

## **ГЕОПОЛІТИЧНИЙ І НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ АСПЕКТИ ВІЙНИ 1914 - 1918 РР.**

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### **The Bukovina matter and the National councils (October - November 1918)**

*The question of the future of Bukovina emerged in the first years of the Great War. However, the uncertainty of the 1916-1917 winners and the beginning of significant military defeats of the Central Powers in 1918 motivated the leaders of the Bukovinian ethnic communities and the non-Bukovinians to challenge the future of the region. The interest in these territories was manifested by Austria-Hungary (concerned about territory preservation), the Russian Empire (aiming at the entire or partial annexation of Bukovina) and Romania (interested in the separation of the entire land from the Habsburgs, but in 1916 the Allied Powers agreed to transfer only a half of the province, along with the Chernivtsi city). In the autumn of 1918, the National Councils projects of the Bukovinian ethnic groups were announced, which, during the month of mid-October to mid-November, attempted to persuade other national communities to support their view of the issue, or to solve the problem by force. In the end, of all the projects related to the post-war fate of the region, due to the geopolitical circumstances and the politically balanced actions of its leaders, the plan of the Romanian National Council of Bukovina was successful.*

**Keywords:** *Bukovina, National Council, deputies, World War, Austria, Russia, Romania*

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The alternatives regarding the future of Bukovina in the context of the First World War were numerous and depended on the evolution and purpose of this war. Given the international circumstances and mutations on the domestic political scene of Austria-Hungary, some of them have been more prominent in the face of others. The fate of the province depended on the victory of one of the two parties (the Central Powers or the Allied Powers), the resistance force of Austria-Hungary, the size of Russia's territorial claims, the policy of the Kingdom of Romania, and the attitude of the people in Bukovina as well.

The clash between the tsarist and the dual empires has generated hopes among the Slavs in the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. Russia's victory could give these people the chance to gain separation from Vienna and to organize themselves into independent national states. Among the Slavs awaiting redemption with the help of St. Petersburg were the Ukrainians, especially the Moscow-oriented ones. Likewise, some of the Romanians in Bukovina and Transylvania considered that a victorious Russia would create the favorable context for their detachment from the Habsburg House.

Romania's entry into the war against Austria-Hungary in August 1916 created difficulties for the leaders of the Bukovinian Romanians. All five Bukovinian deputies, members of the Romanian Parliamentary Club, signed in August 1916 a statement condemning Romania's alliance with Russia, describing it as a terrible threat to the Romanian national identity. Later, in June 1917, Aurel Oniciu would declare that the ultimate goal of the Romanians in Bukovina was the unification, under the Habsburgs, of all Romanian territories, both inside and outside the dual empire<sup>1</sup>.

The victories recorded by the Central Powers on the eastern fronts seemed to lead to a post-war world dominated by Germany and Austria-Hungary. Thus, on February 8, 1918, Austria-Hungary signed with the Ukrainian People's Republic a secret agreement by which the Vienna government committed to annexing to Bukovina, until 20 July 1918, the territories inhabited by Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, into a single land of the Crown<sup>2</sup>. In addition, on February 9, 1918, the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk<sup>3</sup> was concluded, which stipulated that Kiev, in return for recognizing the status of the Ukrainian People's Republic, de facto accepted the

protectorate of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Before the signing of these agreements, Austrian-Hungarian troops had occupied the Ukrainian Podolia and the Khotyn district in northern Bessarabia<sup>4</sup>. If the provisions of the two treaties were to become effective, two Ukrainian states with a common border would emerge on the map of Europe: one as an independent and sovereign entity and the other as an autonomous entity within federalized Austria.

The Ukrainian deputies in the Vienna Parliament campaigned for the creation of a national state under the patronage of the House of Habsburg. From the tribune of the Imperial House of Deputies (Abgeordnetenhaus), as well as through various publications or speeches, Ukrainian leaders in Austria tested the reactions to the idea of establishing a national Ukrainian state within the monarchy. However, the evolution of events has made this project impossible. The government of Vienna gave up the secret agreement between Austria-Hungary and the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic<sup>5</sup> on July 4, 1918, due to the failure of the Ukrainian government to deliver one million tons of grain to the Austrian government and the complaints and pressure exerted on the empire's leadership by Polish elites.

On the other hand, the participation of the Romanian Army in the war on the part of the Allied Powers seemed to guarantee the integration of the territories inhabited by Romanians in Austria-Hungary, at the end of the Great Conflagration, to the Kingdom of Romania. However, the victories of the Austrian-German armies and the outbreak of war in Russia following the Bolshevik revolution led the Romanian government to accept the defeat. Under Article 11 of the Treaty of Bucharest (signed on May 7, 1918), Austria-Hungary was granted the right to annex nearly 600 square kilometers of the Romanian territory<sup>6</sup> to the south and east of Bukovina.

Thus, under the provisions of the Bucharest Peace Treaty, the area of Siret, Gura Humorului and Câmpulung districts was to be extended by taking parts of the Kingdom of Romania's territory. Tsureni village (located on the Austrian-Romanian border) would become the residence of a new district that would include the Boian judicial district existing then and the future judicial districts Tsureni and Hertsa. The northern part of Bessarabia, embedded in Bukovina, was to be organized in a district with its center in Khotyn. In

the spirit of consideration for the local sensitivities, the government intended to establish two Romanian (Vatra Dornei and Tsurenii) and two Ukrainian districts (Khotyn and Selyatyn) in order to give satisfaction to the two competing nations.<sup>7</sup>

The state of war on the Eastern Front was abolished after the Peace of Bucharest (May 7, 1918). Beginning with May 20, 1918, Bukovina was extracted from the “narrow war zone” and included among the territories remotely located away from the military<sup>8</sup> operations region. For this reason, there were few Austrian military forces in Bukovina in the autumn of 1918: the 187th Infantry Brigade, deployed north-east of Chernivtsi, which controlled northern Bessarabia up to the Khotyn-Koshulyany line; the 203 Regiment was located in Rădăuți; the 4/13 Battalion was at the border with Transylvania and Galicia; and the 41 Infantry and 22 Riflemen Regiments were located in Chernivtsi<sup>9</sup>. On October 9, 1918, the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (about 1,500 soldiers) arrived in Bukovina and was deployed in Chernivtsi, Vyzhnytsya and at the border of Bukovina and Bessarabia.<sup>10</sup> The Legion was under the command of Archduke Wilhelm Franz von Habsburg-Lothringen, who had taken the Ukrainian name Vasyl Vyshyvani<sup>11</sup>, that is, Basil the Embroidered - from the embroidered Ukrainian shirt he liked to wear.

Events on the frontline had direct implications on the morale of the Bukovina inhabitants. Assessing the situation in the province in June 1918, Major-General Eduard Fischer, head of the Gendarmerie for Galicia and Bukovina, felt that, after the victories at the frontline recorded by the Central Powers, the disappearance of the Eastern Frontline and the numerous arrests of Romanian irredentist leaders, the Romanian intellectuals became more discreet and did not show their sympathy towards the enemies of Austria-Hungary. However, “in secret meetings or wherever they feel in a friendly environment, they set free their feelings that certainly have not died. (...)”, Fischer remarks. “Their dream, about their ideal destroyed by the peace agreement in Bucharest, can be reborn and can come true, is a passionately discussed matter on these occasions, with all their specific eloquence and the corresponding pathos.”<sup>12</sup> The head of the Gendarmerie noted in the same report that there is total disorientation among the Ukrainians generated by the events in Russia

and the inability of their fellow countrymen in Galicia and Russia to organize themselves. In the case of the Poles and the Germans, there were no reasons for anxiety, while some of the Jews and the Lipovans sympathized with the Entente and Russia,<sup>13</sup> respectively.

The international and military evolutions, the phenomena of identity manifestation within the dual empire forced the local elites to meditate on potential scenarios about the place of each nation and each territory in the postwar world. Naturally, the future of Bukovina became the subject of debates at the level of the elite and the mass media in Bukovina. Probably, given that the area of Bukovina was likely to expand, that Russia had collapsed, and much of the Ukrainian territory, as well as the northern Bessarabia (a province that became united with the Kingdom of Romania on 27 March 1918), were under Austrian-German occupation, the idea of setting up a new state on the political map of Europe emerged. Thus, on October 20, 1918, a periodical in Chernivtsi published a project for the organization of the State of Bukovina having the status of neutral country (according to the Switzerland model), planned to include the Habsburg Bukovina and the Khotyn county of Bessarabia, and intended as a connection element between Romania and Ukraine.<sup>14</sup>

Things were evolving quite rapidly in the capital of the empire. In the context of the parliamentary debates on the reorganization principles of the post-war world, proposed by the USA and known as “The Fourteen Points”, the representatives of the Austrian nations came up with various state projects. For instance, the Galician deputy Eugen Petruszewicz requested the separation of all territories inhabited by Ukrainians in Austria-Hungary and their unification into a national state, Ukraine.<sup>15</sup> Instead, Chernivtsi deputy Benno Straucher, on behalf of the Jews, expressed the hope that Austria would remain the protector of the free people.<sup>16</sup> While the representatives of the non-German ethnic groups pleaded for national independence, the deputies representing the Romanians in Bukovina<sup>17</sup> continued to manifest their loyalty to the monarchy. Even if they highlighted the individuality of the Romanian nation divided by political borders, they continued to support the idea of restructuring the empire on federalist bases wider than the pre-war ones. Thus, from the tribune of the Parliament, Constantin Isopescu-Grecul, president of the Romanian Parliamentary Club, pleaded

for a federal Austria, in which the four million Romanians would enjoy a wide autonomy. He estimated that the new Romanian state entity could exercise “great power of attraction over free Romania and determine its adherence to the monarchy.”<sup>18</sup>

A new opportunity for debate came after the publication of the Emperor Karl I’s manifesto entitled “*To My Faithful Austrian People*”<sup>19</sup> on 16 October 1918. On October 22, 1918, the representatives of the non-German nations of the empire decided to follow different paths than those of Austria, considering that the emperor’s offer was no longer in the spirit of the time. Most members of the parliament supported the ideas related to national unification in the form of independent state entities. For example, Romanian Deputy Constantin Isopescu-Grecul condemned the attitude of the Hungarians who, after the realization of dualism, did not understand to grant wide national and cultural rights to non-Hungarian ethnic groups. At the same time, he also criticized the position of the Vienna Court that allows Hungary to ignore the people’s right to national independence. The MP pleaded for the idea that the principle of nationalities should be the basis for the restructuring of Austria-Hungary.<sup>20</sup> At the end of his speech, concluded with the intonation – in Romanian – of the first stanza of *Deșteaptă-te, Române!*, Constantin Isopescu-Grecul asked for the unification of the Romanians from Bukovina and Hungary into a single national state, within the reorganized monarchy.<sup>21</sup> In turn, the deputy George Grigorovici emphasized that the Romanians also want unification, but the resolutions adopted by the Ukrainian National Councils in Chernivtsi and Lemberg do not take into account this desideratum.<sup>22</sup> He protested against the “exaggerated claims” of the Ukrainians in Bukovina, stating that the Siret region to Chernivtsi, including the latter, must belong to the Romanians.<sup>23</sup> On the contrary, the Ukrainian deputy Nikolai von Wassilko showed that the claims of the Ukrainians are not exaggerated. He pointed out that the information according to which the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty stipulated that the entire Bukovina would be united with East Galicia are untrue and simple speculations.<sup>24</sup> Continuing the controversy with George Grigorovici, Nikolai von Wassilko replied that, just as Romanians in Hungary fight for unification with their fellow compatriots from Banat, Transylvania, and Bukovina, the Ukrainians fight for the

unification of Bukovina to Eastern Galicia.<sup>25</sup> In his speech, German Deputy Anton Keschmann expressed a strong protest against the division of the province. He said that if the Ukrainian side of Bukovina would be incorporated into a Ukrainian state, the Germans should enjoy national autonomy<sup>26</sup> in both the Bukovina regions claimed by the Ukrainians from Galicia and in the Romanian part of Bukovina, including Chernivtsi. Bohemian Karl Renner mentioned that in the dispute between the Ukrainians and the Romanians, the German interests in Chernivtsi should not be threatened. Anton von Lukaszewicz, a Bukovinian Ukrainian member of the Parliament, replied that the Ukrainians would never give up Chernivtsi. According to Rudolf von Auen Lodgman and František Udržal (Bohemia), things were already established.<sup>27</sup> Reference must be made to the fact that on 19 October at Lemberg, the Ukrainians' National Assembly urged the population to fight for the establishment of a Ukrainian national state under Austria-Hungary, which would include the Slav population areas in Bukovina.<sup>28</sup>

The approaches of the members of the Parliament only partially reflected the ideas and projects that circulated in the province. For example, the general-major Eduard Fischer's report of October 21, 1918, stated: "In the context of the monarchy's difficult situation, the Romanian intelligentsia nourishes new hopes regarding its plans of the Great Romania, plans which it did not dare to openly manifest, but only forwarded them as a subject of discussion during the quiet secret meetings. The tendencies of the Ukrainian intelligentsia totally overlap the provisions of their Galician co-nationals, and as a result, that part inspired the unusually sharp tone in Bukovina".<sup>29</sup>

On October 22, the day the Vienna Parliament debated the proposals included in the Imperial Manifesto, the group of Romanians from Chernivtsi managed to print out the first issue of the periodical "The Voice of Bukovina". The first page hosted the programmatic article of the group, entitled "*What We Want*", which was signed by 14 people. Finding that "events are precipitating," and the public needs a program, the signatories considered it necessary to clarify the position of the Romanians in Bukovina, given that the future of the province was to be decided at the peace conference. On behalf of the interests and opinions of the entire Romanian community in Bukovina, the authors mentioned: "(...) WE REQUEST: that

together with our brethren from Transylvania and Hungary, with whom we find ourselves in the same situation, to shape the future that suits us, as Romanian entity; WE DEMAND: to be allowed to bring these propositions to the Peace Congress (...)"<sup>30</sup>

These ideas were the basis for the motion of the Constituent Assembly on October 27. Information on the preliminary text of the resolution reached the Governor of Bukovina. On October 23, Count von Etdorf reported to the Interior Ministry that a common body representing the Romanians in Austria-Hungary would be established, to include the representatives of the Constituent Assembly of Bukovina as well. The Constituent Assembly was to elect a 36-member National Council which, together with the common body, were the only structures that could "represent the legal interests" of the Romanians in the empire.<sup>31</sup> This information was only partially confirmed by the text to be adopted at the meeting of October 27.

George Grigorovici and George Sârbu, members of the Parliament, formally convened a Romanian national assembly for Sunday, October 27, 1918. About 400 people attended this event; all the Romanian MPs, all Romanian deputies of the Bukovina Diet and all the mayors from villages with Romanian population were invited, along with representatives of political parties, officials, clerks, academics, and others. Alexandru Hurmuzaki, invoking his position as president of the Diet of Bukovina, said he could not attend a national assembly that could adopt decisions that would endanger the territorial integrity of the empire. Deputy Aurel Onciul also did not take part in the Constituent Assembly<sup>32</sup> works, as the initiators of the assembly did not agree with his ideas on the division of Bukovina on ethnoterritorial criteria. Because of the interruption of the railway traffic, MPs Constantin Isopescu-Grecul and Teofil Simionovici<sup>33</sup> could not leave Vienna to go to Chernivtsi.

During the meeting, Iancu Flondor made a brief speech on the importance of the moment and the responsibility that falls on the delegates. Dorimedont Popovici, Vice Mayor of Chernivtsi, read the motion. The resolution adopted by the participants stipulated that the National Assembly of the Romanians be proclaimed the Constituent Assembly of Bukovina. The Constituent Assembly decided "to unite the entire Bukovina with the other Romanian countries in an independent national state" and it "resolutely rejected any attempt



that would attempt to lessen Bukovina”, but underlined that the Romanians wanted “to get along with the cohabiting nationalities”.<sup>34</sup> The six deputies in the Parliament of Vienna<sup>35</sup> were elected in the Romanian National Council of Bukovina (comprising 50 members). During the first meeting of the Romanian National Council (CNR), held on the same day, the foundations of the future governing structures of the Romanian administration of Bukovina were established, the directions of action were clarified and positions were adopted in relation to the Habsburg authorities and the other ethnic groups.

The meeting convened by the German National Council of Bukovina took place on the same day, in the German House. After lengthy debates, the participants voted a resolution claiming the preservation of Bukovina’s integrity in the future Austrian federation. If Bukovina was to be divided on the linguistic criterion, the Germans chose to unite the Romanian part of the province with Transylvania and the Banat into a single state body.<sup>36</sup>

On October 28, Iancu Flondor, CNR president, Dori Popovici, vice president, and George Sârbu, member of the CNR Foreign Section, went to the Governor of Bukovina. They informed him on the previous day’s decisions of the national assembly and demanded that the power was handed over. Count von Etzdorf refused to make the transfer of authority; he also did not approve the proposal to allow the exercise of the CNR’s influence on the Bukovina administration.<sup>37</sup> Iancu Flondor asked Count von Etzdorf to send home the Bukovinian soldiers at the frontline, because, given the situation of Austria, the continuation of battles had no meaning, no purpose and could not bring benefits to the Romanians. The Romanian leader suggested that after the evacuation of the Austrian troops and until the Romanian army entered the territory, in order to maintain order and peace, they should send Romanian ethnic militias to the villages or keep the imperial gendarmerie under the subordination of the Romanian National Council. The Governor of Bukovina<sup>38</sup> rejected these proposals too.

While the Romanian community campaigned for the unification of the Romanians from Austria-Hungary into a national state and the Ukrainians cherished the dream of an independent Ukraine, the Germans and the Jews believed it was better to preserve the political status of the Duchy. Thus, the Jews in Bukovina believed that

keeping the land within Austria was a guarantee for the prosperity and security of the Mosaic community. It was a position similar to that of the Galician Jews, who did not agree to the idea of including this province into an independent Poland, because of the potential Polish<sup>39</sup> persecutions they might be facing in the absence of the Austrian administration.

CNR's decisions urged the leaders of the Ukrainian Regional Committee of Bukovina (URC) to hold their own national assembly on November 3. In order to raise the importance of the event, URC decided to bring several thousands of participants to the capital of Bukovina.

Meanwhile, the situation in Bukovina became increasingly tense. Given that the days of Austria-Hungary were numbered and the Austrian military and administrative-police potential decreased, as the numbers of people returning from the frontline and crossing Bukovina did not diminish and the political disputes and social disturbances became more evident, the Habsburg authorities have proved unable to a certain extent to manage the situation. The Governor of Bukovina reported that nor for the capital of the province did he have sufficient forces to ensure order.<sup>40</sup> The situation has worsened on Saturday, November 2, when the soldiers of the 41st and 22nd Bukovina regiments left their barracks armed and went to their homes.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, the soldiers of the guard detachment and military police<sup>42</sup> deserted. According to the information provided by an eyewitness, Chernivtsi was in "total anarchy. People took out everything from the barracks and army depots, including weapons and ammunition. (...) the local Chernivtsi population, as well as people from the neighboring villages, rushed by thousands to the barracks and military depots, and in a few hours, they first took all the food, then the bed linen, the uniforms, and other soldierly equipment. Those who did not get enough of those took weapons and ammunition."<sup>43</sup>

The Police Department issued an order for the commercial establishments to close their activities at six o'clock in the evening and for the restaurants at seven o'clock in the evening. The Municipal Theater had to cancel its scheduled performance for the evening of November 3. Railway traffic to Lemberg was suspended. There were shootings and grenades explosions in Chernivtsi during the second and fourth of November.<sup>44</sup> According to Count

von Etzdorf's report, some deserters from the Legion of Ukrainian Riflemen paired with the Ukrainian soldiers of the 41st and 22nd Regiments and caused many incidents.<sup>45</sup> The city was inflamed with violence, individuals with criminal intentions using weapons in acts of theft, devastation, robbery etc. Because of this violence, there were 3 dead and about 30 injured among the civilians.<sup>46</sup> In this context of general uncertainty, given that the CNR did not have its own military forces, on November 2, Iancu Flondor requested the intervention and protection of the Romanian Army, a request approved by the Government of Romania on 6 November 1918<sup>47</sup>.

On November 2, the Jewish leaders (Max Anhauch, Dr. Billig and Jakob Pistiner)<sup>48</sup> tried to mediate between Ukrainians and Romanians, but their attempt failed. Iancu Flondor maintained his opinion on the indivisibility of Bukovina, underlining that the Romanians' National Assembly of October 27 ruled for the integrity of the province. Subsequently, Flondor proposed a version of power takeover, according to which the Austrian government would cede the complete power to the Romanian National Council, and the latter would transfer the administration of the "Ukrainian part of Bukovina"<sup>49</sup> to the Ukrainian Regional Committee, without threatening the integrity of Bukovina.<sup>50</sup> Representatives of the URC said they could not accept this Romanian act of "investiture" and that, however, the power was in their hands for three days before.<sup>51</sup>

According to the testimonies of contemporaries, Sunday, November 3, was expected to be a critical day for Chernivtsi. However, the situation remained calm. Despite the insistence of the Governor of Bukovina on Omelian Popowicz not to organize an action with a large number of participants, which would represent an increased risk of generating public order disturbances, the leader of the URC refused to comply.<sup>52</sup> The Ukrainians' National event, attended by about 8,000 people, started at 10 am in "Narodnyi Dim" (Ukrainian National House, Petrowicz Street), "Arbeiterheim" (The Workers' House, the Old Theater Square on Turkish Street) and the House of "The Musical Society" (The Philharmonic, Rudolf Square), and was a "dignified event".<sup>53</sup> After this, a march of "many thousands of Ukrainians" took place, which ended in the Elisabeth Square (now the Theater Square). The adopted resolution was identical to the motions previously discussed by the Ukrainian student societies<sup>54</sup> and, besides

other aspects, disavowed the decisions of the Romanian Constituent Assembly of October 27. The position of the Ukrainian leaders in Bukovina relied on the resolution of the Ukrainian National Council in Lemberg, voted on 19 October 1918, which stipulated that the northern part of Bukovina, with the towns of Chernivtsi, Storozhynets and Siret<sup>55</sup> would be included in the future Ukrainian state. The URC pleaded for the division of Bukovina under the right of people to self-determination. Relying on the principles of Woodrow Wilson and the provisions of the Imperial Manifesto of October 16, 1918, URC pointed out that it had the right and duty to administrate the Ukrainian part of the province. The resolution adopted on November 3 made public the wish of the Bukovinian Ukrainians to unite the territory they claimed with the Ukrainian People's Republic with the capital in Lviv.<sup>56</sup> On the evening of November 3, Omelian Popowicz, president of the URC, went to the Governor of Bukovina and demanded that the power was handed over. Count von Etdorf pointed out that he did not accept to give up the responsibility entrusted by the emperor and would continue to lead the Bukovina administration to ensure order and protect the population.<sup>57</sup>

Indeed, in this context of political confrontation, the Habsburg authorities virtually could no longer control the situation. The soldiers who were laid off, as they picked up their weapons and ammunition and distributed them to suburban and rural residents, raised fear among the Chernivtsi population.<sup>58</sup> According to the information provided by the Chernivtsi Police, the whole night from the third to November 4 there were "wild" shootings with Mannlichen weapons and hand grenade explosions. Despite the fact that no dead or wounded were reported and that the devastations targeted military depots, "the population was very worried."<sup>59</sup> On November 4, Count Etdorf sent to Vienna a telegram saying that "the military units located on the territory of Bukovina were self-dissolved." Consequently, the capital of the province was under "sabotage, many people being killed. The instruments I have are insufficient to totally ensure the order in Chernivtsi." The Governor asked for instructions on the transfer of power, saying, "if the situation dictates it, I will calmly, honestly, in accordance with my conscience, will pass on the power to the legitimate representatives of the nations, because, since my memorandum of 6 days ago, I received no answer."<sup>60</sup>

On November 4, Alexandru Hurmuzaki, Aurel Țurcan, Vice President of the Bukovina Diet, and Baron Ioan Victor Stârcea\* participated at the meeting between Count von Etdorf and Iancu Flondor, CNR President. The Governor informed Flondor of Omelian Popowicz's visit from the previous evening. Von Etdorf said that during their talks they reached the solution of a Romanian-Ukrainian joint government: the Romanians would administrate the south of Bukovina to the Siret River; the Ukrainians - the northern Bukovina to the Prut River; and the region between the Prut and Siret rivers would be under common administration.<sup>61</sup> The Governor has shown that, under these circumstances, he was willing to give up the power and asked Iancu Flondor to accept, on behalf of the CNR, to take over the power together with the representatives of the URC.<sup>62</sup> Flondor rejected the proposal and asked Etdorf to continue to run the Bukovina administration for as long as possible. He also informed the governor (who already knew from confidential sources) that he had sent a courier to the Romanian Government in Iasi<sup>63</sup> with the request to bring troops to Bukovina in order to restore the order and defend of the population.<sup>64</sup>

Following vigorous measures, in close cooperation with the Bukovinian national councils that organized civilian guards, the overall security situation underwent a significant improvement during November 5. City streets were swept by powerful patrols that disarmed soldiers returning home, and confiscated civilian rifles as well, intervening where the safety of the population was endangered. The situation evolved in the same direction the next day.<sup>65</sup> Local media stated that during the last three days (4-6 November) the leaders of the Romanians and Ukrainians proved that they were able to supply the population with food and ensure the good functioning of the massive administrative apparatus.<sup>66</sup> However, the Austrian authorities did not control the situation either in southern Bukovina or in the north, as there were numerous disturbances, violence, removals from office of representatives of the Habsburg administration etc.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Doctor of Law, Chamberlain of the Imperial Court in Vienna, Ambassador of Austria-Hungary to Chile between December 16, 1912 and November 8, 1916.

Aware of the fragility of the Habsburg administration, the representatives of the URC, who relied on the available Ukrainian paramilitary forces that controlled most of the Bukovina region since November 4, considered it necessary to provide a legal status to this state of affairs and take over the power in the city of Chernivtsi and in the Ukrainian part of Bukovina.<sup>68</sup> As a result, the gendarmerie headquarters, the police prefecture, the post office, the railways, the financial administration, and the Bukovina Bank<sup>69</sup> were occupied on the morning of November 6. According to the information provided by the Governor of Bukovina, on November 6, 1918, at 11.35, Elias Semaka and Nikolaj Spenul, deputies in the Parliament of Vienna from the URC, Omelian Popowicz, member of the Permanent Provincial Council of Bukovina, and Lieutenant Iliia Popowicz came to see him. During the meeting, Semaka announced Count Joseph von Etdorf that the Ukrainian soldiers occupied the headquarters of the Bukovina government and asked him to surrender the prerogatives of the governmental authority in the “Ukrainian territories of Bukovina and the city of Chernivtsi” to the Ukrainian National Council. The governor pointed out that this approach would lead him to yield under the pressure of force, but that he was willing to transfer the power only to the representatives of the Romanians and Ukrainians<sup>70</sup> together. He proposed to mediate once again an agreement between the Romanians and the Ukrainians, and if this attempt failed as well, he would transfer the power to the Ukrainian National Council and to Aurel Onciul.<sup>71</sup> Count von Etdorf invited Iancu Flondor and Nicu Flondor to talks, but these negotiations ended without any result.<sup>72</sup>

Later, at 16 o'clock, the leaders of the URC, accompanied this time by Deputy Aurel Onciul, came again to meet the governor. Aurel Onciul stated that he was the delegate of the Romanian National Council made of members of the Parliament, a structure established under the high Imperial Manifesto. He mentioned that the two parties were ready to assume by common consent the exercise of governmental authority in Bukovina. The Governor presented the protocol text of the power handover. The protocol was signed, on the one hand, by count Joseph von Etdorf, as “informant”, and on the other hand, by Omelian Popowicz, Elias Semaka, Nikolaj Spenul, on behalf of the Ukrainians, and Aurel On-

ciul, on behalf of the Romanians, as “recipients of information”. By signing the Protocol, Count Joseph von Etzdorf, on behalf of the Vienna authorities, ceded and transferred the governmental authority over the “land of Bukovina” to the representatives of the “Romanian and Ukrainian nations.”<sup>73</sup> Through a *Proclamation* signed on November 6 by Aurel Onciul and Omelian Popowicz, the two announced: “The imperial government, which considers its task to be over, has today handed us over, as national commissioners of the Ukrainian and the Romanian people, the undivided ruling power in Bukovina. After we have prepared this final fact, to prevent anarchic conditions and to maintain public order and security, we have taken over the government...”<sup>74</sup>

The Chernivtsi newspapers announcing the takeover of power by the two “national commissioners” pointed out that the opinion of the CNR on this change of administration was still unknown.<sup>75</sup> In this context, on November 7, George Grigorovici made public the fact that Aurel Onciul pretended to be a delegate of the Romanian National Council without consulting and without the acceptance of the other Romanian members of the Parliament.<sup>76</sup>

The first message made public by “the new Government” mentioned that Bukovina was the place of unhindered robbery and that there were numerous reports from the province’s villages and towns about devastations, robberies, and crimes that “remind of the Bolshevik atrocities.”<sup>77</sup> Also, in an Appeal addressed to the inhabitants of Bukovina on November 7, Osyp Bezpalko, who entitled himself “municipal commissioner” on behalf of the “Province Administration”, announced that the Bukovina Delegation of The Ukrainian National Council appointed him responsible for the reorganization of the local council, and urged the population to remain vigilant and keep the peace and order.<sup>78</sup> In addition, the next day, November 8, Major Jaskiewicz launched an appeal to gendarmerie officers and soldiers asking them not to give up their responsibilities invested by law, to be aware of the fact that the imperial gendarmerie was dissolved, but they would be able to be transferred to the Ukrainian and Romanian gendarmerie units of Bukovina. The Major informed the population that he was appointed as head of the Ukrainian gendarmes and that the Romanian gendarmes would be coordinated by Captain Wilhelm Man.<sup>79</sup>

Despite the peaceful takeover of power, there was a state of deep anxiety in the province. The Czernowitzer Morgenblatt newspaper on November 8, 1918, reported, "There is during the daytime a tremendous state of nervousness that dominates all population categories, which can be seen on people's faces. (...) The Ukrainian authorities are making every effort to maintain safety and order, but you cannot help but notice that one cannot pass by some elements the city hosts that, unfortunately, shout or call for attention. In fact, small gangs wander and, in various forms, confiscate another's goods, practice extortion and disturb various neighborhoods of the city through robberies and acts of violence. Fortunately, to date, these cases have not been catastrophic, but they fuel anxiety and increase nervousness."<sup>80</sup>

In the afternoon of Saturday, November 9, a crowd of festively dressed Bukovinians (townspeople, students, officers, clergy, soldiers etc.) gathered in front of the National House of the Romanians, some with flower bouquets, to meet the Romanian army. At around 18 o'clock, a Ukrainian patrol ordered the crowd to disperse, but the Romanians refused, which led to altercations. The Ukrainians started to fire their weapons in the air, causing panic in the square. Some women have lost consciousness and one died.<sup>81</sup>

Despite the fact that on November 8, 1918, the decision taken at the meeting of the URC required the designated officials to remain in office until the Romanian army<sup>82</sup> entered Chernivtsi, on November 9 most members of the URC, including Omelian Popowicz, retreated to Kitsman and then to Galicia.<sup>83</sup> The members of the Ukrainian military formations adopted the same attitude.<sup>84</sup> On October 24 the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen had received an order from the commander of the Austro-Hungarian Fourth Army in Lemberg to move to Galicia.<sup>85</sup> In addition, on October 31, Captain Dmytro Vitovski, head of the Central Military Committee of Lviv, ordered all Ukrainian paramilitary forces in Chernivtsi, Stanislav, Kolomyia, and Zolochiv to concentrate their forces in Lviv, in support of the Ukrainian National Council. At the same time, the order transferred the responsibility for "taking action in Chernivtsi"<sup>86</sup> to the 41st Infantry Regiment. As a result, the Ukrainian Legionnaires left Bukovina on November 2 and arrived in Lviv on November 3.<sup>87</sup> The Legionnaires that remained at the Ukrainian Regional Committee's disposal left Chernivtsi on November 9, devastating the depots at Zhuchka station before departure.<sup>88</sup>



The Polish National Council decided to support the takeover of power by the Romanian National Council and made the Polish Legionnaires available for the Romanian National Council. On Sunday, November 10, the Polish Legionnaire detachment went marching in front of the Romanians' National House, saluting the crowd waiting for the Romanian army. The Polish Legionnaires also participated on November 11 at the great demonstration organized for the entry of the troops led by General Jacob Zadik.<sup>89</sup>

Essentially, on November 10, 1918, the Romanian National Council took over all the institutions in the capital of Bukovina and prepared the Romanian Army's entry to Chernivtsi the next day. In the following period, under the restoration of order, CNR formed a Government of Bukovina that managed the issues until the end of 1918, negotiated with the other national councils the adherence of the ethnic groups to the program of the Constituent Assembly of October 27 and prepared the General Congress of Bukovina.<sup>90</sup> Following the meeting on November 23, 1918, of Iancu Flondor with the leaders of the Polish National Council, this community decided to support the unification of Bukovina to the Kingdom of Romania. Bukovina Germans mentioned that they would respond after consulting the members of the community. The consultation took place at the national assembly, organized on November 26, when the German National Council ruled for unification with the Romanian state.<sup>91</sup>

Members of the Romanian, Polish and German National Councils and 13 representatives of some Ukrainian villages in Bukovina attended the General Congress of Bukovina held on November 28, 1918. Following some debates and statements, the participants unanimously voted for "the unconditional and eternal unification of Bukovina, within its ancient frontiers to the Cheremosh, the Kulachyn, and the Dniester, to the Kingdom of Romania."<sup>92</sup> The Peace Treaty with Austria signed on December 10, 1919, acknowledged and established the unification of Bukovina with the Kingdom of Romania.

Thus, in the autumn of 1918, Bukovina decided to leave the administration of the Habsburg House, as other non-German territories of the dual monarchy had done. Despite the Germans and the Jews in Bukovina who, initially, did not agree with this choice, finally, the two communities did not oppose the unification of the province with the Kingdom of Romania. The odds were against the

attempts of the Ukrainian community's leaders to take over the administration of most of the country. The Ukrainian-Polish war going on at the same time with the Ukrainian-Bolshevik war and the fragility of the structures of the West Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian People's Republic were the facts that made the Ukrainian Regional Committee's project impossible. As a result, of all the projects concerning the future of Bukovina (Jewish, German, Romanian, Ukrainian), the Romanian one proved to be the winner. In addition to the international situation, besides the fact that the Kingdom of Romania was capable to intervene at a key moment, the success of the project was due to the ability of the Romanian National Council in Bukovina to meet the challenges, to negotiate with all stakeholders and to pursue their preset objectives.

#### *Notes:*

1. Robert A. Kann, David V. Zdeněk, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526-1918*, Seattle-London, University of Washington Press, 1984, p. 445-446.

2. Joseph Healy, *Central Europe in flux: Germany, Poland and Ukraine, 1918-1922*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Glasgow, 2003, p. 166, in <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/2324/1/2003healyphd.pdf> (Accessed on 06.02.2018)

3. See the text of the treaty: <https://www.firstworldwar.com/source/ukrainianpeace treaty.htm> (Accessed on 07.02.2018)

4. Володимир Заполовський, *Буковина в останній війні Австро-Угорщини 1914-1918*, Чернівці: Золоті литаври, 2003, с. 180.

5. *Brest-Litovsk, Peace Treaty of*, in <http://www.encyclopediainukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CB%5CR%5CBrest6LitovskPeaceTreatyof.htm> (Accessed on 06.02.2018); Олександр Добржанський, Володимир Старик, *Змагання за українську державність на Буковині (1914-1921 рр.)*. Документи і матеріали, Чернівці, 2009, с. 131, 136.

6. Manfred Rauchensteiner, *The First World War and the End of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1914-1918*, Wien-Köln-Weimar, 2014, p. 884.

7. Erich Prokopowitsch, *Das Ende der österreichischen Herrschaft in der Bukowina*, München, Verlag R. Oldenburg, 1959, S. 11-12.

8. Erich Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, S. 10. The author, however, indicates by mistake the date of June 26th. For May 20, see the Austro-Hungarian 7th Army Commandment Note of May 18, 1918, addressed

to the Government of Bukovina în В. М. Ботушанський, Буковина в роки Першої світової 1914-1918 рр. Документи, Чернівці: Технодрок, 2014, с. 299-300

9. Володимир Заполовський, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

10. М. Ботушанський, С. М. Гакман, Ю. І. Макар, О. М. Масан, І. А. Піддубний, Г. М. Скорейко, Буковина в контексті європейських міжнародних (3 давніх часів до середини ХХ ст.), Чернівці: Рута, 2005, с. 411.

11. Ion I. Nistor, *Problema ucraineană în lumina istoriei*, Rădăuți, Editura Septentrion, 1997, p. 207.

12. Erich Prokopowitsch, *op. cit.*, S. 15-16.

13. *Ibidem*, p. 16-17.

14. „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt”, 1918, 20 Oktober. Apud В. М. Ботушанський, С. М. Гакман et al., *op. cit.*, с. 360.

15. Stenographisches Protokoll. Haus der Abgeordneten. XXII. Session. 87. Sitzung, Freitag, den 4. Oktober 1918, S. 4407.

16. Stenographisches Protokoll. Haus der Abgeordneten. XXII. Session. 87. Sitzung, Freitag, den 4. Oktober 1918, S. 4435-4436.

17. Stenographisches Protokoll. Haus der Abgeordneten. XXII. Session. 87. Sitzung, Freitag, den 4. Oktober 1918, S. 4441; Radu Economu, *Unirea Bucovinei 1918*, București, 1994, p. 11.

18. George Grigorovici (Social Democrat), Alexandru Hurmuzaki (Romanian National Party), Constantin Isopescu-Grecul (Radical popular faction “The Defenders”), Aurel Onciul (Democratic Party) George Sârbu (Radical popular faction “The Defenders”) and Teofil Simionovici (Radical popular faction “The Defenders”) represented the Romanians in Bukovina in the Parliament of Vienna. While George Grigorovici joined the Social Democrat Club of the Chamber of Deputies, the other five established the Romanian Parliamentary Club (see Teodor Balan, *Bucovina în războiul mondial*, Cernăuți, Editura „Glasul Bucovinei”, 1929, p. 82). The five Ukrainian deputies from Bukovina joined the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club along with 26 members of the Parliament in Galicia.

19. „Wiener Zeitung” (Extra-Ausgabe), 1918, 17. October, S. 1; Wolfdieter Bihl, *Der Erste Weltkrieg 1914–1918. Chronik – Daten – Fakten*, Wien-Köln-Weimar, 2010, S. 230.

20. Der Kampf um Czernowitz, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt”, 1918, 24 Oktober, S. 3-4.

21. Stenographisches Protokoll. Haus der Abgeordneten. XXII. Session. 92. Sitzung, Dienstag, den 22. Oktober 1918, S. 4647.

22. Der Kampf um Czernowitz. Rede des Abgeordneten Grigorovici, gehalten in der Sitzung des Abgeordnetenhauses am 22. Ocktober 1918, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 3 November, S. 3.

23. Der Kampf um Czernowitz, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 24 Oktober, S. 4.

24. Der Kampf um Czernowitz. Rede des Abg. Nikolai R. v. Wassilko, gehalten in der Sitzung des Abgeordnetenhauses am 22. Ocktober 1918, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 3 November, S. 6.

Indeed, that treaty signed on February 9, 1918, did not refer to the annexation of Bukovina, but on August 8, Austria-Hungary had signed a secret agreement with the Ukrainian People's Republic by which Bukovina was to be joined by the territories inhabited by Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia.

25. Der Kampf um Czernowitz, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 24 Oktober, S. 4.

26. Stenographisches Protokoll. Haus der Abgeordneten. XXII. Session. 92. Sitzung, Dienstag, den 22. Oktober 1918, S. 4662-4664.

27. Bukowinaer Abgeordnete über das Schicksal der Bukowina, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 24 Oktober, S. 1.

28. В. М. Ботушанський, С. М. Гакман et al., op. cit., c. 413.

29. Erich Prokopowitsch, op. cit., p. 18.

30. „Glasul Bucovinei“, 1918, 22 octombrie, p. 1.

31. Erich Prokopowitsch, op. cit., p. 33.

32. Radu Economu, op. cit., p. 7.

33. Teofil Simionovici, as Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies, stayed in Vienna and attended all of its meetings, including the last one, that of November 12, 1918.

34. Ion Calafeteanu, Viorica-Pompilia Moisuc, Unirea Basarabiei și a Bucovinei cu România, 1917-1918. Documente, Chisjnău, Editura Hyperion, 1995, p. 260.

35. Radu Economu, op. cit., p. 141.

36. „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 27 October.

37. Erich Prokopowitsch, op. cit., p. 38-39.
38. Ibidem, p. 49-50.
39. Marsha I. Rozenblit, *The Dilemma of National Identity. The Jews of Habsburg Austria in World War I*, in *Central European University's Jewish Studies Yearbook*, Vol. III (2002-2003), Budapest, 2004, p. 154.
40. Володимир Заполовський, op. cit., p. 191.
41. В. М. Ботушанський, С. М. Гакман et al., op. cit., p. 416.
42. Erich Prokopowitsch, op. cit., p. 40.
43. О. В. Добржанський, *Українська влада на Буковині в листопаді 1918 р.: встановлення, функціонування, причини поразки*, in „Наукові праці історичного факультету Запорізького державного університету”, Вип. XXIV: Соціальні та національні чинники революцій і реформ в Україні: проблеми взаємовпливів, Запоріжжя, 2008, с. 160.
44. Die Situation in Czernowitz. Czernowitz, 3. November, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt”, 1918, 4 November, S. 1.
45. Erich Prokopowitsch, op. cit., p. 41.
46. Володимир Заполовський, op. cit., p. 192.
47. Constantin Ungureanu, *Unirea Bucovinei cu România în 1918*, in „Revista de istorie a Moldovei”, 2013, nr. 1, p. 42.
48. Олександр Добржанський, Володимир Старик, *Змагання за українську державність ...*, с. 231.
49. Mitteilungen im ukrainischen Nationalhause, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt”, 1918, 7 November, S. 2; Агенор Артимович, *Переворот на Буковині. Спомини*, in О. В. Добржанський, В. П. Старик, *Бажаємо до України!*, *Змагання за українську державність на Буковині у спогадах очевидців (1914 - 1921 pp.)*, Одеса, Видавництво Маяк, 2008, с. 822.
50. Мирон Кордуба, *Переворот на Буковині (3 особистих споминів)*, in О. В. Добржанський, В. П. Старик, *Бажаємо до України!*, с. 834.
51. Mitteilungen im ukrainischen Nationalhause, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt”, 1918, 7 November, S. 2.
52. Василь Ботушанський, *Буковинці у боротьбі за українську державність: до 95-річчя Буковинського народного віча 3 листопада 1918 р.*, in „Науковий вісник Чернівецького університету: Історія. Політичні науки. Міжнародні відносини”, 2013, Вип. 676-677, с. 22.

53. This opinion was given by the fact that the owners and traders in Chernivtsi expected that the presence of a significant number of Ukrainian peasants at the public assemblies, in the context of political agitation, would degenerate into violence and devastation (See, Leon Arie Schmelze, *The Jews in Bukowina (1914-1919). World War and Russian Occupation*, in Hugo Gold (ed.), *History of the Jews in the Bukowina*, Vol. 1, Tel Aviv, 1958, [https://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/Bukowinabook/buk1\\_067.html](https://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/Bukowinabook/buk1_067.html)).

54. Die Situation in Czernowitz. Czernowitz, 3. November, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 4 November, S. 1.

55. Was wird jetzt geschehen?, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 9 November, S. 1.

56. О. В. Добржанський, Соборницькі прагнення українців Буковини ..., с. 33.

57. Erich Prokopowitsch, op. cit., p. 43.

58. Die Situation in Czernowitz. Czernowitz, 3. November, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 4 November, S. 1.

59. Eine unruhige Nacht, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 4 November, S. 2.

60. Erich Prokopowitsch, op. cit., p. 35.

61. Teodor Bălan, op. cit., p. 97.

62. Radu Economu, op. cit., p. 14.

63. It was Vasile Bodnărescu.

64. Erich Prokopowitsch, op. cit., p. 44.

65. Die Krise, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 6 November, S. 1.

66. Ibidem.

67. Erich Prokopowitsch, op. cit., p. 44-45.

68. Die Krise, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 6 November, S. 1.

69. Teodor Bălan, op. cit., p. 94.

70. Protokoll ausgenommen in Czernowitz am 6. November 1918, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 7 November, S. 1.

71. Олександр Добржанський, Листопад 1918 р. на Буковині. Ще раз про втрачені можливості, in *Питання історії України. зб. наук. ст., Чернівці, Технодрук, 2008, т. 11, с. 68.*

72. Erich Prokopowitsch, op. cit., p. 45.

73. Protokol ausgenommen in Czernowitz am 6. November 1918, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 7 November, S. 1.

74. Proklamation, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 7 November, S. 1.

75. Der umschwung. Abg. Dr. v. Onciul übernimmt gemeinsam mit der Ukrainiska Rada die Regierung, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 7 November, S. 2.

76. Eine Erklärung des Abg. Grigorovici, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 8 November, S. 3.

77. Appel an die neue Regierung, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 7 November, S. 2.

78. An die Bevölkerung der Landeshauptstadt Czernowitz!, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 9 November, S. 3.

79. Die Bukowinaer Gendarmerie. An alle Offiziere und Gendarmen!, in „Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung – Czernowitzer Tagblatt“, 1918, 10 November, S. 3.

80. „Czernowitzer Morgenblatt“, 1918, 8 November. Apud Олександр Добржанський, Володимир Старик, Змагання за українську державність ..., с. 259.

81. „Czernowitzer Morgenblatt“, 1918, 10 November. Apud Олександр Добржанський, Володимир Старик, Змагання за українську державність ..., с. 274-275, 277.

82. Мирон Кордуба, op. cit., с. 849.

83. В. М. Ботушанський, С. М. Гакман et al., op. cit., p. 424-425.

84. Мирон Кордуба, op. cit., с. 851.

85. Ion Nistor, Problema ucraineană..., p. 265.

86. Олекса Кузьма, Листопадові дні 1918 р., in О. В. Добржанський, В. П. Старик, Бажаємо до України!, с. 811-812.

87. Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, in <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CU%5CK%5CUkrainianSichRiflemen.htm>

88. „Czernowitzer Morgenblatt“, 1918, 10 November. Apud Олександр Добржанський, Володимир Старик, Змагання за українську державність ..., с. 276.

89. „Czernowitzer Morgenblatt“, 1918, 12 November. Apud Олександр Добржанський, Володимир Старик, Змагання за українську державність ..., с. 282.

90. Constantin Ungureanu, Consiliul Național Român din Bucovina (toamna anului 1918), în „Revista de Științe Politice și Relații Internaționale”, XV, 2018, nr. 1, p. 112-116.

91. Teodor Bălan, op. cit., p. 102.

92. Ion Calafeteanu, Viorica-Pompilia Moisuc, Unirea Basarabiei și a Bucovinei cu România, 1917-1918, p. 333-335.

**Штефан Пуріч**

### **Питання Буковини та Національні ради (жовтень – листопад 1918 р.)**

*Питання майбутнього Буковини постало ще в перших роках Великої війни. Проте невизначеність переможців в 1916-1917 рр. і початок значних військових поразок центральних держав в 1918 р. спровокували лідерів буковинських етнічних спільнот та не-буковинців поставити перед собою проблему майбутнього краю. Інтерес до цих теренів мали Австро-Угорщина (бажала зберегти), Російська імперія (бажала анексувати всю або певну частину Буковини), Румунія (яка мала плани відокремити цілий край від Габсбургів, але в 1916 р. Антанта погодилась лише на передачу половини провінції разом з м. Чернівці). Восени 1918 р. були оприлюднені проекти Національних рад етносів Буковини, які на протязі місяця (з середини жовтня по середину листопада) спробували переконати інші національні групи підтримати їхній погляд на питання, або вирішити проблему силою. В кінці кінців, серед всіх проектів, які стосувались післявоєнної долі краю, успішним видався варіант дій Румунської національної ради Буковини, завдяки геополітичних обставин та політично-врівноважених дій її керівників.*

**Ключові слова:** Буковина, національна рада, депутати, світова війна, Австрія, Росія, Румунія

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