1989], București, Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2015.

<sup>7</sup> Vasile Buga, *Pe muchie de cuțit. Relațiile româno-sovietice, 1965-1989*, [On the edge. Romanian-Soviet relations in 1965-1989], București, Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2013; Idem, *Sub lupa Moscovei. Politica externă a României 1965-1989*

For the completion of the work, we have studied documents within the Archive of the Social and Political Organisations in the Republic of Moldova, content 51 (files dedicated to the activity of the Department of Information and International Relations within the CC of the MCP) and the National Archive of the Republic of Moldova, content 2782 (Department of External Tourism attached to the Council of Ministers of the MSSR).

The volume of information in the first five years of activity of the Department is all the more important given the fact that the mutual visits involved specialists from various fields of work. Beyond having a great tourist importance, the visits at the level of border localities led to a closeness between people, between Romanians in Bessarabia and the ones in Romania.

### **The political context and the idea of creating a Department of Information and International Relations**

Created at the initiative of the MSSR authorities, with the idea to have full power over the contacts between the citizens of SRR and the ones in Soviet Moldavia, the activity of the Department of Information and International Relations within the CC of the MCP (dedicated to the SRR), represents an important source, out of which we can deduct the particularities of the Romanian Moldavian relations between 1970-1975, but not before making reference to the political situations on both sides of the Prut, specific to the analysed period.

It is known that the relations between the MSSR and the SRR in the whole period when Soviet Moldavia was part of the USSR were shaped by the political relations between Moscow and Bucharest. Therefore, the cooperation with the Romanian party has known periods of advancement, but also of stagnation, as it is shown by the activity of the Department.

Beginning with the first post-war years until the 1970s, but even later on, the Romanian Moldavian relations have evolved differently with every year, however, the scope of cooperation has extended. An example is the number of persons who participated in mutual visits, which varied yearly, and also the composition of the delegations and specialised groups.

We must state that beginning with the 1950s, the first exchanges of official groups and delegations from both countries were organised. From the year 1966, by Judgement of the CC of the MCP Presidium on February 1st the *Measures of the*

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[Under Moscow's oversight. Romania's Foreign Policy 1965-1989], București, Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2015.



*CC of the MCP on the spread and celebration of the important dates and events in the history of the Moldavian people* were adopted.<sup>8</sup> This document included a calendar of the “holidays of the Moldavian people” and a pantheon of the heroes of the “revolutionary movement” in Bessarabia, and the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the MSSR was obliged to issue a decree through which the day of June 28th would be declared national holiday of the people. In the SRR counties with which friendly relations were established, materials relating to the achievements of the Moldavian people in the field of industry, village household, science and culture in the years of Soviet power started to be sent. These led to the closeness of the relations between localities and people on both sides of Prut, especially after the year 1964,<sup>9</sup> when the foundations of the Department of External Tourism attached to the Council of Ministers of the MSSR were laid, and with this exchange of tourist groups between the Moldavian and the Romanian parties started to be organised.

The internal and foreign policy led by Nicolae Ceaușescu was not the liking of Kremlin, and the attempt of the members of the Romanian delegations which went to Moscow to bring on the agenda of bilateral relations some issues such as the Romanian treasury or especially the territorial one, have led to the maintaining of tensions almost permanently between the USSR and SRR. And the activity over the years of certain departments such as the one of Information and International Relations within the CC of the MCP or of the External Tourism attached to the CC of the MCP, represents the clear proof of the fact that in Kishinev, the key positions were occupied by persons loyal to the Soviet leadership, thus, all efforts were oriented towards the restriction of the contacts between Romanian on the left and right side of Prut.

They influenced the relations between Moscow and Bucharest and certain international events, such as the invasion in August 1968 of Czechoslovakia. The SRR leadership condemns this movement of the Soviet state. Certainly, Romania’s stance bothered, and this can be deduced from the fact that the attitude of the people in the SRR changed towards the tourists in the USSR and vice versa. Romanian tourists who visited the Soviet space were welcomed and served by the most knowledgeable specialists who dealt with welcoming guests from foreign countries<sup>10</sup>. The authorities of Soviet Moldavia considered that the “anti-invasion”

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<sup>8</sup> Arhiva Organizațiilor Social-Politice din Republica Moldova (AOSPRM), [Archive of Social and Political Organisations of the Republic of Moldova], fond. 51, inv. 27, d. 9, p. 11-12

<sup>9</sup> Arhiva Națională a Republicii Moldova, [National Archive of the Republic of Moldova], fond. 2782, inv. 3, d. 1, p. 2-4.

<sup>10</sup> AOSPRM, fond 51, inv. 33, file 201, p. 77.

state of mind within the Romanian society “contaminated” the MSSR population, as well.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the Ministry of Internal Affairs was obliged to take certain measures regarding the significant reduction of these mutual visits through the restriction, especially, of the individual visits and to establish a tight control on the Romanian citizens' behaviour during their time on the MSSR territory.<sup>12</sup>

The geographical proximity, certain aspects regarding the linguistic and cultural aspect which could be remarked between the “Moldavians” in the MSSR and the Romanians in the SRR, bothered authorities, a fact which led to the onset of a serious propagandist campaign against “Romanian nationalism”, and the main aim was to make Romania an ideological and political opponent, perhaps even more dangerous than the capitalist countries and the “American imperialism,”<sup>13</sup> considered by the representatives of the communist group as being traditional opponents.

In addition to the issues regarding Romania's “special” course, the increase in tensions related to some linguistic, historical problems, which were ever more obvious, the interaction between Romanian and Moldavian citizens was seen as a danger, which had to be permanently monitored. All these factors led to the deeper study of the phenomena in the Romanian political and ideological life and, respectively, the permanent control on the state of mind of the MSSR population. To this end, the CC of the MCP (the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party) requested the permission of the CC of the CPSU (the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) to form a *Department of Information and International Relations*<sup>14</sup> within the party Central Committee, with an asset of 12 members, and the Kremlin's answer was a favourable one for the applicants. Theoretically, the scope of activity of the department aimed at all the countries with which Soviet Moldavia had certain relations, practically, however, the need to study and to have a situation as clear as possible regarding the relations with the Romanian party, the most part of its materials referred to the Romanian Moldavian relations.

The Department of Information and International Relations which worked within the CC of the MCP had the task to follow the progress of the relations

<sup>11</sup> Gheorghe Negru, *Campanii împotriva României și a naționalismului românesc din RSSM în anii '60-'80 ai sec. XX* [Campaign against Romania and Romanian nationalism in MSSR in 50-80's of XX century], *Destin românesc. Revistă de istorie și cultură, Serie nouă*, 2010, no. 1 (65), p. 152 -157

<sup>12</sup> AOSPRM, f. 51, inv. 29, d. 240, p. 74-75

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, inv. 31, d. 9, p. 60-61

<sup>14</sup> Gheorghe Cojocaru, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

between the Moldavian party and the Romanian one, but in addition to keeping visits and the exchange of official delegations under control, it was also obliged to be up to speed with the materials and works which appeared in the SRR, especially, the ones which would make reference to the "issue of Bessarabia," the "Moldavian" language." Thus, for instance, at the end of the year 1971, an information note of the Department reached I. Bodiul, regarding the "falsification" of historical realities in the volumes "Marele pârjol al secolului al XX-lea – cel deal doilea război mondial" and „Crearea Partidului Comunist Român”,<sup>15</sup> the authors of the work were accused of treating certain issues related to Romania's foreign policy in the post-war period "in a distorted manner."

However, despite its name, the Department of Information and International Relations, from the detailed analysis of its activity, we deduct the fact that it dealt, almost exclusively, with the "Romanian issue." The monitoring on a tight leash of the internal situation and of the contacts on the line of foreign policy of Romania and of their reflection in the Romanian and international press, informing the leadership of the superior bodies regarding these events, establishing certain measures regarding the spread locally of the Soviet stance in the dispute with the Romanian leaders were amongst its responsibilities.

A series of historical "inaccuracies" related to the area between Prut and Nistru were detected by the Department of Information and International Relations of the CC of the MCP in all the works and materials published in Romania, and its dissatisfaction was triggered by the publication of "Atlasul istoric"<sup>16</sup> which was printed in 1971, but also many other approaches, which were not compatible with the opinion of Kishinev.<sup>17</sup>

The possibility to study the activity of the Department of Information and International Relations was made possible by the approach from another viewpoint of the relations between the SRR and the MSSR, firstly, due to the volume of materials, but mostly due to the varied and rich in detail content.

Most of the documents regarding the activity of the Department included detailed information on the mutual visits of the representatives in various fields of activity of the Moldavian and Romanian party. And the progress reports for each year, drafted by the Department, offer us the possibility to know the exact number of the delegations, specialised groups, but also of the tourist groups which came to the MSSR, as well as of those which moved in the SRR.

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<sup>15</sup> AOSPRM, fond. 51, inv. 34, d. 261, p. 22-27.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, inv. 33, d. 257, p. 68-73.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

In order to avoid the “propagation of nationalist ideas” by the citizens in the SRR who were visiting relatives in the MSSR, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the MSSR was requested to adopt measures regarding the “regulation regarding the invitation of Romanian citizens in Moldavia and of Moldavian citizens to Romania,” with the aim of reducing “the significant number of mutual visits with individual visa.” Moreover, it was requested to “keep a tight control of the Romanian citizens’ behaviour during their time in the republic, regarding the maintaining the Soviet law and the norms in force for the stays of foreigners in the Soviet Union.”<sup>18</sup>

The exchange of tourists with Romania, the private visits of the citizens in the SRR to relatives in the MSSR, which increased by the end of the 1960s, were considered by the leadership of the republic to be sources of “contamination” of the MSSR inhabitants with “nationalist” and “anti-Soviet” ideas.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the favourable attitude of the tourists in the SRR, who came to the MSSR, towards the leadership of their country represented another safety concern for the leadership in Kishinev. I. Bodiul underlined the fact that “*in the discussions with Romanian citizens, it is felt that many of them support and share the anti-Soviet course, nursed in their country, do not hide their negative attitude towards our country, clearly support the tendencies closeness towards America and China of the Romanian leadership.*”<sup>20</sup>

Practically, the creation of the Department was part of the plan of the Soviet leadership to monitor all relations between Romanians on both sides of Prut. In addition to the part of activity dedicated to the movements and delegation exchanges, severely controlled, the Department “took care” of prohibiting the import and subscription to the literature and press in the SRR<sup>21</sup> by the population in Soviet Moldavia, the counteraction towards receiving radio and television broadcast from the SRR and the Western countries in the MSSR,<sup>22</sup> but mostly, insisting on the restriction of direct contacts between the Romanians in the MSSR and the SRR, by giving as argument the fact that these did not bring any propaganda benefits and were difficult to control.<sup>23</sup>

To a certain extent, the progress of the Department can be considered an essential component of everything that represented the propagandist campaign

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<sup>18</sup> Gheorghe Negru, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> AOSPRM, fond 51, inv. 33, file 201, p. 67.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, inv. 31, file 69, p. 47.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

in the 70s against the political course in the SRR and the “nationalism” in the MSSR, which had the aim of decreasing the contacts between the Romanians in the MSSR and the ones in the SRR. Bodiul argued in favour of the idea of “significant restriction” of the number of citizens in the SRR who came to the MSSR, but also of the citizens in Soviet Moldavia who went to the SRR with “individual visa.” “The increase of the responsibilities of the persons in the MSSR who invited their relatives and created conditions for the free movement and the spread of hostile states of mind”<sup>24</sup> was requested. The citizens of Soviet Moldavia who visited the SRR were “trained and informed about what they could find there, being ready for the possible conversations with an anti-Soviet nature which they has to ignore, protest against with energy and boldly fight back.

Bodiul requested the authorities responsible for welcoming the tourists from the SRR that “the Romanian tourist groups to be accompanied by the most trained, mature, from a political viewpoint and the most principled workers of the “Inturist” Union Share Company,<sup>25</sup> who would be trained in the immune state of mind towards any unhealthy discussions. Foreign guests who will not take into consideration the observations would be asked to leave the MSSR.

In line with the objectives established by the party supreme forum, the CC of the MCP determines the town committees and the party, ministers and departments districts, party, union and komsomol\* organisations “to significantly increase the level of ideological work,”<sup>26</sup> to cultivate even more the devotion towards communism, Marxist Leninist conception towards the events in the world. And one of the most important objectives consists in the fight against “hostile” manifestations of bourgeois ideology, “correct” education of the working people, that is “in the spirit of Moldavian patriotism, proletarian internationalism and friendships amongst peoples,” focusing the work of scientists on Marxist stances of the issues related to language and history, the appropriate organisation of the localities at the border with Romania. In line with the Decision of the CC of the MCP, access to foreign literature and periodical publications, especially those from Romania, had to be regulated. In addition, the quality of the work with foreign tourists, delegations, but also with groups which went outside the MSSR had to be “improved.”

Therefore, the idea of studying the activity of the Department of Information

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<sup>24</sup> Elena Negru, Gheorghe Negru, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>25</sup> AOSPRM, fond 51, inv. 33, file 201, p. 67

\* Komsomol - the youth organization of the Communist Party from the Soviet Union.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80

and International Relations within the CC of the MCP is connected to the desire to approach relations between the SRR and Soviet Moldavia in the post-war period, and as a preliminary point, we intend to discuss on what occurred in the time interval within the years 1970-1975, subsequently, coming back to discussing the materials regarding the relations between Kishinev and Bucharest in the 80s-90s of the last century.

**The first five years of the activity of the Department of Information  
and International Relations dedicated to the relations  
between the SRR and the MSSR**

The idea to develop the relations between the localities on both sides of the Romanian Soviet border, and not only, has increased especially after forming the Department of External Tourism attached to the Council of Ministers of the MSSR, since the mid 1960's. Subsequently, relations between the leadership of the county and district party councils began to be established. And depending on the geographical position, practically it was chosen the localities between which a cooperation, interesting to follow in this temporal interval, started. The largest volume of information of the Department of Information and International Relations involved the following counties, cities, districts: Botoșani, Iași, Vaslui, Galați, Bârlad, Fălești, Ungheni, Cahul, Vulcănești. The work plan for each year was established and mutually approved by both parties. The details related to the number of days of stay, number of persons who formed the group, but also the details related to the members of the group were known.

At first, most of the visits made by both parties were occasioned by the marking of certain important dates in the history of the SRR or the SSMR/USSR, thus, it can be easily noticed that the regularity with which certain visits would repeat annually. Amongst these were included: May 1st –Labour Solidarity Day, May 9th –Victory Day, August 23rd – The day of Freeing Romania from under the yoke of fascism.<sup>27</sup>

Amongst the activities in which the guests in the SRR took part, were included: participation in the festive meeting of the inhabitants in the visited locality, in the rally and/or the labourers' demonstration in the visited areas, placing wreaths at the graves of soldiers who fought in the fight of freeing the district or the town, where appropriate, visiting agricultural objectives, sovkhos

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

state farms and collective farms.<sup>28</sup>

Usually, in line with the work plan between the two parties - district and county, mutual visits were appointed in the same temporal interval. Thus, the exchanges of groups at the customs office were mutual and the hosts took the guests, whom they accompanied to the destination. Another interesting aspect related to the welcoming of the groups was the fact that the parties wanted to be welcomed by colleagues in the neighbouring state who occupied the same positions.

Certain comebacks which came from the participants in these exchanges were very interesting. Thus, one of the coordinators of the Romanian delegation, who arrived in the MSSR on the occasion of 25 years since the victory over fascism, Croitoru stated: *"For the achievement of its freedom, the Romanian people is indebted to the Soviet army and this will never be forgotten. After the freeing, the Romanian troops together with the Soviet army participated in the freeing of Czechoslovakia, but also in the annihilation of fascism on its own territory."*<sup>29</sup>

Almost every time when in the Moldavian districts delegations in Romania arrived, these had the chance to meet with the representatives of the leadership of the host district. Appropriate occasion for the opening of subjects linked to the economic and cultural development of the visited district or town. The progress reports drafted separately for each delegation also included notes related to the impressions of the members of the group, but also the subjects discussed by them, mentioning the details connected to the approach or the lack of approach towards subjects of political nature. In the reports one can also identify those situations relating to the linguistic and identity issue. For instance, in one of the reports in 1970, the following note was found: *„in the department store, the coordinator of the group asked the seller if she knows Romanian language, and her answer was: «I know Moldavian language»."*<sup>30</sup>

As of 1971, exchanges of specialised delegations were organised and we will see that the profile of the groups has extended throughout time. Visits to the production units in the localities that mutually cooperated have become ever more frequent.<sup>31</sup>

A special emphasis in the growth of the relations between Moldavian districts and Romanian counties was put on the cooperation at the level of organisations of pioneers. Thus, as of 1972, one can notice the promotion of a new

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<sup>28</sup> AOSPRM, fond 51, inv. 31, d. 236, p. 1-2

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5-7

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8-10

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3-6.

type of relations at the level of youngsters who were part of the organisation of pioneers in the localities of both parties.<sup>32</sup>

Also based on the progress reports of the Department, we have found that the objectives open for visit by foreign groups were selected and appropriately prepared. The objectives were divided into several categories, especially, respecting the criterion of the group's and delegation's specialisation. Thus, groups of specialists in the agricultural field were interested in visiting collective farms, sovkhos state farms, party organisations within these. Visiting represented a practical exchange of experience, where they could discuss several subjects linked to the socio-economic reality of Soviet Moldavia, details which present an interest for the guests, although many of the information were slightly erroneous and the situation in certain collective farms or sovkhos state farms cannot be considered generally applicable.<sup>33</sup>

Also in the year 1972, we find information on the visits made at the level of the representatives of komsomol organisations which functioned attached to various factories, collective farms, sovkhos state farms, cooperative societies, plants. The groups of the representatives of the komsomol organisations exchanged opinions related to the activity and the role that komsomolists and youngsters had in labour performance. This kind of visits was considered positive on the internationalist education of youngsters and on the consolidation of friendly relations between peoples.<sup>34</sup>

In the same year, exchanges of experience increased at the cultural level. Thus, border districts and counties mutually sent groups of persons who were active in the field of culture, education and sport who carried out labour visits.<sup>35</sup>

Also in the year 1972, an increase in the importance of exchanges of delegations of representatives of the local, town, district and/or county administration was observed. Usually, these official visits were noticeable through the seriousness with which the activities were respected, but mostly through the fact that the members of these delegations could enjoy meetings with superior representatives of the host localities.<sup>36</sup>

The following year the organisation of exchanges of delegations between the border districts of the MSSR and the counties of the SRR dedicated to the day of May 1st began. The visits made on the occasion of the Labour Solidarity Day

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<sup>32</sup> AOSPRM, fond 51, inv. 33, d. 196, p. 27-28

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31-32.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33-36.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40-41.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45-46.



represented a very justified occasion for the presentation of certain important objectives economically, culturally, ideologically, politically or even culturally speaking. And for the most important groups who arrived in the Moldavian districts, visits to Kishinev were organised, where one could visit the ENER (Exhibit of the National Economy Resources) of the MSSR.<sup>37</sup>

Establishing a work plan regarding the development of the cooperation between the two entities on the Romanian Soviet border was an important issue, thus, the Moldavian party kept a record of the number of visits made by each of the partner-localities. Thus, each district knew exactly the number of groups who went abroad, but also of the ones who arrived.<sup>38</sup>

The year 1974 was beginning with a visit made by a delegation from Ungheni to Iași on the occasion of the holiday of May 1st.<sup>39</sup>

Exchanges of groups of the representatives of the komsomol organisations were organised, and the subject of the discussion between the hosts and the guests were focused on the structure of the komsomol and MSSR organisations of pioneers, the forms of political training of youngsters, the training of the assets, labour education, acceptance in the Komsomol, payment of contributions, the public educational system in the USSR, cultural organisations for youngsters.<sup>40</sup>

Also in the year 1974, exchanges at the level of the employees of the local administrations were organised, thus, in the activities of the department one could also find the exchange of experience of village Soviet in the field of coordination of economic activities.<sup>41</sup>

One can find that the cooperation of the mass-media sources had become quite obvious, for instance in the year 1974, the editorial office of the newspaper "Flacăra roșie" invited to Iași two persons from the team of the editorial office of the newspaper "Octombrie" from the Ungheni district.<sup>42</sup>

We can conclude that throughout the year 1974m the activity carried out by the Department of Information and International Relations had become ever more complex, and the progress reports and the information notes had increased numerically than the previous years. These became more and more detailed and

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<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96-97.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, inv. 34, d. 259, p. 51-52

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, inv. 35, d. 229, p. 1-3.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9-10.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11-12.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

included data related to the movement in the SRR of the delegations in the border districts of Soviet Moldavia, but also of the arrival in the MSSR of guests from Romanian counties. The exchanges of artistic groups of amateurs became more and more frequent.

The year 1975 began with the traditional delegation exchanges. The first visits were made on the occasion of the days May 1st and 9th.<sup>43</sup>

The first five years of steady cooperation between the MSSR and the SRR were followed by the first visit of the Romanian Head of State, Nicolae Ceaușescu, who arrived at Kishinev at the beginning of August 1976, and this will be approached in an individual study.

### Conclusions

During the 1970-1975 period, we found that the activity of the Department of Information and International Relations was quite a varies one, with every year the spectrum of the relations between the localities at the Soviet Romanian border has become wider and wider. The experiences obtained by the members of the delegations served as motivation for the further growth of the Moldavian Romanian relations. Although some problems and dissatisfactions appeared between the parties, most of these were generated by the disagreements at the level of the state leadership of the SRR and USSR, and in the middle there were also other issues, in addition to the issue of Bessarabia.

Nowadays, when crossing the border of present Romania or of the Republic of Moldova is no longer an issue and the procedure was significantly simplified, perhaps it is difficult to realise that in the 70s of the 20th century this was complicated from various points of view. The data contained in the Department's files speak volumes, out of which we can deduct the fact that the Moldavian leadership from that time took care of the fact that the border was crossed by certain persons and the private visits attempted to reduce them to a minimum. The preparatory procedure of the package of necessary documents was quite difficult, as well. However, even in that situation, the persons who had relatives on the other side of the border were ready to face these problems and to reach to the MSSR or vice versa, the SRR.

Although they were controlled, restricted - the relations between the SRR and the MSSR in the years discussed were important and allowed keeping the connections between the Romanians who lived in the two states placed on the two

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

sides of Prut. Cooperation during these years was certainly precisely as the plans which before materialisation were presented to Moscow and all the details were established and their infringement bothered the Moldavian party.

The principles of the cooperation fields that we have identified in the activity of the Department of Information and International Relations were related to the fields: economic, socio-political, cultural, scientific, tourist.

The economic cooperation included two milestones - the agricultural and the industrial ones. And even from the beginning of the activity carried out by the Department one could notice that both the Moldavian districts and the Romanian counties supported the exchanges of delegations of specialists in the agricultural or industrial field. The most appreciated were the visits to the objectives appropriate to the structure of the groups where one could interact with simple workers or with persons who occupied a leading position in those particular units.

The socio-politic aspect was covered by the mutual visits of the delegations of the representatives of local, district or county authorities. And these were focused on the study and analysis of various experiences. According to the progress reports of the Department, some practices regarding the carrying out of certain activities were taken by the Romanian party or the Moldavian one, certainly, through the application of the appropriate changes. Furthermore, the mutual exchanges of lecturers had already started, which consist of the giving lectures for the workers within some industrial or agricultural units. The lectures were different from the point of view of the content, and most of the times, these comprised data related to the socio-economic development, but also regarding the growth prospects of the area in which the lecturer came. However, the most popular activity with local authorities was the one of participation to various events organised on the occasion of certain events in the history of both peoples. In this regard, one must make mention of some of the days which represented the reason for many if the mutual visits: May 1st – Labour Solidarity Day, May 9th – Victory Day, August 23rd – considered to be Romania's National Day, October 25th – The Great Revolution of October.

The cultural and scientific aspect was quite important in everything that represented the bilateral cooperation between the localities placed, especially, at the Romanian Soviet border. The members of the profile delegations were involved in various exchanges of experience with the host institutions. Thus, professors and teachers went to mutual visits, where they had the chance to know the activity practice of their colleagues.

The results of the first five years of activity of the Department of Information and International Relations within the CC of the MCP dedicated to the SRR

represent a source of information “gathered” by specialists who were active in various state institutions in the MSSR. And nowadays, these are at our disposal. Any person who knows Russian language can go through the yellow pages which marked the history between the Romanians in Bessarabia and the ones in Romania. All the more important are these data for us, the ones who did not live in those times whose consequences we experience today.

In a forthcoming study, we intend to raise the issue of the activity of the Department in the second half of the 1970s, to follow the Romanian Moldavian/Soviet bilateral cooperation in the light of and based on the documents which are at our disposal.

**DIE UNTERORDNUNG DER ZENTRALINSTITUTIONEN  
SIEBENBÜRGENS DURCH DIE HABSBURGER.  
DIE FÜRSTLICHE INSTITUTION (1688–1791)**

**THE SUBORDINATION OF TRANSYLVANIA'S CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS  
TO THE HABSBURGS. THE PRINCELY INSTITUTION (1688–1791)**

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**Rezumat:** *Subordonarea instituțiilor centrale ale Transilvaniei de către Habsburgi. Instituția princiară (1688–1791).* Instituția princiară din Transilvania, care s-a cristalizat în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea, va fi confruntată după ocuparea militară a Principatului de către trupele habsburgice și după acceptarea de către Stările Generale ale țării în anul 1688 a suzeranității împăraților habsburgici cu procesul de subordonare de către Curtea din Viena, la fel ca toate celelalte instituții centrale ale Transilvaniei. În cazul instituției princiare, acest proces are loc în două etape. În prima etapă, care demarează după ocuparea militară a țării de către trupele habsburgice și durează până în anul 1722, Curtea vieneză se străduiește să întrerupă continuitatea exercitării autorității de către principii autohtoni ai țării. În acest scop, Curtea vieneză interzice printr-o clauză a Diplomei leopoldine (1691) exercitarea puterii de către prințul minor Mihai Apafi al II-lea până la împlinirea majoratului. După această dată prințul Mihai Apafi al II-lea va fi însă îndepărtat din Transilvania, trebuind să trăiască în exil la Viena. După decesul său, stările generale ale țării nu primesc permisiunea Habsburgilor de a-și alege un nou principe. Prin acceptarea, în anul 1722, a Sancțiunii pragmatice de către Stările Generale ale Transilvaniei demarează cea de-a doua etapă a subordonării instituției princiare a țării. Prin acest act oficial de importanță majoră, Habsburgii sunt recunoscuți de către Stările Generale ca principii ereditari ai Transilvaniei, care devine în acest fel un principat ereditar. Toți împărații Habsburgi, începând cu Carol al VI-lea, vor purta în titulatura lor și titlul de principe transilvănean.

Maria Terezia întreprinde în anul 1744 un nou pas pentru asigurarea și consolidarea pentru dinastia de Habsburg a titlului de principe al Transilvaniei: Stările Generale ale țării sunt nevoite să recunoască încă o dată Sancțiunea Pragmatică și să renunțe la dreptul lor de a alege un principe. După ridicarea în anul 1765 a Transilvaniei la rangul de Mare Principat, Habsburgii vor purta titlul de mari principii ai țării.

*Habsburgii nu au desființat așadar instituția princiară în Transilvania. Ei, însă, vor îndeplăti treptat, pe căi diplomatice, pe principii autohtoni ai țării, după care vor prelua pentru ei înșiși titulatura de principe. În comparație, însă, cu principii autohtoni, care erau aleși de către Stările Generale ale țării, Habsburgii vor deveni principii ereditari, fapt care a condus la consolidarea puterii și a poziției lor față de această instituție.*

**Résumé : La subordination des institutions centrales de la Transylvanie par les Habsbourgeois. L'institution princière (1688-1791).** *L'institution princière de Transylvanie, qui se cristallisa pendant la seconde moitié du XVIème siècle, se confrontera, tout comme les autres institutions centrales de la Transylvanie, après l'occupation militaire de la Principauté par les troupes habsbourgeoises et après l'acceptation par les Etats Généraux du pays en l'année 1688 de la suzeraineté des empereurs habsbourgeois, avec le processus de subordination de la part de la Cour de Vienne. Ce procès eut lieu, dans le cas de l'institution princière, en deux étapes. Dans la première étape, qui commença après l'occupation militaire du pays par les troupes habsbourgeoises et dura jusqu'en 1722, la Cour Viennoise essaya interrompre la continuité de l'exercice de l'autorité par les princes autochtones du pays. En ce but, la Cour viennoise interdit par une clause de la Diplôme Léopoldine (1691) l'exercice du pouvoir par le prince mineur Michel Apafis II jusqu'à l'atteint de sa majorité. Mais après cette date, on retira de la Transylvanie le prince Michel Apafis II et il dut vivre en exil à Vienne. Après sa mort, les Etats Généraux du pays n'ont pas reçu la permission des Habsbourg d'élire un nouveau prince régnant. Par l'acceptation, l'année 1722, de la Sanction Pragmatique par les Etats Généraux de la Transylvanie, démarra la seconde étape de la subordination de l'institution princière du pays. Par cet acte officiel d'importance majeure, les Etats Généraux ont reconnu les Habsbourg comme princes héréditaires de la Transylvanie, qui devint de cette manière une principauté héréditaire. Tous les empereurs habsbourgeois, tout en commençant avec Charles VI, porteront dans leur titulature le titre de prince transylvain, aussi.*

*Marie Thérèse entreprit dans l'année 1744 un nouveau pas pour assurer et consolider pour la dynastie des Habsbourg le titre de prince de la Transylvanie : on obligea de nouveau les Etats Généraux du pays à reconnaître la Pragmatique Sanction et à renoncer à leur droit d'élire un prince régnant. Après l'année 1765, lorsque la Transylvanie devint Grande Principauté, les Habsbourgeois porteront, eux-aussi, le titre de grands princes régnants du pays.*

*Par conséquent, les Habsbourgeois n'ont pas dissous l'institution princière en Transylvanie, mais ils ont écarté au fur et à mesure, par voies diplomatiques, les princes régnants autochtones du pays et ensuite, ils prendront eux-mêmes la titulature de princes régnants. Mais en comparaison avec les princes autochtones, que les Etats Généraux élurent, les Habsbourgeois deviendront des princes régnants héréditaires, fait qui mena à la consolidation de leur pouvoir et position vis-à-vis les Etats Généraux du pays.*

**Abstract: The subordination of Transylvania's central institutions to the Habsburgs. The princely institution (1688–1791).** In 1688, after the military occupation of the Principality by Habsburg troops and the acceptance of the Habsburg kings' suzerainty by the General Assemblies, the institution of Transylvania – which was crystallized in the second half of the sixteenth century – will be confronted with the process of subordination to the Court of Vienna, like all other central institutions of Transylvania. In the case of princely institution, this process takes place in two stages. In the first stage, which starts after the military occupation of the country by the Habsburg troops, and lasts until 1722, the Viennese court endeavors to interrupt the continuity of the exercise of authority by the country's indigenous princes. To this end the Viennese court prohibited by a clause of the Leopold Diploma (1691) minor exercise by Prince Michael II Apafis until the fulfillment of majority. In order to achieve this, the Viennese Court forbids, by a clause of the Leopold Diploma (1691), the exercise of power for the minor prince Michael Apafis II, until the age of his majority. Thereafter, Prince Michael II Apafis will be removed from Transylvania, having to live in exile in Vienna. After his death, the General Assemblies do not receive the Habsburgs' permission to choose a new prince. In 1772, by accepting the Pragmatic Sanction by the General Assemblies of Transylvania, the second phase of subordination of the princely institution begins. By this important document, the Habsburgs are recognized by the General assemblies as hereditary princes of Transylvania, which becomes, in this way, a hereditary principality. All Habsburg emperors, starting with Charles VI, will bear the title of a Transylvanian prince.

In 1774, Maria Theresa takes another step to ensure and strengthen the title of Prince of Transylvania to the Habsburg dynasty: the General Assemblies are forced to recognize, once more, the Pragmatic Sanction and to give up their right to choose a prince. In 1765, after rising Transylvania to the rank of Great Principality, the Habsburgs will hold the title of Great Princes of the country.

Therefore, the Habsburgs had not abolished the princely institution in Transylvania; nevertheless, by diplomatic channels, they removed gradually the country's indigenous princes, and then took for themselves the title of prince. Nevertheless, compared with indigenous princes, which were elected by the general assemblies of the country, the Habsburgs become hereditary princes, leading to the consolidation of power and their position.

**Keywords:** Habsburgs; Transylvania; Princely institution; subordination; hereditary principality

## **Die Unterordnung der Zentralinstitutionen Siebenbürgens durch die Habsburger**

Ein wichtiger Meilenstein auf dem Weg der Integration des Fürstentums in die habsburgische Monarchie war der Prozess, in dessen Verlauf das Land dem

politischen Willen des Wiener Hofes untergeordnet wurde. Das passierte tatsächlich in erster Linie durch die unmittelbare Unterordnung der Zentralinstitutionen Siebenbürgens unter die Wiener Hofstellen. Die wichtigsten Hofstellen, denen die siebenbürgischen Zentralinstitutionen unmittelbar untergeordnet waren, waren die Hofkammer für die kameralischen, aber auch für manche administrativen Angelegenheiten, und der Hofkriegsrat für die militärischen Angelegenheiten. Wegen der geographischen Lage Siebenbürgens am südöstlichen Rand der Monarchie an der gefährdeten Grenze zum Osmanischen Reich bekamen der Hofkriegsrat und das Militär eine wichtige Rolle auch in den politischen und sogar in Kammerangelegenheiten zugeteilt.

Die wichtigen politischen Entscheidungen betreffend Siebenbürgen wurden letztendlich direkt vom habsburgischen Herrscher getroffen, nachdem die Probleme zuerst in den beratenden Stellen der Monarchie, seien es die Reichs- und Ministerialkonferenz, die Neoacquistische Kommission und der Staatsrat, oder in einer Hofstelle wie die siebenbürgische Hofkanzlei, diskutiert worden waren.<sup>1</sup> Die politischen Entscheidungen des Kaisers wurden in Form von Reskripten, Dekreten, Verordnungen usw. entweder auf dem hierarchischen Weg der habsburgischen Zentralbehörden je nach Ressort an die Hofkammer, an den Hofkriegsrat und an die siebenbürgische Hofkanzlei geleitet, die sie weiter an die zuständigen siebenbürgischen Zentralinstitutionen weiterschickten, oder diese Entscheidungen wurden direkt an Zentralinstitutionen Siebenbürgens, und in erster Linie an die Landesadministrationsen (an das Gubernium des Landes), geleitet, die letztendlich für ihre Durchführung im Fürstentum zuständig waren.

Der Verlauf des Prozesses der unmittelbaren Unterordnung der siebenbürgischen Zentralinstitutionen unter die Wiener Hofstellen, ihre Integration in der Hierarchie der staatlichen Strukturen der Monarchie und nicht zuletzt die Modifizierung ihrer Strukturen und Arbeitsweise durch die Intervention des Wiener Hofes, traf die folgenden Zentralinstitutionen des Landes: I. Die fürstliche Institution, II. das Gubernium, III. die Provinzkanzlei und die Siebenbürgische Hofkanzlei, IV. den Landtag, V. die Fürstliche Tafel, VI. das Thesaurariat, VII. das Exaktariat oder die Landesbuchhaltung und nicht zuletzt das Generalkommando und das Oberlandeskommisariat (VIII). Im vorliegenden Artikel wird nur der Prozess der Unterordnung durch die Habsburger mittels verschiedener Methoden der fürstlichen Institution analysiert und erleuchtet.

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<sup>1</sup> Als Grundlage dieser Beratungen dienten die Begutachtungen, die von verschiedenen Hofstellen und wichtigen Beamten erstellt wurden.



### Die fürstliche Institution in der Zeit des autonomen Fürstentums Siebenbürgen

Die rechtstaatlichen Verhältnisse Siebenbürgens zum Osmanischen Reich gestatteten, dass das Fürstentum von den „*christlichen Fürsten*“ geführt werden konnte.<sup>2</sup> Der erste Herrscher des autonomen Fürstentums Siebenbürgen war der ungarische König Johann Sigismund Szapolyai II., der erst im Jahr 1570 auf Druck der Habsburger im Vertrag von Speyer auf seinen Titel verzichtete und stattdessen den Titel eines Fürsten annahm.<sup>3</sup> Die erste Wahl eines Herrschers des Fürstentums durch die siebenbürgischen Stände folgte im Jahr 1571 in der Person Stephan Báthorys, der als gewählter König von Polen (1575) auch den Titel eines Fürsten von Siebenbürgen („*Princeps Transsilvaniae*“) annahm.<sup>4</sup> Alle nachfolgenden Herrscher Siebenbürgens trugen den Titel eines Fürsten.<sup>5</sup> Die

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<sup>2</sup> MAXIM Mihai, *Țările Române și Imperiul Otoman* [Die rumänischen Fürstentümer und das Osmanische Reich]. In: Virgil Căndea (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor* [Die Geschichte Rumäniens]. București 2003, Vol. 5, S. 822; Zur fürstlicher Institution, vgl. ANDEA Susana, *Instituțiile centrale și locale în Transilvania* [Die Zentral- und die Lokalinstitutionen Siebenbürgens]. In: Virgil Căndea (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor*. București 2003, Vol. 5, S. 679–683; KOCH – TUFİŞ Marinel Ovidiu, *Aspekte der Durchsetzung des Absolutismus in Siebenbürgen durch die Habsburgischen Monarchen (1688–1790). Die Finanz – und Wirtschaftspolitik*. In: Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz (Hg.) (= Reihe Habilitationen, Dissertationen und Diplomarbeiten, Bd. 40), Graz 2014, S. 52 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. GOOSS Roderich, *Österreichische Staatsverträge. Fürstentum Siebenbürgen (1526–1690)*. In: *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs*, Bd. 9, Wien 1911, S. 176–200; Das Tragen des ungarischen Königstitels durch Johann Sigismund Szapolyai II. führte zu Konflikten mit den Habsburgern (Vgl. GOOSS Roderich, (1911), S. 153–188), die selbst auch ungarischen Könige waren.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. KUTSCHERA Rolf, *Landtag und Gubernium in Siebenbürgen 1688–1869*. In: Paul Philippi (Hg.), (= *Studia Transylvanica*, Ergänzungsbände des Siebenbürgischen Archivs, Bd. 11), Köln–Wien 1985, S. 15, Fußnote 21; BARTA Gábor, *Die Anfänge des Fürstentums und erste Krisen (1526–1606)*. In: Béla Köpeczi (Hg.), *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, Budapest 1990, S. 257 f.; FENEȘAN Cristina, *Constituirea Principatului autonom al Transilvaniei* [Die Gründung des autonomen Fürstentums Siebenbürgen]. București 1997, S. 149; ANDEA Susana, (2003), S. 681.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. GOOSS Roderich, (1911); *Die Fürsten Stephan Bocskai* (Vgl. BARTA Gábor, (1990), S. 299 f.; REZACHEVICI Constantin, *Viața politică în primele trei decenii ale secolului al XVII-lea. Epoca lui Radu Șerban, a Movileștilor și a lui Gabriel Bethlen* [Das politische Leben in den ersten drei Jahrzehnten des 17. Jahrhunderts. Die Epoche Radu Șerbans,

siebenbürgischen Herrscher, die aus den Reihen des siebenbürgischen ungarischen Adels gewählt wurden, mussten durch die Osmanen bestätigt werden.<sup>6</sup> Theoretisch verfügten sie über wichtige Machtbefugnisse<sup>7</sup>, die aber durch die Hohe Pforte und die siebenbürgischen Stände stark beschnitten wurden. Der Status der siebenbürgischen Fürsten bei der Hohen Pforte war besser als jener der Fürsten der Walachei und der Moldau. Nach 1658 sank dieser Status jedoch wesentlich.<sup>8</sup> Die siebenbürgischen Herrscher, die aus verschiedenen Gründen

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Movilas und Gabriel Bethlens]. In: Virgil Căndea (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor*. Bucureşti 2003, Vol. 5, S. 84; PAPP Sándor, *Die Verleihungs-, Bekräftigungs- und Vertragsurkunden der Osmanen für Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung*. In: Johannes Koder (Hg.), (= Schriften der Balkan-Kommission, Bd. 42), Wien 2003, S. 131) und Gabriel Bethlen (PÉTER Katalin, *Die Blütezeit des Fürstentums (1606–1660)*. In: Béla Köpeczi (Hg.), *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens*. Budapest 1990, S. 322 ff.; REZACHEVICI Constantin, (2003), S. 92; WINKELBAUER Thomas, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im Konfessionellen Zeitalter*. In: Herwig Wolfram (Hg.), *Österreichische Geschichte 1522–1699*. Wien 2003, Teil I, S. 150) trugen auch den Titel eines ungarischen Fürsten bzw. Königs.

<sup>6</sup> Zu den Rechtsverhältnissen zwischen den siebenbürgischen Fürsten und den Osmanen, vgl. MÜLLER Georg, *Die Türkenherrschaft in Siebenbürgen. Verfassungsrechtliches Verhältnis Siebenbürgens zur Pforte 1541–1688*. In: Südosteuropäisches Forschungsinstitut, Hermannstadt–Sibiu 1923, S. 32–70; Vgl. auch PASCU Ştefan, PATAKI I., *Dezvoltarea social-economică a ţărilor române în secolul al XVII-lea şi la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea. Situaţia social-economică a Transilvaniei* [Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der rumänischen Fürstentümer im 17. Jahrhundert und am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts. *Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Lage Siebenbürgens*]. In: Oţetea A., u.a. (Hg.), *Istoria României* [Die Geschichte Rumäniens]. Bucureşti 1964, Vol. 3, S. 120 f.; ANDEA Susana, (2003), S. 681.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. PASCU Ştefan, PATAKI I., (1964), S. 121; RÉVÉSZ László, *Die Entwicklung der konfessionellen Toleranz in Siebenbürgen*. In: Gabriel Adriányi u.a. (Hg.), (= Ungarn-Jahrbuch. Zeitschrift für die Kunde Ungarns und verwandte Gebiete, Jahrgang 1982–1983, Bd. 12), München 1984, S. 120; KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 15, Fußnote 21; SIPOS Gábor, *Die oberste Kirchenleitung der reformierten Kirche in Siebenbürgen (1690–1713)*. In: Zsolt K. Lengyel u. Ulrich A. Wien (Hg.), *Siebenbürgen in der Habsburgermonarchie. Vom Leopoldinum bis zum Ausgleich (1690–1867)*. Köln–Weimar–Wien 1999, S. 119 ff. und 132; EDROIU Nicolae, *Populaţie şi economie în Transilvania* [Die Bevölkerung und die Wirtschaft Siebenbürgens]. In: Virgil Căndea (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor*. Bucureşti 2003, Vol. 5, S. 483; ANDEA Susana, (2003), S. 681 ff.; MAXIM Mihai, (2003), S. 822.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. MÜLLER Georg, 1923, S. 45–55; MATUZ Josef, *Das Osmanische Reich. Grundlinien seiner Geschichte*. Darmstadt 1996, S. 181; MAXIM Mihai, (2003), S. 824 und 830.

nicht im Land anwesend waren, ernannten für die Führung der Regierungsgeschäfte einen Statthalter, der den Titel eines Wojewoden (Gouverneur) trug.<sup>9</sup>

### **Die Unterordnung der fürstlichen Institution durch die Habsburger**

Das Tragen eines Fürstentitels durch die siebenbürgischen Herrscher, abgesehen vom Titel eines ungarischen Königs, die manche siebenbürgischen Fürsten getragen hatten, führte im Laufe der Zeit zu diplomatischen Spannungen zwischen der Habsburgischen Monarchie und dem Fürstentum Siebenbürgen. In der Auffassung des Wiener Hofes war die Würde eines siebenbürgischen Fürsten ein zusätzliches rechtliches Element, das die Trennung Siebenbürgens von der ungarischen Krone betonte, die die Habsburger seit Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts trugen. Aus diesem Grund waren die Habsburger bemüht, den Verzicht der siebenbürgischen Herrschern auf ihre Fürstenwürde zu erreichen. Nachdem die Habsburger Siebenbürgen nach 1685 schrittweise militärisch besetzt hatten, beabsichtigten sie auch die Fürstenwürde des Landes an sich zu reißen. Das war aber kein einfacher Prozess, denn die siebenbürgischen Stände waren nicht damit einverstanden, auf ihre Machtpositionen zu verzichten. Durch ihr Fürstwahlrecht und durch die Einschränkung der Fürstenmacht mittels der geschlossenen Wahlkapitulationen kontrollierten die siebenbürgischen Stände nicht nur die Fürsteninstitution, sondern auch das politische Leben im Land sowie die Außenpolitik Siebenbürgens. Das wäre aber nicht mehr der Fall gewesen, wenn die Habsburger Landesfürsten geworden wären. Aus politischem Kalkül musste der Wiener Hof sehr vorsichtig in dieser Richtung vorgehen. Aus taktischen und pragmatischen Gründen passiert die Übertragung der siebenbürgischen Fürstenwürde von den einheimischen Fürsten, die so genannten „Nationalfürsten“<sup>10</sup>, auf die Habsburger nicht auf einmal, sondern in zwei Etappen.

#### **1. Die erste Etappe der Unterordnung der fürstlichen Institution durch die Habsburger**

Die erste Etappe begann schon mit den Versuchen des Wiener Hofes

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<sup>9</sup> Vgl. GOOSS Roderich, (1911), S. 218 f. und 810; BARTA Gábor, (1990), S. 261; REZACHEVICI Constantin, (2003), S. 85; Der siebenbürgische Woiwode war vor dem Jahr 1526 der Stellvertreter des ungarischen Königs („Locumtenens“) in Siebenbürgen. Vgl. KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 23.

<sup>10</sup> Über das Begriff, vgl. ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., *Die politische Reformbewegung in Siebenbürgen in der Zeit Josephs II. und Leopolds II.* Wien 1881, S. 248 und 421.

Siebenbürgen nach 1685 militärisch zu besetzen und sie dauerte bis ins Jahr 1722. Die Habsburger hielten ihre Absichten, die Fürstenwürde zu erreichen, verborgen. Sie trafen aber Maßnahmen, die zur Aushöhlung der siebenbürgischen Fürstenwürde führten. Auf der einen Seite erkannte der Wiener Hof die Herrschaft des Fürsten Mihael Apafi I. und die Nachfolge seines Sohnes durch die Verträge von Wien (1686)<sup>11</sup> und Blaj (1687)<sup>12</sup> an, auf der anderen Seite stellten sie Hindernisse in den Weg, was die Kontinuität der siebenbürgischen Fürstenwürde betrifft. Eines davon war die Durchsetzung einer Klausel im Leopoldinischen Diplom (1691), die die Ausübung der Fürstenwürde betraf: Der minderjährige Sohn Mihael Apafis I., der nach dem Tod seines Vaters im Jahr 1690 durch die siebenbürgischen Stände unter dem Namen Mihael Apafi II. zum Fürsten gewählt wurde, durfte sein Amt nur nach der Vollendung seines 20. Lebensjahres antreten.<sup>13</sup> Das konnte erst im Jahr 1696 der Fall sein. Die Memoires der siebenbürgischen Stände aus den Jahren 1692 und 1693, in denen die Bestätigung Mihael Apafis II. als Fürst durch den Wiener Hof verlangt wurde, blieben ohne Antwort.<sup>14</sup>

Die auf diese Weise entstandene Diskontinuität in der Ausübung der siebenbürgischen Fürstenwürde wurde von den Habsburgern in ihrem eigenen Interesse geschickt ausgenutzt. Die Habsburger übernehmen in dieser ersten Etappe, wie es auch aus der Präambel der Friedensverträge von Karlowitz (1699)<sup>15</sup> und Passarowitz (1718)<sup>16</sup> resultiert, nicht den Titel eines siebenbü-

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. GOOSS Roderich, (1911), S. 868– 871; PRODAN David, *Instaurarea regimului austriac în Transilvania* [Der Beginn der habsburgischen Herrschaft in Siebenbürgen]. In: Oțetea A. u.a. (Hg.), *Istoria României*. București 1964, Vol. 3, S. 227 ff.; KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. GOOSS Roderich, (1911), S. 892 f.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 8–11 und 334 ff.; Über das Problem, vgl. auch DÖRNER Anton, *Evoluția instituțională a Transilvaniei de la 1691 până la 1711* [Die Entwicklung der Institutionen Siebenbürgens von 1691 bis 1711]. In: Ioan- Aurel Pop u.a. (Hg.), *Istoria Transilvaniei* [Die Geschichte Siebenbürgens]. Vol. II, Cluj-Napoca 2007, S. 363.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. DÖRNER Anton, (2007), S. 363.

<sup>15</sup> Zwischen den Titeln, die der Kaiser Leopold I. während der Friedensverhandlungen von Karlowitz trug, befand sich nicht der Titel eines siebenbürgischen Fürsten. Vgl. MORIZ Angeli v., *Feldzüge gegen die Türken 1697–1698 und der Karlowitzer Friede 1699*. In: Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschichte des k. k. Kriegs- Archives (Hg.), *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen. Nach den Feld-Acten und anderen authentischen Quellen*. Wien 1876, Serie I., Band II., S. 300.

gischen Fürsten. Ihre wahren Absichten konnte aber niemand mehr anzweifeln. Die Habsburger trugen also noch nicht den Titel eines siebenbürgischen Fürsten, sie betrachteten sich aber schon als Fürsten des Landes, denn sie trafen Maßnahmen, die einst nur die siebenbürgischen autonomen Fürsten getroffen hatten. Ein paar Beispiele könnten diese Hypothese begründen: Die Ernennung eines siebenbürgischen Gouverneurs (Statthalters oder Wojewoden) durch die Habsburger<sup>17</sup> – Recht, das vor 1541 durch die ungarischen Könige und in der darauffolgenden Zeit durch die siebenbürgischen Herrscher ausgeübt wurde –, und nicht zuletzt die Einberufung des siebenbürgischen Landtages nach 1712 direkt von den Habsburgern<sup>18</sup>, das ebenfalls ein Recht des Landesfürsten war. Ein weiteres Beispiel für die Begründung dieser Hypothese ist die Tatsache, dass die Domänen und die Regalienrechte der siebenbürgischen Fürsten Schritt für Schritt durch die Wiener Hofkammer übernommen wurden. Die Habsburger beanspruchten schon durch das Leopoldinische Diplom die Einkünfte der autonomen siebenbürgischen Herrscher aus den fürstlichen Domänen und Regalien für sich.<sup>19</sup> Die ersten wichtigen Maßnahmen für die Reorganisation der siebenbürgischen Kameralenrichtungen wurden in den Resolutionen des Kaisers und der Hofkammer schon zwischen 1699 und 1702 getroffen.<sup>20</sup> Ein wichtiger Schritt in der Richtung der Besitznahme der fürstlichen Domäne und Regalienrechte der siebenbürgischen Fürsten durch die Habsburger wurde im Jahr 1701 gemacht, als die Wiener Hofkammer die Salzgruben des Fürsten Michael Apafi II. übernahm.<sup>21</sup> Ein letztes Beispiel ist die Prägung von Münzen in Siebenbürgen im Jahr 1692 auf Anordnung des Kaisers Leopold I.<sup>22</sup>, bisher

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<sup>16</sup> Auch der Kaiser Karl VI. trug während der Friedensverhandlungen von Passarowitz nicht den Titel eines siebenbürgischen Fürsten. Vgl. MATUSCHKA Ludwig, *Der Türken-Krieg 1716–18. Feldzug 1717/18*. Nach den Feld-Acten und anderen authentischen Quellen. Wien 1891, Serie II., Bd. VIII. *Der Friedensschluss von Požarevac (Passarowitz) am 21. Juli 1718*. In: Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abtheilung des k. und k. Kriegs- Archivs (Hg.), *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen (Geschichte der Kämpfe Österreichs)*. Bd. XVIII, Wien 1891, S. 465.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 338 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Ebenda, S. 143.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 340; KOCH – TUFİŞ Marinel Ovidiu, (2014), S. 73.

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. WOLLMANN Volker, *Der siebenbürgische Bergbau im 18. Jahrhundert*. In: Rainer Slotta u.a. (Hg.), *Silber und Salz in Siebenbürgen*. Bochum 1999, Bd. 1., S. 42 f.; KOCH – TUFİŞ Marinel Ovidiu, (2014), S. 74.

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. VÁRKONYI R. Ágnes, *Die letzten Jahrzehnte des autonomen Fürstentums (1660–1711)*. In: Béla Köpeczi (Hg.), *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens*. Budapest 1990, S. 387.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. ROTH W. Paul, *Das Diploma Leopoldinum, Vorgeschichte, Bestimmungen*. In: Roth

Regalrecht der siebenbürgischen Fürsten, gefolgt von anderen weiterer Einmischung und Verletzung dieses Regalrechtes durch die Wiener Behörden.<sup>23</sup>

Der Fürst Michael Apafi II. wurde auch nach der Erreichung seiner Volljährigkeit durch den Wiener Hof vom siebenbürgischen Thron weit entfernt gehalten. Im Jahr 1696 musste er sogar Siebenbürgen in der Begleitung des Kommandierenden Generals der habsburgischen Truppen aus Fürstentum, Rabutin, verlassen.<sup>24</sup> Michael Apafi II. lebte bis zu seinem Tod im Jahr 1712<sup>25</sup>, nach anderen Literaturangaben 1713<sup>26</sup>, in einer Art vom Exil im Wien.<sup>27</sup> Hier musste er auf dem siebenbürgischen Thron verzichten. Die historische Forschung ist nicht geeinigt im Jahr der Abdankung des Fürsten Michael Apafi II. Während der Historiker Rolf Kutschera 2. März 1697 als Datum des Verzichts von Michael Apafi II. auf seine Fürstenwürde erwähnte<sup>28</sup>, ist David Prodan der

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W. Paul (Hg.), *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts-, Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte Siebenbürgens, Schwedens und der Steiermark*. Graz, 2001, S. 139.

<sup>23</sup> In einer Verordnung der Hofkammer aus dem Jahr 1700 wurde die Reorganisation des siebenbürgischen Münzwesens angeordnet. Vgl. WOLLMANN Volker, (1999), S. 42; KOCH – TUFİŞ Marinel Ovidiu, (2014), S. 76; Zwei Jahre später wurde ein Spezialist nach Siebenbürgen geschickt, der über das dortige Münzwesen ein Gutachten erstellen sollte. Vgl. KOCH – TUFİŞ Marinel Ovidiu, (2014), S. 76 f.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. PRODAN David, (1964), S. 234; KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 11, Fußnote 54.

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. PRODAN David, (1964), S. 234.

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 11, Fußnote 54; ANDEA Avram, *Transilvania. Instituțiile centrale ale Principatului Transilvaniei* [Siebenbürgen. Die Zentralinstitutionen des Fürstentums Siebenbürgen]. In: Paul Cernovodeanu, Nicolae Edroiu (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor. Românii între Europa Clasică și Europa Luminilor (1711–1821)* [Die Geschichte Rumäniens. Rumänen zwischen Klassik Europa und Aufklärung Europa (1711-1821)]. București 2002, Vol. 6, S. 352.

<sup>27</sup> Die Habsburger verliehen im Jahr 1701 Michael Apafi II. als Entschädigung für den siebenbürgischen Fürstenthron den Titel eines deutschen Reichsfürsten. Er bekam auch eine Leibrente; Über die schrittweise Entfernung Mihail Apafi II. vom Fürstenamt, vgl. PRODAN David, (1964), S. 232 ff.; KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 8–11 und 213; ANDEA Avram (2002), S. 352 f.; ANDEA Susana, ANDEA Avram, *Transilvania în timpul lui Mihai I Apafi* [Siebenbürgen in der Zeit der Herrschaft Michael I. Apafis]. In: Virgil Căndea (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor*, București 2003, Vol. 5, S. 361; MAGYARI Andrei, *Începutul regimului habsburgic în Transilvania și mișcarea adversă a lui Francisc Rákóczi al II – lea* [Der Beginn der habsburgischen Herrschaft in Siebenbürgen und der antihabsburgische Aufstand unter der Führung von Francisc Rákóczis II.]. In: Virgil Căndea (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor*. București 2003, Vol. 5, S. 373.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 11, Fußnote 54.

Auffassung, dass Michael Apafi II. erst im Jahr 1701 abdankte.<sup>29</sup> Durch die neu entstandenen Umstände sind die Habsburger ihrem Ziel näher gekommen. Der letzte siebenbürgische Fürst, der durch die Gesamtheit der Stände gewählt wurde, stand ihnen nicht mehr im Weg. Durch die Tatsache, dass der Wiener Hof den siebenbürgischen Ständen auch nach dem Tod von Michael Apafi II. die Wahl eines neuen Fürsten nicht mehr erlaubte<sup>30</sup>, wurde der entscheidende Schritt gemacht: Das Amt des siebenbürgischen Fürsten ist endlich vakant.

Letztendlich ist auch die Tatsache zu erwähnen, dass die politischen Ereignisse aus der ersten Etappe der Versuche der Übernahme der siebenbürgischen Fürstenwürde der Habsburger nicht immer nach dem Wunsch des Wiener Hofes liefen. Ein Teil der siebenbürgischen Stände versuche durch die Verwendung der Waffengewalt unterstützt durch die Osmanen und durch die Rebellen aus dem Königreich Ungarn die Wahl von einheimischen Fürsten („Nationalfürsten“) durchzusetzen, die in ihrer Auffassung ihre Rechte und Privilegien und die Autonomie des Fürstentums besser verteidigen könnten. Die Wahl von Emerich Thököly zum siebenbürgischen Fürsten durch einen Teil der siebenbürgischen Stände im Herbst 1690, der sich aber gegen die habsburgische Armee nur ein Monat lang behaupten konnte<sup>31</sup>, sowie die Wahl im Jahr 1704 von Franz II. Rákóczi zum siebenbürgischen Fürsten, ebenfalls nur von einem Teil der siebenbürgischen Ständen, der mit Unterbrechung bis im Jahr 1711 über Teile von Siebenbürgen herrschte<sup>32</sup>, blieben nur Episoden. In dieser Periode von politischen und militärischen Instabilität für die Herrschaft der Habsburger in Siebenbürgen reagierte der Wiener Hof sehr empfindlich sogar auf die wörtlichen Ausdrücke aus den offiziellen Urkunden, die auf das Tragen der Fürstenwürde durch einen Siebenbürger erinnerten bzw. hinweisen konnten.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Vgl. PRODAN David, (1964), S. 234.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. ANDEA Avram, (2002), S. 352.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 6 f.; VÁRKONYI R. Ágnes, (1990), S. 369 f.; ANDEA Susana, ANDEA Avram, (2003), S. 361 f.; MAGYARI András, *Ocuparea militară a Transilvaniei la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea* [Die militärische Besetzung Siebenbürgens am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts]. In: Ioan-Aurel Pop u.a. (Hg.), *Istoria Transilvaniei*. Vol. II., Cluj-Napoca 2007, S. 349.

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. PRODAN David, (1964), S. 244–252; KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 214 f.; MAGYARI Andrei, (2003), S. 375–387; MAGYARI András, *Războiul curuților și Pacea de la Satu Mare* [Der Kuruzzenkrieg und der Frieden von Satu Mare]. In: Ioan-Aurel Pop u. a. (Hg.), *Istoria Transilvaniei*. Vol. II., Cluj-Napoca 2007, S. 393–401.

<sup>33</sup> Der Kaiser Leopold I. verbot im Jahre 1702 die Verwendung des „*Pluralis Majestatis*“ („NOS ...“) in den Urkunden des ersten siebenbürgischen Gouverneurs Georg

## 2. Die zweite Etappe der der Unterordnung der fürstlichen Institution durch die Habsburger

Der Prozess der „Translatio“ der Fürstenwürde von den einheimischen Fürsten auf die habsburgischen Herrscher wurde de facto schon vor dem Jahr 1722 beendet. Durch die Annahme der Pragmatischen Sanktion durch die siebenbürgischen Stände (1722) passiert das auch „de jure“. Ein Beweis in diesem Sinn ist diese wichtige Urkunde, in der der Kaiser Karl VI. mehrmals als „*erbliche Fürst*“ erwähnt und Siebenbürgen als „*erblichen Fürstentum*“ bezeichnet ist.<sup>34</sup> Durch die Annahme der Pragmatischen Sanktion durch die siebenbürgischen Stände sind also die Habsburger nicht nur Erbfürsten des Landes geworden, sondern Siebenbürgen wurde vom Wahlfürstentum zum Erbfürstentum. Das bedeutet auch die Tatsache, dass die siebenbürgischen Stände durch diese Urkunde auch auf ihr Fürstenwahlrecht verzichtetet hatten. Die letzte Episode im Prozess der Übernahme der siebenbürgischen fürstlichen Institutionen durch die Habsburger erfolgte in den 40er Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts. Maria Theresia, die am Anfang ihrer Herrschaft ihre Erbrechte auf den Thron der Habsburger gegen eine Koalition von europäischen Mächten verteidigen musste, wollte innenpolitisch kein Risiko eingehen. Um ihre Herrschaft in Siebenbürgen abzusichern, verlangte Maria Theresia von den siebenbürgischen Ständen noch einmal die Anerkennung der Pragmatischen Sanktion und zusätzlich auch den Verzicht der Stände auf ihr altes herkömmliches Fürstenwahlrecht. Das passierte tatsächlich auf dem siebenbürgischen Landtag im Jahr 1744.<sup>35</sup> Der Kaiser Karl VI. ist also der erste habsburgische Herrscher, der den Titel eines siebenbürgischen Fürsten trug. Maria Theresia und ihre Nachfolger auf dem Thron der Habsburger übernahmen diese Praxis und sie trugen in ihrer langen Titulatur als habsburgische Herrscher auch den Titel eines siebenbürgischen Fürsten. Nach der Erhebung Siebenbürgens in den Status eines Großfürstentums im Jahr 1765 erfolgte auch eine Anpassung der Titulatur. Die Habsburger trugen anstatt des bisherigen Titels eines siebenbürgischen Fürsten den Titel eines siebenbürgischen Großfürsten. Alle Nachfolger Maria Theresias, wie auch aus den zeitge-

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(György) Bánffy. Vgl. KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 213.

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 345 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 155; TRÓCSÁNYI Zsolt, MISKOLCZY Ambrus, *Siebenbürgen im Habsburgerreich. Das lange 18. Jahrhundert (1711–1830)*. In: Béla Köpeczi (Hg.), *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens*. Budapest 1990, S. 416; Über das Problem, vgl. auch ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 153 f.



nössischen Urkunden vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts resultiert, trugen den Titel eines siebenbürgischen Großfürsten.<sup>36</sup> Auf dem siebenbürgischen Landtag der Jahre 1790/1791 erhob ein Teil der ungarischen und der szeklerischen Stände laut ihre Stimme gegen das Tragen des Titels eines siebenbürgischen Großfürsten durch die Habsburger. Sie begründen ihre Haltung durch die Tatsache, dass das Diplom, durch das Siebenbürgen im Jahr 1765 zum Großfürstentum erhoben wurde, ohne Mitstimmung der siebenbürgischen Stände erlassen wurde.<sup>37</sup> Ab dem Zeitpunkt der Annahme der Pragmatischen Sanktion durch die siebenbürgischen Stände wurde Siebenbürgen durch zwei dynastische-rechtliche Elemente an die Person der habsburgischen Herrscher gebunden. Sie waren für das Land gleichzeitig Könige – Siebenbürgen gehörte zur ungarischen Krone – und Landesfürsten. Der Weiterbestand der fürstlichen Institution führte auf ein politisches Kalkül des Wiener Hofes zurück: Erstens: Durch die Erhaltung der fürstlichen Institution, auch wenn es nur in Form eines Erbfürstentums war, mussten die siebenbürgischen Stände auf eine bestimmte Art und Weise befriedigt werden. Zweitens: Mit der Erhaltung eines eigenen Oberhauptes von Siebenbürgen in der Person eines Landesfürsten wollte man zusätzlich die getrennte Integration Siebenbürgens von Ungarn in die Monarchie betonen.

### **Die Folge der Unterordnung der fürstlichen Institution durch die Habsburger**

Die fürstliche Institution wurde von den Habsburgern also nicht abgeschafft, sie bestand weiter. An die Stelle der einheimischen siebenbürgischen Fürsten, die bisher von den Ständen gewählt wurden, traten nun aber die habsburgischen Herrscher als Erbfürsten, deren Wahl nicht mehr von den

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<sup>36</sup> In dem „Inaugural=Diplom“ (Versicherungsdiplo) aus dem Jahr 1790 für den siebenbürgische Landtag trug der Kaiser Leopold II. auch den Titel „[...] *Magno Principe Transylvaniae* [...]“. Vgl. ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 159, Fußnote 1; In einem Reskript aus dem Jahr 1790, das an dem siebenbürgischen Landtag adressiert wurde, ist der Kaiser Leopold II. auch als „[...] *Großfürsten von Siebenbürgen* [...]“ bezeichnet. Vgl. ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 163; Über das Problem, vgl. auch ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 237.

<sup>37</sup> In der Auffassung dieses Teils der siebenbürgischen Stände erlauben die Gesetzte des Landes nicht, dass sich ein Herrscher des Fürstentums im Alleingang „*einen größeren Titel beilegen, als ihm die Stände des Landes zugestanden*“ hatten. Vgl. ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 347; Über das Problem, vgl. auch ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 349.

siebenbürgischen Ständen abhängig war. Durch diplomatische und juristische Manöver nahmen die Habsburger nicht nur die Stellen der einheimischen siebenbürgischen Wahlfürsten ein, sondern sie schafften als Erbfürsten mehr Macht und Einfluss im Land als vorher die siebenbürgischen Wahlfürsten gehabt hatten. Diese Tatsache führte auch zum Machtverlust für die siebenbürgischen Stände im Vergleich mit der fürstlichen Gewalt. Nachdem die siebenbürgischen Stände schon im Leopoldinischen Diplom auf ihr herkömmliches Widerstandsrecht gegenüber den der ungarischen Könige, verkörpert jetzt durch die Habsburgern, verzichten mussten<sup>38</sup>, erlitten sie Machtverluste auch im Bereich der Außen- und Innenpolitik des Fürstentums. Die siebenbürgischen Stände verloren komplett ihren Einfluss über die Außenpolitik Siebenbürgens, deren Gestaltung nur durch den Wiener Hof entschieden wurde. Ein Beispiel für die Begründung dieser Hypothese lieferte auch die Debatte auf dem siebenbürgischen Landtag der Jahre 1790/1791.<sup>39</sup> Im Bereich der Innenpolitik blieb der Teilung der Macht zwischen dem Fürsten und den siebenbürgischen Ständen wie in der Zeit des autonomen Fürstentums aus theoretischer Sicht erhalten: Während die exekutive Gewalt dem Fürsten allein gehörte, wurde das Recht der Gesetzgebung zwischen dem Fürsten und den Ständen geteilt.<sup>40</sup> Die Habsburger überschritten aber als Erbfürsten in der nächsten Periode oft zum Nachteil der Stände die Machtbefugnisse, die ihnen laut der Gesetze Siebenbürgens zustanden. Ein zusätzlicher Beweis in dieser Richtung ist auch die Tatsache, dass die

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<sup>38</sup> Vgl. KUTSCHERA Rolf, (1985), S. 337; Auch in der Zeit des autonomen Fürstentums Siebenbürgen gab es das Widerstandsrecht der siebenbürgischen Stände. Er richtete sich damals aber gegen die Gewalt der autonomen Fürsten des Landes.

<sup>39</sup> Die Mehrheit der ungarischen und szeklerischen Deputierten wollten Einfluss auf die Außenpolitik des Landes durch die Sendung eines Gesandten Siebenbürgens zu den Friedenverhandlungen von Sistowa (1791) zwischen den Habsburgern und den Osmanen nehmen. Vgl. ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 321– 343; Im Gegensatz zu dieser Haltung sind die sächsischen Deputierten, die der Auffassung sind, dass die Schließung eines Friedens „*ein jus majestaticum sei*“. Vgl. ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 327 f.; Der Kaiser Leopold II. brachte in seinem Reskript vom 17. Mai 1891, das am siebenbürgischen Landtag adressiert wurde, Licht in dieses Problem. In der Auffassung des Kaisers steht es nur ihm allein, und das auch in seiner Qualität als siebenbürgische Erbfürsten, das Recht einen Gesandten für die Friedenverhandlungen zu ernennen und ihn mit einer Instruktion zu versehen. Vgl. ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 339 f.

<sup>40</sup> Über die Teilung der Macht zwischen den habsburgischen Fürsten und den siebenbürgischen Ständen, vgl. auch ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 591 und 597.

Teilung der Macht zwischen dem Fürsten und den Ständen nach der Periode der Reformen von Maria Theresia und Joseph II., die die Macht der siebenbürgischen Stände zurückdrängten, noch einmal auf dem siebenbürgischen Landtag der Jahre 1790/1791 gesetzlich fixiert wurde.<sup>41</sup> Es ist letztendlich auch die Tatsache zu erwähnen, dass die Habsburger, die sich noch zur Zeit des Kaisers Leopold II. im absolutistischen Sinn als „Landesvaters“ bezeichneten<sup>42</sup>, sich als berechtigt betrachteten, Maßnahmen zu treffen, die sogar nicht im Einklang mit den Gesetzen Siebenbürgens standen, aber in ihrer Auffassung dem Fortschritt des Landes und der Wohlfahrts seiner Bevölkerung dienten.

### Schlussfolgerungen

In der Verbindung mit der Bekleidung des Amtes eines siebenbürgischen Fürsten durch die Habsburger ergaben sich im Laufe der Zeit mehrere rechtliche Aspekten, die in der Annahme der Pragmatischen Sanktion durch die siebenbürgischen Stände nicht erklärt wurden. Über diese rechtlichen Aspekte gab es auf dem siebenbürgischen Landtag der Jahre 1790/1791 eine rege Debatte. Es geht in erster Linie um die folgenden Fragen: Wer hat das Recht auf Bekleidung des Amtes eines siebenbürgischen Fürsten? Was passiert mit diesem Amt im Fall des Aussterbens der Dynastie der Habsburger? Die Haltung der Mehrheit der siebenbürgischen Stände betreffend diesen Fragen ist sehr klar: Die siebenbürgischen Fürsten müssen gleichzeitig auch ungarische Könige sein. Im Fall des Aussterbens der habsburgischen Dynastie wollten die siebenbürgischen Stände das freie Wahlrecht ihrer Fürsten wieder zurück bekommen. Auf dieser Weise wollen sie das Auftreten des Falls vermeiden, dass Siebenbürgen durch den letzten habsburgischen Herrscher wie ein „Patrimonial=Reich“ behandelt wird und in Folge ohne der Mitstimmung der Stände auf dem Weg der dynastischen Verträge an andere europäische Herrscherhäuser überlassen wird.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Über die gesetzliche Fixierung der Teilung der Macht zwischen dem Fürsten und den Ständen auf dem siebenbürgischen Landtag der Jahre 1790/1791 vgl. ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 597.

<sup>42</sup> Der Kaiser Leopold II. sprach in mehreren Schriftstücken, die er im Jahr 1791 an den siebenbürgischen Landtag adressiert hatte, von „[...] *Unserer väterlichen, [...] Sorge*“ (ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 155) und von „[...] *Sorgen väterlicher Pflicht*“. Vgl. ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 413.

<sup>43</sup> Über die Debatte über diesen Fragen auf dem siebenbürgischen Landtag der Jahre 1790/1791, vgl. ZIEGLAUER Ferdinand v., (1881), S. 255 f.

Letztendlich ist auch die Tatsache zu erwähnen, dass die Habsburger als siebenbürgische Fürsten im Vergleich mit den autonomen Fürsten nicht mehr im Land regierten, sondern außerhalb des Landes, von Wien aus. In Siebenbürgen gab es nach der Entfernung der einheimischen Fürsten keinen fürstlichen Hof mehr.<sup>44</sup> An der Stelle des fürstlichen Hofes wurde die Residenz des Gouverneurs errichtet, der Siebenbürgen als der höchste Beamte des Landes regierte. Die Residenz des Gouverneurs erinnerte aber nicht mehr an die Pracht des Hofes der autonomen siebenbürgischen Fürsten.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Der Palast der siebenbürgischen Fürsten aus Alba Iulia (Weißenburg, Karlsburg / Gyulafehérvár) wurde im Jahr 1715 zum Sitz des siebenbürgischen katholischen Bischofs geworden. Vgl. DÖRNER Anton, *Instituții centrale și locale* [Die Zentral- und die Lokalinstitutionen]. In: Ioan-Aurel Pop u.a. (Hg.), *Istoria Transilvaniei*. Vol. III., Cluj-Napoca 2008, S. 34.

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. auch ANDEA Avram, *Transilvania. Habitat. Modul de trai* [Die Siedlungen und die Bevölkerung Siebenbürgens im 18. Jahrhundert]. In: Paul Cernovodeanu, Nicolae Edroiu (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor. Români în între Europa Clasică și Europa Luminilor (1711–1821)*. București 2002, Vol. 6, S. 147.

**ЗАКОНЫ О „НАЦИОНАЛЬНОМ УРАВНЕНИИ”  
В МОРАВИИ 1905 Г., НА БУКОВИНЕ 1910 Г. И В ГАЛИЦИИ 1914 Г.:  
СРАВНИТЕЛЬНАЯ ХАРАКТЕРИСТИКА**

**“THE NATIONAL EQUALIZATION” LAWS IN MORAVIA (1905),  
BUKOVINA (1910) AND GALICIA (1914):  
COMPARATIVE CHARACTERISTICS**

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**Rezumat:** *Legile privitoare la „nivelarea națională” din Moravia (1905), Bucovina (1910) și Galiția (1914): analiză comparativă.* Articolul prezintă esența conceptului de „egală îndreptățire națională” pe baza analizei comparative a reformelor din domeniul statutului teritorial și al sistemului electoral din Moravia (1905), Bucovina (1910) și Galiția (1914). Au fost identificate particularitățile implementării reformei în domeniul sistemului politic local, ținând cont de realitățile etnice și profesionale în provinciile austriece menționate mai sus. De asemenea, analiza efectuată a avut ca scop evaluarea influenței „nivelării naționale” asupra potențialului conflictual interetnic, în contextul intensificării mișcărilor naționale în perioada premergătoare Primului Război Mondial.

**Résumé:** *Les lois concernant « le nivellement national » en Moravie (1905), en Bucovine (1910) et en Galicie (1914): une analyse comparative.* Dans l'article ci-joint, on définit la notion d'« égalité des droits nationaux » à la base de l'analyse comparative des réformes du domaine du statut territorial, ainsi que du système électoral de Moravie en 1905, de Bucovine en 1910 et de Galicie en 1914. On y identifia les particularités de l'implémentation de la réforme dans le domaine du système politique local, tenant compte les relations interethniques et confessionnelles des provinces autrichiennes mentionnées ci-dessus. De plus, on réalisa l'évaluation de l'influence du « nivellement national » sur le potentiel conflictuel interethnique, dans le contexte de l'intensification des mouvements nationaux dans la période précédant la Première Guerre Mondiale.

**Abstract.** *The article presents the essence of the concept of “national equalization”, based on a comparative analysis of the reforms of regional statutes and regional election*

*orders in Moravia (1905), Bukovina (1910) and Galicia (1914). We have explained the features of reforms of local political systems in view of the interethnic and inter-confessional relations in the above-mentioned Austrian provinces. In addition, the analysis aimed to evaluate the impact of the "national levelling" on the potential interethnic conflict, in terms of intensification of national movements before the World War I.*

**Keywords:** *national equalization, national compromise, Moravia, Bukovina, Galicia, Austria-Hungary.*

## Вступление

В течение последних десятилетий внимание исследователей привлекает изучение процесса национальной самоидентификации сообществ, а, в частности, определение факторов, которые отвечают за формирование стремления нации к участию в политических процессах в условиях мультинациональных обществ, или, наоборот, к самоопределению и созданию собственной государственности. Система государственного управления многонациональной Австро-Венгрии предусматривала несколько моделей решения национальных вопросов, которые строились на идее одновременной автономизации провинций и реализации „национального уравнивания“. Само понятие „национального уравнивания“ за период „конституционной эры“ (1861–1918) претерпело значительные эволюционные изменения, в результате чего к началу XX в. оно превратилось в „краеугольный камень“ концепции современной национальной политики Австро-Венгрии. Она предусматривала введение национального принципа в политическую систему на провинциальном уровне, в частности, в Моравии (1905), на Буковине (1910) и в Галиции (1914).

## Формулировка проблемы

Моравское „уравнивание“ 1905 г. оказалось предметом изучения нескольких поколений историков, которые были склонны рассматривать межнациональный конфликт в контексте достижения политического компромисса в условиях дуалистического федерализма и непримиримой межпартийной борьбы на провинциальном уровне<sup>1</sup>; с позиций реформирования

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<sup>1</sup> H. Glassl, *Nationale Autonomie im Vielvölkerstaat: Der Mährische Ausgleich*, in: „Schrif-

управленческой системы для защиты прав национальных меньшинств<sup>2</sup>; на основании комплексного правового, политологического, социологического, этнокоммуникационного, конфликтологического подходов для обобщения его исторических последствий<sup>3</sup>. Большинство ученых склонны трактовать Буковинское „уравнение” 1910 г. как положительный пример межнационального компромисса в условиях отсутствия „титულიной” национальности, которая составляла бы большинство населения провинции<sup>4</sup>. Другие же, наоборот, опровергают миф о согласии между несколькими „равно-статусными” национальностями на Буковине, анализируя их политическую борьбу во время избирательных кампаний, особенности этнополитического взаимодействия и социально-политическую активность сообществ<sup>5</sup>. В свою

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tenreihe der Sudetendeutschen Stiftung“, München, 1967, Heft 1: <http://www.mittleeuropa.de/maehr-ausgl03.htm>; F. Prinz, „Der Mährische Ausgleich” von 1905. *Historisches Kuriosum oder zukunftsträchtiges Modell*, in: „Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte”, München, 1997, Bd. 60, S. 963-972.

<sup>2</sup> P. Pernthaler, *Die Entstehung des völkerrechtlichen Menschenrechts- und Minderheitenschutzes im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, in: *Zur Entstehung des modernen Minderheitenschutzes in Europa. Handbuch der europäischen Volksgruppen*, Wien–New York, 2006, Bd. 3, S. 88–92.; I. Reiter, *Die autochthonen Volksgruppen Österreichs. Ein Überblick über die Rechtslage von 1848 bis in die Gegenwart*, Berlin, 2001, in: <http://www.forhistiur.de/2001-08-reiter/?l=de>.

<sup>3</sup> См.: *Der Mährische Ausgleich von 1905. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen für einen nationalen Ausgleich in Mitteleuropa. Tagungsband*, Brno, Matices moravská, 2006.

<sup>4</sup> J. Leslie, *Der Ausgleich in der Bukowina von 1910: Zur österreichischen Nationalitätenpolitik vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, in: „Geschichte zwischen Freiheit und Ordnung. Gerald Stourzh zum 60. Geburtstag”, Graz–Köln–Wien, 1991, S. 113–144.; O. Kotzian, *Der Bukowina-Ausgleich 1910: Beispiel einer Lösung ethnische-riligiöser Konflikte*, in: „Bukowina. Wspólnota kultur i języków: praca zbiorowa”, Warszawa, 1992., S. 11–18; G. Stourzh, *Der nationale Ausgleich in der Bukowina 1909/1910*, in: „Die Bukowina. Vergangenheit und Gegenwart”, Bern–Berlin–Frankfurt a. M., 1995, S. 35–52.; A. C. Onciul, *Aurel Ritter von Onciul und der nationale Ausgleich in der österreichischen Bukowina: eine wissenschaftliche Dokumentation*, Nürnberg, 1999.

<sup>5</sup> T. Hensellek, *Die Bukowina nach dem Ausgleich: Studien zur Landespolitik im Herzogtum Bukowina von 1909 bis 1914*, Hamburg, 2011.; I. Монолатій, *Австрійська Буковина: особливості національних, професійних та мовних поділів* [Austrian Bukovina: peculiarities of national, professional and language divisions], in: „Незалежний культурологічний часопис „І” [Independent cultural journal „YI”], Чернівці, 2009, Ч. 59. in: <http://www.ji.lviv.ua/n56texts/monolatij1.htm>; I. Монолатій, „Буковинська згода” у контексті історії міжетнічних компромісів у Дунайській монархії”

очередь, Галицийское „уравнение” 1914 г. исследовалось с точки зрения процесса достижения польско-украинского компромисса в ожесточенной политической борьбе по поводу наработки модуса сеймовой избирательной реформы<sup>6</sup>; в контексте процесса „углублённой” автономизации Галиции<sup>7</sup>; или с точки зрения реализации принципов современной национальной политики Австро-Венгрии<sup>8</sup>. Однако, до сих пор в историографии отсутствует существенная трактовка понятия „национальное уравнение”, как ключевого в создании моделей локальных политических систем с определенными элементами национально-экстерриториальной автономии в Моравии, на Буковине и в Галиции.

**Цель статьи** – определить сущность понятия „национальное уравнение”, проследить особенности реализации реформ локальных политических систем, учитывая межнациональные и межконфессиональные отношения в

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[„Bukovinian consent” in the context of the history of interethnic compromises, in Danube monarchy], in: „Буковина толерантна” [Tolerant Bukovina], <http://buktolerance.com.ua/?p=1124>.

<sup>6</sup> J. Buszko, *Sejmowa reforma wyborcza w Galicji: 1905–1914* [The Diet’s electoral reform in Galicia: 1905-1914], Warszawa, 1956.; S. Grodziski, *Sejm krajowy galicyjski 1861–1914* [The Country Diet of Galicia 1861-1914], Warszawa, 1993, t. 1.; Ю. Плекан, *Боротьба за реформу виборчого законодавства до Австрійського парламенту та Галицького сейму (кінець XIX – початок XX ст.)* [The fight for reform of electoral legislation to the Austrian Parliament and the Galician Diet (late XIX – early XX centuries)], Івано-Франківськ, 2008.; І. Монолатій, „Галицький” компроміс 1914 року: старт чи фініш українсько-польського примирення? [„Galician” compromise in 1914: start or finish of the Ukrainian-Polish reconciliation?], in: „Незалежний культурологічний часопис „І”. Україна–ЕС: Транскордонна Галичина” [Independent cultural journal „I”. Ukraine–EU: Transboundary Galicia], 2010, Ч. 64., in: <http://www.ji.lviv.ua/n64texts/64-zmist.htm>.

<sup>7</sup> H. Binder, „Galizische Autonomie” – ein streitbarer Begriff und seine Karriere, in: „Der Mährische Ausgleich von 1905. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen für einen nationalen Ausgleich in Mitteleuropa. Tagungsband”, Brno, 2006, S. 239–266.; S. Pijaj, *Pokusy o polsko-ukrajinskou dohodu v Haliči* [Attempts by the Polish-Ukrainian agreement in Galicia], in: *Der Mährische Ausgleich von 1905. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen für einen nationalen Ausgleich in Mitteleuropa. Tagungsband*, Brno, 2006, S. 267–278.

<sup>8</sup> B. Kuzmany, *Habsburg Austria: Experiments in Non-Territorial Autonomy*, in „Ethnopolitics”: Formerly Global Review of Ethnopolitics, Vol. 15, 2016, No. 1, p. 43–65; Idem, *Der Galizische Ausgleich als Beispiel moderner Nationalitätenpolitik?*, in: „Galizien: Peripherie der Moderne – Moderne der Peripherie? Sonderdruck aus Tagungen zur Ostmitteleuropaforschung”, Marburg, 2013, Bd. 31, S. 123–141.



Моравии, на Буковине и в Галиции, осуществить оценку влияния „уравнения” на состояние межнациональной конфликтности в условиях активизации национальных движений накануне Первой мировой войны.

### Теоретические дебаты по вопросам национальной автономии

В начале XX в. австрийские социал-демократы Отто Бауэр и Карл Реннер рассматривали понятие „национального уравнения” в контексте процесса создания национальных автономий в условиях многонациональной империи Габсбургов, на пути ее эволюционного превращения в „государство национальностей”. В частности, О. Бауэр считал, что для каждого гражданина Австро-Венгрии нужно создать условия для реализации своей двойственной идентичности – политической, основанной на правах и свободах австрийского гражданина, и национальной, что воплощается в системе общественного самоуправления и реализуется для удовлетворения культурных потребностей на краевом уровне. По его мнению, персональная автономия должна осуществляться не через „конституирование нации, как территориальной корпорации, а как сугубо личного, персонального союза”<sup>9</sup>, который оставался бы разграниченным с публичным (государственным) управлением. Она должна предусматривать создание национальных кадастров избирателей с правом граждан открыто декларировать свою политическую идентичность и, таким образом, формировать отдельные национальные окружные представительства, руководствоваться демократическими нормами управления, принципом экстерриториальности, обеспечивая все гражданские свободы. Поскольку „древнее австрийское дуалистическое управление, – странная смесь сословных пережитков, бюрократического централизма и либерального „самоуправления” – потерпело полное банкротство”<sup>10</sup>, то лишь национально-экстерриториальная автономия способна обеспечить реальную свободу и равенство наций.

Более консервативных взглядов придерживался К. Реннер\*, который в 1902 г. выдвинул идею превращения Австро-Венгрии в национально-федеративное государство. По его мнению, институт национально-экстер-

<sup>9</sup> О. Бауэръ, *Національний вопросъ и соціалдемократія* [National Question and Social Democracy], СПб, 1909, с. 368.

<sup>10</sup> О. Бауэръ, *op. cit.*, с. 414.

\* Его труды печатались под псевдонимом Рудольф Шпрингер или Синоптикус.

риториальной автономии должен был действовать по персональному принципу, но при этом оставаться интегрированным в систему государственного управления. В частности, речь шла о создании национальных представительств (общинного, уездного, окружного), которые формируются путем вписывания избирателей в так называемые „национальные матрикулы“, то есть национальные кадастры избирателей. Граждане делегируют органам государственного управления – двуязычным общинным, уездным, окружным советам – часть своих полномочий, касающихся общего управления делами. Количество делегированных от отдельной нации представителей в советы должно быть пропорциональным количеству лиц, занесенных в матрикулы. В этих условиях, по мнению К. Реннера, политическая борьба между национальными представителями на всех властных уровнях будет неуместной и экономически невыгодной; вследствие чего в процессе решения поставленных задач между ними неизбежно реализуется „уния“ – политический компромисс. Для национальных образований в советах не предвиделось право вето или вето, а все решения должны были приниматься на основе политического консенсуса<sup>11</sup>.

При этом К. Реннер выдвинул два фундаментальных условия функционирования национально-экстерриториальной автономии: 1) демократичность выборов, проведенных согласно принципам всеобщего, равного, тайного и прямого голосования, поскольку „...без полного демократизма в конституции и управлении нет в Австрии национального мира, экономического прогресса“<sup>12</sup>; 2) введение налогообложения на основе национальных матрикул, в результате чего, кроме государственного и провинциального бюджетов, возникали бы также бюджеты национальных сообществ для финансирования их культурных потребностей.

### **Моравский компромисс 1905 г.**

Обоснованная К. Реннером идея о необходимости интеграции института национально-экстерриториальной автономии в существующую систему государственного управления составила основу современной национальной политики Австро-Венгрии, которая была впервые реализована в 1905 г. в „законах о национальном уравнивании“ в Моравии. Эти законы представ-

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<sup>11</sup> Р. Шпрингер, *Национальная проблема: борьба национальностей в Австрии* [The national problem: the struggle of nationalities in Austria], Москва, 2010, с. 212–287.

<sup>12</sup> Р. Шпрингер, *op. cit.*, с. 223.

ляют собой комплекс политико-правовых изменений, внесенных в краевой устав и краевой избирательный порядок Моравии от 27 ноября 1905 г., а также в закон о регулировании использования провинциальных языков в автономных органах власти от 27 ноября 1905 г., в закон об основании, содержании, инспекции публичных народных школ от 27 ноября 1905 г.

В современной теории государственного управления различают два типа национально-экстерриториальной автономии – национально-политическую и национально-культурную. Первая предусматривает предоставление отдельной национальности, как официально признанному субъекту конституционных отношений, определенных мандатных квот при формировании представительских органов власти, деятельность в парламенте национальных образований и т. п. Вторую – понимают как экстерриториальную форму самоуправления этнических групп, расселенных дисперсно, с целью обеспечения их культурных прав (языковых, образовательных и др.). Организационными формами национально-экстерриториальной автономии являются национальные общины, советы, объединения, общества, центры.

Однако в австрийском законодательстве существовал лишь институт территориальных общин, которые пользовались определенным автономным статусом и по своему составу преимущественно были многонациональными. Законы о „национальном уравниии“ в Моравии 1905 г. не вводили отдельного института национальных общин, что ставит под сомнение существование национально-культурной автономии в ее современном понимании. Однако в этих законах прослеживается наличие нескольких элементов национально-экстерриториальной автономии: политико-правовых механизмов регулирования языкового вопроса, создания сети национальных школ, формирования в краевом ландтаге национальных курий с определенным политико-правовым статусом, реализацию принципа этничности при создании национальных кадастров избирателей и национально фиксированных избирательных округов.

К особенностям „национального уравниии“ в Моравии относится внедрение качественно нового механизма обеспечения равноправия провинциальных языков на основе паритетного их использования в делопроизводстве и коммуникации в территориальных общинах, краевых органах власти; создание обособленных чешских и немецких территориальных, уездных и окружных школьных советов; а также разделение Краевого школьного совета на две автономные национальные секции.

Примечательно, что 1905 г. для формирования системы начального и среднего образования в Моравии была заимствована „богемская модель” 1873 г. национально и территориально обособленных школьных уездов, внедрение которой давно лоббировали моравские немцы<sup>13</sup>.

В условиях отсутствия реформирования системы налогообложения и изменения схемы распределения бюджетных средств согласно национальному принципу на уровне территориальных общин, уездов, краевой администрации, центральных органов власти, покрытие расходов народных школ и школьных советов оказалось недостаточным\*. Если национальное сообщество признавалось финансово несостоятельным, то в результате слушаний с участием уездных и территориальных школьных советов Краевой школьный совет мог принять решение о назначении школе помощи, которая выплачивалась из краевого бюджета. Исключительно для обеспечения права национального меньшинства на обучение детей на родном языке в местностях, где не было народной светской школы, предполагалось создание частной школы. Если такая частная народная школа насчитывала 30 и более учеников, то Краевой комитет по согласованию с наместником мог назначать ей годовую помощь в размере 1 тыс. крон на каждые 30 учеников.

В политической сфере „национальное уравнение” имело своей целью обеспечить моравским немцам автономное самоуправление в мононациональных общинах, а политическое лидерство в ландтаге разделить с чехами на паритетной основе. Для этого в процесс формирования краевых представительских органов власти впервые закладывался национальный принцип. Однако реформирование избирательной системы на основе национального равенства (т. е. фиксированного пропорционального соответствия количества избирателей определенной национальности к количеству национальных мандатов) и внедрение всеобщего голосования в корне могло изменить расстановку национально-политических сил в представительских органах власти, что сделало бы дальнейшее господство немцев в Моравии невозможным. Поэтому, на практике, модернизация национальной политики Австро-Венгрии выглядела как сохранение

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<sup>13</sup> H. Glassl, *op. cit.*

\* Следующее десятилетие краевой политики было посвящено решению финансовых проблем, в результате чего в краевое законодательство были внесены многочисленные изменения относительно налогообложения населения и распределения бюджетных средств.

существующего „status quo”, поскольку в избирательный модус закладывалась устаревшая куриально-цензовая схема, которая модернизировалась за счет внедрения принципа этничности с применением прямого голосования в каждой курии с закреплением фиксированного количества национальных мандатов и территориально обособленных национальных избирательных округов.

Такая модернизация локальной политической системы не нарушала традиционные основы сословного представительства в Австро-Венгрии, которые гарантировали представителям табулярной земельной собственности и крупным корпоративным землевладельцам значительное количество мандатов в представительских органах власти. Увеличение цензового уровня для представителей крупной земельной собственности уменьшало количество избирателей этой курии при сохранении прежнего количества мандатов. Такое соотношение одного мандата к количеству голосующих закрепило право земельных аристократов в Моравии формировать провинциальную политику наравне с национальными сообществами. Уменьшение имущественного ценза в куриях городов, торгово-промышленных палат и сельских общин, введение курии всеобщего голосования осуществлялись для расширения социальной базы режима и предусматривали привлечение большего количества избирателей к политической жизни, обеспечивали политическое участие граждан по национальному признаку и таким образом имели целью смягчить межнациональные и социальные противоречия.

Согласно реформе, состав Моравского ландтага выглядел так: на 151 депутата приходилось 2 вирилистов (архиепископ Оломоуца и епископ Брюнна) и 149 избранных депутатов, из которых: I курия крупной земельной собственности – 30 мандатов; II курия городских, промышленных территорий – 40 (20 чешских и 20 немецких мандатов) и торгово-промышленных палат Брюнна и Оломоуца – 6 мандатов; III курия сельских общин – 53 (39 чешских и 14 немецких мандатов); IV курия общего голосования – 20 (14 чешских и 6 немецких мандатов). Общее фиксированное количество мандатов для чешского населения составляло 75 (49,67%), а для немецкого – 40 (26,49%)<sup>14</sup>. Национально фиксированных мандатов было вместе 115 (76,16%).

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<sup>14</sup> *Gesetz vom 27. November 1905, wirksam für die Markgrafschaft Mähren und die mährischen Enklaven in Schlesien*, in: „Landesgesetz- u. Verordnungsblatt für die Markgrafschaft Mähren”, Jahrgang 1906, Stück I, Nr. 1, S. 1–9.; Nr. 2., S. 10–41.

Краевой комитет, как управляющий и исполнительный орган Моравского ландтага, состоял из 8 членов, избираемых из состава сейма: от I курии землевладельцев – 2 (чешский и немецкий), от чешской II курии – 4, от немецкой III курии – 2. В случае конфликта председатель Краевого комитета, он же и глава сейма, мог назначать из его состава 2-х сопредседателей – чеха и немца. Кворум составлял минимум 5 присутствующих на заседании членов Краевого комитета. Поэтому чешско-немецкий паритет в принятии решений Краевым комитетом составлял 37 : 63 с учетом голоса его руководителя.

Анализ данных переписи населения в Моравии за 1910 г. Демонстрирует то, что количество национальных мандатов для немцев было завышено по отношению к численности их сообщества, а для чехов, наоборот, значительно снижено. При этом к немцам причислялось 31 973, а к чехам – 6 828 евреев, поскольку иудеи отсутствовали в официальном перечне краевых национальностей. В Моравии создавались только два кадастра избирателей по национальному признаку – чешский и немецкий. Остальных избирателей, которые принадлежали к другим национальностям, главы общин на свое усмотрение записывали в чешский или немецкий реестр. Если избиратель был с этим не согласен, он мог в 14-дневный срок обжаловать свои данные в списке избирателей. Вследствие массового представления рекламаций и роста в связи с этим общественно-политической напряженности, было принято решение на следующих сеймовых выборах к формированию списков избирателей привлекать данные переписи населения за 1910 г.

**Таблица 1. Соотношение населения Моравии по вероисповеданию и бытовому языком (на основе переписи 1910)<sup>15</sup>**

по бытовому языку	римо-католики	греко-католики	православные	евангелисты	израилиты*	итого
немцы	675 636	104	44	9 074	31 973	791 400 (30,18%)

<sup>15</sup> *Die Bevölkerung nach der Gebürtigkeit, Religion und Umgangssprache in Verbindung mit dem Geschlechte, nach dem Bildungsgrade und Familienstande; die körperlichen Gebrechen; die soziale Gliederung der Haushaltungen* in: „Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910 in den im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern“, Wien, 1914, Band 1, Heft 2, S. 54–55.

\* В Австро-Венгрии термин „израилиты“ официально использовался для обозначения представителей иудейского вероисповедания, то есть еврейского населения.

чехо- словаки	1 798 254	164	22	62 714	6 828	1 868 874 (71,27%)
поляки	14 218	163	6	405	75	14 927 (0,57%)
другие	1 007	437	53	7	8	1 516 (0,06%)
итого	2 501 824 (95,41%)	926 (0,04%)	210 (0,01%)	74 573 (2,84%)	41 174 (1,57%)	2 622 224

На самом деле, политическая конфигурация Моравского сейма зависела от остальных 36 (23,84%) мандатов, которые приходились на курию больших землевладельцев и представителей торгово-промышленных палат. Можно предположить, что львиную долю этих мандатов соискали немцы, потому что национальное соотношение немцев и чехов в сейме стало почти равнозначным (см. Табл. 2). А это означало, что ни одна из наций не получила численного преимущества, поэтому согласие между национальными куриями было возможным лишь на основе политического консенсуса. Все решения ландтага принимались абсолютным большинством голосов от числа присутствующих на заседании депутатов, при этом ни одна из трех курий сейма (I курия землевладельцев, II чешская курия и III немецкая курия) не имела права вето. Национальные курии формировали дублированные сеймовые комитеты: финансовый, общих дел, школьный, коммуникаций, сельскохозяйственный, промышленный, каждый из которых насчитывал минимум по 16 членов<sup>16</sup>.

**Таблица 2. Соотношение национальных мандатов в численности населения согласно национальному принципу в Моравии (1905)**

национальность	национальное соотношение к населению края	национальное соотношение к общей численности сеймовых мандатов	реальное национальное соотношение мандатов в сейме
немцы	759 427 (28,96%)	40 (26,49%)	76 (50,33%)
чехо-словаки	1 862 046 (71,01%)	75 (49,67%)	75 (49,67%)
евреи	41 174 (1,57%)	–	–

<sup>16</sup> Gesetz vom 27. November 1905..., Nr. 1, S. 1–9.; Nr. 2, S. 10–41.

Решения в национальных делах требовали 2/3 положительных голосов от обязательного количества присутствующих на заседании 3/4 депутатов – 121 человека. Перечень национальных дел включал: внесение изменений в краевой устав и краевой избирательный порядок, в закон о национальном разделении школьных органов, в закон о Краевом школьном совете, в закон о языке делопроизводства в автономных органах власти; а также вопрос о роспуске национальных учебных заведений, изменении языка преподавания, уменьшения финансирования школ; об объединении или разграничении общин против воли их законного представительства. Внесение изменений в избирательные порядки общин и автономных управ городов Брюнн, Венгерский Градиште, Игляу, Кремс, Ольмюц и Цнаим требовало согласия 93 депутатов, независимо от количества присутствующих на заседании послов<sup>17</sup>.

Если в краевом законодательном органе Моравии фиксировался почти равнозначный паритет между представителями чешской и немецкой национальностей, то в исполнительной сфере – Краевом комитете и во всех его комиссиях, а также делегированных представительствах в краевой администрации, немцы получили незначительное численное преимущество. Это означало, что немецкое меньшинство, по сути, сохраняло прямое влияние на управление краем. Обострение межнационального конфликта способствовало блокированию работы Моравского ландтага, вследствие чего 8 февраля 1914 г. „национальное уравнение” было дополнено компромиссным соглашением сеймовых курий о создании национально-политического комитета, который должен был действовать в межсессионный период на постоянной основе и выполнять все полномочия краевого представительского органа власти в культурных, политических, межнациональных и финансовых делах<sup>18</sup>. В итоге, Моравское „уравнение” не решило своей основной задачи – не привело к этнополитическому консенсусу в провинции, учитывая активизацию чешского и немецкого национальных движений.

Отсутствие политического большинства и меньшинства (оппозиции) в представительских органах власти, законодательное закрепление сеймо-

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Gesetz vom 27. März 1914, wirksam für die Markgrafschaft Mähren, mit welchem der vom Landtage eingesetzte national-politische Ausschuß für permanent erklärt und dessen Wirkungskreis festgelegt wird*, in: „Landesgesetz- u. Verordnungsblatt für die Markgrafschaft Mähren”, Jahrgang 1914, Stück IV, Nr. 13, S. 107–108.



вых образований по национальному принципу считаются примером исторической модели консоциативной (консенсусной) демократии. В современных условиях она успешно действует в мультинациональных федеративных государствах и обеспечивает этническим, религиозным и другим группам населения реализацию собственных интересов, что происходит только лишь при условии отсутствия чрезмерной политизации национальных вопросов и активизации национальных движений<sup>19</sup>. Понятно, что элементы модели консоциативной демократии не могли быть действенными в условиях имперского авторитарного режима Австро-Венгрии, но позитивным следует считать сам пример ее возникновения.

### Буковинский „аусглях” 1910 г.

Подобно моравскому опыту, в локальную политическую систему на Буковине 26 мая 1910 г. также вводился принцип этничности путем внесения изменений в краевой устав и краевой избирательный порядок. На Буковине этнополитическими актерами выступали четыре официальные народы провинции – немцы, украинцы, румыны и поляки, которые продолжали формировать представительские органы власти на куриально-сословной основе. Буковинский краевой сейм состоял из 63 депутатов, из них: 2 вирилистов (православный митрополит и ректор университета им. Франца Иосифа I в Черновцах) и 61 выборных депутатов: I курия крупной земельной собственности – 13 (1 посол от митрополичьей консистории, настоятелей монастырей в Драгомирне, Путне и Сучевце, по 1 послу от румынского и украинского высшего духовенства, по 4 посла от румынских, а также польских и армяно-польских землевладельцев, 2 посла от остальных национальностей); II курия торгово-промышленных палат – 2; III курия общин – 28 (10 румынских, 10 украинских, 7 немецких и 1 польский мандат); IV курия всеобщего голосования – 18 (6 румынских, 6 украинских, 5 немецких, 1 польский мандат).

Итак, в Буковинском ландтаге национальные мандаты распределялись только в III и IV куриях, в частности, румыны получили 16 (25,40%),

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<sup>19</sup> См.: V. Hloušek, *Teorie konsociační demokracie a moravská praxe* [The theory of consociational democracy and the Moravian practice], in: Lukáš Fasora, Jiří Hanuš, Jiří Malíř (eds.), *Moravské vyrovnání z roku 1905 / Der Mährische Ausgleich von 1905*, Brno, Matice moravská, 2006, p. 145-156; in: [http://www.iips.cz/userfiles/file/wp\\_12\\_konsociacni\\_demokracie.pdf](http://www.iips.cz/userfiles/file/wp_12_konsociacni_demokracie.pdf)

украинцы – 16 (25,40%), немцы – 12 (19,05%) и поляки – 2 (3,17%) мандата. Во III и IV куриях исключительно для поляков существовали избирательные экстерриториальные округа, а для других национальностей округа занимали территорию их компактного проживания. Вместе национально фиксированные мандаты составляли 58 (92,06%) от всего состава Буковинского сейма. Все депутаты, за исключением 1 посла от митрополичьей консистории, настоятелей монастырей в Драгомирне, Путне и Сучевице и 2-х послов от торгово-промышленных палат, избирались в национально фиксированных избирательных округах.

Сам Буковинский краевой сейм состоял из 6-ти курий: к I курии относились православный митрополит, посол от митрополичьей консистории, настоятелей монастырей в Драгомирне, Путне и Сучевице, по 1 послу от румынского и украинского высшего духовенства, а также 4 землевладельца румынской и польской национальности – (8 человек); ко II курии – остальные послы от землевладельцев, а также депутаты от польских избирательных округов в курии общин (№26) и в курии общего голосования (№43) – (8 человек); к III курии – депутаты от румынских избирательных округов в курии общин (№1-10) и к курии общего голосования (№27-32) – (16 человек); к IV курии – депутаты от украинской избирательных округов в курии общин (№11-20) и курии общего голосования (№33-38) – (16 человек); к V курии – ректор Черновицкого университета, а также послы от немецких избирательных округов в курии общин (№23, 24) и курии общего голосования (№40, 41), депутаты, избранные на немецких избирательных округах от меньшинства в курии общин (№21, 22) и курии общего голосования (№39) – (8 человек); к VI курии – послы от торгово-промышленных палат, а также послы от немецких избирательных округов в курии общин (№25) и курии общего голосования (№42), а также депутаты, избранные на немецких избирательных округах от большинства в курии общин (№21, 22) и курии общего голосования (№39) – (7 человек)<sup>20</sup>. В итоге, национальных политических структур в Буковинском сейме вообще

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<sup>20</sup> *Gesetz vom 26. Mai 1910, betreffend die Änderung der Landesordnung für das Herzogtum Bukowina*, in: „Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Herzogtum Bukowina“, Jahrgang 1910, Stück XXIII, Nr. 26, S. 97–102.; *Gesetz vom 26. Mai 1910, mit welche eine neue Wahl-Ordnung für das Herzogtum Bukowina erlassen wird*, in: „Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Herzogtum Bukowina“, Jahrgang 1910, Stück XXIII, Nr. 27, S. 103–128.

не было создано. Отдельно немцы получали две национальные курии и еще дополнительные 3 мандата от меньшинства избирателей в двухмандатных избирательных немецких округах V и VI курий.

Краевой комитет был управляющим и исполнительным органом Буковинского сейма, который состоял из председателя – краевого главы и 8 выборных членов (по 1-му – от I–VI курии, еще по 1-му избирались от III и IV курий). Из их состава краевой глава назначал своих заместителей: первого – с III курии (румына), а второго – с IV курии (украинца). Краевой комитет принимал все решения на основе коллегиальности. Кворум составлял минимум 5 человек, поэтому ни одна из национальностей предпочтений не получила. Если краевой глава не соглашался с решением Комитета, он отменял его постановление и, как краевой шеф, направлял спорный вопрос к австрийскому правительству и императору.

Согласно действующему законодательству сеймовые курии имели право избирать своих представителей в Краевой комитет, сеймовые комиссии, правления краевых учреждений и другие организации, а также в сеймовые следственные и надзорные комиссии. Курии избирали своих представителей в краевые учреждения на основе рейтингового голосования. Победителем считался тот, кто получал абсолютное большинство голосов. Ключ этих выборов был построен так, что представителей избирали не от каждой курии в отдельности, а только в определенной их комбинации – I, II и III курии; IV, V, IV курии; I, II курии; V, VI курии. Все выбранные куриями представители должны были утверждаться сеймом. Краевой комитет назначал также полномочную курию для выборов национального представителя на учительские, чиновничьи или служебные должности в определенных краевых учреждениях. Ни одна курия не могла выбирать самостоятельно своего представителя. Только немцы в V, VI куриях частично получили такую возможность. Краевой комитет определял, от какой курии будет делегироваться репрезентант, что вообще подрывало действенность принципа национального представительства. Лишь представители Краевого комитета, которые делегировались в рефераты по делам общин и школ, а также в отдельные краевые учреждения, определялись из его состава по национальному принципу.

Списки избирателей III и IV курий составлялись с учетом 4-х избирательных кадастров – румынского, украинского, немецкого и польского. Для всех национальностей создавались национально фиксиро-

ванные избирательные округа, только для поляков – экстерриториальные. В немецкий кадастр засчитывались 95706 евреев, поскольку иудеи не признавались в империи отдельным народом. Это было сделано с целью усиления политического влияния немецкого элемента и завышения количества немецкоязычного сообщества. Учитывая это обстоятельство, ошибочно утверждать, что краевые народы на Буковине были „равно-статусными” в политическом отношении (см. Табл. 4).

**Таблица 3. Соотношение населения Буковины по вероисповеданию и бытовому языку (на основе переписи 1910)<sup>21</sup>**

по бы- товому языку	римо-ка- толики	греко- католики	право- славные	еванге- листы	израилиты	итого
немцы	50 009	954	2 490	19 475	95 706	168 779 (21,09%)
поляки	32 506	1 689	724	98	1 177	36 217 (4,53%)
украинцы	3 703	21 508	274 758	112	2 102	305 222 (38,17%)
румыны	1 124	1 824	268 992	176	1 024	273 216 (34,15%)
венгры	9 956	9	24	378	22	10 389 (1,30%)
другие	951	11	102	18	40	1 122 (0,14%)
итого	99 135 (12,39%)	26 178 (3,27%)	548 956 (68,61%)	20 517 (2,56%)	102 925 (12,86%)	800 127

Внесение изменений в краевой избирательный порядок было возможным только в присутствии 3/4 от состава Буковинского сейма (48); решение должно было набрать 2/3 голосов присутствующих (32), что предусматривало политический консенсус между представителями всех четырех народов, или, по крайней мере, их объединение в коалицию в двух вариантах: немцы – румыны (52 депутата) или немцы – украинцы (37 депутатов).

<sup>21</sup> *Die Bevölkerung nach der Gebürtigkeit, Religion und Umgangssprache...*, S. 54–55.

**Таблица 4. Соотношение между национальными мандатами и численностью населения согласно национальному принципу на Буковине (1910)**

национальность	национальное соотношение к населению края	национальное соотношение к общей численности сеймовых мандатов	реальное национальное соотношение мандатов в сейме
немцы	73 073 (9,13%)	12 (19,05%)	19 (30,16%)
поляки	35 040 (4,38%)	2 (3,17%)	3 (4,76%)
украинцы	303 120 (37,88%)	16 (25,40%)	18 (28,57%)
румыны	272 192 (30,02%)	16 (25,40%)	23 (36,51%)
евреи	102 925 (12,86%)	-	-

Однако политическое „согласие” на Буковине просуществовало недолго – до начала октября 1910 г., когда контролируемая евреями пресса обнародовала подробности коррупционного скандала с участием директора строительного департамента магистрата Черновцов, общественного советника Войтеховского. Его обвиняли в проведении нечестных тендеров на выполнение фирмами строительных работ в городе. Вследствие угрозы „антиеврейской” забастовки, скандал перешел в политическую сферу. В этих условиях румынские политики Александр Гурмузаки, Аурел Ончул и украинцы Степан Смаль-Стоцкий, Николай Василко на основе межпартийной солидарности, как члены городского совета, сложили свои полномочия для того, чтобы инициировать новые выборы<sup>22</sup>. Коррупционный скандал, как лакмусовая бумажка, демонстрировал невозможность формирования в представительских органах власти коалиции между немцами, с одной стороны, и румынами или украинцами, с другой. В итоге межпартийное противостояние показало неэффективность „национального уравнения” на Буковине.

Анализируя „национальные уравнения” в Моравии и на Буковине, к их общим чертам можно отнести следующие факторы: 1) в результате конституционно-либеральных реформ и децентрализации управления в этих провинциях в 1861 г. была образована территориальная автономия политического типа, которая уже к началу XX в. функционально себя исчерпала, поскольку превратилась в управленческое препятствие; 2) в обеих провинциях отсутствовала ведущая „титутельная” нация, а этнополитическое соревнование происходило между народами, удельный вес кото-

<sup>22</sup> Т. Hensellek, *op. cit.*, S. 36–44.

рых в крае уравнивался относительной численностью сообществ и их экономической состоятельностью; 3) реформа способствовала закреплению и сохранению политических прав немецкого сообщества, которое в этих провинциях составляло меньшинство.

Отличительные черты выше упомянутых реформ составляют: 1) введение в Моравии легальных механизмов реализации для чешского и немецкого сообществ не только политических прав, но также культурных – в языковой и образовательной сферах, чего на Буковине в законодательно фиксированной форме не наблюдалось; 2) на Буковине сеймовые курии не были сформированы согласно национальному принципу. К примеру, немецких курий в сейме было практически две (V, VI курии), что обеспечивало политическое влияние немецкого меньшинства в крае. Кроме этого, политический статус получили буковинские поляки, численность которых в крае была сравнительно незначительной.

### **Галицийское „уравнение” 1914 г.**

Иной выглядела управленческая и общественно-политическая ситуация в Галиции, где с 1866 г. утвердилась национально-территориальная автономия для „титульной” нации края – поляков. В течение 1866–1879 гг. здесь завершился процесс формирования системы политических органов власти. Полякам удалось закрепить доминирующее положение в крае путем полонизации всех органов управления, учреждений и заведений, а также устранение старого немецкого чиновничества и создание новой польской бюрократии. Это привело к тому, что в рамках новой локальной политической системы, украинцы превратились в дискриминированное национальное сообщество. Вследствие отсутствия соответствующих политико-правовых механизмов и реализации беспрецедентных „грязных” избирательных технологий они не могли эффективно отстаивать свое право на адекватное национальное представительство в Галицийском сейме, уездных и общественных советах. Проблематической выглядела также реализация культурных прав украинцев в связи с их потребностью сохранения родного языка в сфере общественного управления и организации национальных школ на основе государственного финансирования. В 1882 году польская национально-территориальная автономия в Галиции институционально укрепилась благодаря созданию Краевого банка Галиции. Он выполнял функцию центробанка с правом рефинансирования проблемных

финансовых учреждений края. Таким образом, в Галиции сформировалась собственная провинциальная банковская система, которая оставалась подконтрольной австрийскому правительству и Краевому комитету.

Учитывая обострение межнациональных конфликтов, прежде всего чешско-немецкого в Богемии и Моравии, а также польско-украинского в Галиции, австрийское правительство было вынуждено модернизировать национальную политику путем введения в локальные политические системы принципа этничности. Впервые в Галиции этот принцип реализовался в изменениях закона о Краевом школьном совете от 15 февраля 1905 г. В частности, при формировании состава Краевого школьного совета украинцы получили фиксированную национальную квоту. Из 19 его членов 4 были украинцами (1 делегат от Краевого комитета, 1 представитель от греко-католического духовенства, 2 – от учительской среды). Однако украинцы никак не могли повлиять на школьную политику потому, что кворум составлял 10 человек, а при принятии определенных решений устанавливалось соответствующее корреляционное соотношение голосов членов Краевого школьного совета, которого они ни при каких условиях не могли достичь<sup>23</sup>.

Учитывая сокрушительную критику украинским сообществом колонизаторской политики Краевого школьного совета, австрийский министр вероисповеданий и образования с 15 февраля 1905 г. взял на себя полномочия непосредственно утверждать язык преподавания в ведущих средних школах Галиции. По представлению Краевого школьного совета он определял средние школы с польским языком преподавания, где уроки украинского были обязательными, и, наоборот, средние школы с украинским языком преподавания, где уроки польского были обязательными. Во всех остальных средних школах преподавание второго краевого языка вводилось непосредственно по требованию родителей учеников<sup>24</sup>, то есть уже без специального разрешения Краевого школьного

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<sup>23</sup> *Gesetz vom 15. Februar 1905, betreffend den Landesschulrat*, in: „Landesgesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien mit dem Großherzogthume Krakau”, Jahrgang 1905, Stück I, Nr. 39, S. 112–116.

<sup>24</sup> *Gesetz vom 15. Februar 1905, womit einige Bestimmungen des Gesetzes vom 22. Juni 1867, L. G. Bl. Nr. 13, über die Unterrichtssprache an Volks- und Mittelschulen des Königreiches Galizien und Lodomerien mit dem Großherzogthume Krakau, abgeändert wird*, in: „Landesgesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien mit dem Großherzogthume Krakau”, Jahrgang 1905, Stück XX, Nr. 108,

совета, как это происходило ранее.

Однако такие меры центральных властей не приостановили полонизацию среднего образования в Галиции. Несмотря на давление украинской общественности, к 1914 г. было открыто лишь 4 украинских государственных средних школ: гимназии в Перемышле (1895), Коломые (1900), Тернополе (1901) и Станиславе (1905). В дальнейшем процесс полонизации образования маскировался путем создания утравкистических средних учебных заведений, что предусматривало открытие украинских параллельных классов в уже существующих польских гимназиях – в Бережанах (1905) и Стрые (1906). В противопоставлении к утравкизации украинцы основывали частные гимназии: девичью при Конvente сестер Василианок во Львове (1906), светские средние заведения – в Копычинцах (1908), Яворове (1908), Рогатине (1909), Городенке (1909), а также частные гимназические курсы – в Збараже и Буске. Все государственные учительские семинарии, где украинцы имели возможность учиться на родном языке, были исключительно утравкистическими заведениями. В 1910 г. их насчитывалось 9 из 26 (15 из них были чисто польскими)<sup>25</sup>.

В то же время внесенные 9 мая 1907 г. новые изменения в закон о Краевом школьном совете значительно расширили его компетенцию. Этот орган получил право выполнять управленческие функции не только педагогически-дидактического, но и экономически-административного характера, а также назначать дисциплинарные взыскания для директоров и учителей на основе согласования с министерством вероисповеданий и образования<sup>26</sup>.

Принцип этничности в Галиции также реализовывался относительно языковых прав на уровне территориальных общин. Закон о языке автономных органов власти от 9 апреля 1907 г. регулировал языковое обращение в сфере управления<sup>27</sup>. В делопроизводстве Краевого комитета сохранялся польский язык. Публикация его решений, как и ранее, происхо-

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S. 131–132.

<sup>25</sup> *Österreichisches statistisches Handbuch für die im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreiche und Länder*, Wien, 1912, Jahrgang 30, S. 362.

<sup>26</sup> *Gesetz vom 9. Mai 1907, betreffend den Landesschulrat*, in: „Landesgesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien mit dem Großherzogthume Krakau“, Jahrgang 1907, Stück VIII, Nr. 48, S. 87–89.

<sup>27</sup> *Gesetz vom 9. April 1907 über die Amtssprachen der autonomen Behörden*, in: „Landesgesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien mit dem Großherzogthume Krakau“, Jahrgang 1907, Stück IV, Nr. 21, S. 39–42.



дила тремя краевыми языками – польским, украинским и немецким. Краевой комитет продолжал коммуницировать польским языком с политическими органами власти в крае, однако на обращения граждан и уездных советов был обязан отвечать их языком. Язык делопроизводства городских органов Львова и Кракова также неизменно оставался польским. Государственные органы и группы граждан из других провинций продолжали коммуницировать с краевыми политическими органами и автономными органами власти в Галиции на основе закона от 5 января 1869 г., то есть – немецким. Следовательно, для органов местного самоуправления в Галиции подтверждалось право обращаться ко всем политическим органам власти края на своем родном языке. Сохранение польского, как управленческого языка делопроизводства, в коммуникации галицийского наместничества и его уездных структур с территориальными общинами устраняло необходимость создания отдельного штата переводчиков, как, например, это имело место в Моравии.

Более заметным принцип этничности оказался в изменениях краевого устава и избирательного порядка от 12 июля 1914 г., которые вошли в историю как „национальное уравниение” в Галиции. Трансформация политической системы на локальном уровне предусматривала одновременное сохранение куриально-цензового модуса и внедрение национального принципа в процесс формирования Галицийского сейма, всех его органов и структур, закрепления фиксированного статуса для национальных избирательных округов и отдельных списков для избирателей польской и украинской национальностей – национальных кадастров. Несмотря на вышеуказанные изменения, эта система, как и в Моравии (1905), так и на Буковине (1910), продолжала воспроизводить модерное подобие сословного представительства, которое лежало в основе созданного Габсбургами государственного механизма в раннемодерное время.

Галицийский сейм состоял из 227 (+1\*) депутатов, из которых 12 (+1) принадлежали к вирилистам (9 польских мандатов для архиепископов римско-католического, армяно-католического обрядов из Львова, епископов римско-католического обряда из Перемышля, Тарнува, Кракова, ректоров университетов в Кракове и Львове, президента Польской акаде-

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\* Один мандат был зарезервирован для ректора будущего украинского университета, открытие которого предусматривалось соглашением, достигнутым в 1914 г. между политическими фракциями Галицкого сейма.

мии знаний в Кракове и ректора Львовской политехнической школы; 3 (+1) украинские мандаты для архиепископа греко-католического обряда из Львова, епископов греко-католического обряда из Перемышля и Станислава, а также для ректора будущего украинского университета). Остальные 215 депутата избирались по куриям: I курия крупной земельной собственности – 45 (44 польских и 1 украинский мандат); II цензовая городская курия – 46 (40 польских и 6 украинских мандата); III общая городская курия – 12 (9 польских и 3 украинских мандата); IV курия торгово-промышленных палат (Краков, Львов, Броды) – 5 (польских мандатов); V курия промышленных объединений городов Львова и Кракова – 2 (польских мандата); VI курия сельских общин – 105 (57 польских и 48 украинских мандата)<sup>28</sup>. Таким образом, поляки получили 166 (72,80%) национально фиксированных мандатов, а украинцы – 61 (+1) (26,87-27,19%), причем, смотря на острый межнациональный антагонизм, все сеймовые мандаты без исключения были распределены между двумя национальными куриями Галицийского ландтага.

В изменениях краевого избирательного порядка от 12 июля 1914 г. закреплялся политико-правовой статус Восточной Галиции, как польско-украинской территории. В итоге, только здесь вводились национально фиксированные польские и украинские избирательные округа, в то время, как в западной части края – округа образовывались, как и ранее, по внеэтническому признаку. В многомандатных округах выборы проходили на пропорциональной, а в одномандатных – на мажоритарной основе.

Двухступенчатое голосование сохранилось лишь в V курии промышленных объединений Львова и Кракова, а в III общей городской курии и VI курии сельских общин внедрялось всеобщее голосование, что свидетельствовало о демократизации избирательного права. Однако высокоцензовые избиратели получили возможность дополнительного голоса в

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<sup>28</sup> *Ustawa z dnia 8. lipca 1914, zmieniająca §§ 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 31, 35, 38 i 48, uzupełniająca postanowienia §§ 18 i 26 statutu krajowego Królestwa Galicyi i Lodomerji z Wielkim Księstwem Krakowskim i wprowadzająca nową ordynację wyborczą* [The Act of July 8, 1914, amending §§ 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 31, 35, 38 and 48, supplementing the provisions of §§ 18 and 26 of the National Statutes of the Kingdom Galicia and Lodomeria, and the Grand Duchy of Kraków and introducing the new election procedure], in: „Dziennik ustaw i rozporządzeń krajowych dla Królestwa Galicyi i Lodomerji z Wielkim Księstwem Krakowskim”, Rok 1914, Część X, Nr. 65, S. 177–219.

нескольких куриях, хотя избиратель, как и раньше, имел право легитимно голосовать только единожды. Так, 2/3 избирателей II цензовой городской курии, которые уплачивали высокие налоги, голосовали еще и в III общей городской курии. Некоторые из них могли также входить в IV курию торгово-промышленных палат, или в V курию промышленных объединений Львова и Кракова. Таким образом, описанная избирательная технология позволяла зажиточным избирателям фактически отдавать от 2 до 5 голосов. Избиратели VI курии сельских общин, которые принадлежали к перечню 2/3 крупнейших налогоплательщиков, также отдавали по 2 голоса. Таким образом, отмена двухступенчатых выборов и введение всеобщего голосования в VI курии компенсировались новыми, еще более эффективными избирательными технологиями, которые были призваны обеспечить полякам гарантированное большинство в краевом сейме, несмотря на то, что в Восточной Галиции они составляли национальное меньшинство<sup>29</sup>.

Согласно изменениям краевого устава от 12 июля 1914 г. в составе Галицийского сейма образовывались новые структурные единицы и четко расписывались отдельные процедуры. Сеймовые послы группировались в две национальные курии: польскую (166) и украинскую (62 депутатов). Состав всех сеймовых комиссий, делегатов в краевые учреждения и в Счетную палату, которая вводилась для контроля за краевыми финансами, формировался на основе вышеуказанного мандатного соотношения, то есть квота для украинцев составляла не более, чем 27,19% мест.

Решение о пересмотре границ между помещичьими землевладениями и сельскими общинами требовало 2/3 голосов из 3/4 присутствующих на заседании, а это не менее, чем 186 депутатов (т. е. 124 голосов). Внесение любых изменений в положения краевого устава, избирательного порядка и табелярного приложения предполагало наличие 2/3 голосов из не менее 3/4 от состава присутствующих на заседании сейма (т. е. 114 голосов)<sup>30</sup>. Таким образом, принятие основных краевых законов предусматривало готовность украинских депутатов солидарно голосовать с поляками, а также обязательное их присутствие на заседании (минимум – от 6 до 21 человек).

Перманентная обструкция украинской оппозиции могла помешать

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

принятию судьбоносных для края решений. Таким образом, в деятельность сейма закладывались первичные основы модели политического сотрудничества на основе координации между большинством (польской курией) и оппозицией (украинской курией). Увеличение численности украинского представительства в сейме незначительно расширило набор политических инструментов, которыми она могла воспользоваться. Как и раньше, это были депутатские запросы (интерпелляции), подача которых согласно регламенту требовала не менее 15 подписей<sup>31</sup>. Доступными стали новые инструменты, такие, как депутатское внесение (право внесения законопроекта или поправки к нему) и участие в работе сеймовых комиссий, которая, по сути, оставалась номинальной. В частности, для утверждения внесения нужно было получить абсолютное большинство голосов при условии присутствия на заседании большинства от состава сейма (115–58 голосов). Эта норма в дальнейшем могла блокировать законодательные инициативы украинской курии. Несмотря на некогда непримиримые позиции радикалов и иерархов УГКЦ, новая модель политического сотрудничества требовала от украинского меньшинства выработки собственной консенсусной позиции и предусматривала слаженную работу всех ее членов.

Руководство сейма – краевого маршалка и 2-х его заместителей польской и украинской национальностей – назначал император из состава сейма. Исполнительный орган краевой репрезентации – Краевой комитет формировался на основе равных национальных квот и состоял из маршалка и 8-х членов – по 4 от польской и украинской курий. Маршалок, как председатель Краевого комитета, должен был сам предложить из состава сейма 2-х своих заместителей – поляка и украинца, а 6-х членов выбирали послы от 2-х национальных курий (по одному от I, от II, III, IV, V и от VI)<sup>32</sup>. Схема принятия решений Краевым комитетом не предусматривала национально ограничительных механизмов. На его заседаниях обязательным было присутствие председателя и не менее 4-х из 8-ми членов, а решение требовало абсолютного большинства голосов присутствующих (3 голоса).

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<sup>31</sup> См.: *Regulamin dla Sejmu Krajowego Królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi wraz z Wielkim Księstwem Krakowskiem, przyjęty dnia 10 października 1907* [Regulations for the National Parliament of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, and the Grand Duchy of Kraków, adopted on 10 October 1907], Lwów, 1908, S. 9.

<sup>32</sup> *Ustawa z dnia 8. lipca 1914,...*, S. 169–177.

Маршалок имел право голосовать в том случае, если голоса разделялись поровну. В этих условиях Краевой комитет, без согласования с украинцами, принимал любое решение, которое поддерживало польское большинство.

Краевой устав в новой редакции также предусматривал изменения в организации уездного представительства. Однако оно фактически продолжало формироваться вне принципа этничности – на основе „репрезентации интересов” различных групп населения. В уездах, где насчитывалось более трех таких групп, соотношение между членами уездного совета закреплялось так: самая большая группа получала половину мест минус 1, а для остальных – места распределялись поровну. В уездах, где было две группы по интересам, места в совете также распределялись поровну<sup>33</sup>. Избирательные списки формировались на основе национального принципа, а определение круга избирателей происходило согласно избирательному порядку для общественных советов (закон от 12 августа 1866 г.). Учитывая тот факт, что в полиэтничном уезде могло насчитываться три и более групп по интересам, а национальных кадастров было всего лишь два – польский и украинский –, то напрашивается вывод о том, что эти нормы закладывали технологию, которая обеспечивала бы полякам (в сочетании, например, с евреями или немцами) политическое преимущество в уездном представительстве на тех территориях, где они составляли меньшинство, то есть в Восточной Галиции. Таким образом, межнациональное противостояние переводилось с краевого уровня в полиэтничные уезды; оно расплывалось на локально-множественной основе в сельских общинах, особенно на территории польско-украинского пограничья.

Во время выборов в Галицийский сейм также вводились национальные кадастры избирателей, которые формировались головами общин на основе переписи населения 1910 г. по бытовому языку. Закон предусматривал возможность обжалования неправильности персональных данных в списке избирателей (фамилии, номера избирательного округа, принадлежности к определенной курии и национального кадастра) в 8-дневный срок после обнародования наместником даты выборов. При подаче рекламации избиратель должен был уплатить старосте общины 50% затраченных на внесение изменений средств, иначе обращение оставалось без рассмотрения. За изготовление копии части избирательного списка, которая обязательно прилагалась к рекламации, оплата

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

достигала 100%. Платные и значительно ограниченные во времени процедуры препятствовали реализации права избирателей на обжалование списков.

На основании уже согласованных национальных кадастров уездная власть заранее выдавала каждому избирателю легитимационную карточку и бюллетень для письменного голосования, в котором указывалась его фамилия, название округа, количество кандидатов, за которых он будет голосовать, а также указывалась возможность выбора заместителя посла, право отдавать 1 или 2 голоса. Заместитель посла избирался в одномандатных и в тех двухмандатных избирательных округах, где избиратель был вправе голосовать только за одного кандидата<sup>34</sup>. Заместитель приступал к выполнению депутатских полномочий только после утраты послом своего мандата. Такая технология позволяла избегать довыборов, чтобы лишний раз не провоцировать общественно-политическое напряжение в крае. Кстати, она также использовалась и на Буковине. В Восточной Галиции в VI курии сельских общин на польско-украинском пограничье создавались двухмандатные округа (для украинского большинства и польского меньшинства), где в случае получения обоими кандидатами равенства голосов во втором туре голосования традиционно применялся жребий, как рудимент австрийского избирательного права<sup>35</sup>.

Существование двухмандатных избирательных округов в Восточной Галиции не снимало угрозы эскалации межнационального конфликта, поскольку, как показывает опыт парламентских выборов 1907 г. и 1911 г., здесь могли использоваться определенные избирательные технологии, которые обеспечили бы полякам сразу два мандата – от национального большинства и меньшинства. Социально-политическое противостояние также могло обостряться по всей территории Галиции из-за возможности для высокоцензовых избирателей отдавать несколько голосов в курии городов общего голосования и курии сельских общин. Кроме этого, провинциальный управленческий аппарат получил возможность задействовать административный ресурс еще и при формировании национальных кадастров избирателей потому, что статистические данные

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

переписи населения 1910 г. в Галиции, как, впрочем, и в Моравии, и на Буковине, носили довольно противоречивый характер.

**Таблица 5. Соотношение населения Галиции по вероисповеданию и бытовому языком (на основе переписи 1910)<sup>36</sup>**

по бытовому языку	римо- католики	греко- католики	право- славные	еванге- листы	израилиты	итого
немцы	36 625	596	93	27 129	25 631	90 130 (1,12%)
поляки	3 618 145	235 328	196	7 854	808 327	4 670 167 (58,19%)
украинцы	42 822	3 141 029	1 580	834	21 513	3 208 025 (33,97%)
другие	8 207	496	678	216	168	9 771 (0,12%)
итого	3 732 290 (46,51%)	3 379 233 (42,11%)	2 841 (0,04%)	37 693 (0,46%)	817 804 (10,86%)	8 024 524

Анализ данных австрийской статистики за 1910 г. показывает, что 1,24% граждан на бытовом уровне не пользовались польским или украинским языками, а это около 0,41% избирателей, которых чиновникам нужно было самостоятельно идентифицировать при формировании национальных кадастров. Сравнивая количество греко-католиков и лиц, которые пользовались украинским языком, как бытовым, потери украинского населения составляли 8,14%, а это около 2,71% (19,4 тыс.) избирателей. К польскоязычному населению были также отнесены 9,72% иудеев, а это около 3,24% (23,2 тыс.) избирателей. Таким образом, количество польскоязычных лиц за счет украинцев и евреев выросло на 17,86%. Если учесть еще немцев и других лиц, то вместе эта цифра составит 19,10%. Все это позволяет утверждать, что в польский кадастр всего попало бы 6,36% (45,6 тыс.) избирателей-неполяков. Количество жалоб на качество списков в Галиции могло быть значительным, что в итоге обострило бы противоречия между группами избирателей и политическими органами власти. Массовое обжалование избирательных списков могло поставить под сомнение легитимность проведенных выборов.

<sup>36</sup> *Die Bevölkerung nach der Gebürtigkeit, Religion und Umgangssprache...*, S. 54–55.

**Таблица 6. Соотношение национальных мандатов в численности населения согласно национальному принципу в Галиции (1914)**

национальность	национальное соотношение к населению края	национальное соотношение к общей численности сеймовых мандатов	реальное национальное соотношение мандатов в сейме
немцы	64 499 (0,80%)	–	–
поляки	3 861 840 (48,13%)	166 (72,80%)	166 (72,80%)
украинцы	3 186 512 (39,71%)	61 (+1) (26,87–27,19%)	61 (+1) (26,87–27,19%)
евреи	817 804 (10,86%)	–	–

Таким образом, сеймовая избирательная реформа в Галиции 1914 г. представляла собой одну из самых сложных и запутанных мажоритарно-пропорциональных избирательных систем не только в Цислейтании, но и в Европе. При сохранении курий и модернизации их на основе принципа этничности она обеспечивала польскому меньшинству в Восточной Галиции 78 мандатов (а это 47,3% польских, или 34,4% всех сеймовых мандатов – больше трети). Украинцы, как автохтонное население Восточной Галиции, получили здесь лишь 59 мандатов (а это 95,2% украинских, или 26% всех сеймовых мандатов – меньше трети). Таким образом, краевой избирательный порядок окончательно закрепил политико-правовой статус Восточной Галиции как польско-украинской территории, где большинство сеймовых мандатов принадлежало полякам. Одновременно она устраняла возможность эскалации польско-украинского политического противостояния в национально фиксированных избирательных округах Восточной Галиции во время избирательных кампаний, что в будущем могло бы способствовать налаживанию межнационального диалога на уровне отдельных моноэтнических общин.

„Галицийское уравнение” 1914 г. целесообразно трактовать, как политическую модель провинциального сотрудничества между поляками и украинцами, которая встраивалась в систему австро-венгерского дуалистического федерализма, или, как своеобразный межнациональный „modus vivendi”, который был призван уравновесить политическую систему на краевом уровне. Однако, несмотря на активизацию национального украинского



движения, „уравнивание” 1914 г. консервировало провинциальную политическую систему, поскольку в законодательном порядке приостанавливало объективный процесс роста представительства украинцев в Галицийском сейме. В итоге на сеймовых выборах это, хоть и устраняло перманентную угрозу эскалации межнационального конфликта на политической почве, в то же время обеспечивало господство поляков в Восточной Галиции.

Несомненно, „Галицийское уравнение” 1914 г. демонстрировало отсутствие в Вене намерения реализовывать главное национальное требование украинцев о разделе территории Галиции по национальному признаку, то есть создание обособленных польской и украинской национально-территориальных автономий. Система политических органов власти в Галиции обеспечивала жизнедеятельность национально-территориальной автономии для титульной национальности края – поляков. Ее особенности заключались в реализации провинциальными политическими органами власти преференций по внедрению польского языка в администрацию, создание польского бюрократического аппарата и полонизации образования, а также в осуществлении расширенных административных функций. „Галицийское уравнение” 1914 г. встраивало в структуру польской национально-территориальной автономии несколько элементов национально-экстерриториальной автономии политического типа для украинцев – национальную курию в краевом сейме, национальный кадастр избирателей, фиксированные национальные округа в Восточной Галиции. Начало Первой мировой войны помешало реализации сеймовой избирательной реформы 1914 г., в результате чего частичная национально-экстерриториальная автономия для украинцев в Галиции так и не состоялась.

### **Заключение**

Модернизация национальной политики Австро-Венгрии в условиях дуалистического федерализма предусматривала внедрение отдельных элементов национально-экстерриториальной автономии авторства австрийских социал-демократов. На практике она оказалась не автономизацией, а, скорее, децентрализацией власти на уровне отдельных уездов и общин. Новая австрийская национальная политика характеризовалась введением принципа этничности при формировании списков избирателей, состава краевого сейма и его исполнительного органа, а также школьных советов; обеспечением права национальных сообществ и отдельных индивидов свободно пользоваться

краевыми языками в публичной жизни; внедрением в законодательство понятия обособленных школьных национальных общин, что в комплексе имело место лишь в Моравии. Несмотря на несовершенство предложенных политико-правовых механизмов, „национальные уравнения” в Моравии (1905), на Буковине (1910) и в Галиции (1914) создали законодательную основу для реализации национальными сообществами своих интересов на основе политического сотрудничества и взаимодействия, что должно было смягчить межнациональные конфликты в вышеупомянутых провинциях. Однако новые подходы в реализации национальной политики в Австро-Венгрии не могли в целом решить национальные вопросы, они только отсрочили волеизъявление народов к самоопределению и созданию собственной государственности.

**L'IMAGE DE LA MONARCHIE EN ROUMANIE.  
L'ARCHEVÊQUE RAYMUND NETZHAMMER À PROPOS  
DU ROI CHARLES I<sup>er</sup>**

**THE IMAGE OF THE MONARCHY IN ROMANIA.  
ARCHBISHOP RAYMUND NETZHAMMER ABOUT KING CHARLES I**

**Dinu BALAN**

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***Rezumat: Imaginea monarhiei în România. Arhiepiscopul catolic Raymund Netzhammer despre regele Carol I***

*Ne propunem să reconstituim, în acest cadru, imaginea regelui Carol I, așa cum reiese din impresionantul jurnal al arhiepiscopului catolic de București, Raymund Netzhammer. Deși nu a fost preferatul suveranului pentru ocuparea scaunului arhiepiscopal, relațiile dintre înaltul ierarh catolic și primul rege al României s-au bazat pe încredere, respect și prietenie. Netzhammer a știut să-și facă din Carol I un confident și a devenit un sfătuitor al monarhului, inclusiv în probleme politice. Chiar dacă relațiile dintre cei doi au fost umbrite de poziția Vaticanului privitoare la creșterea urmașilor la tron în religia ortodoxă, în acord cu prevederile Constituției din 1866, ele au relevat, în ansamblu, simpatia și aprecierea reciprocă dintre două personalități de prim rang ale scenei românești de la începutul secolului al XX-lea. Pe un alt plan, în perioada în care Netzhammer a fost arhiepiscop de București, Biserica Catolică și-a sporit influența și prestigiul în societatea românească.*

***Résumé :*** *On se proposa de reconstruire, dans le cadre ci-joint, l'image du roi Charles I<sup>er</sup>, comme elle résulte du journal impressionnant de l'archevêque catholique de Bucarest, Raymund Netzhammer. Bien qu'il ne fût pas le favori du souverain pour détenir le siège archiepiscopal, les relations entre le haut ecclésiastique catholique et le premier roi de la Roumanie se basèrent sur confiance, respect et amitié. Netzhammer sut comment transformer Charles I<sup>er</sup> en confident et il est devenu l'un des conseillers du monarque, y compris dans les questions politiques. Même si les relations entre les deux ont été éclipsées par la position du Vatican concernant l'élévation des successeurs au trône dans la religion orthodoxe, conformément à la Constitution de 1866, elles ont révélé, dans l'ensemble, la sympathie et la reconnaissance mutuelle entre les deux personnalités de premier rang de la*

*scène roumaine. Sur un autre plan, tandis que Netzhhammer était archevêque de Bucarest, l'Eglise catholique accrut son influence et son prestige dans la société roumaine.*

**Abstract:** *We intend to reconstruct the image of the Romanian King Charles I, as it is reflected in the impressive journal of Raymund Netzhhammer, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Bucharest in the years 1904-1925. Although Netzhhammer was not the favorite of the king to occupy the archbishop function, the relations between the two were based on trust, respect, and friendship. The catholic Archbishop knew how to make a confidant of Charles I and became an advisor to the monarch, including regarding political life. Even though the relations between Charles I and Netzhhammer were overshadowed by the Vatican's position regarding the education of the successors to the throne in the Orthodox religion, in accordance with the Constitution of 1866, they generally revealed sympathy and mutual appreciation. On another plane, by the time Netzhhammer was Archbishop of Bucharest, the Catholic Church increased its influence and prestige in the Romanian society.*

**Keywords:** *Journal, the early Twentieth century Romania, King Charles I, Archbishop Raymund Netzhhammer, politics.*

## Introduction

La personnalité exceptionnelle de Charles I<sup>er</sup> peut être reconstruite fidèlement à travers les récits et les notes contemporains. De cette façon, la biographie du roi est conçue d'une manière crédible, tout à fait plausible. Les mémoires, les journaux et les notes politiques sont également utiles pour une meilleure connaissance de l'Etat roumain dans l'histoire moderne. Cette catégorie de sources historiques devrait être prise en considération - au moins sur le sujet qui nous intéresse - d'une double perspective. Tout d'abord, les informations contenues dans ces notes nuancent l'ensemble qui est déjà connu, révélant souvent des éléments nécessaires pour apprécier les réalisations des différentes personnalités à leur juste valeur. Deuxièmement, ces écrits mettent en évidence les mentalités d'une certaine période et révèlent, même d'une perspective limitée et unilatérale, un imaginaire sociopolitique à prendre en compte.

Le cas de l'archevêque catholique de Bucarest, Raymund Netzhhammer s'inscrit, sans doute, dans une telle série. Après avoir vécu près de vingt ans en Roumanie, après avoir appris la langue roumaine et après s'être habitué avec sa culture, après avoir réalisé des études d'importance reconnue sur le passé chrétien de Dobroudja, tout en essayant de suivre les conseils du pape Pie X d'être un «bon roumain» et après avoir témoigné l'amour pour la terre qui allait devenir

sa seconde patrie<sup>1</sup>, le haut ecclésiastique catholique nous offre une perspective riche et nuancée, équilibrée, pleine de compréhension et de sympathie pour le pays et ses habitants. Les rapports de Netzhammer avec Charles, basés sur confiance mutuelle, sympathie et amitié, renforcés au fil du temps, représentent un argument irréfutable pour la lecture attentive de ces fragments extraits des écrits de l'archevêque dans lesquels il y a des références au roi et à la monarchie. On utilisa le terme « mémoires » en sens générique, « faisant référence à un type de communication directe, proche de la confidence faite pour la postérité (mémoires), à un interlocuteur (correspondance) ou du type de soliloque transcrit (journal intime) »<sup>2</sup>. Les clarifications terminologiques de ce genre nous semblent, pour notre approche, redondantes et précieuses, d'autant plus que les œuvres de Netzhammer ne sont ni des journaux intimes, ni des mémoires dans le vrai sens du mot.

Notre analyse ne peut pas s'arrêter sur tous les écrits de Netzhammer et sur tous les détails concernant le roi qui y sont contenus. Nous limiterons notre travail au livre « Aus Rumänien. Streifzüge und seine Geschichte durch das Land »<sup>3</sup>. Compte tenu de l'espace limité de l'article ci-joint, nous allons citer très peu du journal impressionnant de l'archevêque catholique. Sur la figure du roi, comme elle apparaît dans cette écriture monumentale, nous ferons référence à une autre occasion. On se proposa d'analyser l'image du premier roi de la Roumanie dans le travail de Netzhammer. En outre, nous avons l'intention de présenter et de

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<sup>1</sup> Raymund Netzhammer, *Episcop în România într-o epocă a conflictelor naționale și religioase* [Évêque en Roumanie dans une période des conflits nationaux et religieux], vol. I, édition réalisée par Nikolaus en collaboration avec Krista Zach Netzhammer, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2005, p. 421 (note de 14 février 1913); vol. II, p. 1282 (note de 6 juillet 1924).

<sup>2</sup> Silvian Iosifescu, *Literatura de frontieră* [La littérature de frontière], la deuxième édition révisée, București, Editura Enciclopedică română, 1971, p. 70. Voir aussi Jacques Le Rider, *Jurnale intime vieneze* [Journaux intimes viennois], traduction et préface de Magda Jeanrenaud, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2001, *Préface*.

<sup>3</sup> Le premier volume de ce livre impressionnant est apparu dans la première édition en 1909 à Einsiedeln, on imprima une deuxième édition en 1913, quand on publia, aussi, le second volume, en trois éditions successives: Raymund Netzhammer, *Aus Rumänien. Streifzüge durch das Land und seine Geschichte*, 2 volumes, Einsiedeln, Benzinger, 1909, 1913. On a traduit le livre en roumain en 2010: *Din România. Incursiuni prin această țară și istoria ei* [En Roumanie. Incursions à travers ce pays et son histoire], Introduction à l'édition roumaine par Violeta Barbu, traduction de l'allemand par George Guțu, deux volumes, Bucarest, Editura Humanitas, 2010.

commenter ses vues sur le rôle et la place de la monarchie dans l'arène politique, mais aussi dans l'ensemble constitutionnel de l'Ancien Royaume, d'insister sur des éléments de coulisses, qu'il connaissait en détail pendant sa mission à Bucarest. Toute approche historique, même brève, sur la personne de Charles I<sup>er</sup> ne peut pas ignorer ces références. Il est vrai, certaines d'entre elles ne servent qu'à décrire l'arrière-plan sur lequel se profile la figure imposante du souverain. Il serait présomptueux de dire, dans ce contexte, que les écrits de l'archevêque catholique de Bucarest changent nettement la perspective sur la monarchie en Roumanie. Les livres de Netzhammer ne contiennent pas nécessairement des éléments nouveaux, susceptibles de déclencher de nouvelles œuvres biographiques ou monographiques consacrées au Roi. Cependant, en parcourant ces passages, tout le monde peut se convaincre que le portrait de Charles gagne en profondeur, que les détails, les nuances, les remarques à propos du souverain sont du plus grand intérêt.

Naturellement, les idées et les conceptions de Netzhammer ont été influencées par sa relation si cordiale avec le roi, par ses intérêts et sa culture. Il y a une perspective imprégnée par ses habitudes intellectuelles, culturelles et religieuses, une perspective dirigée par l'outillage mental qui est spécifique à un représentant de l'altérité, même si le protagoniste prouva une disponibilité intellectuelle et une empathie participative exceptionnelle tout au long de son séjour en Roumanie.

### **Netzhammer et Charles I<sup>er</sup>: quelques éléments communs**

On est d'avis que le chercheur doit tenir compte de deux directions d'analyse : présenter un portrait du roi, comme il ressort des écrits de l'archevêque, respectivement regarder la relation entre le narrateur et l'auguste personnalité. On va insister davantage sur les deux sujets dans une tentative de donner au lecteur des arguments suffisants que tout nouveau travail sur Charles I<sup>er</sup> ne peut pas ignorer les textes écrits par Netzhammer. On veut saisir leur évolution synchrone, inextricablement liée. Une telle « lecture » nous semble la plus édifiante en ce contexte.

Un élément commun, qui peut être un point de départ utile pour comprendre les idées des deux, mais aussi la manière dans laquelle les contemporains les aperçurent, est leur origine étrangère. Charles I<sup>er</sup>, ainsi que Netzhammer, eut à souffrir à cause de son ethnicité, surtout après le déclenchement de la Première Guerre mondiale.

Indiscutablement, Charles oscilla sans cesse entre les sentiments envers son pays d'origine et les obligations envers l'État roumain. Un éminent chercheur remarqua que le premier monarque constitutionnel servit un double intérêt : celui dynastique, mais aussi celui national roumain<sup>4</sup>. Ceux qui soupçonnaient, à tort, ses sentiments patriotiques et qui avaient des doutes quant à son engagement envers la Roumanie étaient nombreux. On considéra plus forte son ethnicité. I.G. Duca, par exemple, affirma que le premier monarque constitutionnel du pays « se considéra d'abord prince allemand, et ensuite roi de la Roumanie »<sup>5</sup>. Il est certain que le monarque s'assuma des obligations envers le corps social de son pays d'adoption, en dépit des sensibilités ou des appréhensions présentes à certains membres de l'élite politique et intellectuelle roumaine. Renforçant l'État et contribuant à son développement économique, politique ou culturel, Charles I<sup>er</sup> fut capable de transformer progressivement la perception des Roumains sur la dynastie étrangère. Même si on aperçut Charles comme un homme du devoir, dur, froid et imposant<sup>6</sup>, les effets bienfaisants du règne ont sensibilisé, progressivement, les gens. Le travail constant, l'œuvre édifiée par le souverain et l'amour du pays porteront leurs fruits, comme y avait remarqué sa nièce - la future reine Marie<sup>7</sup>. Son règne commença à être considéré comme une garantie de l'existence et de la modernisation de la Roumanie<sup>8</sup>. Les représentants de la monarchie roumaine purent se présenter comme des légataires des désirs de la nation roumaine, exprimés dans la première moitié du XIX-ème siècle dans la correspondance, les rapports, les mémoires, culminant dans les résolutions de l'Assemblée ad hoc de 1857. Après l'éclatement de la Première Guerre mondiale, la méfiance à l'égard du roi augmenta. Le désir de Charles de respecter les engagements envers la Triple Alliance agita les eaux de la scène politique roumaine et compromit les sentiments profonds de la population à l'égard de la

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<sup>4</sup> Paul Henry, *L'abdication du prince Cuza et l'avènement de la dynastie de Hohenzollern au trône de Roumanie. Documents diplomatiques*, Paris, Librairie Félix Alcan, 1930, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> I. G. Duca, *Amintiri politice* [Souvenirs politiques], vol. I, München, Jon Dumitru Verlag, 1981, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> Maria, Regina României, *Povestea vieții mele* [L'histoire de ma vie], vol. I, la troisième édition, Iași, Editura «Moldova», 1990, pp. 114, 182, 185, 234-235, 253-254, 263 etc.

<sup>7</sup> Maria, Regina României, *op. cit.*, vol. II, ed. cit., 1991, pp. 369-370.

<sup>8</sup> Voir aussi Dinu Balan, *Români și dinastia străină în epoca modernă: avatarurile unei dimensiuni politico-identitare* [Les Roumains et la dynastie étrangère à l'époque moderne: les avatars d'une dimension politique identitaire], en *Slujind-o pe Clio. In onorem Dumitru Vitcu* [Au service de Clio. In honorem Dumitru Vitcu] (coord. Mihai Iacobescu, Gh. Cliveti, Dinu Balan), Iași, Editura Junimea, 2010, pp. 205-221.

dynastie. « Il a été détesté par le pays tout entier », « on parlait d'abdication forcée, de révolution [...] »<sup>9</sup>. Netzhammer lui-même nota dans son journal que la reine Elisabeth lui dit que son auguste mari avait eu l'intention d'abdiquer et de s'installer en Suisse<sup>10</sup>. Cependant, sa nièce, la princesse Marie, rejeta une telle intention, affirmant la détermination de son oncle de ne pas abandonner le trône dans des moments difficiles pour le pays<sup>11</sup>. Qui qu'auraient été les pensées intimes du monarque, il a dû obéir à la décision du Conseil de Couronne de Sinaia, le 21 juillet / le 3 août, 1914 : « Je constate que les représentants du pays ont exigé, presque en unanimité, la neutralité. En tant que monarque constitutionnel, j'obéis à votre volonté. Je crains, cependant, que le pays sortira avec le prestige diminué de la réunion d'aujourd'hui et je crains que vous avez pris une décision que la Roumanie repentira à l'avenir »<sup>12</sup>. Le conflit intérieur lui causa, semble-il, la mort. La reine aurait dit à un envoyé de la maison impériale allemande à l'enterrement de son mari qu'il est mort à cause du « conflit moral douloureux qui l'empêcha d'entrer dans la guerre à côté de l'Allemagne »<sup>13</sup>.

Après l'entrée de la Roumanie dans la Première Guerre mondiale, on considéra Netzhammer, à son tour, un instrument des occupants. Cette perception s'amplifia après le retrait des autorités roumaines en Moldavie. Bien qu'il ait la nationalité suisse et qu'il essaya, tout au long de la guerre, d'avoir une attitude neutre, sans porter des préjudices aux intérêts de la Roumanie, l'archevêque catholique de Bucarest se confronta aux susceptibilités et aux accusations<sup>14</sup>. En effet, les autorités roumaines le considérèrent suspect et la Direction de la Police et de la Sécurité Générale le poursuivit<sup>15</sup>. Dans une note du ministère des Affaires

<sup>9</sup> C. Gane, *P.P. Carp și locul său în istoria politică a țării* [P.P. Carp et sa place dans l'histoire politique du pays], vol. II, București, Universul, 1936, p. 157.

<sup>10</sup> Raymund Netzhammer, *Episcop în România într-o epocă a conflictelor naționale și religioase*, vol. I, p. 538 (note de 13 octobre 1914).

<sup>11</sup> Maria, Regina României, *op. cit.*, vol. II, éd. cit., 1991, p. 368.

<sup>12</sup> Ion Bulei, *Arcul așteptării. 1914-1915-1916* [L'arc d'attente. 1914-1915-1916], București, Editura Eminescu, 1981, p. 63.

<sup>13</sup> I. G. Duca, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>14</sup> Voir, en détail, Nikolaus Netzhammer, *In verbo Tuo. Raymund Netzhammer O.S.B. Arhiepiscop de București 1905-1924* [In verbo Tuo. Raymund Netzhammer O.S.B. Archevêque de Bucarest 1905-1924], București, Editura Arhiepiscopiei Romano-Catolice de București, 2003, pp. 73-88; Idem, *Introducere* [Introduction], en Raymund Netzhammer, *Episcop în România într-o epocă a conflictelor naționale și religioase*, vol. I, pp. 34-43.

<sup>15</sup> Arhivele Naționale ale României. Serviciul Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale [Les



Intérieures, on le considérait « coupable de graves complots contre la sécurité de l'État et contre les intérêts nationaux de la Roumanie, sous occupation ennemie »<sup>16</sup>. Immédiatement après la fin de la guerre, une puissante campagne éclata contre lui. Les médias commencèrent « des attaques furieuses contre lui »<sup>17</sup>. Les organes de sécurité de l'État ont voulu instrumenter le « cas » Netzhhammer et ont agi en ce sens<sup>18</sup>. On discutait même la possibilité d'engager un procès devant un tribunal militaire, on accusait Netzhhammer de l'intention de changer le calendrier et de convertir le peuple roumain au catholicisme, à l'aide des occupants allemands<sup>19</sup>. Les accusations étaient ridicules en réalité, mais cela n'eut pas d'importance à ce moment-là.

### Netzhhammer - entre son ethnicité et la fidélité envers sa nouvelle patrie

Malgré l'absence de toute preuve indiquant son attitude hostile ou collaborationniste, les stigmates de son origine marqueront sa vie. Les soupçons et les accusations continuèrent à persister longtemps. Il allait vivre l'humiliation du refus d'être reçu en audience par le roi Ferdinand, mais aussi par les représentants des puissances victorieuses, tel Berthelot, à cause de son présumé collaborationnisme pendant l'occupation allemande<sup>20</sup>. Nicolae Iorga écrivait dans un ouvrage d'histoire que Netzhhammer avait été « un ennemi national déclaré en temps de guerre »<sup>21</sup>.

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Archives Nationales de la Roumanie. Le Service des Archives Nationales Historiques Centrales] (dans le pages à suivre S.A.N.I.C.), Fond  *Direcția Generală a Poliției* [Fond  *Direction Generale de la Police*], dossier no. 5/1918, f. 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Nikolaus Netzhhammer, *Introducere*, en Raymund Netzhhammer, *Episcop în România într-o epocă a conflictelor naționale și religioase*, vol. I, p. 43.

<sup>18</sup> S.A.N.I.C., fond  *Direcția Generală a Poliției*, dossier no. 5/1918, ff. 5,7.

<sup>19</sup> Raymund Netzhhammer, *Episcop în România într-o epocă a conflictelor naționale și religioase*, vol. II, p. 874 (note de 9 mars 1919).

<sup>20</sup> Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice* [Notes politiques], vol. III. *România și primul război mondial (1914-1919). Războiul (1918-1919). România politică după întregire (1920-1924). Addenda (1897-1911)* [La Roumanie et la Première Guerre Mondiale (1914-1919). La Guerre (1918-1919). La Roumanie politique après la complétude (1920-1924). Addenda (1897-1911), Édition et introduction par Stelian Neagoe, București, Editura Machiavelli, 1995, p. 252 (note de 2/15 janvier 1919).

<sup>21</sup> N. Iorga, *Istoria Bisericii românești și a vieții religioase a românilor* [Histoire de l'Église

Certains historiens de nos jours partagèrent ces hypothèses et préjugés. A l'abri de l'occupation allemande, l'archevêque aurait suivi convertir le peuple roumain au catholicisme<sup>22</sup>. Netzhammer, lui-même, dut rejeter catégoriquement toute allégation de ce genre. Il garantit qu'il n'avait pas atteint les intérêts de l'Église orthodoxe et qu'il avait été loyal à son pays d'adoption. Il écrit qu'il ne commit aucun crime contre l'État. En effet, continua le haut ecclésiastique, «J'ai milité au moment décisif pour la monarchie, la dynastie et les droits des Roumains, en particulier en Dobroudja»<sup>23</sup>. C'était le résultat de son amour sincère pour son pays d'adoption et du refus des mesures de force. On considéra son amour pour la Roumanie comme intéressé. Si un tel amour pour son pays d'adoption, comme le montre Netzhammer est possible, on dirait qu'on ne peut pas l'accepter en tant que tel et on le considéra tout simplement suspect. On croit que cet amour est coupable, perverti, en tout cas différent de celui qui est authentique, c'est-à-dire de celui des Roumains eux-mêmes. En d'autres termes, son affection est rapportée à une Roumanie imaginaire, c'est-à-dire une Roumanie du passé chrétien et d'un avenir catholique. Il y a une Roumanie plus proche - politiquement et spirituellement - du pays d'origine, l'Allemagne. Ensuite, il y a un amour intéressé : il aime la Roumanie - comme on suggéra - parce qu'il veut voir l'objet fantasmagorique de son désir.

Bien sûr, l'archevêque de Bucarest a poursuivi les intérêts de l'Eglise catholique en Roumanie, car il en était le chef. On souligna, à juste titre, que cette période « est la période de la présence prestigieuse du catholicisme en Roumanie, c'est la période de la présence complexe du catholicisme en Roumanie, c'est-à-dire celle de la présence culturelle et spirituelle accentuée dans la vie publique culturelle et scientifique »<sup>24</sup>. Tout de même, Netzhammer évita toute approche nationaliste ; il ne promut pas un catholicisme agressif, ce qui aurait suscité des réactions violentes dans l'espace roumain, dans une période dans laquelle des journaux vitupéraient souvent contre la « propagande catholique ». On a dit que

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roumaine et de la vie religieuse des Roumains], la deuxième édition revue et complétée, vol. II, București, Editura Ministerului Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice, 1930, p. 308.

<sup>22</sup> Lucian Boia, „Germanofili”. *Elita intelectuală românească în anii Primului Război Mondial* [«Les germanophiles». L'élite intellectuelle roumaine pendant la Première Guerre Mondiale], București, Editura Humanitas, 2009, p. 84.

<sup>23</sup> Raymund Netzhammer, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 856 (note de 10 janvier 1919).

<sup>24</sup> Elena Siupiur, *La missione culturale e educativa dell'arcivescovo cattolico Raymund Netzhammer nella Romania ortodossa*, en «Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes», XLVII (2009), 1-4, p. 180.

l'archevêque de Bucarest appliqua « une politique d'égalité, visant la consolidation générale de l'Eglise catholique, tout en évitant le fanatisme ethnique »<sup>25</sup>. Il est vrai, l'affirmation envisage la tentative de Netzhammer de gouverner avec équité et sans parti pris les divers groupes nationaux de son archidiocèse, mais on peut la considérer comme un précepte généralement assumé par le bénédictin. On oublia trop souvent que le prélat essaya, en tant que chrétien, de vivre l'impératif d'aimer son prochain, à vivre ensemble sous la lumière du rayon divin. Ainsi, il sera ouvert à l'Autre et sera en mesure d'exorciser les démons du nationalisme<sup>26</sup>.

Sans doute, son ethnicité était intrinsèque à son être. Ses points de vue n'ont pas toujours coïncidé avec celles de la majorité des Roumains. Certaines de ces positions étaient perçues comme hostiles aux intérêts de la Roumanie. Cela ne diminua pas la stature morale et intellectuelle de Netzhammer, autant que ses multiples qualités. En outre, il fut un desservant de l'Église et, de cette position, il devrait être au-dessus des étroites divisions nationales. Il mit, en effet, son énergie au service de l'Église et des gens de différentes conditions sociales, religieuses, nationales et culturelles. L'exacerbation de la relation entre la religion et la nation est extrêmement dangereuse et - dans son cas - dénuée de sens. Il aima la Roumanie et son peuple. On ne peut pas considérer ses actes comme hostiles au peuple roumain. Au contraire, il eut une sympathie sans bornes pour les gens simples de ce pays, il aima la nature et la terre de la Roumanie, s'intéressa sur le passé chrétien du Bas Danube et écrit sur l'histoire paléochrétienne de Dobroudja avec talent et compétence. Mais ses détracteurs ou les démagogues nationalistes négligèrent tous ces aspects. Ces éléments définissent, dans une certaine mesure, les destinées des deux personnalités qui se sont rencontrées et se sont sincèrement appréciées.

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<sup>25</sup> Carmen Patricia-Reneti, *Catolicii germani din România înainte de primul război mondial* [Les catholiques allemands en Roumanie avant la Première Guerre mondiale], en „Analele Științifice ale Universității «Alexandru Ioan Cuza» de Iași” [“Les Annales Scientifiques de l'Université «Alexandru Ioan Cuza» de Iași”] (nouvelle série). Histoire, tom. LIV-LV (2008-2009), pp. 225-226. Voir aussi Ion Dumitriu-Snagov, *Le Saint-Siège et la Roumanie moderne, 1866-1914*, Roma, Università Gregoriana Editrice, 1982, p. 153.

<sup>26</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, *Conceptele și istoriile lor. Semantica și pragmatica limbajului social-politic* [Les concepts et leurs histoires. La sémantique et la pragmatique du langage social-politique]. Avec deux contributions par Ulrike Spree et Willibald Steinmetz, Traduction de l'allemand par Gabriel H. Decuble et Mari Oruz, București, Grupul Editorial Art, 2009, p. 242.

### Un portrait élogieux du Roi Charles I<sup>er</sup>

Cela est bien évident dans les écrits du haut prélat catholique. Sa première rencontre avec le roi de la Roumanie eut lieu bien avant que Netzhhammer devienne archevêque à Bucarest. Le Père Raymund, professeur au gymnase de l'abbaye bénédictine de Sainte-Marie d'Einsiedeln, en Suisse, passionné par la science et participant actif et direct à de nombreuses activités pratiques, s'impliqua dans les travaux d'installation du nouvel orgue dans l'église. Au cours de ces travaux, le 10 septembre 1897, il offrit à la paire royale de la Roumanie – qui visita le monastère – quelques explications sur le fonctionnement de l'imposant instrument musical. Netzhhammer lui-même relata l'épisode, dans un discours tenu dans la maison de l'association Tomis, aux festivités occasionnées par l'anniversaire de l'âge de 70 ans de la Reine Elizabeth. On publia ce discours dans le journal de langue allemande „Bukarester Tagblatt”<sup>27</sup>. En présentant les souhaits des catholiques de Bucarest et en y exprimant la satisfaction pour les manifestations organisées à l'occasion de ce moment festif, l'auteur souligne, en passage, cet épisode passé il y a près de deux décennies. On apprécia, dans ce contexte, la passion pour la musique de celle connue sous le pseudonyme Carmen Sylva. L'article – bien que dédié à la Reine – est, en effet, un hommage vibrant à la famille royale de la Roumanie, que l'archevêque catholique de Bucarest apporta<sup>28</sup>.

La même note d'appréciation de la figure du souverain roumain et de son rôle dans la modernisation du pays est perceptible dans les pages de son œuvre *Aus Rumänien. Streifzüge durch das Land und seine Geschichte*. C'est un récit d'une force plastique impressionnante et d'une précision remarquable, composé de certains tableaux d'un raffinement particulier, y compris des descriptions de la nature ou des collectivités humaines, des impressions de voyage, des divagations historiques, des croquis archéologiques et des autres relations sur la Roumanie et ses habitants. Il organisa ses références au roi également sous la forme de tableaux, presque autonomes, qui sont distincts de l'ensemble, effectivement repris, développés et imprimés plus tard dans diverses publications. L'observation vaut en particulier pour les séquences contenues dans le second volume.

<sup>27</sup> Erzbischof Raymond Netzhhammer, *Huldigungsfeier des Katholischen Volksvereins für S.M. Königin*, en « Bukarester Tagblatt », XXXV Jahrgang, no. 8, 13 Januar 1914; Idem, *König Karol I. von Rumänien und Maria Einsiedeln (Zum 25. Todestag von König Karl)*, en «St. Meinrads Raben», 29 (1939), 1/2, pp. 6-19.

<sup>28</sup> Raymund Netzhhammer, *Episcop în România într-o epocă a conflictelor naționale și religioase*, vol. I, p. 484 (note de 13 janvier 1914).

Dès le début, l'évocation élogieuse, presque dithyrambique, de la paire royale est évidente. S'étant souvenu, après plusieurs années, son premier contact avec le pays dans lequel on l'envoya comme évêque et avec son peuple, Netzhammer exprima son admiration pour « l'intelligent roi de la Roumanie » et l'appréciation pour Carmen Sylva, « l'illustre dame », dont les chansons glorifient la beauté de la nature de ces contrées<sup>29</sup>. Le souverain était - dans la perception de l'auteur - estimé et chéris par son peuple, accueilli avec joie dans ses voyages à travers le pays. Ainsi, par exemple, dans les visites aux monastères de Moldavie, « il a toujours été reçu avec grand faste »<sup>30</sup>. Dès 1902, lorsqu'il était professeur au séminaire catholique de la capitale, après un voyage en Moldavie, le prélat fut enthousiasmé par l'harmonie du paysage des régions de l'est des Carpates. En même temps, il écrivait au sujet des jardins publics si agréables, qui reflètent le goût des Roumains, mais aussi « la volonté du roi Charles I<sup>er</sup> d'organiser le royaume »<sup>31</sup>. Le prélat se rappelait l'impression spéciale qui lui produisit l'Église Trois Hiérarques de Iași. On restaura le magnifique édifice - aussi beau que l'église du monastère Curtea de Argeș - comme ce dernier, « par l'ordre et le souci du roi Charles »<sup>32</sup>. On apercevait non seulement le rôle civilisateur du monarque - topos reconnaissable dans toutes les références de Netzhammer au souverain de la Roumanie - mais aussi une autre raison, faisant allusion au registre symbolique de la légitimité de la dynastie des Hohenzollern. Charles accepta l'inclusion dans la Constitution de la disposition selon laquelle ses héritiers devaient être élevés dans la religion du pays. Comme les anciens voïvodes, le roi prit, dès le début, la tâche de protéger l'Église. Bien que catholique, il respecta la foi de la majorité de la population, visita les établissements de culte, fit des donations, mais aussi des gestes dans le registre symbolique. En relatant une visite au monastère Dintr-un Lemn, l'archevêque catholique, qui y admira une icône « miraculeuse » de la Vierge Marie, nota que le roi Charles mit un artiste exécuter une reproduction de celle-ci. Mais l'auteur donne encore d'autres détails, de manière à exprimer la haute estime et l'appréciation pour le monarque équilibré, sage et bon chrétien<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> Idem, *Din România*, vol. I, p. 36.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>33</sup> Idem, *Din România*, vol. II, traduction de l'allemand par George Guțu, București, Editura Humanitas, 2010, pp. 22-23.

### Charles I<sup>er</sup> et la modernisation de la Roumanie

On doit la modernisation et le bon fonctionnement du royaume - Netzhammer n'hésite pas à répéter cela - « au sage roi » des Roumains. Il réitéra l'affirmation élogieuse en juillet 1906, lorsqu'il voyagea dans le territoire situé entre le Danube et la mer Noire, dont le but était le monument d'Adamclisi, « le Pompéi de Dobroudja »; il eut l'occasion de rappeler le pont de Cernavodă « qu'on retrouve, comme on sait, parmi les plus belles choses de ce genre qu'on peut voir en Europe »<sup>34</sup>. La figure prestigieuse et omniprésente du monarque, doublée par l'attention, le soin et la sagesse, par son esprit d'organisation et par la volonté presque titanique de ne pas laisser de côté aucun aspect de l'intérêt pour la prospérité du pays qu'il dirige, émerge extrêmement clairement de l'écriture du moine bénédictin. Cette mention de l'effort durable et des multiples préoccupations de Charles devient prévisible. Autre fois, en visitant l'Institut Géographique de Bucarest, il eut l'occasion de parler du désir du roi, qui insista sur la nécessité d'élaborer une carte de la Roumanie, qui devrait respecter « toutes les exigences »<sup>35</sup>. On y doit rappeler la passion de Netzhammer lui-même pour la cartographie, ses connaissances vastes dans ce domaine, de même que sa propre préoccupation pour la réalisation d'une carte, qui pourrait fournir une image appropriée, plastique et édifiante du pays, capable d'inspirer aux enfants l'amour et l'enthousiasme pour la beauté de leur patrie<sup>36</sup>.

La contribution de la monarchie roumaine au développement de la culture joua un rôle important dans la légitimation de la dynastie étrangère<sup>37</sup>. L'appui de

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 82. Voir aussi Idem, *Nach Adamclissi. Ein Sommerausflug in das Pompeji der Dobrogea*, extrait de «Katholische Kirchenzeitung», Salzburg, Pustet, 1906.

<sup>35</sup> Idem, *Din România*, vol. I, p. 120.

<sup>36</sup> Idem, *Viitoarea hartă murală a României* [La future carte murale de la Roumanie], en «Convorbiri Literare» [«Discussions Littéraires»], l'année XLV, no. 1, janvier 1910, p. 12, apud Nikolaus Netzhammer, *In verbo Tuo*, pp. 13-14; Idem, *Introduction*, en Raymund Netzhammer, *Episcop în România într-o epocă a conflictelor naționale și religioase*, vol. I, pp. 12-13.

<sup>37</sup> Voir Klaus Heitmann, *Cultura germană și română la Curtea lui Carol I și a reginei Elisabeta (Carmen Sylva)* [La culture allemande et roumaine à la cour de Charles I<sup>er</sup> et de la Reine Elisabeth (Carmen Sylva)], en Idem, *Oglinzi paralele. Studii de imagologie româno-germană* [Miroirs parallèles. Études d'imagologie roumaine-allemande], Traduction et postface par Florin Manolescu, București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1996, pp. 105-144.

la paire monarchique pour la littérature, l'art populaire, la langue roumaine, la culture en général, gagna l'admiration et l'appréciation d'une grande partie de l'élite culturelle roumaine<sup>38</sup>. « Comme un Roumain authentique - disait I. Scurtu dans un discours à la fin de l'année scolaire - Sa Majesté acheva l'œuvre immense de son règne et son âme noble s'est dissous dans l'âme de notre nation, de partout »<sup>39</sup>. Il n'y s'agissait pas de tout d'une exagération, puisque la gazette hongroise « Budapest Hirnap » du 5 août 1908 écrivit que dans les villages roumains de Transylvanie, « le portrait du roi de la Roumanie est accroché sur le mur dans de nombreuses huttes, comme s'il serait le vrai souverain des cœurs des Roumains »<sup>40</sup>. Dans ce contexte, l'école eut un rôle décisif à inculquer le respect et l'amour pour la dynastie. La nouvelle génération a été élevée dans le respect et le culte pour le couple royal. La dynastie étrangère implanta profondément ses racines dans la terre du pays à la fin de la modernité roumaine, étant aperçue comme une institution identitaire nationale par excellence. Son jeu avec l'imaginaire collectif roumain s'acheva par l'affirmation de l'importance de la monarchie constitutionnelle, pas seulement politiquement, mais aussi symboliquement.

Sans arriver à des conclusions semblables, Netzhhammer eut lui-même l'occasion de réfléchir sur ce jeu des « miroirs parallèles », sur le rôle de l'école au développement du sentiment national et de l'amour pour la dynastie. De cette manière, la présence du portrait de Charles I<sup>er</sup>, ainsi que les images des voïvodes médiévaux sur les murs des salles de classe de Dobroudja encore incomplètement roumanisée, le firent comprendre la profondeur des efforts visant l'insertion du monarque dans l'histoire roumaine et approuver « l'implantation de la réflexion nationale » dans ce territoire multiethnique<sup>41</sup>.

Netzhhammer réalisa un portrait complexe du roi Charles dans un texte de 1910, inclus dans le second volume de son livre *Aus Rumänien*<sup>42</sup>. En combinant d'une façon brillante la narration, la description et le portrait, l'auteur accomplit une belle évocation de grande force et de grande fidélité. Précédée et suivie d'une description détaillée et pertinente du château Peleş, un « Eldorado dans les Carpates »<sup>43</sup>, la scène de l'audience au roi est vraiment mémorable. Celle-là est

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122 et les suivantes.

<sup>39</sup> « Semănătorul » [« Le semeur »], IX, no. 16, 18 avril 1910, p. 245.

<sup>40</sup> Apud Ion Bulei, *Viața în vremea lui Carol I* [La vie à l'époque de Charles I<sup>er</sup>], București, Editura Tritonic, 2005, p. 175.

<sup>41</sup> Raymund Netzhhammer, *Din România*, vol. I, p. 316.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 47-58.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

pleine de détails visuels, psychologiques et historiques émouvantes. La description faite au souverain est si impressionnante qu'elle a un pouvoir spécial de suggestion, une capacité d'évocation exemplaire. La figure de Charles émerge imposante, noble, presque hiératique. L'état d'esprit de celui reçu en audience à Sa Majesté renforce cette impression. L'émotion provoquée par la pensée qu'il visitera le monarque révèle un respect quasi-religieux. Le roi septuagénaire est une combinaison parfaite d'humanité noble et généreuse et d'austérité royale. Voilà, selon Netzhammer, quelques éléments de cet impressionnant portrait : « Le Roi Charles I<sup>er</sup> aime les gens dans le meilleur sens du terme et, par conséquent, il est extrêmement sympathique ; mais il n'oublie, ni même pour un seul instant, qu'il est roi, sachant comment rendre à tout son être le caractère d'un vrai roi, qui impressionne profondément par une tenue noble, soldatesque [...] ainsi que par la manière sérieuse de discuter avec ses partenaires »<sup>44</sup>. Naturellement, nous y présentâmes seulement une esquisse de ce portrait, parce que l'essai de résumer ce que le haut prélat catholique écrit est seulement un ersatz de l'original ; donc, on doit lire ces pages anthologiques en tant que telles.

La réception de la figure du monarque transforme l'empathie en effusion émotionnelle et situe le portrait du souverain dans le registre symbolique. Son hôte mit en évidence, à son tour, le sens artistique certain de Charles<sup>45</sup>. La distance, l'esprit critique, les réserves sont inévitablement exclues, parce qu'ils sont impossibles dans ce contexte, ils ne font pas partie de cette propulsion du lecteur dans un registre émotionnel. La personnalité remarquable de Charles I<sup>er</sup>, telle qu'elle est représentée au lecteur par le moine bénédictin décourage, *a priori*, toute tentative de relativisme, tout jugement négatif, toute mise en contexte hâtive. Le jugement sûr, la perspicacité et le discernement semblent, par conséquent, non seulement être des valeurs intellectuelles ou morales, mais acquièrent les valences politiques majeures. Le portrait du roi prend une forme indépendante, se détache de la contingence historique, étant un presque légendaire, une expression plénière de la royauté même. Le ton même est dynamique, ardent et renforce cette impression. On pourrait penser que c'est un livre de propagande contre le premier monarque constitutionnel de la Roumanie. Ce n'est pas le cas, mais son registre stylistique est un obsolète, même charmant : son langage est spécifique au dix-neuvième siècle.

On doit signaler un autre épisode, aussi, décrivant une rencontre avec la famille royale de la Roumanie, en mai 1911, à Constantza. Après des discussions

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55 et passim.



à la table, au cours desquelles il eut de nouveau la chance d'admirer « la délicate poète Carmen Sylva »<sup>46</sup>, suit un *tête-à-tête* avec Charles. Celui-ci, sous l'impression d'un voyage sur le Danube et en Dobroudja, communiqua à son interlocuteur la satisfaction profonde, provoquée par le développement du pays qu'il dirigeait. L'attitude et la réaction ultérieure de l'auteur des notes sont intéressantes, lorsqu'il confie au papier le sujet de cette discussion privée. « J'ai regardé avec vénération - confesse Netzhammer – le roi qui pendant 45 ans dirigea son pays si sagement et qui peut voir maintenant les fruits splendides de son travail et de son activité »<sup>47</sup>. L'épisode est raconté, aussi, - brièvement et sans les éloges à l'adresse du souverain au pouvoir – dans l'impressionnant journal de l'archevêque de rite latin de la capitale roumaine<sup>48</sup>.

### Conclusions

On doit souligner la substance politique de ces réunions, qui est plus importante que les raisons de sympathie et d'amitié entre les deux personnalités. Les informations fournies par l'archevêque catholique sont crédibles, de première main, et la perception sur la société roumaine et ses divers aspects - politiques, sociaux, culturels etc. – est complexe, riche, nuancée. Ses relations sont très utiles, parce qu'elles sont en grande partie le résultat d'une longue et étroite relation avec le souverain roumain. Nikolaus Netzhammer, le neveu du prélat latin, appréciait dans une monographie que son oncle fut « un partenaire compétent », dans lequel le roi eut complète confiance, les relations entre les deux « étant marquées par une grande harmonie spirituelle, par sympathie et respect »<sup>49</sup>. Le professeur allemand écrivait que « l'exhaustivité avec laquelle le roi exposait à l'Archevêque les principes qui sous-tendent ses décisions et leurs

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165. Voir, pour la description de cet épisode en détail, Idem, *De vorbă cu Regele Carol. Dobrogea și Dunărea* [Parlant avec le roi Charles. Dobroudja et le Danube], en «Revista Catolică» [«La Revue Catholique»], l'année 4 (1915), no. 2, pp. 245-259, article repris - ainsi que d'autres textes sur le même sujet - en *Din viața Regelui Carol I. Mărturii contemporane și documente* [De la vie du roi Charles I<sup>er</sup>. Témoignages contemporains et documents], édition par Al. Tzigara-Samurcaș, București, Fundațiunea «Regele Charles I», 1939, pp 210-256.

<sup>48</sup> Raymund Netzhammer, *Episcop în România într-o epocă a conflictelor naționale și religioase*, vol. I, pp. 315-316 (note de 22 mai 1911).

<sup>49</sup> Nikolaus Netzhammer, *In verbo Tuo*, p. 54; Idem, *Introduction*, en Raymund Netzhammer, *Episcop în România într-o epocă a conflictelor naționale și religioase*, vol. I, p. 19.

préliminaires politiques est surprenante. Netzhammer avait l'habitude de confier immédiatement après ces témoignages au journal, presque sous la forme de sténogrammes »<sup>50</sup>.

Il nous semble juste de souligner, enfin, l'importance des écrits de Netzhammer pour comprendre la personnalité du premier roi de la Roumanie. La lecture des divers passages de son œuvre est très instructive. Le portrait de Charles I<sup>er</sup> est complexe et fascinant. L'image du roi est soigneusement construite ; il y représenta un monarque bon et sage, bon dirigeant, politicien habile, comprenant entièrement les événements. Comme dans un kaléidoscope, l'auteur présente des instantanés différents et successifs du monarque. Séparément et tous ensemble, ceux-ci contribuent à façonner l'image progressive du roi. Les détails, les nuances, les remarques de Netzhammer convergent vers une esquisse de portrait lumineux et complexe sans être, cependant, hagiographique. Naturellement, les idées, les conceptions de l'auteur ont été influencées par la relation spéciale qu'il eut avec le monarque ; ses intérêts et sa culture, les médias. Sa marginalité lui offrit une perspective spécifique, qui l'aida avoir une empathie particulière pour le roi qui parvenait du même espace national et religieux.

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<sup>50</sup> Idem, *In verbo Tuo*, p. 54.

## THE GREAT WAR AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN ROMANIA

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**Rezumat:** *Marele Război și nașterea mișcării comuniste în România.* Înființarea Partidului Comunist din România în anul 1921, ca de altfel întreaga mișcare comunistă din țara noastră, a fost puternic influențată de evenimentele de pe plan mondial de la sfârșitul Primului Război Mondial – ne referim aici cu precădere la revoluția bolșevică din Rusia și la răspândirea ei spre Europa. Studiul nostru își propune să analizeze maniera în care comunismul românesc a urmat modelul sovietic, mai ales că vorbim despre o țară care nu avea tradiție în această direcție, iar clasa muncitoare era mult inferioară din punct de vedere numeric față de țărănime.

**Résumé :** *La Grande Guerre et la naissance du mouvement communiste en Roumanie.* La création du Parti communiste en Roumanie en 1921, de même que l'ensemble du mouvement communiste de notre pays, a été fortement influencée par les événements du monde depuis la fin de la Première Guerre Mondiale. Nous nous référons ici particulièrement à la révolution bolchevique en Russie et à sa propagation en Europe. Notre étude vise à analyser la façon dont le communisme roumain a suivi le modèle soviétique, d'autant plus que nous parlons d'un pays qui n'a pas de tradition dans cette direction, et la classe ouvrière était beaucoup plus faible en termes de nombre vis-à-vis les paysans.

**Abstract.** *The communist movement in Romania and the birth of the Communist Party in 1921 was a phenomenon strongly influenced by events at the end of the Great War. We are talking here mainly about the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and his spread towards Europe. Our study aims to analyze the manner in which the communism in Romania followed the Soviet model, in a country which had no tradition in this direction, and the working class was numerically too weak in comparison with the peasantry.*

**Keywords:** *communism, socialism, Great War, Komintern, Greater Romania*

## Introduction

The World War I started in the summer of 1914 was the result of major conflict of interest between the Great Powers. Very fast, the clash has spread at global level, engaging countries on all continents. Moreover, the historiography<sup>1</sup> talks about a new type of confrontation about a total war.

The consequences of the World War I were multiple and complex, affecting the organization of the international relations on the basis of established system at Versailles, as well as economic life, social and political state of the world. Without no doubt, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and, as a consequence, the birth of the communist movement is one of, if not the most important repercussion of the conflict.

Our study proposes that starting from the political realities of the end of World War I, to analyze the impact of Bolshevism on the communist movement in Romania. For this we appealed mainly to documents of the time, whether we are talking about those emanating from the Komintern, whether we consider internal documents concerning the activity of the Communist Party of Romania. We wanted to highlight the discrepancy between the needs of Romanian society after the Great Union and the communist offer - one divorced from the domestic realities.

Regarding the historiography of the problem we should started with some references about the totalitarian phenomena, the contributions signed by Eckhard Hesse<sup>2</sup>, Ernst Nolte<sup>3</sup> or Leon Poliakov<sup>4</sup> being already considered classical. Also, there is a huge bibliography about communism, with special emphasis on the Bolshevik period and his totalitarian aspects<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For only two examples from a very rich collection see John M. Roberts, *Twentieth century. The history of the world, 1901 – 2000*, New York, 1999, pp. 238-267, and John Milton Cooper, *Woodrow Wilson. A biography*, Vintage Books, 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Eckard Hesse (editor), *Totalitarismus im 20.Jahrhundert: eine Bilanz des internationalen Forschung*, Bonn, 1996.

<sup>3</sup> *Les mouvements fascistes. L'Europe de 1919 á 1945*, Paris, 1999.

<sup>4</sup> *Les totalitarismes du XXe siècle*, Paris, 1997.

<sup>5</sup> For only few examples see Nikolai Berdiaev, *Originea și sensul comunismului rus* [The origin and the sense of Russian communism], Cluj Napoca, 1994; Alain Besançon, *Originile intelectuale ale leninismului* [Intellectual origins of communism], București, 2003; Idem, *Présent soviétique et passé russe*, Hachette, s.a.; Vladimir Brovkin (ed.), *Dear comrades. Mensheviks reports on bolshevik revolution and civil war*, Hoover

Considering our topic, we must point out that historians as Mihail Bruhis<sup>6</sup>, Francis Conte<sup>7</sup>, Lidia Pădureac<sup>8</sup>, Ludmila Rotari<sup>9</sup> or Marin C. Stănescu<sup>10</sup> have contributed to his enrichment. Also, is the case for some very recent books written by Romanian historians Mihai Burcea<sup>11</sup>, Adrian Cioroianu<sup>12</sup> and Cristina Diac<sup>13</sup>.

### Socialist heritage in Romania

For Greater Romania, which achieved at the end of war her national unity, the communist threat was double. On the one hand, we talk about ideological

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- Institution Press, 1991; Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The great failure. The birth and death of communism in the twentieth century*, Collier Books, 1990; Isaac Deutscher, *The unfinished revolution: Russia, 1917 – 1967*, New York, 1967; Milorad Drachkovitch, Branko Lazitch, *The Comintern: Historical highlights, essays, recollection, documents*, New York, 1966; Marc Ferro, *La révolution d'Octobre et la mouvement ouvrier européenne*, Paris, 1967; François Furet, *Trecutul unei iluzii. Eseu despre ideea comunistă în secolul XX* [The past of an illusion. Essay on the communist idea in the twentieth century], Humanitas, 1996; Helmut Gruber, *International communism in the era of Lenin, a documentary history*, New York, 1972; Michel Heller, Aleksandr Nekrich, *L'Utopie au pouvoir. Histoire de l'URSS de 1917 à nos jours*, Calman Levy, 1995; Boris Souvarine, *Staline. Aperçu historique du bolchévisme*, Paris, 1985; Adam Ulam, *The unfinished revolution. An essay on the sources of influence of marxism and communism*, New York, 1969; Michael Voslensky, *Nomenklatura. The rulling class*, New York, 1984.
- <sup>6</sup> *Rusia, România și Basarabia, 1812, 1918, 1924, 1940*, [Russia, Romania and Bessarabia, 1812, 1918, 1924, 1940], Chișinău, 1992.
- <sup>7</sup> *Un révolutionnaire diplomate: Christian Rakovsky. L'Union Soviétique et l'Europe (1911 – 1941)*, Paris, 1978.
- <sup>8</sup> *Relațiile româno-sovietice, 1917 – 1934* [Romanian-Soviet relations, 1917 – 1934], Chișinău, 2003.
- <sup>9</sup> *Mișcarea subversivă în Basarabia între 1918 și 1924* [Subversive movement in Bessarabia between 1918 and 1924], Bucharest, 2004.
- <sup>10</sup> *Moscova, Cominternul, filiera comunistă balcanică și România, 1919 – 1924* [Moscow, Komintern, Balkanic communist network and Romania, 1919 – 1924], București, 1994.
- <sup>11</sup> „Apărând ordinea de stat”. *Siguranța pe urmele lui Gheorghe Crosneff în România interbelică* [“Defending the order of state”. Secret police following Gheorghe Crosneff in the interwar Romania], București, 2016.
- <sup>12</sup> Adrian Cioroianu (ed.), *Comuniștii înainte de comunism. Procese și condamnări ale ilegalistilor în România* [The communists before communism. Processes and convictions of illegalists in Romania], București, 2014.
- <sup>13</sup> Cristina Diac, *Zorii comunismului în România. Ștefan Foriș, un destin neterminat* [Dawn of communism in Romania. Ștefan Foriș, an unfinished destiny], Cetatea de Scaun, 2014.

aspects, which the Communist International involvement has affected the evolution of an extreme left party in our country. On the other, is the territorial issue of Bessarabia.

In fact, this issue has contributed decisively to the worsening of relations with the Kremlin, Lenin acting to this not only diplomatically, but also blocking at the same time the Romanian treasure sent to Moscow. From now, Moscow emerged as the strongest threat to Romania's territorial security and for the safety of the political system in Bucharest.

It should be stressed from the outset that in the Old Kingdom was a Socialist movement before World War I, but it was quite weak. Moreover, the Workers Social Democratic Party of Romania, formed in 1893, failed in 1899 through what was called "generous's betrayal", when a group of leaders left the movement for the National Liberal Party. However, in 1910, a new Social Democratic Party was founded.

We could discuss also about the situation of socialist movement in Bessarabia, Bukovine and Transsylvania. In these regions, the Russian influence (for the first case) and the Austrian (in the other cases), and also the economic and social realities conducted to specific situation<sup>14</sup>. We don't intend to discuss now the roots of the socialist movement outside of the Old Kingdom, but we need to mention the tragic fate of some socialist leaders after 1947<sup>15</sup>.

### **The Third International Communist**

The attraction of this party in the internationalist structures prepared by the Bolsheviks was to understand if we consider Moscow's plans for the dissemination of world revolution. Thus, Lenin and his entourage have decided to found the Third International Communist. In this regard, the invitation to the founding Congress was released from 24 January 1919. The document in question<sup>16</sup> is one of particular importance since it defines clearly the context, political objectives, and purposes for which it was elaborated. In the preamble of the paper it is shown that:

<sup>14</sup> See for Transsylvania, Sorin Radu, *Ion Flueraș (1882 – 1953). Social-democrație și sindicalism* [Ion Flueraș (1882 – 1953). Social-democracy and syndicalism], București, 2007.

<sup>15</sup> See Constantin Buchet, *Social-democrația încarcerată. Evoluții politice interne și reacții internaționale, 1946 – 1969* [Social-democracy in prison. International reactions and internal political evolutions, 1946 – 1969], București, 2005.

<sup>16</sup> <http://marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1924/ffyci-1/app04.htm>. Accessed in 10.12.16

„He undersigned parties and organizations consider it urgently necessary to convene the first congress of a new revolutionary International. During the war and the revolution, it became conclusively clear not only that the old socialist and social-democratic parties and with them the Second International, had become completely bankrupt, not only that the half-way elements of the old social-democracy (the so-called “centre”) are incapable of positive revolutionary action, but that the outlines of a really revolutionary international are already clearly defined. The gigantic pace of the world revolution, constantly presenting new problems, the danger that this revolution may be throttled by the alliance of capitalist states, which are grouping together against the revolution under the hypocritical banner of the “League of Nations”, the attempts of the parties of the social-traitors to get together and, having “amnestied” each other, to assist their governments and their bourgeoisie to deceive the working class yet again; finally the extraordinarily rich revolutionary experience already gained and the internationalization of the entire revolutionary movement compel us to take the initiative in placing upon the order of the day the convening of an international congress of revolutionary proletarian parties.<sup>17</sup>

The International objectives and tactics he met, the letter clearly point out that the immediate task of the proletariat was taking over political power, by destroying the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie and replacing them with those of the working class. This was to be imposed on the “dictatorship of the proletariat”, through the efforts of workers internationally.

Sure, in the context of strong ideological conflict of the period, was not forgotten the address criticism of the old socialist parties considered treacherous to cause proletariat weak policy against the bourgeoisie. As a result, a number of parties, 39 organizations and groups were invited to establish the Communist International. The list was open to the most powerful forces of the far left of the moment, the victorious Bolsheviks already in Russia and the Spartacus League of Germany, and among the guests was the Social Democratic Party of Romania.

Thus, during the period from 2 to 6 March 1919, it took place in Moscow the first Congress of the Third International Communist. In the opening speech, Lenin has outlined the main task of the new International:

“People are aware of the importance and significance of the battle that you now lead. All we need is to find practical form to be able to install the

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

dictatorship of the proletariat. Such a shape is the dictatorship of the proletariat with the Soviet system. ...<sup>18</sup>

On the basis of those discussed in Moscow, the participants remained in action in their home states. In Romania, the main problem was the transformation of the Social Democratic Party in the Communist Party, or at least a significant fraction of this, to separate in order to join the Komintern. From this point of view things were far more advanced, and naturally otherwise in Bessarabia.

An interesting document of the General Direction of Secret Police about the Bolshevik movement in the territory between Prut and Nistru<sup>19</sup>, written in June 1920, provides us with extremely valuable information in this regard. Firstly, the report's author pointed out that the strength of the movement came from the fact that it was fed on the Russian vein, as both the roots and the Organization, fighting tactic and financing.

Another important element for the development of the movement was, in the opinion of the Romanian Secret Police:

"...the fact that the population of Bessarabia know Bolshevik ideas since the time when the province was not attached to Romania, when these ideas gave only general promises of happiness, by land sharing, equality, the rule of the workers and poor peasants, some of which have been performed and before entering the Romanian army was therefore free to sharing lands..."<sup>20</sup>.

The synthesis pointed out successes recorded in 1919, and the arrest of more than 200 prominent Communists, accused for Bolshevik propaganda and for stealing military intelligence informations. This was the reason that, for several months, the communist activity languished in Bessarabia. In addition, two Bolsheviks staff members coming from over the Dniester in July 1919, Ivan Alekseyevich Cercash and Samuel Bantke, on which they found 250,000 roubles and a mandate to reorganize the movement, were arrested by Romanian authorities.<sup>21</sup>

In these circumstances, the reorganization of the Bolshevik Committee resumed as late as February 1920, when the Red Army troops not incidentally were again on the left bank of the Dniester River. Therefore, gathering of military

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Central Historical National Archives Bucharest (CHNAB), the Royal House Fund, Miscellaneous, file 312, pp. 1-6.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*



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secrets and building of a military intelligence service, among others, were ones of the tasks of Communists in Bessarabia, as underlined in a well-documented synthesis:

“At the end of February 1920 one of our informers, sent on the River, brought us the news that the Bolsheviks intending to send in Bessarabia for revolutionary propaganda and espionage a number of well-trained people to carry out the mission which they entrust.

This news was then later confirmed by another informer who showed us that people are prepared and that will come before a team that will lead the entire revolutionary organization, and espionage.

As a result of these informations, Secret Police have taken the necessary measures and failed to arrest the first team composed by E. Steinlein said baron von Schnee, head of the Central Organization, and Saber Sobelman said Kasbec, Tighina region delegate David Ricsainic, said Arnab, on a courier of the organisation, namely Drofiscaia, Dumitru Crijanovski, Vladimir Timbalov, Denise Raicicova and Efim Zucan....”<sup>22</sup>

The safety capture of Eduard von Schnee has an excellent opportunity to learn that, in addition to political tasks (links with the Socialist leaders and other decision makers from Bucharest), he had the task to build a military intelligence service. In addition, von Schnee - using significant amounts of money considered available - had to procure arms and munition for the residents who had to be involved in acts of diversion in the event of an attack of Bolshevik troops over the Dniester River<sup>23</sup>.

From von Schnee has also known the existence of a Soviet plane in respect of Romania and Poland<sup>24</sup>. The Secret Police was also in possession of the names

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> „The arrested persons E Steinlein said baron von Schnee and Saber Sobelman, give us the two Governments plans of Soviets from Moscow and Kharkiv with regard to Romania and Poland, following informations collected from the army of the ruling circles of Odessa, from the boroughs of Odessa and 45 and 41 divisions of Smerinca, and sent to a military Commissioner of the South front and Rakovski.

Bolsheviks convinced themselves that Romanian army is the only army remaining disciplined in Europe and untouched by the Jewish Bolshevism and that military action against Romania in such conditions would be disastrous for the Jewish Bolshevism. They are determined to conclude peace with Romania as soon as possible ...”, *Ibid.*

of the leaders of the Bolshevik movement in Bessarabia, namely those of the Provisional Committee elected in September 1919<sup>25</sup>.

### **Birth of the Romanian Communist Party**

Finally, after many hesitations, but especially after Moscow gave its approval on March 17, 1921, it was decided to convene the Congress of the Communist Party of Romania in the period 8 - 11 May 1921. On this occasion was fixed the agenda of the scheduled Forum:

1. Moral and material report
2. The report of the delegation which was in Russia
3. Membership and program
4. The Agrarian Problem
5. Cooperatives
6. Press and propaganda
7. Amendments to the Statute
8. The question of nationalities
- 9.a. The Youth Movement.
- 9.b. Women's movement
10. Election of the Committee
11. Miscellaneous<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> "The first provisional Central Committee, after the arrests of the Bessarabians on May 1919, was established in early September 1919, and was composed of: Sasha Suslic, conspiratorial name Cristor, President; Calb, conspiratorial name Sustlov Saber, Treasurer; Iosif Roitman, Leib said Naum and Feodosia Cacianovschi Sandy, Augustine, members.

This Committee – follows the document of the Police and General Security Directorate has operated only one month, having a very low activity, dealing more with raising money for the Bolsheviks arrested and their families...", *Ibid*.

<sup>26</sup> Also now has been fixed and the system of representation for the Congress:

- a. a delegate for 25 members
- b. two delegates for 100 members; and for more than 100 members one delegate
- c. the Executive Committee
- d. a delegate of the Socialist Federation of the Prahova
- e. Two officials of the Youth
- f. one delegate of the parliamentary group
- g. a delegate of CC in women
- h. a delegate of the people's House

The works of the Congress of the Socialist Party of Romania were opened as planned on Sunday, May 8, 1921, at the office of the newspaper's editorial "The Socialism", whereas after the general strike of October 1920 party's central Club was closed. Without going into the details of execution of works<sup>27</sup>, we recall here that according to the report, submitted to the Commission for validation of more than 300 delegates, representing 45,000 members of the party, and most of them had a mandate to vote on membership of the Romanian Communist Party in the Communist International.

After reading several motions, Theodor Iordăchescu, on behalf of the unit fraction, made attention that they are not fulfilled conditions necessary for carrying out the work of the Congress. Immediately stormy discussions were started, Sandu Rozvany and Gheorghe Cristescu disputing his intervention on this idea.

Until the interruption of the work of the Congress, a number of issues of strategy were discussed. Very interesting from this point of view is the agrarian Program of the Socialist Communist Party of Romania, foreworded by a statement in which he claimed that the main purpose of its is taking power by the revolutionary proletariat's path<sup>28</sup>.

Here are the main ideas of the agrarian program of the Communists:

"The Earth was of those who work for it for centuries by the sweat of those who face them have created the wild forests productive Earth ...

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i. a delegate of Socialists

j. a delegate of the circle publishing

k. Central Commission of control complete

l. The full General Commission.

(Iași County Department of National Archives, Party Archive, fund A/2, file 69, p. 8.)

<sup>27</sup> CHNAB, Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Fund, Chancellery, vol. III, file 8/1921, pp.1-57.

<sup>28</sup> "The first condition of the struggle for power in the outbreak - the motivation - but it's not increasing quickly piled white strakes in layer number to be entered with the ultimate goal of perfection of the struggle, because the capitalist system has monopolized for itself all the means of propaganda as they did illusions and a possible awakening of the masses.

The struggle for power can successfully lead and so, if only a part of the proletariat is infused with the ultimate goal of complete proletarian struggle until other layers' dissatisfaction towards the situation of capitalism which is currently character or prove a neutrality toward the struggle between capital and labour.", Idem, Agrarian Section, file 1/1921, pp.1-10.

The Earth was of peasants' farmers [...]

The Socialist-Communist Party recognizes that its debt and its main mission as abolishing such wrongs.

Agrarian reform

On the basis of the above, by virtue of the Socialist-Communist Party claimed carrying out agrarian reform, much promised, but so far not fulfilled, based on the following principles:

To expropriate all properties (estates) greater than 50 grounds, 3 (30 hectares) of land, expropriable entirely are church estates and those of the State, in all their extent, together with the buildings, cattle, agricultural tools that belong to them. <sup>29</sup>

The intervention of the Romanian authorities at the time that it was voted the membership without conditions of the new created party as a Department of the Communist Third International in Moscow ended the congress before all points of the agenda to be exhausted (including the election of the new Central Committee). In addition, those who expressed unconditional adhesion to the Komintern were arrested and implicated in the Spirii Hill (Rom. Dealul Spirii) trial.

However, Gheorghe Cristescu had time to inform, on May 12, 1921, the Executive Committee of the Third International about the fact that the Socialist Party of Romania decided on the occasion of the Congress held in Bucharest to join the Komintern with a smashing of 428 votes compared to only 111 centrists<sup>30</sup>. In the informing note of Cristescu, who signed in as Secretary of the Communist Party of Romania, it showed that the participants in the Conference have come to the conclusion that:

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* These doctrinal bases was adopted in the following motion in the agrarian question:

- "1. The Earth as the absolute property of the whole people, the country's worker, being expropriated without any compensation.
2. Allow and give everyone more so how can he and his family to work, without having to employ salaried workers.
3. Large agricultural tools: machine plowing, threshing, mills and what variety, will be confiscated and passed to the comrades to made on grounds of Communist agricultural.
4. You will keep all the farms and buildings with about 50 acres around... ", *Ibidem*, file 3/1921, pp.1-5.

<sup>30</sup> *Idem*, Foreign Relations Section, file 2/1921, pp. 1-2

*"tactical principles of the Communists are the only revolutionary principles; the tactics of The Communist Party stands against all forms of social existence in all their complexity, given to us through the prism of Marxism scientifically true and translating them into life will lead the proletariat to win the fight with the bourgeoisie."*<sup>31</sup>

These are the auspices under which the Communist Party of Romania was born, as Department of the Communist International from Moscow. Unconditional acceptance of Komintern directives, in particular in relation to national problem, constituted a real problem for the party in the difficult battle to win adherents.

Although after August 23, 1944, the communist propaganda has overestimated the interwar struggle of the Romanian Communist Party, the truth is another and he is even contained in the documents emanating from the leaders of the movement. Thus, on October 15, 1921, Alexandru Badulescu report entitled *Situation of the workers' Party of Romania*, in which emphasize that after the arrest of participants in the Congress "there is no communist movement"<sup>32</sup> in Romania.

Another document, from January 1922, entitled *Report on the Romanian Communist movement* show that following the arrests at the Communist Congress, however, rised a hope:

"After the Government of General Alexandru Averescu arrested the Communists from Congress, it seemed like a long time could no longer be any communist movement and even professional-class associations. However, very soon appeared the illegally Socialist Newspaper, and the Communist youth who continue to support the movement"<sup>33</sup>

On the same subject, on February 10, 1922, it was drafted at the Kharkiv an "external evaluation" entitled *Report on the direct action and the labour movement in Romania (1918-February 10, 1922)*<sup>34</sup>. In fact, we are talking about a fairly realistic picture of the situation in Bucharest with regard to extreme left:

"The labour movement in Romania is weak both quantitatively and qualitatively. Even in times when its degree of development was higher, it cannot be said to have had any serious influence on the bourgeois policy...

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Idem, Organizatorial Section, file 6/1921, pp. 2-8.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, file 1/1922, pp. 2-5.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, file 2/1922, pp. 2-10.

Until the end of his Government, led General Averescu never met in his way of labour organized opposition. The coup was one of the hardest in the history of the workers' movement, known in Romania, maybe the hardest.

Under the impression of unfettered terror following the general strike in May 1921, took place the Congress of Socialist parties in all of Romania after World War. It is understood that the Government could not Crown the work started: delegates who voted for membership of the Communist International were arrested. ...<sup>35</sup>

However, whereas in December 1921 most Communist leaders arrested in May that year were liberated, at the end of 1922, it was possible to hold a General Conference in Ploiești, who had to enter into history as the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Romania. Thus, on October 3, 1922 was presented the report of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Communist Romania in front of the General Conference<sup>36</sup>. Here, however, the emphasis fell more on disputes and personal egos, set against a confrontation between the Secretary Gheorghe Cristescu and Marcel Pauker.

The confirmation comes from a report signed Marian, as Secretary of the Executive Committee, sent to Komintern on June 7, 1923. In this paper it is shown that:

"The Conference that took place in October 1922 at Ploiești aimed to settle personal disputes cropped up in the bosom of the party within the Provisional Committee and to give the party a solid, uniform Committee, with full authority to all members ... If a Committee has a result more appropriately, the causes are as follows:

The party does not have a high-value, related to the number and quality of participants.

Some of the present members refused to accept executive positions. In the new Central Committee comrade Gheorghe Cristescu was elected titular secretary and comrade Boris Ștefanov head of the Secretariat of the Party [...]

Despite this situation, for personal reasons, Comrade Boris Ștefanov has not assumed his post..."<sup>37</sup>.

The document signed by Marian evoked the conditions under which, in April 1923, as a result of the fact that Gheorghe Cristescu pointed out that he cannot work with Marcel Pauker, led to the replacement of Gheorghe Cristescu

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, file 17/1922, pp. 2-34.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, file 17/1923, p.2-6.

and Boris Ștefanov with Marian, seconded by Alexander Dobrogeanu-Gherea, as political Secretary, collaborator and Cruceanu as General Treasurer.

### Romanian Communist Party outlaw

An equally turbulent history has the Third Congress of the party. Initially it had been convened for 23 - 25 February 1924, after the informing document sent to Komintern by Gheorghe Cristescu (returned at the head of the party, as was written in a report of January 13, 1924)<sup>38</sup>. In this document is inserted the expected agenda too:

1. Moral and material Report of the Central Committee
2. The report on the international situation.
3. Project of the program of the party.
4. Agrarian problem.
5. The position on nationalities.
6. The organizational Staff of the Trade-Union and the interventionist.
7. Elections of the CC and the Control Commission.

The Third Congress was to take place in Bucharest, but developments in domestic and international events has led to its postponement for august, changed including the venue. This is the first forum of the Communists deployed outside the country, in Vienna<sup>39</sup>. It was basically an opening for two decades of illegal activity to the Communists in Romania.

The events in the autumn of 1924 in Bessarabia, namely the mutiny at Tatarbuniar in the period 16 - 18 September 1924, will contribute decisively to the isolation of the Communist Party and his passing into illegality.<sup>40</sup> The liberal government's gesture of removing the Communists outlawed is one fully justified.

On May 21, 1924, U.S. Ambassador to Riga, FWB Coleman, sent to State Department information about the provisions of the Romanian section of Komintern, which was designed to meet three main objectives:

- Secret Propaganda in the army
- Organisation of Cells for supporters

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<sup>38</sup> Idem, Chancellery, vol.III, file 1/1924, p.1.

<sup>39</sup> Erroneously, the late Victor Frunză, *Istoria comunismului în România* [History of communism in Romania], Bucharest, 1999, p. 41, places the work of the Congress from September in august 1924.

<sup>40</sup> Ludmila Rotari, *op.cit.*, p.242-244.

- Activity among minorities<sup>41</sup>.

In order to achieve those goals was made available a sum of 100,000 French francs.

The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Romania took place in august 1924, and opens a new stage in the history of the party. After that year, the native element appears marginal. Incidentally, replacement of Gheorghe Cristescu with Elek Kőblős was a strong signal in this direction.

How did it come to the Congress and to the postponement of his conduct in Vienna we learn from the informative report No. 161 of the Communist International in October 8, 1924<sup>42</sup>. According to the epoch sources, there were few participants: "11 the delegates from Romania, 4 guests, 5 members of the Central Committee, a member of the Board of Control, and four companions representatives of Balkan Communist Federation."

The agenda included nine points:

1. The report of the delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Communist International and the 7<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation;
2. The economic and political Situation in Romania;
3. Activity report of the Central Committee;
4. The report of the audit;
5. The peasants' problem;
6. National Problem;
7. Trade-Union Issue;
8. The organizational Problem;
9. Miscellaneous.

Discussed in plenary were only reports about the economic and political situation, as well as the work of the Committee.

In the resolution adopted by Congress in the Affairs of the Central Committee a full suite of complaints for the period 1922 - 1924 was included. Thus, the document shows that:

"The Central Committee has been lacking throughout the period of the Congress in Ploiești a well-defined policy line and of a systematic programme of work. In the realm of the Central Committee did not do almost anything. The Central Committee had almost no connection with the mass party, did not give the organization any instructions or could not control their work. The upshot of

<sup>41</sup> National Archives of the United States of America, Washington DC, Record Group Number 59, Decimal File 1910-1929, doc.871.008/A.

<sup>42</sup> CHNAB, Fund CC of the RCP, Organizatorical Section, file 40/1924, p.2-6.



these shortcomings has been a complete misdirection of sections and party members in the face of events and especially to all the issues on the agenda. Central Conduct pasting permanently, local and regional organizations were compelled to work as were skilful sole, which of course led to mistakes such as: the neglect of work organization in the Old Kingdom (i.e. the so-called Little Romania, until 1918, our note), the neglect of political work in organisations in Transylvania and so forth. ...<sup>43</sup>

It should also be noted that concerning the national question, the Party resolution take over entirely Komintern point of view on the multinational character of Romania<sup>44</sup>. Not incidentally, on October 12, 1924 Soviet authorities took the decision to set up the left bank of Nistru River, with its capital at the pond, an autonomous Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic<sup>45</sup>.

### Conclusions

In conclusion, the communism has proved from the early years of its existence that cannot take roots in Romania. Economic realities (primarily the lack of a powerful industry) and the social one (predominance of the peasantry which accounted for over 80% of the population) was too obvious. Additionally, the fear of the Romanians to the Soviet Union played an important place in Romanians distrust in communism.

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, file 37/1924, p.2-7.

<sup>44</sup> „Bloody economic and political Oppression of Romanian nationalists explains why broad masses enough of it so fiercely fighting against imperialism and for their release under its yoke. Rental barracks owned and peasantry of Bessarabia, who lived the first period of the Russian Revolution and now they are under Romanian military dictatorship, manifests each day National Revolutionary endeavour to unite with the USSR, and thus further development and protect the interests of its life. As they suffer the labours and peasants' masses of Hungarian, Swabian and Saxon in Transylvania and Banat, working German and Ukrainian population in Bukovina and Bulgarian masses from Dobrudja. The policy of the Romanian bourgeoisie bottlenecks it and kidnaps the livelihood, push them to emigrate, they throw in a mess folded and gives them backwards on the economic and cultural viewpoint.. ", *Documente din istoria Partidului Comunist din România*, vol. II, 1922 - 1928 [Documents from the history of the Communist Party of Romania], vol II, 1923-1928, Bucharest, 1953, doc. 71.

<sup>45</sup> Ludmila Rotari, *op.cit*, p.263.

Therefore, only six years after the end of World War I, the Communist Movement in Romania, fruit of the Great War and of the so-called Socialist Revolution in Russia, was far from being important in the domestic political game, Romanians basically preferring the democratic parties.

**A NEW SYNTHESIS ON THE EDUCATION IN BUKOVINA  
DURING THE AUSTRIAN RULE<sup>1</sup>**

Bukovina is a historical region that had an usual historical destiny accustomed to eastern Europe's, where in the 20<sup>th</sup> century there were major changes of frontiers, generated by the two World Wars and the collapse of the former Soviet Union in 1991. In this context, Bukovina changed in 1918 its status of the Austro-Hungarian province to the province of Greater Romania. The Northern part of this region had become in 1940 and 1944 part of the USSR, and in 1991 part of Ukraine, whether its Southern part had belonged to Romania, during this period.

On the other hand, Bucovina had an unusual historical destiny, being considered since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century a Central-European cultural area or a territory located "between East and West" (*zwischen Orient und Okzident*) as it was pointed by Erich Beck – the most important expert in recording and systematizing writings about Bukovina.

Having all these considerations, writings about Bukovina are naturally attracting the interest of specialists. This is also the case of the monograph of Mr. Constantin Ungureanu, a dedicated researcher to the history of education in the former Austrian Bukovina.

Studies made by Constantin Ungureanu on this topic are distinguished by critical sense, scrupulousness, analysis, synthesis, but also by a high capacity of comparison. This paper about the Secondary education in the former duchy of Bukovina happily continues and develops the comprehensive study about primary education, published on 2007, in Kishinev (Rom. Chişinău). Doing an extensive review of previous contributions on the subject under discussion, Mr. Constantin Ungureanu proves outset, an exhaustive knowledge of historiography problems.

By his book, he aims and succeeds to complete and deepens the topic, previously treated at a superficial level – incomplete or subjective. Works written

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<sup>1</sup> Constantin Ungureanu, *Şcolile secundare din Bucovina (1808-1918)* [Secondary Schools in Bukovina (1808-1918)], Chişinău, Tipografia Centrală, 2016, 304 p.

in Romanian, German, and Ukrainian about the primary and secondary education from Bukovina are oriented to analyze the educational process of those ethnicities, often lacking of comparison and critic spirit, without which the historical truth fades or disappears.

The book aims and succeeds to answer a number of key questions to elucidate the topic. Among these, we include: what was the influence of the revolution on 1848-1849 on the evolution and development of secondary education? Which factors have contributed in increasing the number of secondary schools at the beginning of the twentieth century? Why girls' high schools appeared later than boys' high schools? What ways of solving found Austrian authorities concerning language teaching? What are the similarities and differences between the programs of human and real gymnasiums, girls' high schools and elementary schools? How the secondary education did from Bukovina developed compared to other Austrian provinces inhabited by Romanian? etc.

The author has proposed research objectives such as:

- Comparative analysis of regulations in the dualist Empire, concerning the organization and operation of gymnasiums, high schools and real profile schools.

- Policy reforms in Bukovina's education after the 1848 revolution.

- Detailed analysis of Bukovina's secondary education during the provincial autonomy.

- Careful investigation of all categories of secondary schools in the Duchy of Bukovina.

- Accurate playback of the schoolchildren population, by native language and religious structure.

- Synthetic analysis of the Romanian textbooks developed by Bukovinian teachers.

- Comparative research of Bukovina's secondary education level, in relation to other Austrian provinces or territories inhabited by Romanians.

- Fulfillment of numerous tables and charts regarding the Bukovina's secondary education.

- Work analysis of secondary schools and high schools in the province during the First World War and a few years after the union with Romania (1918).

The bibliography used by the author is very extensive, being structured in: I. *Unpublished and published sources*. II. *Publications*. III. *General and Special Works*. Intense use of unpublished sources gives the paper a strong originality character. This type of information was taken, analyzed and included in the book, the author studying funds from: **State Archive of Chernivtsi Region** (Funds: The Executive Committee of the Duchy of Bucovina; Regional Directorate of Chernivtsi;

Provincial School Council of Bukovina; the Superior Gymnasium in Chernivtsi; No. 3 Gymnasium in Chernivtsi; Orthodox girls High School in Chernivtsi; Private Girls Gymnasium in Chernivtsi; Municipal Girls High School in Chernivtsi; Metropolitan Church of Bukovina; etc.); **National Archives of Bucharest** (Funds: Collection of Austria's microfilms; Aulic War Council in Vienna; Iancu Flondor; Sever Zotta; Hurmuzachi; Teodor Balan) and **the National Archives of Suceava** (Funds: Stefan cel Mare High School in Suceava; German Franz Joseph High School in Siret, Girls High School in Rădăuți).

Regarding published sources, C. Ungureanu uses various Austrian statistics, stenographic protocols of the Bukovina Diet, yearbooks of the Bukovina's High Schools and other published collections of documents, as well as Romanian and German publications (from the Austrian, interwar and present period). C. Ungureanu also uses an extensive Austro-German, Romanian, Ukrainian bibliography, followed by an index of names and places and comprehensive summaries of the paper in German and English.

The book is divided into two large chapters and 11 subchapters. In the first chapter, entitled ***The Gymnasiums in Bucovina***, are being described the work and organization of secondary schools for boys in Bucovina, subsections providing details about Gymnasiums schools in the Duchy, especially those teaching in Romanian. Chapter II (***Other secondary educational institutions***) analyses the girls High Schools, Real Schools, Vocational Schools and the Normal School for Teachers of Chernivtsi. By the first decade of the Twentieth century, the language of teaching in this institution was German and afterwards three national sections - German, Romanian and Ukrainian were organized. Since 1910, few private normal schools for girls were opened in Chernivtsi (two German, one Romanian and one Ukrainian).

Between the second half of the Nineteenth century and early Twentieth century, secondary and vocational education in Bukovina has developed greatly, numerous gymnasiums and lyceums for boys and girls were created, aiding secondary schools with real profile. German language dominated further the instructive-educational process. However, the schools with teaching in other national languages had also evolved. Before the start of the Great War in Bukovina there were 13 secondary schools for boys. Related to their language teaching, four German Gymnasiums, four German-Romanian Gymnasiums, two German-Ukrainian, two Ukrainian and one Polish Gymnasiums were functioning. Two real profile schools, a vocational school, some state and private high schools for girls, and two normal schools dedicated to training the teachers were also functioning. Despite the difficulties, there is an evolution of secondary education in Romanian

language in the Duchy of Bukovina, interrupted by war and followed by integration into educational structures of the unified Romania.

At the end of this short analysis, we present some summative personal conclusions. Undoubtedly, we see a massive scholarly and reconstruction work based predominantly on historical sources. The author compares the situation of education in Austrian Bukovina to the situation of education in the Old Kingdom of Romania, Transylvania and Bessarabia. We suggest a comparison between the secondary schools and the education, in general, in Austrian Bukovina and the education in other non-German neighboring provinces, of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. In this way, we can certainly get interesting conclusions.

The author also could try a broader analysis and comparison of works that are treating the history of education in Austrian Bukovina, belonging to various national historiographies (i.e. Romanian, Ukrainian, Austrian, German, Polish and Hebrew). From this point we could also get many other interesting conclusions.

These observations do not wish to diminish the value of this monumental monograph; on the contrary, they intend to suggest its improvement.

Anyway, Mr. Constantin Ungureanu's book *Secondary schools in Bukovina (1808-1918)* is an important milestone in the historiography of the problem, both through scientific and methodological accuracy, critical approach, elegant appearance, and, at the same time, synthetic. Therefore we recommend reading this book, both by researchers and common readers passionate about the cultural history of Bukovina under Austrian rule.

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## **THE INFLUENCE OF GEOPOLITICAL RIVALRIES OF GREAT POWERS UPON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS<sup>1</sup>**

The disintegration of the former Soviet Union in 1991 generated a real domino game with planetary effects, in which some independent state on the world map appeared. That fact drastically decreased the geopolitical influence of the Russian Federation, the true successor state of the USSR. The independent Ukraine diminished the influence of the Russian Federation in Europe. As Zbigniew Brzezinski remarked, "Without Ukraine, Russia ceases to be a Eurasian empire. Russia without Ukraine can still strive for imperial status, but it would then become a predominantly Asian imperial state... However, if Moscow regains control over Ukraine..., Russia automatically again regains the wherewithal to become a powerful imperial state, spanning Europe and Asia"<sup>2</sup>.

The Russian Federation's geopolitical influence in Asia is mainly reduced by the emergence of some states in the South Caucasus (Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan) and in Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan). By the emergence of the new independent states from the former USSR, the Russian Federation has lost, besides a number of key geostrategic positions, also some important demographic and economic resources.

With regard to the economic resources problem, we note that until 1991, the Soviet Union had exclusive access to the important economic resources (mainly hydrocarbon and minerals) of the states in Central Asia and in the Caucasus. After 1991, broke the first real competition between the Russian Federation, the US and China for control of economic resources (and not only) of the Central Asian states, and, on the other hand, another competition between the Russian Federation, USA and partially EU to control this type of resources (and not only) of the states in the South Caucasus.

In this competition, the Caspian Sea's area has gained a capital importance because from here, via the wider Black Sea's area, vast economic resources of Central Asia and Caucasus can reach Europe. Experts in geo-economics and geo-

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<sup>1</sup> Iulian Chifu, Narciz Bălăsoiu, Radu Arghir, *The East-West Black Sea – Caspian Sea Strategic Corridor*, Bucharest, The Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations' Publishing House, 2014, p. 250

<sup>2</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard. American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*, New York, Basic Books, 1997, p. 46.

strategy have popularized after 1991 the term of “the strategic Caspian-Black Sea corridor”, writing various books, studies and articles about this topic.

This is also the topic of this book, which we present to the reader. One of the authors of this book, Iulian Chifu, explains in *Foreword*, its ambitious goal. Thus, he states the following: “The East-West Caspian Sea – Black Sea Strategic Corridor is a book that tries to elaborate on a vision and a concept that is aimed at linking the land locked Central Asia with the border of EU and NATO, e.g. Romania, on the West shore of the Black Sea. The project that emerged from this concept is covering 5 tracks, some already under development as a natural consequence of the previous cooperation: energy, transport, military transport, investment and trade” (p. 6).

The authors of the book are trying to answer to this challenge over the 13 chapters with the following titles: *Changing the name of the game: From Chess to GO* (Iulian Chifu); *Why is Central Asia central to Eurasian Security* (Iulian Chifu); *The South Caucasus: Going with the Wind* (Iulian Chifu); *The East-West Caspian Sea – Black Sea Strategic Corridor. A concept, a vision and a project* (Iulian Chifu); *Georgia, a piece of the puzzle or the weak link of the Southern Corridor?* (Bogdan Nedea); *Azerbaijan: an essential link on the East-West Black Sea – Caspian Sea Corridor* (Lavinia Lupu, Sabit Baghirov); *Turkmenistan – Enormous energy resources trapped in geopolitical clashes* (Narciz Bălășoiu); *Uzbekistan – the East end of the East-West Strategic Corridor* (Radu Arghir); *Republic of Kazakhstan and its Strategic Interest for the East-West Corridor* (Adriana Sauliuc); *The Turkish Link in the East-West Corridor* (Nigar Goksel); *Russia’s neighborhood policy – from a Russian perspective* (Bordei Ciprian); *The East-West Strategic Corridor: the Case of the Republic of Moldova* (Oazu Nantoi); *The East-West Strategic Corridor from Central Asia to Europe and Ukraine’s Interests* (Volodymyr Novorotsky).

We will present to the reader the essence of these chapters, so that, finally, our own conclusions on this book will be exposed.

Chapter 1 outlines a basic picture of the world’s geopolitical scene, shaped by the current US policy of focusing on the Asia-Pacific region not on the European regions, by the increase of economic power of China, by the complex issues related to hydrocarbon supply of the world’s states, by the global economic crisis and, finally, by Russia’s aggressive policy inclusively based on the usage of its military capacities. Ultimately, it is suggested the necessity of strengthening the economic cooperation between the EU and the US and the requirement of this state’s involvement in the problems generated by “the Eurasian Suppliers Belt” (i.e. the member supplying states of hydrocarbon from



the Persian Gulf, Middle East, Central Asia and Russia areas), in order to achieve a “peaceful development of the world on the road to globalization”. (p. 16)

In the next chapter is summarily but very accurate depicted the geopolitical picture of Central Asia, starting from presenting the main actors directly involved or only interested in problems of the region (Russia, the US, the EU and the Western Countries, China, Turkey, Iran, India) and getting to highlighting the main political/geopolitical, economic and cultural characteristics of the component states (Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan).

Chapter 3 analyzes the geopolitical situation of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, dominated by “the failure of the security complex” from here (due to the rivalries between the three states and Russia’s interference) and the Caspian’s geopolitical situation, where, apart from the above-mentioned states, as regional players, are appearing Iran, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan.

Chapter 4 is basically representing the theoretical essence of this book, in which it is again reiterated the dimensions – slightly modified or reversed – of this project, already exposed in *Foreword* (“Energy, Transportation, Military corridor, Trade, Investments”, p. 49). In the final of this chapter are provided essential information regarding the countries that would be involved in this project and the need for political support necessary to achieve it.

Thus, the author shows that “A good, solid, start to the project would be a common declaration by the presidents involved that would give both an important signal for the political support of the project and the impetus to concrete economic projects that would consequently give it substance. The signature of the representatives of the countries directly involved – Romania, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and possibly Kazakhstan and Turkey – would give guarantees that the project will move on to more concrete stages in transportation, trade, energy, etc.” (p. 61).

The next chapter deals with the complex geopolitical situation of Georgia, trapped between his aspirations pro-EU, pro NATO and Russian’s force, which is opposing to such trends.

In Chapter 6 are firstly presented the main physical-geographical and political data of Azerbaijan. Subsequently, the problems related to the economic resources and transport networks of the country (including hydrocarbon), completed or in the planning stage, are shown. The end of the article emphasizes the importance of Azerbaijan’s geographical position, which allows it to act as a transit area for transport of raw materials between Europe and Asia and, of course, the advantages that this country would get if “*The East-West Black Sea - Caspian Sea Strategic Corridor*” would be achieved.

Thus, the authors of these chapters are stating following:

“Moreover, the East-West Corridor is a good opportunity for Azerbaijan and its objective of becoming a regional transportation hub between Europe and Asia. A very important aspect is that, after the implementation of this project, there won't be only a hub, but several hubs at the same time: Constanta, Poti, Baku, Turkmenbashi, Aktau” (p. 109).

Regarding the presented issues, we remark that the American geostrategists Zbigniew Brzezinski and George Friedman wrote a long time ago about the particular geopolitical value of Azerbaijan, as the best transport area of resources of Central Asia's and the Caspian Sea's area to Europe. However, we conclude that this can only happen if Russia is economically or militarily forced to give consent for the fulfillment of this plan.

Chapter 7 is basically a successful geo-economic analysis of Turkmenistan, yet suffering from an obvious lack, inadmissible in a book of this level: it does not contain a bibliographic note in the text, endnote or footnote.

The next chapter, devoted to Uzbekistan, analyzes the situation of its borders, the issue of the inhabitants' national identity, the pros and cons of the economy and its political system. The author raises the question of bilateral relations between Romania and Uzbekistan (“overall Romania's relations with Uzbekistan are more of a project than actual institutional relations” - p. 140). In the final of the chapter, the author inserts a series of interesting personal opinions related to the balance game that Uzbekistan must play in its relations with Russia, China and the US who have interests in this country.

Chapter 9 provides essential data regarding to the political and economic situation of this country, particularly insisting on its transport structures, existing and being in a project form. The second part of the article presents and provides essential information about the main transport corridors designed post 1991 to link Europe to Asia, via the Caucasus and Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Russia by various Asian countries. Finally, are analyzed the prospects of bilateral relations between Romania and Kazakhstan.

Chapter 10 provides interesting information about “Turkey's role in linking Central Asia and the Caucasus to Europe” (p. 178), by focusing on issues related to Turkey's relations with Georgia and Azerbaijan.

The next chapter is important because it highlights the principles of foreign policy of the most important opponent of the project analyzed in this book - the Russian Federation. The author concludes – correctly, in our opinion – the following: “Russia is undoubtedly a European state if only geography as well as European civilization, its culture, tradition and religion as the defining

criteria. What places Russia beyond Europe's bounds is its politics. ... Russia's overriding foreign policy goal is to establish Russia as one of the most important global powers, and to create a multipolar international order. However, Russia's understanding of multilateralism in international affairs is rather a form of multipolarity characterized by a collective decision-making procedure amongst a handful of great powers, or at best a selective and instrumental use and understanding of multilateralism. This means that Russia supports multilateralism as long as it affirms its great power status and deals with the issues and interests of the leading states" (pp. 191-192).

In the following pages are correctly highlighted the Russia's political-economic, demographic and social strengths and weaknesses, Russia's role in Central Asia, the areas where its interests compete with the USA and China.

Chapter 12 reveals, with painful clarity for Romanians in Romania, the main political, economic, social, territorial and ethnic vulnerabilities of the Moldovan Republic, as well as the hopes that this state had, until in 2013 in the Eastern Partnership, the at least semi-failed project of the European Union.

Chapter 13 clearly summarizes the essence of the geopolitical battle for the domination of Central Asia, waged between Russia, the US and China. It also presents the expectations that Ukraine had, before the civil war that started in 2014, from the project presented in the book: strengthening of the economic and political ties with Turkey, Romania and the Central Asian states.

The paper gathers a considerable amount of work, and the authors' views/conclusions are well reasoned, but from a US-centric geopolitical perspective (we refer exclusively to the US) and European-centric perspective (referring mainly to the EU and, tangentially to Moldova and Ukraine). Excepting one chapter (11), there are analyzed (little or at all) the geopolitical paradigms promoted by two geostrategic players with planetary influence: Russia (to Central Asia and Southern Caucasus) and China (to Central Asia). This diminishes the value of the work (not mentioning that it has not been cited works of Russian experts, who are yet able to provide the most consistent expertise on these issues). Unfortunately, here certainly works the language barrier and, very likely, some sort of anti-Russian cultural stereotypes. But stereotypes have no place in a scientific research because, starting from them, the determinism is reached: conclusions from some theses (true or false) are obtained, not from rigorous research of the facts.

The analyzed paper presents and clarifies with great accuracy a number of real possibilities of cooperation in the geographical area under review that would have a perennial value, with one condition: the Russia's military rebirth

and economic growth of China being more or less remote possibilities, not immediate realities. Unfortunately for the interests of Europe and the US, we add, to the interests of a stable world that excludes the use of force to regulate relations between states in international relations, Russia's military rebirth and economic growth of China are already realities. Humanity has gone from the unipolar world to a multipolar world, in which Russia and China already claim to be recognized as important geostrategic players with planetary importance. And they will decide if they want to cooperate with the West (Western Europe and USA) in Central Asia and the Caspian Sea basin. History shows that, after any competition (even military) between the big powers, generals are replaced with diplomats and it comes back to cooperation.

Therefore, we believe that the prospects of cooperation presented in this paper certainly deserve to be resumed after cessation of current planetary geopolitical storm.

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- <sup>1</sup> Paul Jensen, *History of the World*, New-York, University Publishing House, 2003, p. 243.
- <sup>2</sup> Richard Little, Barry Buzan, *Sistemele internaționale în istoria lumii* [International Systems In World History], Iași, Editura Polirom, 2009, p. 62-63.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- <sup>4</sup> Stelian Tanase (Ed.), *Cioran și Securitatea* [Cioran and Securitatea], Iași, Editura Polirom, 2009, p. 14.
- <sup>5</sup> Christine Sylvester, *Empathetic Cooperation: A Feminist Method for IR*, in "Millennium: Journal of International Studies", 1994, Vol. 23, no. 2, p. 315-334.
- <sup>6</sup> Richard Little, Barry Buzan, *Sistemele internaționale...*, pp. 148, 155, 239.
- <sup>7</sup> *Australia-NATO Joint Political Declaration*, in [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_94097.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_94097.htm) (Accessed in 12.11.2016).
- <sup>8</sup> А. И. Деникин, *Путь русского офицера* [The Way of a Russian Officer], Москва, Современник, 1991, с. 58.

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