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Svetlana Frunchak

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Contesting the Land:**
A Select Historiographic Guide
to Modern Bukovina

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Notes

A Note on Translation: Titles of monographs are translated, as are titles of articles, chapters, and sections; titles of journals, collections, and edited works are not. Current, commonly used English names are used to indicate place of publication. German words *Landeskunde* and *Heimatkunde*, and Ukrainian *kraeznavstvo*, are translated as “local” (lore, studies, history, and geography, etc, depending on context) although *krai* and *Land* are translated as “region.” *Rus’ki* or *Rusyn* and *Rus’* are used when appropriate to preserve the original meaning of the terms.

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Introduction

1. Daphne Berdahl, *Where the World Ended: Reunification and Identity in the German Borderland* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); Hastings Donnan and Thomas Wilson, eds., *Border Approaches: Anthropological Perspectives on Frontiers* (Lanham, MD, 1994); Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, “Beyond Culture: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference,” *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1992): 6–23; Michael Kearney, “Borders and Boundaries of State and Self at the End of Empire,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 4, no. 1 (1991): 52–74; Thomas Wilson and Hastings Donnan, eds., *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

2. See Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), on Polish-Ukrainian borderlands; Peter Sahllins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley and Los

Angeles: University of California Press, 1989); Anastasia N. Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870–1990* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1997); László Kürti, *The Remote Borderland: Transylvania in the Hungarian Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001); David Blackbourn and James Retallack, eds., *Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of Place: German-Speaking Central Europe, 1860–1930* (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Timothy Snyder, *Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003).

3. Works in English on Bukovina are scarce; the major languages of the region’s historiography are German, Ukrainian, Romanian, Russian, and Yiddish, including various dialects and scripts; others include Hebrew, Polish, Hungarian, Slovak, Czech, French, and Portuguese (the latter published by communities of Bukovinians in Brazil).

Structure and Limitations

4. This is not a comprehensive survey and does not claim to present an exhaustive examination of the historiography of Bukovina. Besides intended limitations due to space restrictions, outlined in the introduction, other omissions may occur.

Nomenclature

5. This survey does not cover studies of separate localities and areas within the historical territorial unit known as Bukovina since the Austrian period. Most of the studies concerned with the southern part of Bukovina (after its division in 1940) belong to this category of local and micro studies and are therefore excluded. Romanian cultural policies of the postwar period did not encourage the preservation of regionalism in Southern Bukovina. In Soviet Ukraine, on the contrary, the name Bukovina was appropriated as an important cultural and geographic category (but not as an official administrative unit) and often used in publications and public discourse in combinations: “Soviet Bukovina” and “Northern Bukovina.”

6. The origins of this name are not clear; most probably, it derived from the old-Slavic *chernyi* (black), referring to the color of surrounding fortification walls. See Yu. O. Karpenko, *Toponimii tsentral’nykh raioniv Chernivets’koï oblasti* [Toponyms of central districts of Chernivtsi province] (Chernivtsi, 1965).

7. Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983); Ernest Gellner, “Scale and Nation,” *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 3 (1973): 1–17.

8. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

9. On popular identities in modern Central Europe and the Habsburg Empire in particular, see David Blackbourn and James N. Retallack, eds., *Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of*

Place; Nancy M. Wingfield, ed., *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, Austrian and Habsburg Studies 5 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003); Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit, eds., *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*, Austrian History, Culture, and Society (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).

Bibliographic Aids and Historiographic Studies

Bibliographies from the Late Nineteenth Century to 1940

10. Karel Reifenkugel, *Die Bukowinaer Landesbibliothek und die Kaiserlich-Königlich Universitaets-Bibliothek in Czernowitz. Geschichte und Statistik* [The Library of Bukovina and the Imperial-Royal University Library in Czernowitz: History and statistics] (Chernivtsi, 1885); see also Karel Reifenkugel, *Die Kaiserlich-Königlich Universitaets-Bibliothek in Czernowitz. 1885–1895* [The Imperial-Royal University Library in Czernowitz] (Chernivtsi, 1896).

11. Johann Polek, “Repertorium der Landeskundlichen Literatur des Herzogthums Bukowina” [Directory of regional studies on the Duchy of Bukovina], in *Mitteilungen des statistischen Landesamtes des Herzogthums Bukowina* 1 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1892), 147–86.

12. Johann Polek, “Rückblick auf die Forschungen zur Landes- und Volkskunde der Bukowina seit 1773” [A review of research in regional studies and folklore in Bukovina since 1773] in *Mitteilungen des statistischen Landesamtes des Herzogthums Bukowina* 1 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1892), 3–20.

13. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, “Die Literatur zur Kunde der Bukowina” [Literature on Bukovina], *Romänische Revue* 7 (Vienna, 1891): 426–31; Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Berichte über die Arbeiten zur Landeskunde der Bukowina* [Reports on the monographs on Bukovina] (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1892).

14. Erwin Hanslick, “Die landeskundliche Literatur von Schlesien, Galizien und Bukowina in den Jahren 1897–1904” [Studies on Silesia, Galicia, and Bukovina in the years 1897–1904], *Geographische Jahresberichte aus Österreich* (Vienna), 4 (1906): 149–68; Siegmund Herzberg-Fränkell, “Neueste Schriften zur Geschichte der Bukowina” [The latest writings on the history of Bukovina], in *Mitteilungen des Institutes für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 17 (Innsbruck, 1897), 201–04; F. Ilwof, “Kaindl’s Arbeiten zur Geschichte der Bukowina” [Kaindl’s works on the history of Bukovina], in *Historisches Literaturblatt*, 2 (Berlin, 1899), 115–21; Stefan Rudnickiy, “Landeskundliche Literatur von Galizien und der Bukowina” [Studies on Galicia and Bukovina], *Geographische Jahresberichte aus Österreich* (Vienna), 10 (1913): 68–95. Selected sources on the history of Bukovina were included in the following reference works: I. Levyts’kyi, *Halitsko-ruskaia bibliografiya XIX-ho stoletia s uvzgliaadnenniem izdaniï poiavivshykhsia v Uhorshine i Bukovine (1801–1886)* [Bibliography of Galician Rus’ in the nineteenth century including

publications in Hungary and Bukovina (1801–1886)]. 2 Vols. (L'viv, 1888/1895); L. Bodnărescul, *Autori români bucovineni* [Romanian authors in Bukovina] (Chernivtsi: Mitru. Silvestru, 1902).

15. Erich Prokopowitsch, “Schriftumsverzeichnis über das Buchenland” [A bibliography of Bukovina], *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- u. Volksforschung* (Leipzig), 4, nos. 3/4 (1940): 664–95.

16. The Soviet conceptual framework for the history of Bukovina is elaborated in more detail in the following sections.

17. *Novye sovetskie respubliki i oblasti. Ukazatel' literatury* [New Soviet republics and provinces: Directory of literature] (Moscow: Vsesoiuznaya Knizhnaia Palata, 1940); B. Zlatoustovsky and L. Fedorov, “Literatura o zapadnykh oblastiakh Ukrainy i Belorussii” [Literature on the western provinces of Ukraine and Belorussia], *Istoricheskii zhurnal* 10, no. 3 (Moscow, 1940): 144–56.

18. See the section on World War II for a brief historical survey of the annexation.

19. V. Arshynova et al., eds., *Radians'ka Bukovyna 1940–1963: Bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk* [Soviet Bukovina 1940–1963: A bibliographic directory] (Chernivtsi: Chernivets'kyi Derzhavnyi Universytet, Naukova biblioteka [ChDUNB], 1965); V. Boiko, “Bibliohrafichni doslidzhennia z istorii revoliutsiinoho rukhu na Bukovyni” [Bibliographic studies of the history of the revolutionary movement in Bukovina], in *Bibliotekoznavstvo ta bibliohrafiia. Mizhvidomchyi respublikans'kyi zbirnyk statey* (Kharkiv: Redaktsiino-vydavnychiy viddil Knyzhkovoïi palaty URSR, 1970), 55–59; *Chernivets'ka oblast' u roky Velukoi Vitchyznianoi Viiny Radians'koho Soiuzu (1941–1945). Pokazhchyk literatury* [Chernivtsi province during the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union (1941–1945). A directory of literature] (Chernivtsi, 1971); *Informatsiinyi spysok kraieznavchoï literatury, shcho vyishla u ... rotsi (knyhy, broshury, avtoreferaty dysertatsii)* [A list of local studies published in ... (books, brochures, and outlines of dissertations)] (Chernivtsi: ChDUNB, published between 1973 and 1977, each covering literature published in the preceding year); A. Kotsur and O. Dobrzhan's'kyi, *Kafedra istorii Ukrainy Chernivets'koho universytetu im. Iu. Fed'kovycha: bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk* [The chair of Ukrainian history at Iurii Fed'kovych Chernivtsi University: A bibliographic directory] (Chernivtsi, 1996); *Kraieznavcha literatura, shcho vyishla u 1977 rotsi* [Local studies published in 1977] (Chernivtsi: ChDUNB, 1977); *Knyhy pro Chernivets'ku Oblast' (Bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk)* [Books about Chernivtsi province (a bibliographic directory)] (Chernivtsi: ChDUNB, 1980); M. Moldovan and A. Ivanyts'ka, *Radians'ka Bukovyna: kraieznavchyi bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk literatury pro Chernivets'ku oblast'* [Soviet Bukovina: a bibliographic directory of local studies of Chernivtsi province] (Chernivtsi: ChDUNB, published between 1987 and 1989); *Radians'ka Bukovyna: bibliographichnyi pokazhchyk* [Soviet Bukovina: (a bibliographic directory)] (Chernivtsi: ChDUNB, published under various editors and with slight variations in title in 1975, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1984, 1985); *Kraieznavcha literatura, shcho vyishla u 1976 rotsi* [Local studies published in 1976] (Chernivtsi: ChDUNB, 1977); *Velykyi Zhovten' i revoliutsiino-vyzvol'na borot'ba trudiashchykh Pivnichnoi Bukovyny. Anotovanyi bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk literatury za 1940–1967 rr.* [The Great October and revolutionary-liberating struggle of toilers in Northern Bukovina: An annotated bibliographic directory for 1940–1967] (Chernivtsi: ChDUNB, 1989). See also *Știința în Bucovina. Ghid Bibliografic* [Science in Bukovina. A bibliographic guide]

(Suceava, 1982). Additionally, a number of directories are available in typescript at the scholarly library of Chernivtsi National University.

20. See, for example, Gertraud Marinelli-König, “Polen und Ruthenen in den Wiener Zeitschriften und Almanacken des Vormärz (1805–1848). Versuch einer kritischen Bestandsaufnahme der Beiträge über Galizien, die Bukowina und das Polnische Geistesleben insgesamt” [Poles and Ruthenians in Viennese journals and almanacs before the March Revolution (1805–1848): An attempt at a critical inventory of literature on Galician, Bukovinian, and Polish cultural life in general], in “Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Literaturwissenschaft, “*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte*, vol. 590, no. 13 (Vienna, 1992).

21. Erich Beck, *Bibliographie zur Landeskunde der Bukowina: Literatur bis zum Jahre 1965* [A bibliography of studies on Bukovina: Literature up to 1965] (Munich: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerkes, 1966); Erich Beck, *Bibliographie zur Kultur und Landeskunde der Bukowina: Literatur aus den Jahren 1965–1975* [A bibliography of cultural and local studies of Bukovina: literature of the years of 1965–1975] (Dortmund: Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa, 1985); Erich Beck, *Bibliographie zur Kultur und Landeskunde der Bukowina, 1976–1990: mit Nachträgen zu den Jahren 1966–1975* [A bibliography of cultural and local studies of Bukovina, 1965–1975: With addenda for the years 1966–1975] (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999).

22. John-Paul Himka, *Galicia and Bukovina: A Research Handbook about Western Ukraine, Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Edmonton, Alberta: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, Historical Resources Division, 1990).

23. Myroslav Romaniuk, *Ukrains'ka presa Pivnichnoi Bukovyny (1918–1940)* [Ukrainian press of Northern Bukovina (1918–1940)] (L'viv: Feniks, 1996); Myroslav Romaniuk, *Ukrains'ka presa Pivnichnoi Bukovyny iak dzhherelo vyvchennia suspil'no-politychnoho zhyttia kraiu (1870–1940)* [The Ukrainian press of Northern Bukovina as a source for studying the civil and political life of the region (1870–1940)] (L'viv: Feniks, 2000); Myroslav Romaniuk and M. Halushko, *Ukrains'ki chasopysy Pivnichnoi Bukovyny (1870–1940)* [Ukrainian periodicals of Northern Bukovina (1870–1940)] (L'viv: Oblasna Knyzhkova Drukarnia, 1999). A brief survey of press history in Bukovina was published by Olexandr Masan, “Z litopysu Ukrains'koï presy na Bukovyni” [From the chronicles of the Ukrainian press in Bukovina], in *Zasoby masovoï informatsii Chernivets'koï Oblasti. Dovidnyk* [Mass Media in Chernivtsi province. A reference book] (Chernivtsi: Oblasna orhanizatsiia spilky zhurnalistiv, 1996), 5–12.

Historiographic Studies

24. M. Ivanenko, “Nespromozhnist' burzhuanzykh fal'syfikatsii istorii Pivnichnoi Bukovyny” [Failures of the bourgeois falsifications of the history of Northern Bukovina], *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 6 (Kiev, 1981): 65–73; M. Ivanenko, *Naklepnyky na zamovlennia* [Hired slanderers] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1986); Zinaïda Zaitseva, “Chernivets'ka oblast' u roky Velykoï Vitchyznianoï viiny (istoriohrafiiia problemy)” [Chernivtsi province during the Great Patriotic war

(historiography of the problem)], *50 rokiv voz'iednannia Pivnichnoi Bukovyny i Khotyns'koho povitu Bessarabii z Radians'koiu Ukraïnoiu u skladi SRSR. Tezy dopovidei i povidomlen' oblasnoi istoriko-kraieznavchoï naukovoï konferentsii. Chernivtsi 11–12 travnia 1990 r.*, Part 1 (Chernivtsi, 1990), 10–1; Ia. Konovalov, “Pro dostovirnist' vysvitlennia deiakykh podii Velykoï Vitchyznianoï viiny na Bukovini” [On the credibility of interpretation of certain events of the Great Patriotic War in Bukovina], *50 rokiv voz'iednannia Pivnichnoi Bukovyny, 1990*, 13–14; Oleksii Romanets' et al, *Nespromozhnist' burzhuaznykh i burzhuazno-natsionalistychnykh fal'syfikatsii istorii Radians'koï Bukovyny* [Failures of bourgeois and bourgeois-nationalist falsifications of the history of Soviet Bukovina] (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1987).

25. Ihor Burkut, “Ukraïns'ki istoriky pro podii 1940–1941 rr. v nashomu kraï” [Ukrainian historians on the events of 1940–1941 in our region], in *28 chervnia 1940 roku: pohliad cherez 60 rokiv (Materialy nauково-praktychnoi konferentsii, m. Chernivtsi, 28 chervnia 2000* (Chernivtsi: Prut, 2000), 36–45; Ihor Burkut, “Vkliuchennia Pivnichnoi Bukovyny i Khotynshchyny do skladu Ukraïns'koï RSR u vysvitlenni vitchyznianoï istoriografii” [The inclusion of Northern Bukovina and Khotyn region in the Ukrainian SSR in the historiography of our country], in *Khotynu—1000 rokiv. Materialy Mizhnarodnoi naukovoï konferentsii, prysviachenoï 1000-littiu Khotyna* (Chernivtsi: Prut, 2000), 146–56; Olexandr Dobrzhans'kyi, “Etnichni sklad naselennia Bukovyny kintsia XVIII–pershoï polovyny XIX stolittia v suchasniï istoriografii” [Ethnic composition of the population of Bukovina from the end of the eighteenth to the first half of the nineteenth century in contemporary historiography], in *Materialy IV bukovyns'koï mizhnarodnoi istoriko-kraieznavchoï konferentsii* (Chernivtsi, 2001), 367–73; Olexandr Dobrzhans'kyi, “Ukraïns'ka istoriografii istorii Bukovyny” [Ukrainian historiography of the history of Bukovina], in *Mizhnarodnyi Naukovyi Konhres “Ukraïns'ka istorychna nauka na porozii XXI stolittia.” Chernivtsi, 16-18 travnia 2000 r. Dopovidi ta povidomlennia* (Chernivtsi: Ruta, 2001), 335–39; A. Kotsur and B. Bilets'kyi, “Problemy vyvchennia istorii Chernivets'koï oblasti (1940–1993)” [Some problems of studying the history of Chernivtsi province], in *Visnyk Tsentru Bukovynoznavstva. Serii istorychna*, vol.1 (Chernivtsi, 1993), 185–90; A. Kotsur and B. Bilets'kyi, “Istoriografiia pytan' istorii Chernivets'koï Oblasti (1940–1996)” [A historiography of Chernivtsi province (1940–1996)], in *Z istorychnogo mynuloho Bukovyny: zbirnyk naukovykh statei*, eds. Vasyl' Botushans'kyi et al. (Chernivtsi, 1996), 229–36; Vasyl' Kholodnyts'kyi, “Do pytannia pro radianyziatsiu Pivnichnoi Bukovyny ta pivnichnoi Bessarabii 1940–1950 rr. Istoriografichni aspekt” [To the question of Sovietization of Northern Bukovina and Northern Bessarabia 1940–1950: A historiographical view] in *R.F.Kaindl' i Ukraïns'ka istorychna nauka. Materialy mizhnarodnogo naukovoï seminaru “Kaindlivs'ki chytannia” 22–23 travnia 2004 roku*, part 2 (Vyzhnytsia: Cheremosh, 2004), 91–8; Vasyl' Kholodnyts'kyi, “Stanovlennia radians'koï vlady na terytorii pivnichnoi Bukovyny ta pivnichnoi Bessarabii: istoriografiia problemy” [Establishment of Soviet power on the territory of Northern Bukovina and Northern Bessarabia: Historiography of the problem], in *Istorychna panorama. Zbirnyk naukovykh statei*, vol. 1: *Aktual'ni problemy istorii novoho ta novitnioho chasu* (Chernivtsi: Ruta, 2004), 148–54.

26. Anatolii Kruhlashov, “Bukovyns'ka etnopolitychna mozaïka: istorychna spadshchyna ta suchasni tendentsii” [Bukovinian ethno-political mosaic: Historical heritage and contemporary tendencies], *Politychnyi menedzhment* 2 (Kiev, 2003): 47–67.

27. Kurt Scharf, “Czernowitz hat Konjunktur. Die Gegenwart der Bukowina in Literatur und Medien seit 1991“ [“Czernowitz’s conjuncture.” The presence of Bukovina in literature and media since 1991], *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur* (Vienna), 5 (2003): 292–310.

28. Diana Dumitru, “The Use and Abuse of the Holocaust: Historiography and Politics in Moldova,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 1 (2008): 49–73; Vladimir Solonari, “From Silence to Justification? Moldavian Historians on the Holocaust of Bessarabian and Transnistrian Jews,” *Nationalities Papers* 30, no. 3 (2002): 435–57.

General Historical Studies

Austrian Studies from the Late Nineteenth Century

29. The term was used by the Austrian administration and scholars to identify the east Slavic population of Bukovina. It was adopted later by most Romanian-language historians of the region and has been used occasionally in German- and Romanian-language studies until recently. Many Ukrainian-language authors of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries used instead the autonym *Rusyn* until *Ukrainian* became more common (around the second third of the twentieth century) and later standard (in the second half of the twentieth century).

30. Walenty Ćwik, *Bukowina. Ezmianka o jej przeszłości i zabytkach* [Bukovina: Its historical past and memorials] (Chernivtsi, 1884); Edward Fischer, *Herzogtum Bukowina, Land und Bevölkerung* [The Duchy of Bukovina, the land and its inhabitants] (Chernivtsi, 1905); *Heimatkunde der Bukowina* [Local study of Bukovina] (1872); Julius Jandaurek, “Das Herzogthum Bukovina“ [The Duchy of Bukovina] in *Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien und das Herzogthum Bukovina* (Vienna: Verlag von Karl Graeser, 1884); Bronisław Krzyczyński, “Bokowina i Polska. Szc historychno-społeczny” [Bukovina and Poland: a historical-political sketch], *Nasz Krai* (Warsaw), 2 (1906): 19–21; Demeter (Dimitrie) Onciul, “Zur Geschichte der Bukovina” [On the history of Bukovina] in *Jahresbericht des k.k. Obergymnasiums in Czernowitz 1886–1887* (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1887); Franz A. Wickenhauser, *Molda oder Beiträge zur Geschichte der Moldau und Bukowina* [Molda, or writings on the history of Moldavia and Bukovina] 5 vols. (Chernivtsi, 1881); Franz Zach, *Galizien und Bukowina: Wanderungen über die Schlachtfelder und Schilderung von Land und Leuten* [Galicia and Bukovina: Excursions across the battlefields and descriptions of the land and its people] (Klagenfurt: St. Josef-Bücherbruderschaft, 1917); and others cited below.

31. See A. Nibio, “Zum Tode R. F. Kaindl’s” [Regarding the death of R. F. Kaindl], *Archiv des Deutschen Kulturvereines in the Bukowina* 1 (Chernivtsi, 1931): 2–8.

32. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte der Bukowina* [The history of Bukovina], 3 vols. (Chernivtsi: Czopp, 1888–1898); Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte der Bukowina von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kulturverhältnisse* [The history of Bukovina from the earliest times to the present with special attention to cultural

relations] (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1904); Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* [The history of Czernowitz from the earliest times to the present] (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1908); Raimund Friedrich Kaindl and A. Monastyr's'kyi, *Die Ruthenen in der Bukowina* [The Ruthenians of Bukovina], 2 vols. (Chernivtsi: Czopp, 1889–1890); see also Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Zur Geschichte der Stadt Czernowitz und ihrer Umgegend* [On the history of the city of Czernowitz and its surroundings] (Chernivtsi: Czopp, 1888).

33. *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, vol. 13, Bukovina [The Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy in words and pictures, vol. 13, Bukovina] (Vienna: K. K. Hof und Staatsdruckerei, 1899).

34. For example, I. Gumetskii, *Znachenie Russkogo Prikarpatia dlia Rossii* [The meaning of the Russian near-Carpathian region for Russia] (St. Petersburg, 1904); Hryhoriy Kupchanko, *Nekotorye istoriko-geograficheskie svedeniia o Bukovine* [Some historical-geographical information on Bukovina] (Kiev, 1875); Hryhoriy Kupchanko, *Bukovina i ee russkie zhyteli* [Bukovina and its Russian inhabitants] (Vienna, 1895); Hryhoriy Kupchanko, *Nasha Rodina* [Our motherland] (1896, repr. New York, 1924); V. Lazarevskii, *Russkii narod v Karpatakh* [The Russian people in the Carpathians] (Kiev, 1915); Vladimir Mordvinov, *Pravoslavnaia tserkov' v Bukovine* [Orthodox Church in Bukovina] (St. Petersburg, 1877); I. Prodan, *Bukovinskie ocherki. Zabytyi russkii ugolok v Avstrii* [Bukovinian sketches. A forgotten Russian corner in Austria] (Kharkiv, 1914); K. Shmedes, *Geograficheskoe i statisticheskoe obozrenie Bukoviny i Galitsii* [Geographical and statistical survey of Bukovina and Galicia] (1870); Ia. Spanovskii, *Russkii narod v Karpatakh: Bukovinskaia Rus'* [The Russians in Carpathians: Bukovinian Rus'] (Kiev, 1915); F. I. S[ivistun], *Prikarpatskaia Rus' pod vladeniem Avstrii* [Near-Carpathian Rus' under Austrian rule], parts 1 and 2 (L'viv, 1895–1896).

35. V. Domanytskyi, *Pro Bukovynu ta Bukovyns'kykh ukraïntsiiv* [About Bukovina and Bukovinian Ukrainians] (Kiev, 1910); O. Żukowski, *Bukowina pod względem topograficznym, statystycznym i historycznym* [Bukovina from a topographic, statistical, and historical viewpoint] (Chernivtsi-L'viv, 1914); K. Baladyzhenko, *Bukovina i ee proshloie* [Bukovina and its past] (St. Petersburg, 1915); M. Zhuchenko, "Bukovina," *Ukrainskaia zhyzn* 1 (Moscow, 1915): 20–5.

36. Myron Korduba, *Iliustrovana istoriia Bukovyny* [An illustrated history of Bukovina] (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1901, repr. 1906).

Romanian Interpretations of the Late Austrian and Interwar Periods

37. Mihai Eminescu, *Bucovina și Basarabia: Studiu istorico-politic* [Bukovina and Bessarabia: A historical-political study] (Bucharest, 1941, repr. Munich: J. Dumitru Verlag, 1981); Ion Grămadă, *Din Bucovina de altă dată. Schițe istorice* [From the Bukovina of olden times: Historical sketches] (Bucharest: Soc. Steaua, 1911); Grillits [Baron C. Hurmuzaki], *Slawisierung der Bukowina* [The Slavicization of Bukovina] (Vienna, 1900); Constantin Morariu, *Părți din*

istoria românilor bucovineni scrise în limbă populară [Episodes from the history of Bukovinian Romanians written in their vernacular] (Chernivtsi, 1893); Constantin Morariu, “Culturhistorische und Ethnographische Skizzen über die Rumänen der Bucovina,” [Cultural-historical and ethnographical sketches about the Romanians of Bukovina] in *Romänische Revue* 1 (Vienna, 1888–1891); Samoil Morariu-Andrieuici, *Istoricul bisericeii ort. or. din Bucovina (1775–1893)* [A history of the Orthodox Church in Bukovina (1775–1893)] (Chernivtsi, 1893); Demeter (Dimitrie) Onciul, *Geschichte der Bukowina* [The history of Bukovina] (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1898); Dimetrius (Dimitrie) Onciul and Constantin Loghin, “Die Vergangenheit der Bukowina. Eine historische Betrachtung von Rumänischer Seite” [The past of Bukovina: A historical view from a Romanian perspective], in *Deutsche Tagespost* 166 (Sibiu, 1919); Iračie Porumbescu, *Ceva despre trecutul și prezentul Bucovinei* [Something about the past and the present of Bukovina], vol. 1 (Chernivtsi, 1890); [unknown author], *Din trecutul Bucovinei* [From the past of Bukovina] (Bucharest, 1915); A. Vitenko, *Situation ethnographique en Bucovine* [The ethnographic situation in Bukovina] (Chernivtsi, 1919); Z. Voronka, *Rutenizarea Bucovinei* [The Ruthenianization of Bukovina] (Chernivtsi, 1903); Z. Voronka, *Rutenizarea Bucovinei și cauzele denaționalizării poporului român* [The Ruthenianization of Bukovina and the causes of denationalization of the Romanian population] (Bucharest, 1904).

38. For more on the interwar historiography of Romanian-Slavic relations in general, see Stephen Fischer-Galați, *Slavic-Romanian Relations in Modern Romanian Historiography* (New York: Mid-European Studies Center, 1953).

39. Nicolae Iorga, *Neamul românesc în Bucovina* [The Romanian nation in Bukovina] (Bucharest, 1905); Nicolae Iorga, *Românismul în Bucovina* [Romanianism in Bukovina] (Bucharest, 1903); Nicolae Iorga, *Românismul în trecutul Bucovinei* [Romanianism in the past of Bukovina] (Bucharest, 1938); Ion Nistor, *La Bessarabie et la Bucovine* [Bessarabia and Bukovina] (Bucharest: Romanian Academy, 1937), translated as Ion Nistor, *Bessarabia and Bukovina* (Bucharest: Romanian Academy, 1939); Ion Nistor, *Românii și rutenii în Bucovina* [Romanians and Ruthenians in Bukovina] (Bucharest, 1915). See also Nicolae Iorga, *A History of Romanians* (London: Fisher Urwin, 1926).

40. Nistor’s more general works put Bessarabia, Bukovina, and other borderland territories in the center of his geopolitical doctrine. For example, see his *Românii Transnistreni* [Romanians across the Dniester] (Chernivtsi, 1925); *Vechimea așezărilor românești dincolo de Nistru* [The age of the Romanian settlements across the Dniester] *Analele Academiei Române*, ser. 3, vol. 12, (1993). Nistor was as a member of the Romanian Academy, the curator of the Academic Library, the president of the University of Czernowitz (later Cernăuți), a senator in the Romanian parliament, a minister for Bukovina, and a de facto minister for Bessarabia. Interestingly, Stephen Fischer-Galați singled out Nistor as one historian whose work, although as nationalist as other publications of the time, was an original contribution to the subject of Romanian-Slavic relations since it “depicted and evaluated the situation as revealed by documents rather than polemics” (*Slavic-Romanian Relations*, 8). Fischer-Galați remarked in 1953 that it was unfortunate that Nistor’s work did not receive enough public attention; ironically, this lack of attention was reversed in the post-Soviet period when interest in Nistor’s works grew remarkably in Romania, as revealed in re-publication of his works and numerous citations by contemporary authors.

41. Leca Morariu, *Ce-a fost odată. Din trecutul Bucovinei* [How it used to be: From the past of Bukovina] (Chernivtsi: Glasul Bucovinei, 1922); Mihai Popescu, “Contribuții la istoria Bucovinei” [Contributions to the history of Bukovina], *Convorbiri literare* (Bucharest), 62 (1929): 97–104; Simeon Reli, *Din Bucovina vremurilor grele* [From the Bukovina of hard times] (Chernivtsi: Glasul Bucovinei, 1926); N. Tcaciuc-Albu, *Câteva cuvinte despre românii rutenizați din nordul Bucovinei* [A few words about the Ruthenized Romanians in Northern Bukovina] (Chernivtsi, 1928); Dragoș Vitencu, *Când dai nas lui Ivan* [When one meets Ivan] (Chernivtsi, 1934).

Ukrainian Studies between 1918 and 1991

42. Hryhorii Piddubnyi, *Bukovyna, її mynule i suchasne* [Bukovina, its past and present] (Kharkiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukraïny, 1928).

43. Denys Kvitkovs’kyi, Teofil Bryndzan, Arkadii Zhukovs’kyi, eds., *Bukovyna: її mynule i suchasne* [Bukovina: Its past and present] (Paris: Zelena Bukovyna, 1956). The first part of the historical section was later reprinted as a separate volume: Arkadii Zhukovs’kyi, *Istoria Bukovyny. Chastyna I: do 1774 roku* [A history of Bukovina, part I. To 1774] (Chernivtsi: Oblpolihrafvydav, 1991).

44. Denys Kvitkovs’kyi, Teofil Bryndzan, Arkadii Zhukovs’kyi, eds., *Bukovyna: її mynule i suchasne* [Bukovina: Its past and present] (Paris, 1956), 416.

45. On the argument about the alleged domination of Jews among Soviet authorities and their widespread support of “communism” and Soviet power in 1940–1941, Denys Kvitkovs’kyi, Teofil Bryndzan, Arkadii Zhukovs’kyi, eds., *Bukovyna: її mynule i suchasne* [Bukovina: Its past and present] (Paris, 1956), 392–402; on the OUN actions, *ibid.*, 403–05.

46. Ivan Novosivs’kyi, *Narys istorii prava Bukovyny i Basarabiï* [An outline of the history of law of Bukovina and Bessarabia], *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* 199. Istoryko-filosofichna sektsiia. Pravnycha komisiia (New York, 1986); see also Roman Klimkevich, “Herby mist Bukovyny” [Coats of arms of Bukovinian towns], *Ukraïns’kyi istoryk* (New York), 6, no. 21–23 (1969): 127–37; Hryhorii Nadris, *Bessarabia and Bukovyna* (London, 1968).

47. V. Botushans’kyi et al., *Narys z istorii Pivnichnoi Bukovyny* [Sketches in history of Northern Bukovina] (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1980); Oleksii Hryhorenko, *Bukovyna vchera i siohodni* [Bukovina yesterday and today] (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo politychnoi literatury Ukraïny, 1967); V. Kurylo et al., *Pivnichna Bukovyna, її mynule i suchasne* [Northern Bukovina, its past and present] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1969); I. Minakov and Volodymyr Onykiienko, *Chernivets’ka oblast* [Chernivtsi province] (Chernivtsi: Oblvydav, 1958); Volodymyr Onykiienko, *Bukovyna: istorychno-heohrafichnyi narys* [Bukovina: A historical-geographical sketch], *Naukovi zapysky Chernivets’koho Universytetu* 22 (L’viv: L’vivs’kyi Universytet, 1956); Volodymyr Onykiienko, *Chernivets’ka oblast’* [Chernivtsi province] (Kiev: Radians’ka shkola, 1960); see also a popular historical work by I. Hryshchenko and M. Lishchenko, *Pivnichna Bukovyna—spokonvichna ukrains’ka zemlia* [Northern Bukovina—a primordial Ukrainian land] (Kiev, 1980).

48. V. Kurylo et al., eds. *Istoriia mist i sil Ukraïns'koi RSR. Chernivets'ka oblast'* [A history of cities and villages of the Ukrainian SSR. Chernivtsi province] (Kiev, 1969).

49. Ivan Dudych et al., *Radians'ka Bukovyna ta її mynule* [Soviet Bukovina and its past] (Kiev: Vyd. Tovarystva kul'turnykh zv'iazkiv z Ukraïntsiamy za kordonom, 1955); A. Komarnyts'kyi, V. Lesyn, O. Romanets', *Bukovyna: putivnyk Ukraïns'koiu i rosiis'koiu movamy* [Bukovina: A guide in Ukrainian and Russian] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1966); I. Kostenko, *Po Sovetskoi Bukovine* [Across Soviet Bukovina] (Rostov, 1940); O. Nosenko, *Radians'ka Bukovyna* [Soviet Bukovina] (Kiev, 1941); M. Petrovs'kyi, *Bykovyna. Istorychna dovidka* [Bukovina: A historical note] (Kiev: AN URSR, 1945); *Radians'ka Bukovyna* [Soviet Bukovina] (Chernivtsi, 1941); I. Severchuk et al., eds. *Radians'ka Bukovyna. Dovidnyk-putivnyk* [Soviet Bukovina: A guide and directory] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1970); Petr Vashchenko, *Sovetskaia Bukovina* [Soviet Bukovina] (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoie uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo ministerstva prosveshchenia RSFSR, 1963).

Post–World War II Romanian Studies

50. For example, Mihail Roller in his *Probleme de istorie* [Problems of history] (Bucharest, 1951) presented the annexation of Bessarabia by Russia in 1812 and by the USSR in 1940 as the liberation from the Turkish yoke in the former case and from bourgeois exploiters in the latter. Other examples of pro-Soviet revisionism include P. Constantinescu-Iași, *Influența Marii Revoluții Socialiste din Octombrie asupra mișcării revoluționare din România* [The impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the Romanian revolutionary movement] (Bucharest, 1957); C. Cusnir-Mihailovici, *Despre situația revoluționară din România în perioada 1918–1920* [On the revolutionary situation in Romania in 1918–1920] (Bucharest, 1955); V. Liveanu, *1918. Din istoria luptelor revoluționare din România* [1918: From the history of revolutionary struggle in Romania] (Bucharest, 1960).

51. See Nicolae Ceaușescu, *Development of Education, Science and Culture in Romania: The Socio-Political Thinking of Romania's President* (Bucharest: Meridiane Pub. House, 1979).

52. Maria Manoliu-Manea, ed., *The Tragic Plight of a Border Area: Bessarabia and Bucovina*, American Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences (California: Humboldt State University Press, 1983).

53. Nicholas Dima, *Bessarabia and Bucovin: The Soviet-Romanian Territorial Dispute* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982); Maria Manoliu-Manea, ed., *The Tragic Plight of a Border Area: Bessarabia and Bucovina*, American Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences (California: Humboldt State University Press, 1983). The works by Manoliu-Manea and Dima are heavily focused on Bessarabia in spite of their titles. Bukovina is largely treated as a “special case” alongside Bessarabia. For a similar approach to Bukovinian history, see Ilarie Mintici, “Din trecutul istoric al Bucovinei de nord” [On the historical past of Northern Bukovina], in *Calendarul național ilustrat al românilor americani* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1963), 109–18.

54. Nicholas Dima, *Bessarabia and Bucovin: The Soviet-Romanian Territorial Dispute* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 136.

55. *Ibid.*, 131.

56. Both books were reviewed in detail by Theodore Ciuciura, “Romanian views on Bessarabia and Bukovina: A Ukrainian Perspective,” *Nationalities Papers* 13, no. 1 (1985): 106–17. Ciuciura takes issue with the larger trend in Romanian historiography: treating Bessarabia and Bukovina as “truly Romanian lands.” In a polite and analytical manner, he attempts to prove that many claims made by Romanian authors are wrong. Although the evidence and arguments he uses are very effective, he does engage in a historical and statistical competition for the land and therefore often uses devices similar to those employed by his opponents, such as evaluating the might of (proto)Ukrainian medieval states and proving the “legitimacy” of “Ruthenian” culture and identity in premodern times. This leaves a reader with an impression that the dispute can never be resolved within the ethnocentric analytical framework chosen by the reviewer as well as by the original authors.

Other Interpretations in the Post–World War II Period

57. Hugo Gold, ed., *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina. Ein Sammelwerk* [The history of Jews in Bukovina: A collection of essays], 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1962). See also a brief general work on the Jewish history of Czernowitz-Chernivtsi: Hermann Sternberg, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Czernowitz* [On the history of Jews in Czernowitz] (Tel-Aviv: Olamenu, 1962). Gold’s work is now available in English translation online at <http://czernowitz.ehpes.com/> (go to Links to Other Sites from the left-hand menu and click on the top link in the list. Last accessed on 14 July, 2010).

58. Franz Lang, ed., *Buchenland. Hundertfünfzig Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina* [Bukovina: One hundred fifty years of the Germans in Bukovina], Veröffentlichungen des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks (Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten), vol. 16, series B (Munich: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1961); see also Erich Beck, *Bukowina, Land zwischen Orient and Okzident* [Bukovina, a land between East and West] (Freilassing: Pannonia, 1963) (a photo album with an extended historical introduction and comments); Johanna Brucker, *Und immer wieder Hoffnung: Buchenlandtrilogie* [And still again a hope: A Bukovina trilogy] (Munich: Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1984); Emanuel Turczynski, “Die politische Kultur der Bukowina. Harmonie ethnischer Kleingruppen” [The political culture of Bukovina: The harmony of small ethnic groups], *Kaindl-Archiv* 2 (Stuttgart, 1979): 8–24.

59. Erwin Massier, Josef Talsky, and B. C. Grigorowicz, eds., *Bukowina: Heimat von Gestern* [Bukovina: Homeland of yesterday] (Karlsruhe: Selbstverlag “Arbeitskreis Bukowina Heimatbuch,” 1956). See also two publications on German emigration from Bukovina: William Keel and Kurt Rein, eds., *German Emigration from Bukovina to the Americas. Results of Investigation and a Guide to Further Research* (Lawrence, KS, 1996) and Kurt Rein, “Die Amerikaauswanderung aus der Bukowina” [Emigration to America from Bukovina], *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 38–39 (Munich, 1995–1996): 133–51.

60. One work on the Polish population of Bukovina, although it shares some interpretations with the Austro-German and Jewish ones, is strongly influenced by the Soviet vision and censorship: E. Biedrzycki, *Historia Polakow na Bukowinie* [A history of Poles in Bukovina] (Krakow: 1973).

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61. J. Hampel und O. Kotzian, eds., *Spurensuche in die Zukunft: Europas vergessene Region Bukowina* [Tracking the future: Europe's forgotten region of Bukovina] (Augsburg: Bukowina-Institut, 1991).

62. Adolf Armbruster, ed., *Vom Moldauwappen zum Doppeladler. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bukowina* [From the Moldavian coat of arms to the double eagle: Selected writings on the history of Bukovina] (Augsburg: Hofmann-Verlag, 1993); Irma Bornemann, "Die Buchenlanddeutschen" [Bukovinian Germans] *Kulturelle Arbeitshefte. Bund der Vertriebenen*, 13 (Bonn: Vereinigte Landsmannschaften und Landesverbände, 1992); Irma Bornemann and Paula Tiefenthaler, eds., *Bukowina: Landschaften, Bauten, Denkmäler* [Bukovina: Landscapes, buildings, monuments] (Munich: Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1986) (text in German, French, and English); Irma Bornemann, Paula Tiefenthaler, and Rudolf Wagner, eds., *Czernowitz: Eine Stadt im Wandel der Zeit mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres deutschen kulturellen Lebens* [Chernivtsi: A city in changing times with special attention to its German cultural life] (Munich: Der Südostdeutsche, 1988); Vasyl' Botushans'kyi et al., *Bukovyna v konteksti ievropeis'kykh mizhnarodnykh vidnosyn (z davnikh chasiv do seredyny XX st.)* [Bukovina in the context of European international relations (from the earliest times to the middle of the twentieth century)] (Chernivtsi: Ruta, 2005); Cecile Cordon and Helmut Kusdat, eds., *An der Zeiten Ränder: Czernowitz und die Bukowina. Geschichte, Literatur, Verfolgung, Exil* [On the border of times: Czernowitz and Bukovina. History, literature, persecution, and exile] (Vienna: Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, 2002); Cecile Cordon and Helmut Kusdat, eds., *Viersprachenland am Pruth: Die Bukowina—Geschichte, Literatur, Verfolgung, Exil* [A land of four languages on the Prut: Bukovina—history, literature, persecution, and exile] (Vienna: Verlag der Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, 2002); Olexandr Dobrzans'kyi, "Czernowitz und die Bukowina" [Czernowitz and Bukovina], in *Czernowitz. Die Geschichte einer ungewöhnlichen Stadt*, ed. Harald Heppner (Vienna: Böhlau, 2000), 45–61; C. Fräss Ehrfeld, ed., "Kärnten und die Bukowina" [Carinthia and Bukovina], in *Archiv für Vaterländische Geschichte und Topographie* 88 (Klagenfurt, 2000); Ş. Purici, "Die Geschichte der Bukowina" [The history of Bukovina], in Heppner, *Czernowitz*, 79–82 (see also other contributions to Heppner's volume); Ilona Slawinski and Joseph P. Strelka, eds., *Die Bukowina: Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* [Bukovina: Past and present] (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 1995); Ilona Slawinski and Joseph P. Strelka, eds., *Glanz und Elend der Peripherie* [The shine and squalor of the periphery] (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 1998); Emanuel Turczynski, "Die Bukowina," in *Galizien-Bukowina-Moldau. Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas*, ed. Isabel Röskau Rydel (Berlin: Siedler, 1999); Rudolf Wagner, ed., *Vom Halbmond zum Doppeladler*, vol.1, *Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bukowina und der Czernowitzer Universität "Francisco-Josephina."* *Festgabe zum 120. Jahrestag der Czernowitzer Francisco-Josephina jetzt O. J. Fedkowicz Universität* [From crescent to double eagle, vol. 1, Selected contributions on the history of Bukovina and the Francis-Joseph University of Czernowitz. A commemorative

paper dedicated to the 120th anniversary of Chernivtsi's Francis-Joseph University, now O. Iu. Fed'kovych University] (Augsburg, 1996). On the city of Chernivtsi, see Andrei Corbea-Hoisie, ed., *Czernowitz: jüdisches Städtebild mit Fotografien von Guido Baselgia und Renata Erich* [Czernowitz: A Jewish cityscape with photographs by Guido Baselgia and Renata Erich] (Frankfurt: Jüdischer Verlag, 1998); Andrei Corbea-Hoisie, *Czernowitzer Geschichten: über eine städtische Kultur in Mitteleuropa* [Histories from Czernowitz: An urban culture in Central Europe] (Vienna: Böhlau, 2003). A longer list of publications on Germans and German life in Bukovina (in German and English) was compiled by Sophie A. Welisch and can be found at [www.bukovinasociety.org/bibliography.html#SELECT LIST OF PUBLICATIONS \(ENGLISH\)](http://www.bukovinasociety.org/bibliography.html#SELECT_LIST_OF_PUBLICATIONS_(ENGLISH)) (last accessed on 14 July 2010).

63. Stepan Kostyshyn et al., eds., *Bukovyna: istorychnyi narys* [Bukovina: A historical sketch] (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 1998).

64. Dimitrie Vatamaniuc, *Bucovina între Occident și Orient* [Bukovina between West and East] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2006).

65. Ion Alexandrescu, *A Short History of Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina* (Iași, 1994); Teodor Bălan, *Istoria teatrului românesc în Bucovina* [The history of the Romanian theater in Bukovina] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2005); Teodor Bălan, *Suprimarea mișcărilor naționale din Bucovina* [The suppression of national movements in Bukovina] (Iași: Do-MinoR, 2004); Vasyl' Botushans'kyi et al., eds., *Z istorychnogo mynuloho Bukovyny: zbirnyk naukovykh statei* [From the history of Bukovina: A collection of scholarly works] (Chernivtsi, 1996); Vasyl' Bolushans'kyi et al., *Pytannia istorii Ukrainy* [Questions of Ukrainian history], vol.1 (Chernivtsi, 1997) (devoted to Bukovina for the most part); Vasyl' Botushans'kyi, ed., *Pytannia istorii Ukrainy* [Questions of Ukrainian history], vol.5 (Chernivtsi, 2002) (devoted to Bukovina for the most part); *Bukowina. Blaski i Cienie Europy w Miniature* [Bukovina: The lights and shadows of a miniature Europe] (Warsaw: Energeia, 1995); *Bukowina. Wspólnota Kultur i Języków* [Bukovina. A society of cultures and languages] (Warsaw, 1992); Nicolae Ciachir, *Din istoria Bucovinei* [From the history of Bukovina] (Bucharest: Oscar Print, 1999); Ioan V. Cocuz, *File din istoria Bucovinei* [Excerpts from the history of Bukovina] (Suceava: Mușatinii, 2000); Victor Nicolae Cossaris, *Permanențe și continuitate în Bucovina* [Permanence and continuity in Bukovina] (Suceava: Cossaris, 2001); *Enciclopedia Bucovinei în studii și monografii* [Encyclopedia of studies about Bukovina] (Suceava, 1998); Kazimierz Feleszko, ed., "Bukovyna—miniatiurna Ievropa," [Bukovina—A miniature Europe], in *Materialy III Mizhnarodnoi istoriko-kraieznavchoi konferentsii, prysviachennoi 120-richchii zasnuvannia Chernivets'koho universytetu* (Chernivtsi: Ruta, 1995), 179–87; Ion Gherman, *Istoria tragică a Bucovinei, Basarabiei și ținutului Herța* [The tragic history of Bukovina, Bessarabia, and the district of Herța] (Bucharest: Editura All, 1993); M. Grigorovița, *Din istoria culturii în Bucovina* [From the history of culture in Bukovina] (Bucharest, 1994); Radu GrigoroVICI, *Bucovina între milenii* [Bukovina between millennia] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2006); Mihai Iacobescu, *Din istoria Bucovinei* [From the history of Bukovina] (1993); Anatolii Kruhlashov et al., eds., *Etnichni vzaiemyny na terytorii ievrorehionu "Verhnii Prut"* [Ethnic relations on the territory of Upper Prut] (Chernivtsi: Bukrek, 2004); Yurii Makar et al., eds., *Naukovyi visnyk Chernivets'koho universytetu* [Scholarly bulletin of Chernivtsi University] vols. 6–7 *History*

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67. Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010).

68. The journal has been published as *Kaindl-Archiv. Mitteilungen der Raimund Friedrich Kaindl Gesellschaft* from 1978 to 1991 [Kaindl-archive: Reports of the Raimund Friedrich Kaindl society] and since 1992 as *Kaindl-Archiv. Zeitschrift des Bukowina-Institut für den Kulturaustausch mit den Völkern Mittel- und Osteuropas* [Kaindl-archive: The journal of the Bukovina Institute for

Cultural Exchange with the Peoples of Central and Eastern Europe]; in addition, random annual supplements (*Beihefte*) to the journal devoted to family histories and personalities have come out.

69. *Analele Bucovinei* [Bukovinian annals] (Bucharest, 1994–); *Glasul Bucovinei* [Voice of Bukovina] (Rădăuți, 1994–).

70. I. Kompaniiets' et al., eds., *Mynule i suchasne Pivnichnoi Bukovyny* [Past and present of Northern Bukovina], vols. 1 and 2 (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1972, 1973).

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72. *Zelena Bukovyna* [Green Bukovina] (Chernivtsi: Scholarly-Research Center for Bukovinian Studies, 1996–).

73. *Bukovyns'kyi zhurnal* [Bukovinian journal] (Chernivtsi: Chernivtsi State University, 1991–).

74. *Naukovyi visnyk Chernivets'koho Universytetu* [Scholarly bulletin of Chernivtsi University] since 1996; *Pytannia istorii Ukrainy* [Questions of Ukrainian history] since 1997; *Bukovyns'kyi istoriko-etnografichnyi visnyk* [Bukovinian historical-ethnographical bulletin] since 1999 (only three issues of the latter have been published).

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82. *Bevölkerung und Viehstand von der Bukowina nach der Zählung vom 31. Oktober 1857* [Population and livestock of Bukovina after the survey of 31 October 1857] (Vienna: Gerold, 1859); *Bevölkerung und Viehstand von der Bukowina nach der Zählung vom 1869* [Population and livestock of Bukovina after the survey of 1869] (Vienna, 1871); *Ergebnisse der Zählung der Bevölkerung und der häuslichen Nutztiere in der Bukowina im Jahre 1880* [Results of the census and of the survey of domestic animal stock in Bukovina in 1880] (Vienna: Hölder, 1882).

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84. For example, “Die Bevölkerung der Bukowina nach dem Berufe. Die Berufsverhältnisse im Allgemeinen. Die Berufshältige Bevölkerung” [The population of Bukovina by trade. General employment conditions. The active population] *Mitteilungen* 3 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1896); “Die Ergebnisse der Volks- und Viehzählung vom 31. Dezember 1910 im Herzogtume Bukowina. Nach den Angaben der k.k. statistischen Zentral-Kommission in Wien zusammengestellt und veröffentlicht vom statistischen Landesamte des Herzogtums Bukowina” [The results of the census and livestock count of 31 December 1910 in the Duchy of Bukovina. Based on the data of the central statistical commission in Vienna, compiled and published by the statistical office of the Duchy of Bukovina], in *Mitteilungen* 17 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1913); Ernst Mischler, “Die Bevölkerung der Stadt Czernowitz und ihrer Stadttheile nach Umgangssprachen und Confessionen auf Grundlage der Volkszählung der Jahre 1869, 1880 und 1890 [The population of Czernowitz and its urban quarters by vernaculars and religion, based on the censuses of 1869, 1880, 1890], in *Mitteilungen* 1 (1892), 72–85; Anton Zachar, ed., “Die Bevölkerung des Herzogtums Bukowina nach dem Berufe. Nach den Angaben der k.k. statistischen Zentralkommission in Wien LXVI” [The population of the Duchy of Bukovina by trade. Based on data of the central statistical commission in Vienna, LXVI], *Heft der österreichischen Statistik. Zusammengestellt vom statistischen Landesamte des Herzogtums Bukowina*, in *Mitteilungen* 13 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1908); Anton Zachar, ed., “Die Ergebnisse der Volks- und Viehzählung vom 31. Dezember 1900

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85. For example, Ernst Mischer, “Die Stellung der Bukowina im Staatshaushalte” [The position of Bukovina in the state budget] in *Mitteilungen*, 1 (1892), 24–71.

86. For example, Philipp Koller, “Die Gebahrung und die Krankheitsstatistik der Czernowitzer Berzirkskrankencasse vom 1. August 1889 bis 31 Dezember 1893” [Statistics on births and sickness of the Czernowitz regional health insurance fund, from 1 August 1889 to 31 December 1893], in *Mitteilungen* 6 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1898).

87. For example, “Die Viehzählung des Herzogtums Bukowina Detaillirt und Summarisch, nach Ortschaften, Gutsgebieten, Gerichtsbezirken und Bezirkshauptmannschaften, nebst der Landeshauptstadt Czernowitz. Neubearbeitung des Statistischen Landesamtes auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Zählung vom 31. December 1890” [The livestock count in the Duchy of Bukovina, in summary and in detail, by settlements, manors, jurisdictions, and captaincies: A re-edition of the provincial statistical office based on the results of the census of 31 December 1890], in *Mitteilungen* 5 (Chernivtsi: Pardini), 1898.

88. “Die Bewegung des Realitäten- und Hypothekar-Verkehres in der Bukowina vom Jahre 1868” [The movement of real properties and mortgages in Bukovina in the year 1868], in *Mitteilungen* 4 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1897); Michael Litwinowicz, “Die Hypothekarverschuldung des Grossgrundbesitzes Physischer Personen in der Bukowina, des Grundbesitzes in der Landeshauptstadt Czernowitz und des Kleingrundbesitzes Physischer Personen im Gerichtsbezirke Czernowitz” [The hypothecary debt of privately owned large estates in Bukovina, of land ownership in the regional capital of Czernowitz, and of privately owned small estates in the jurisdiction of Czernowitz], *Mitteilungen* 12 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1907); Michael Lytwynowysch, “Die Bäuerlichen Besitz- und Schuldverhältnisse im Wiznitzer Gerichtsbezirke. Ein Beitrag zur Beleuchtung der wirtschaftlichen Lage der Bauern in der Bukowina” [Ownership and debt relations among the peasantry in the Wiznitz judicial jurisdiction: A contribution to the assessment of the economic situation of the peasantry in Bukovina], in *Mitteilungen* 16 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1911); “Die Zählung der Landwirtschaftlichen Betriebe der einzelnen Gerichts- und Politischen Bezirke im Herzogtume Bukowina auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Erhebungen vom 3. Juni 1902. Nach den Angaben der k.k. Statistischen Zentralkommission in Wien Zusammengestellt und Veröffentlicht vom Statistischen Landesamte des Herzogtums Bukowina” [The number of agricultural enterprises in the judicial and political jurisdictions of the Duchy of Bukovina following the census of 3 June 1902, based on data compiled by the central imperial-royal statistical commission in Vienna and published by the statistical office of the Duchy of Bukovina], in *Mitteilungen* 13, part 3 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1909); Anton Zachar, “Der Boden der Bukowina und Dessen Benützung: Darstellung der Kulturgattungen und Bodenreinerträge, sowie des Verhältnisses des Bodens zur Bevölkerung und zum Viehstande” [Bukovina’s land and its use: A presentation of the cultures and yields, as well as of the relations between land, population, and livestock] in *Mitteilungen* 7 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1899); Anton Zachar, ed., “Der Grundbesitz

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89. Anton Zachar, ed., “*Die Direkten Steuern im Herzogtume Bukowina in den Jahren 1898 bis 1902. Bearbeitet vom statistischen Landesamte des Herzogtums Bukowina*” [Direct taxes in the Duchy of Bukovina in the years 1898 through 1902, analyzed by the statistical office of the Duchy of Bukovina], in *Mitteilungen* 10 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1904); Anton Zachar, “Das Vermögen der Politischen Gemeinden in der Bukowina. Part 2: Die Gemeinden der Politischen Bezirke Czernowitz, Gurahumora, Kotzman, Sereth und Suczawa. Statistische Darstellung der autonomen Landesverwaltung des Herzogtums Bukowina. Die directe Steuerschuldigkeit des Herzogtums Bukowina im Jahre 1898” [The wealth of political communities in Bukovina, part 2, Communities in the districts of Czernowicz, Gurahumora, Kotzman, Sereth and Suczawa. A statistical account of the autonomous administration of the Duchy of Bukovina. The direct tax debt of the Duchy of Bukovina in the year 1898], in *Mitteilungen* 8 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1901).

90. For example, *Bukowinaer Verein-Schematismus* [List of unincorporated associations in Bukovina] (Chernivtsi, 1911); *Personalstand der k.k. politischen Behörden im Herzogtume Bukowina sowie der angegliederten Behörden und amtlichen Organe nach dem Stande vom 1. Jänner 1917* [Personnel of the imperial-royal authorities in the Duchy of Bukovina and affiliated authorities and organs on January 1, 1917] (Chernivtsi: Verlag der Landesregierung, 1917); *Schematismus der Bukowinaer gr[iechisch]-or[ientalischen] Archiepiskopal-Diözese* [Directory of the Bukovinian orthodox archbishopric] (Chernivtsi: Im Verlage des gr.-or. Erzbischöflichen Konsistoriums, 1841–1914); *Schematismus der Bukowinaer Volksschullehrer und Lehrer. Herausgegeben von Josef Fuhrmann* [List of elementary and high school teachers in Bukovina] (Sadhora: Selbstverlag, 1903).

91. *Die Bukowina. Eine Allgemeine Heimatkunde Verfasst Anlässlich des 50-jährigen Glorreichen Regierungsjubiläums Seiner Kaiserlichen und Königlichen Apostolischen Majestät unseres Aller-gnädigsten Kaisers und Obersten Kriegsherrn durch die k.k. Gendarmerie des Landes-Gendarmerie-Commandos Nr. 13* [Bukovina: A general study of local history and geography, prepared by the regional gendarmerie command No. 13 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the glorious government of His Royal Apostolic Majesty our Merciful Kaiser and High Commander] (Chernivtsi, 1899), reprinted in Ukrainian and German: *Bukovyna. Zahal'ne kraieznavisvo, ukladene kraiovym zhandarms'kym komanduvanniam No. 13 ts.k. zhandarmerii z nahody 50-richnoho iuvileiu slavetnoho pravlinnia ioho tsisars'koï i korolivs'koï apostol's'koï velychnosti nashoho mylostyvoho tsisaria i verkhovnoho holovnokomanduiuchoho (Frantsa Iosyfa I)* (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2004). See also the textbook, Cornel Kozak and Eduard Fischer, *Heimatkunde der Bukowina zum Gebrauche für Schulen und zum Selbstunterricht* [The local history and geography of Bukovina for use in schools and for self-education] (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1900).

92. Jan Badeni, *W Czerniowcach. Wrazenia z kilkudniowej wycieczki* [In Czerniowcy: Impressions from a several-day trip] (Krakow: Drtjk Wz., L. Ahczyca i spilki, 1892), repr. In Polish and

Ukrainian, *V Chernivtsiakh. Vrazhennia z kilkadennoiï poiïzdky* (Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 2006); Theophil Bendella, *Die Bukowina im Königreich Galizien* [Bukovina in the realm of Galicia] (Vienna, 1845); K. Bohdanowicz, *Kilka slow o Bukowinie* [Several words on Bukovina] (L'viv, 1910); B. Chotomski, *Opis Bukowiny* [A description of Bukovina] (Poznan, 1880); N. Florea, ed., *Bucovina în primele descrieri geografice, istorice, economice și demografice* [Bukovina in early geographic, historical, economic and demographic sources] (Bucharest: Academia Română, Filiala Iași, Centrul de Studii "Bucovina" Rădăuți, 1998) (includes descriptions by Splény; Vasile Balș, 1780; Ioan Budai Deleanu, 1813; and others.) S. Goriainov, "Vospominaniia russkogo konsula v Bukovine" [Memoirs of a Russian consul in Bukovina], *Istoricheskii vestnik* 2 (Moscow, 1916): 668–80; T. Halip, "Z moikh spomyniv" [From my memories], *Krakovs'ki visti* 47–78 (Krakow, 1943), repr. in *Bukovyns'kyi zhurnal* 1–2 (1994): 152–79 and 3–4: 71–100; G. Kupchanko, *Nekotoryie istoriko-geograficheskie svedeniia o Bukovine* [Some historical and geographical notes on Bukovina] (Kiev, 1875); *Poczet Szlachty Galicyjskiej i Bukowinskiej* [The (Polish) nobles of Galicia and Bukovina] (L'viv: Drukarnia Instytutu Stauropigia'nskiego, 1857, repr. Krakow, 1988); August von Reichmann, "Inspektionsbericht über eine Reise durch die Bukowina im Jahre 1804. AVA, Wien, Beilagen zu Zl. 689–1805 ex August 1805, aca II a b." [Inspection report of a visit to Bukovina in 1804], *Kaindl-Archiv* 6 (Stuttgart, 1987): 19–29 and 7 (Stuttgart, 1989): 5–39 (with critical notes by Erich Prokopowitsch); Joseph Rohrer, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise von der Türkischen Grenze über die Bukowina durch Ost und Westgalizien, Schlesien und Mähren bis nach Wien* [Notes on a trip from the Turkish border to Vienna through Bukovina, eastern and western Galicia, Silesia and Moravia] (Vienna, 1804); August Ludwig Schlöyer, "Von und aus der Bukowina" [From and about Bukovina], *Staats-Anzeigen*, vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1782) (a report of an unknown military officer dated 1781); Nikolai Vasil'ko, *Posol'ska diial'nost'* (1901–1903) [Parliamentary activity, 1901–1903] (Chernivtsi, 1904); Nikolai Vasil'ko, *Spravozdaniie posla Nikolaia rytsaria Vasil'ka o ego deiatelnosti v Derzhavnoi Dume i v Kraievom Seime v rokakh 1898 do kontsa 1900* [A report of the deputy Nikolai Vasyl'ko on his activities in the State Duma and the Regional Seim from 1898 through 1900] (Chernivtsi, 1902) (memoirs of Baron Mykola Wasyl'ko, an important politician from Bukovina); Elizaveta I. Vitte, *Putevyia vpechatleniia s istoricheskimi ocherkami: leto 1903 goda, Bukovina i Galichina* [Travel impressions with historical sketches: The summer of 1903, Bukovina and Galicia] (Kiev: Tipo-lit T. G. Meinandera, 1904).

93. Anton Norst, *Alma Mater Francisco-Josephina. Festschrift zu deren 25-jährigem Bestande* [Alma Mater Francisco-Josephina: Festschrift on the occasion of her twenty-fifth anniversary] (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1900); Karel Reifenkugel, *Die Bukowinaer Landesbibliothek und die k.k. Universitaets-Bibliothek in Czernowitz. Geschichte und Statistik* [The Bukovinian provincial library and the imperial-royal University Library in Czernowitz: History and statistics] (Chernivtsi, 1885); Karel Reifenkugel, *Die k.k. Universitaets-Bibliothek in Czernowitz. 1885–1895* [The imperial-royal University Library in Czernowitz, 1885–1895] (Chernivtsi, 1896); Stepan Smal'-Stots'kyi, "Iak budyvsia zi snu Ukraïns'kyi narod na Bukovyni?" [How did Ukrainian people awake from sleep in Bukovina?], in *Yuvileinyi kalendar tovarystva "Prosvita" na rik 1928* (L'viv, 1927), 62–68; Stefan Wolf, *Historischer Rückblick auf die Gymnasial reorganisationspläne in Österreich nebst Historisch Statistischen Ausweisen über das Czernowitzer k.k. Gymnasium seit 1850 bis 1872* [A historical review of the reorganization plan for gymnasiums in Austria with historical statistical data on the Czernowitz royal Gymnasium from 1850 to 1872] (Chernivtsi,

1873); R. Wurzer, *Festschrift zur 100-jährigen Gründung des k.k. Staatsgymnasiums in Czernowitz* [A collection on the 100th anniversary of the imperial-royal state gymnasium in Czernowitz] (Chernivtsi, 1909); Anton Zacher, ed. *Bukowiner Landwirtschaftlicher Kalender für das Jahr 1872*, vol. 1 [Bukovinian agricultural calendar for the year 1872] (Chernivtsi, 1871).

94. Mihail Kogălniceanu, ed., *Răpirea Bucovinei după documente autentice* [The abduction of Bukovina in authentic documents] (Bucharest: Socecu, Sander and Teclu, 1875), repr. in Stelian Neagoe, ed. *Bătălia pentru Bucovina* [The battle for Bucovina] (Timișoara: Helicon, 1992); Franz Wickenhauser, *Moldava oder Beiträge zu einem Urkundenbuch für die Moldau und Bukowina* [Moldava, or a contribution to a sourcebook on Moldavia and Bukovina], vol. 1 (Vienna: Jacob & Holzhausen, 1862), vol. 2 (Chernivtsi, 1877); “Acte privitoare la cesiunea Bucovinei” [Documents relating to the cession of Bukovina], *Foaia Societății pentru cultura și literatură română în Bucovina* 5 (Chernivtsi, 1869), 133–54; Ferdinand Zieglaue, *Geschichtliche Bilder aus der Bukowina zur Zeit der österreichischen Militärverwaltung. Nach Quellen des k.u.k. Kriegsarchivs und der Archive im k.k. Ministerium des Inneren und des Unterrichts* [Historical sketches of Bukovina during the Austrian military administration, based on sources of the imperial-royal military archive and the archive of the Ministry of the Interior and Education], 12 vols. (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1893–1906).

95. Osyp Makovey, “Materialy do istorii znosyn halychan z bukovyntsiamy” [Materials on the history of relations between Galicians and Bukovinians], *Ruslan* (L’viv), March 1, (1908); Osyp Makovey, “Materialy z istorii Bukovyns’koï Rusy” [Materials on the history of Bukovinian Rus’] *Ruslan* (L’viv, 1908), December 14, *Ruslan* (L’viv), January 27, (1909); N. Svetsyts’kyi, *Materialy po istorii vrozhdennia Karpatskoi Rusi* [Materials on the history of the renaissance of Carpathian Rus’] (L’viv, 1909).

96. Vasyl’ Botushans’kyi et al, eds., *Pid kolonial’nym hnitom: Pivnichna Bukovyna v druhii polovyni XIX stolittia–na pochatku XX stolittia: dokumenty i materialy* [Under the colonial oppression: Northern Bukovina from the second half of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century: Documents and sources] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1986); F. Shevchenko, ed., *Selians’kui rukh na Bukovyni v 40kh rokakh XIX st. Zbirnyk dokumentiv* [The peasant movement in Bukovina in the 1840s: A collection of documents] (Kiev: Derzhpolitvydav, 1949); *Borot’ba trudiashchykh Pivnichnoi Bukovyny proty sotsial’noho i natsional’noho hnoblennia u druhii polovyni XIX–na pochatku XX st. Zbirnyk dokumentiv* [The struggle of toilers in Northern Bukovina against social and national oppression from the second half of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century: A collection of documents] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1979); F. Shevchenko et al, eds., *Spokonvichna Ukraïns’ka zemlia. Istorychni zv’iazky Pivnichnoi Bukovyny z Rostiieiu i Naddnyprians’koiu Ukraïnoiu: Dokumenty i materialy* [A primordially Ukrainian land: The historical ties of Northern Bukovina to Russia and Dnieper Ukraine. Documents and materials] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1990).

97. Galina Czeban, ed., *Deutschsprachige Quellen zur Geschichte des Bildungswesens der Bukovina um 1900* [German-language sources for the history of education in Bukovina around 1900], 2 vols. (Klagenfurt, 1994); Rudolf Wagner, *Die Revolutionsjahre 1848/49 im Königreich Galizien-Lodomerien (einschließlich Bukowina). Dokumente aus Österreichischer Zeit* [The

revolutionary years 1848–49 in Galicia-Lodomeria (including Bukovina): Documents from the Austrian era] (Munich: Der Südostdeutsche, 1983).

98. In addition to the recent studies by Myroslav Romaniuk and Olexandr Masan cited in the second section of this guide (see note 23), there are two older press surveys: Hryhorii Piddubnyi, “Presa na Bukovyni” [The press in Bukovina], *Chervona presa* 6 (Kharkiv, 1927), and a section in Kvitkovs’kyi, *Bukovyna*, 616–34 (see note 43). Some details on the availability of Bukovinian newspapers in the libraries can be found in Paul R. Magocsi, *The Peter Jacyk Collection of Ukrainian Serials: a Guide to Newspapers and Periodicals* (Toronto: Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto, 1983), and Paul R. Magocsi, “Vienna as a Resource for Ukrainian Studies: With Special Reference to Galicia,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3–4 (1979–1980): 608–26.

99. Erich Prokopowitsch, *Die Entwicklung des Pressewesens in der Bukovina* [The development of the press in Bukovina] (Vienna, 1962).

100. For example, *Bukovyns’kyi Pravoslavnyi kalendar* [Bukovinian Orthodox Calendar], *Tovarysh* [Comrade], *Novyi Pravoslavnyi kalendar’* [New Orthodox Calendar], *Narodnyi kalendar’* [People’s calendar], *Veselka* [Rainbow].

101. For example, *Bukowinaer Pedagogische Blätter* [Bukovinian pedagogical journal], *Bukovinskaia Zoria* [Bukovinian star], *Rodynnyi lystok* [Family newspaper].

102. *Hospodar i promyshlennyk* [Farmer and industrialist], *Chytnia* [Readings], *Pryiatel’* [Friend] with a supplement *Nauka i rozvaha* [Learning and entertainment], *Narodna biblioteka* [People’s library], *Hrim* [Thunder], *Dobri rady* [Good advice], *Selianny* [Peasant], *Nauka* [Learning].

Historical Studies, 1870–1918

103. H. Biderman, *Die Bukowina unter Österreichischer Verwaltung 1775–1875* [Bukovina under Austrian administration, 1775–1875] (L’viv, 1876).

104. Johann Polek, *Die Bukowina zu Anfang des Jahres 1801* [Bukovina at the beginning of 1801] (Chernivtsi, 1908); Johann Polek, *Die Erwerbung der Bukowina durch Österreich* [The acquisition of Bukovina by Austria] (Chernivtsi, 1889); Johann Polek, “Statistik des Judenthums in der Bukovina” [Statistics about Jews in Bukovina], *Statistische Monatschrift* 15 (1889): 260.

105. J. Budinski, *Die Bukowina zu Anfang des Jahres 1783* [Bukovina at the beginning of 1783] (Chernivtsi, 1894); Silvester Daszkiewicz, *Die Lage der Griechisch-Orientalischen Ruthenen in der Bukowiner Erzdiözese. Zugleich Antwort auf die “Apologie” des Bukowiner Griechisch-Orientalischen Metropoliten Silvester-Andriewicz. Im Auftrage der weltlichen Griechisch-Orientalischen Mitglieder der Czernowitzer Ruthenischen Vereine verfasst* [The situation of the Orthodox Ruthenians in the Bukovinian arch-diocese. An answer to the “Apology” of the Bukovinian Orthodox Metropolitan Silvester-Andriewicz, commissioned by the lay members of the

Ruthenian community of Czernowitz] (Chernivtsi, 1891); A. Ficker, *Hundert Jahre (1775–1875)* [One hundred years (1775–1875)] (Vienna, 1875); Karl Grünberg, “Studien zur österreichischen Agrargeschichte und Agrarpolitik,” part 2, “Die bäuerlichen Unfreiheitsverhältnisse und deren Beseitigung in der Bukowina” [Studies of Austrian agricultural history and agrarian policy, part 2, Serfdom and its abolition in Bukovina], in *Jahrbuch der Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reiche* 24, ed. G. Schmoller (Leipzig, 1900), 1477–566; S. Kassner, *Die Juden in der Bukowina* [The Jews of Bukovina] (Vienna-Berlin, 1917); Wilhelm Kosch, “Juden und Deutsche in der Bukowina” [Jews and Germans in Bukovina], *Neue Jüdische Monatshefte. Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft und Literatur in Ost und West* 1, no. 6 (Berlin, 1916): 143–51; Julius Platter, *Der Wucher in der Bukowina* [Money-lending in Bukovina] (Jena: G. Fischer, 1878); Johann Polek, “Die Ausbreitung des Protestantismus in der Bukowina” [The expansion of Protestantism in Bukovina], in *Jahrbücher der Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* (Vienna, 1904), 364–74; Johann Polek, “Die ehemalige russische Münzstätte in Sadagora” [The former Russian mint in Sadagora], *Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landesmuseums* 2 (Chernivtsi, 1894), 3–10; Johann Polek, *Der Protestantismus in der Bukowina* [Protestantism in Bukovina] (Czernowitz: Pardini, 1890); S. Schmedes, *Geographisch-Statistische Übersicht von Galizien und der Bukowina* [A geographical-statistical survey of Galicia and Bukovina] (L’viv: 1869); Ludwig A. Simiginowicz-Staufe, *Die Völkergruppen der Bukowina. Ethnographisch-culturhistorische Skizzen* [Ethnic groups in Bukovina: Ethnographic-cultural-historical sketches] (Chernivtsi, 1884); Daniel Werenka, “Bukowinas Entstehen und Aufblühen. Maria Theresias Zeiten 1772–1775” [Bukovina’s establishment and flourishing: The times of Maria Theresa 1772–1775], *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 78 (Vienna, 1882): 99–296; Daniel Werenka, “Maria Theresia und die Bukowina” [Maria Theresa and Bukovina], *Wiener Zeitung* 107 (Vienna, 1888); Ferdinand Zieglauer, *Der Zustand der Bukowina zur Zeit der Österreichischen Okkupation* [Conditions in Bukovina during the time of Austrian occupation] (Chernivtsi, 1888); Daniel Werenka, “Die Verhandlungen Österreichs mit der Türkei über den ‘Bucoviner District’” [Negotiations between Austria and Turkey about the ‘Bukovina District’], in *Jahresbericht der Staats-Unterrealschule im V. Bezirke von Wien* 17 (Vienna, 1891–1892), 3–21; Rudolf Wolkan, *Die geographischen-statistischen Verhältnisse der Bukowina nebst einigen vergleichenden statistischen Tabellen* [The geographic and statistical features of Bukovina, with comparative statistical tables] (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1893); Ferdinand Zieglauer, *Die Bukowina zur Zeit der österreichischen Okkupation* [Bukovina during the Austrian occupation] (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1892); Ferdinand Zieglauer, *Geschichtliche Bilder aus der Bukowina* (see note 94 for full reference); Ferdinand Zieglauer, *Die Entwicklung des Schulwesens in der Bukowina seit der Vereinigung des Landes mit Österreich. 1774–1899* [The development of education in Bukovina since the unification with Austria, 1774–1899] (Chernivtsi, 1899). Wickenhauser, Werenka, Polek, and other historians also published separate glorifying works about the official act of incorporation of Bukovina into the empire; for details on these works see Erich Beck, *Bibliographie* (1965), 63 (see note 21).

106. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Bukowina in den Jahren 1848 und 1849* [Bukovina in 1848 and 1849] (Vienna, 1900); Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Deutschen in Galizien und in der Bukowina* [The Germans in Galicia and Bukovina] (Frankfurt am Main: Heinrich Keller, 1916); Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, “Das Entstehen und die Entwicklung der Lippowaner-Colonien in der Bukowina” [The establishment and development of the Russian Old-Believers’ colonies in

Bukovina], in *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, vol. 83 (Vienna, 1896); Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, “Die Erwerbung der Bukowina durch Österreich” [The acquisition of Bukovina by Austria], in *Buchenland. Beiträge zur Kunde der Bukowina*, no. 6 (Chernivtsi: Pardini, 1894); Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte der Deutschen in den Karpathenländern* [History of Germans in the Carpathian lands], vol. 3 (Gotha: Perthes, 1911); Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, “Die Juden in der Bukowina” [Jews in Bukovina], *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 80, no. 9 (Vienna, 1901): 133–37; Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Kaiser Joseph II in seinem Verhältnisse zur Bukowina* [Emperor Joseph II and Bukovina] (Chernivtsi, 1896); Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, “Über die Besiedelung der Bukowina” [On the settlement of Bukovina], in *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 34 (Vienna, 1891), 325–34.

107. Ievhenii Dmytriv (Semaka), *Illustrovana istoriia prosvitnioho tovarystva “Ruska Besida” v Chernivtsiakh (1869–1909)* [An illustrated history of the educational society “Ruska Besida” in Chernivtsi (1869–1909)] (Chernivtsi, 1909); V. Domanyts’kyi, *Pro Bukovynu ta zhyttia Bukovyns’kykh Ukraïnstiv* [On Bukovina and the life of Bukovinian Ukrainians] (Kiev: Drukarnia pershoi Kyïvs’koï drukars’koï spilky, tovarystvo “Prosvita,” 1910); Iliarii Karbuluts’kyi, *Rozvii narodnoho shkil’nytstva na Bukovyni* [The development of popular education in Bukovina] (Vashkivtsi, 1905); Zenon Kuzelia, “Halychyna i Bukowina v svitli perepysu z 31 Hrudnia 1910” [Galicia and Bukovina in the census on 31 December 1910], *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* 65, no. 1 (L’viv, 1914): 101–06 Osyp Makovei, “Roky 1895–1897 v istoriï Bukovyny” [The years 1895–1897 in the history of Bukovina], *Bukovyna* (Chernivtsi), January 7 (1909), (supplement); V. Mordvinov, *Pravoslavnaia tserkov’ v Bukovine (v Avstrii)* [The Orthodox Church in Bukovina (in Austria)] (St. Petersburg, 1874); Hierotheus Piguliak, *Beitrag zur Kirchlichen Frage in der Bukowina. Zwei Zeitgemässe Artikel vom Reichsratsabgeordneten Hierotheus Piguliak und einem gr.-or. Priester* [On the church question in Bukovina: two timely essays by State Deputy Hierotheus Piguliak and an Orthodox priest] (Chernivtsi, 1906); Hierotheus Piguliak, *Die Kirchenfrage in der Bukowina* [The church question in Bukovina] (Chernivtsi, 1914); V. Simovych, “Rozvytok students’koho zhyttia v Chernivtsiakh” [The development of student life in Chernivtsi, in *Almanakh v pam’iat’ 40-kh rokovyn osnuvannia tovarystva “Sich” u Vidni* (L’viv, 1908), 502–31; Stepan Smal’-Stots’kyi, *Bukovyns’ka Rus’: Kul’turno-istorychnyi obrazok* [Bukovinian Rus’: A cultural-historical sketch] (Chernivtsi, 1897), and other publications by Smal’-Stots’kyi; Stepan Smal’-Stots’kyi, “Literaturne tovarystvo ‘Rus’ka Besida.’ 25 rokov” [The literary society “Rus’ka besida”: Twenty-five years] *Pravda* 22 (L’viv, 1894): 523–42, 587–606; Stepan Smal’-Stots’kyi, “Nauka ruskoï movy v shkolakh serednykh na Bukovyni” [Teaching the Rusyn language in the secondary schools of Bukovina], *Pravda* 22 (L’viv, 1894): 303–12, 366–75, 436–46.

108. Ivan Franko, “Lukian Kobylutsia. Epizod z istoriï Hutsul’shchyny v pershii polovyni XIX v.,” [Lukian Kobylutsia: An episode in the history of the Hutsul region from the first half of the nineteenth century], *Zapysky naukovooho tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, year 11, bk. 5, vol. 909 (L’viv, 1903): 1–40. Interpreted in terms of national as well as social liberation, this episode, first popularized by Franko, later became one of the focal points of Soviet and post-Soviet Ukrainian historiography of the Austrian period in Bukovina.

109. Teodor Bălan, “Administrația și justiția în Bucovina sub generalii Splény și Enzenberg” [Administration and justice in Bukovina under generals Splény and Enzenberg], *Junimea literară* 6 (Chernivtsi, 1909); Bucovina sub Austria. Una sută cinci-spre-zece ani de nenorocire și durere [Bukovina under Austria: One hundred and fifteen years of unhappiness and suffering] (Iași: Popovici, 1891); Nicolae Grămadă, “Cum era pe vremuri la noi în Bucovina. Jurământul țării la 1777” [This is how it was back then, here, in Bukovina: The oath of the country in 1777], *Viața românească* 3, no. 10 (Iași, 1908): 60–70; Nicolae Iorga, “Chestiunea rutenească în Bucovina” [The Ruthenian question in Bukovina], *Revista istorică* 3 (1915): 45–56; Nicolae Iorga, “Note despre vechea Bucovina” [Notes on the old Bukovina], *Revista istorică* 1 (Vălenii-de-Munte, 1915): 85–87; Aurel Morariu, *Bucovina (1774–1914)* [Bukovina (1774–1914)] (Bucharest: Suru, 1914); Ion Nistor, *Un capitol din viața culturală a românilor din Bucovina (1774–1857)* [A chapter of the cultural life of Romanians in Bukovina (1774–1857)] (Bucharest: Socec, Sfetea, Suru, 1916); Ion Nistor, *Istoria Bisericii din Bucovina* [History of the church in Bukovina] (Bucharest, 1916); Ion Nistor, *Der Nationale Kampf in der Bukovina* [The national struggle in Bukovina] (Bucharest, 1918); Ion Nistor, *Problema ucraineană în lumina istoriei* [The Ukrainian question in historical perspective] (Chernivtsi, 1933); repr. Rădăuți, 1997; Dimitrie Onciul, “Din trecutul Bucovinei” [On the past of Bukovina], *Convorbiri literare* 49 (Bucharest, 1915): 589–606, 729–47.

110. For example, Mihai Eminescu, *Răpirea Bucovinei* [The abduction of Bukovina] (Bucharest: Minerva, 1905); Vasile Maniu and Bonifaciu Florescu, *Răpirea Bucovinei* [The abduction of Bukovina] (Bucharest: Grecescu, 1875; Chernivtsi: Eckhardt, 1876); Stefan Molna, “Răpirea Bucovinei” [The abduction of Bukovina], *Vasile Alecsandri, Scrisorii*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Alcalay, 1904), 71–78. For a more detailed list of similar publications, see Beck, *Bibliographie* (1965), 61–62 (see note 21 for full details).

111. See, for instance, I. Torouțiu, *Poporația și clasele sociale din Bucovina* [The people and social classes of Bukovina] (Bucharest, 1916).

Historical Studies, 1918–1991

112. Dimitrie Dan, *Rolul preoțimei Bucovinene în menținerea Românismlui dela robirea [1775] la desrobirea Bucovinei (15. XI. 1918)* [The role of Bukovinian priests in maintaining Romanianism from the enslavement (1775) to the liberation (15 Nov. 1918) of Bukovina] (Chernivtsi: Silvestru, 1925); Nicolae Grămadă, *Sătenii și stăpânii în Bucovina între 1775 și 1848* [Peasants and landlords in Bukovina between 1775 and 1848] (Chernivtsi: Glasul Bucovinei, 1934); M. Șafran, *Die inneren und kulturellen Verhältnisse in der Bukowina 1825–1861* [Internal and cultural relations in Bukovina, 1825–1861] (Botoșani, 1939).

113. B. Kostashchuk, “Gromads’ke i kulturne zhyttia Bukovyny vid 1848 do 1914 rr.” [The civic and cultural life of Bukovina from 1848 to 1914], *Ukraina* 1 (Kiev, 1928): 15–24.

114. Lev Kohut, “Bukovyna pid Avstriis’koiu zverkhnistiu” [Bukovina under Austrian domination] *Ridnyi kraj* (Chernivtsi), December 15, 1929, and November 16, 1930.

115. Norbert Zimmer, *Die deutschen Siedlungen im Buchenland (Bukowina)* [German settlements in Bukovina] (Plauen im Vogtland: Günther Wolf, 1930).

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(1965): 69–72; Ivan Fostii, “Do 30-richchia vozz’iednannia Pivnichnoi Bukovyny z Radians’koiu Ukraïnoi: hazeta *Bukovyns’ka Pravda*” [On the thirtieth anniversary of the reunification of Northern Bukovina with Soviet Ukraine: The newspaper *Bukovyns’ka Pravda*], *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 7 (1970): 36–40; Ie. Horodets’kyi, “Revoliutsiina borot’ba trudiashchykh Pivnichnoi Bukovyny v 1929–1930 rr.,” [The revolutionary struggle of toilers in Northern Bukovina, 1929–1930], *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no.10 (1973): 113–19; M. Ivanenko, “Partiia “Vyzvolennia” ta її mistse v istoriï Bukovyny” [The “Liberation” party and its place in the history of Bukovina], *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 2 (1989): 36–43; O. Karpenko, “Okupatsiia Pivnichnoi Bukovyny Rumuniieiu i borot’ba trudiashchykh mas proty okupatsiinoho rezhymy (1918–1919)” [The occupation of Northern Bukovina by Romania and the struggle of toiling masses against the occupational regime, 1918–1919], *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 10 (1966): 56–62; S. Kobylans’kyi, “Z istoriï provedennia aharnoï reformy na Pivnichnii Bukovyni pid chas okupatsiï kraiu burzhuazno-pomishchyts’koiu Rumuniieiu” [From the history of agrarian reform in Northern Bukovina during occupation by the bourgeois-landlords’ Romania], *Mynule i suchasne Pivnichnoi Bukovyny* 1 (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1972): 40–51; V. Kurylo, “Istorychna zumovlennist’ vozziednannia Pivnichnoi Bukovyny z Ukraini RSR” [Historical predetermination of the reunification of Northern Bukovina with the Ukrainian SSR], *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 9 (1983): 55–66; V. Kurylo, *U borot’bi za vyzvolennia. 1922–1940* [In the struggle for liberation, 1922–1940] (L’viv: Vyscha shkola, 1977); V. Kurylo, “V avanhardi revoliutsiinoho rukhu trudiashchykh (do 70-richchia utvorennia Kompartii Bukovyny)” [In the vanguard of the workers’ revolutionary movement (to the seventieth anniversary of the formation of Communist Party of Bukovina)], *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 11 (1988): 16–27; M. Lytvyn, “Nove pro dial’nist’ Halyts’koho Orhanizatsiinoho Komitetu KP(b)U” [New information on the activity of the Galician Organizational Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine], *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 2 (1990): 126–30; V. Malyshko, “Revoliutsiina hazeta ‘Hromada’” [The revolutionary newspaper *Hromada*], *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 9 (1968): 66–6; M. I. Nastiuk, “Politicheskaia organizatsiia kolonial’nogo upravleniia korolevskoi Rumynii v Severnoi Bukovine (1918–1940)” [The Political organization of colonial rule by Kingdom of Romania in Northern Bukovina, 1918–1940], *Problemy pravovedeniia* 48 (1987): 38–42; L. Poliovyi, “Boiovyi avanhard trudiashchykh Pivnichnoi Bukovyny u borot’bi za vozz’iednannia z Radians’koiu Ukraïnoi: 60-richchia stvorennia Komunistychnoi Partii Bukovyny” [The militant working-class vanguard in Northern Bukovina in the struggle for reunification with Soviet Ukraine: The sixtieth anniversary of the creation of the Communist Party of Bukovina], *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 11 (1978): 120–23; L. Vasiuk, “Vplyv Velykoï Zhovtnevoi Sotsialistychnoi Revoliutsiï na rozvytok revoliutsiinoho rukhu v Pivnichnii Bukovyni: 1917–20” [The impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the development of revolutionary movement in Northern Bukovina, 1917–1920], *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no.1 (1983): 84–92; L. Vasiuk, “Z istoriï borot’by trudiashchykh Pivnichnoi Bukovyny za vozziednannia z URSR (1918–1940)” [From the history of the struggle of toilers in Romanian Bukovina for reunification with the USSR, 1918–1940], *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 6 (1965): 73–78.

178. Z. B. Braslavs’kyi, *Reaktsiina voiovnichist’sionizmu* [The reactionary militancy of Zionism] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1978).

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180. Edgar Müller, *Die Evangelischen Gemeinden in der Bukowina*, Part 2, *Aufbau und Ende* [Evangelical communities in Bukovina, part 2, Flourishing and end] (Kirchheim: Hilfswerk für die Evangelischen Deutschen aus der Bukowina, 1973); Edgar Müller, “Kurzgefasste Geschichte der evangelischen Gemeinden in der Bukowina unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Jahre 1918 bis 1940” [A short history of the Evangelical parishes in Bukovina with a special consideration of the years 1918–1940], *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* 88 (Vienna, 1972): 75–168; Erich Prokopowitsch, “Gründung, Entwicklung und Ende der Franz-Josephs-Universität in Czernowitz” [Founding, development, and the end of Franz Joseph University in Czernowitz], in *Schriften zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in der Bukowina* (Clausthal, 1955); Erich Prokopowitsch, “Der Kampf um die Bukowiner Deutsche Schule während der rumänischen Herrschaft 1919–1940” [The struggle for Bukovinian German schools during Romanian rule, 1919–1940], *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter* 14, no. 3 (1965): 149–53; Hans Prelitsch, *Student in Czernowitz: Die Korporationen an der Czernowitzer Universität* [A student in Czernowitz: Student societies at Czernowitz University] (Munich: Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1961); Michael Stocker, “Deutsche Jugendarbeit in der Bukowina” [German youth work in Bukovina], *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter* 13, no. 3 (1964): 155–58.

181. Sophie Welisch, “The Bukovina Germans in the Interwar Period,” *East European Quarterly* 14 (1980): 423–37.

182. Haim Shamir, “Die Jüdische Gemeinde von Czernowitz 1937 in deutscher Sicht” [The Jewish community of Czernowitz in 1937 from a German point of view], *Jahrbuch des Instituts für Deutsche Geschichte* 4 (1975): 484–97.

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183. Ivan Fostii, “Okupatsiia Chernivets’koiï oblasti rumuns’kymy viis’kamy v 1914–1944 rr. ta ii naslidky” [The occupation of Chernivtsi province by Romanian military in 1914–1944 and its consequences], *Pytannia istorii Ukraïny. Zbirnyk naukovykh statei* 6 (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2003), 263–75; Serhii Hakman, “Bukovyna u politytsi Rosiï, Ukraïny, ta Uhorschyny navesni 1919 r.” [Bukovina in the politics of Russia, Ukraine and Hungary in spring 1919], in *Naukovyi visnyk Volyns’koho Derzhavnogo Universytetu imeni Lesi Ukraïny. Istorychni nauky* 3 (2000), 139–43; H. Huggenberger, “Iednannia ta protystoiannia. Aspekty ievreis’ko-nimets’kykh vidnosyn u Chernivtsiakh (druha polovyna XIX–1940 r.)” [Unification and confrontation: Some aspects of Jewish-German relations in Chernivtsi from the second half of the nineteenth century to 1940], in *Pytannia istorii Ukraïny. Zbirnyk naukovykh statei* 4 (Chernivtsi: ChNU, 2000), 286–92; D. Kvitka, “Ukraïns’ke studentstvo pid Rumuniieiu” [Ukrainian students under Romania], in *Kvitkovs’kyi D. Borot’ba za Ukraïns’ku ideiu. Zbirnyk politychnykh tvoriv*, ed. V. Veryha (Detroit, 1993), 38–41; Olexandr Masan, “Byimo u velukyï

dzvin na tryvohu!’ (Holodomor 1932–1933 rr.i ukraïntsi Bukovyny)” [“Let’s strike the big bell and raise the alarm!” The manmade famine of 1932–1933 and Ukrainians of Bukovina], *Bukovyns’kyi zhurnal* 3–4 (1993): 87–99; Olexandr Masan, “Holodomor 1932–1933 rr. i Ukraïns’ka hromads’kist’ Bukovyny” [The manmade famine of 1932–1933 and the Ukrainian community of Bukovina], in *Pamiati zhertv radians’kykh holodomoriv v Ukraïni. Materialy naukovoi konferentsii, Chernivtsi, 24 veresnia 1993 r.* (Chernivtsi: Ruta, 1994), 45–56; Ihor Piddubnyi, “Administratyvne upravlinnia Bukovyny u mizhvoiennyi period (1918–1940)” [State administration in Bukovina during the interwar period (1918–1940)], in *Pytannia istorii Ukraïny: Zbirnyk naukovykh statei* 3 (Chernivtsi, 1999), 294–304; Ihor Piddubnyi, “Dial’nist’ Bukovyns’koï Sotsial-Demokratychnoi orhanizatsii v pershi povoienni roky” [The activity of the Bukovinian Social-Democratic organization in the first postwar years], in *Z istorychnoho mynuloho Bukovyny*, (see note 127), 94–203; Ihor Piddubnyi, “Politychne zhyttia Bukovyny v period korolivs’koï dyktatury (1938–1940)” [Political life in Bukovina during the royal dictatorship, 1938–1940], in *Naukovyi visnyk Chernivets’koho Universytetu* (Chernivtsi, 1996), 104–13; Ihor Piddubnyi, “Problema zahystu prav Ukraïntsiiv Bukovyny v dial’nosti politychnykh orhanizatsii kraiu v 1918–1928 rr.” [Regional political organizations and the protection of national rights of Ukrainians in Bukovina], in *Pytannia istorii Ukraïny* (Chernivtsi, 1997), 210–17; Ihor Piddubnyi, “Problemy Ukraïns’koho natsionalistychnoho rukhu na Bukovyni v 1930-ti roky” [Problems of the Ukrainian national movement in Bukovina in the 1930s], *Zelena Bukovyna* 3–4 (Chernivtsi, 1997) and 1 (1998): 32–34 (a unified no.); Ihor Piddubnyi, “Promyslovist’ Bukovyny ta ïi zarubizhni zv’iazky u 20–30-ti roku XX st.” [The industry of Bukovina and its international connections in the 1920s and 1930s], in *Pytannia istorii Ukraïny: Zbirnyk naukovykh statei* 6 (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2003), 256–61; Arkadii Zhukovs’kyi, “Etapy rozvytku Ukraïns’koho natsionalizmu na Bukovyni” [Stages of development of Ukrainian nationalism in Bukovina], *Materialy III mizhnarodnoi istoriko-kraieznavchoï naukovoi konferentsii, prysviachenoi 120-richhiu zasnovannia Chernivets’koho Universytetu, 29 veresnia–1 zhovtnia 1995 roku* (Chernivtsi: Ruta, 1995), 24–9.

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188. David Sha’ari, “Jewish Culture in Multinational Bukovina between the World Wars,” *Shvut* no. 16 (Tel-Aviv, 1993): 281–96; David Sha’ari, *Yehudei Bukovinah bein shtei milhamot ha-‘olam* [The Jews of Bukovina between Two World Wars], Book 127 (Tel Aviv: Goldshtein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, 2004).

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191. Susanne Marten-Finnis and Walter Schmitz, eds., “Zwischen dem Osten und dem Westen Europas.” *Deutschsprachige Presse in Czernowitz bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg* [“Between Europe’s East and West”: The German-language press in Czernowitz until the Second World War] (Dresden, 2005); Susanne Marten-Finnis and Markus Bauer, “Konfliktkultur und urbane Öffentlichkeit in Czernowitz (1908–1922)” [The culture of conflict and urban publicity in Czernowitz, 1908–1922], *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 32, no. 2 (2007): 116–42; Susanne Marten-Finnis and Markus Winkler, “Location of Memory versus Space of Communication: Presses Languages, and Education among Czernovitz Jews, 1918–1941,” *Central Europe* 7, no. 1 (May 2009): 30–55; Markus Winkler, “Czernowitzer Judentum: ein Mythos am Rande Europas?” [Czernowitz Jewry: A myth on the border of Europe?], *Ost-West. Europäische Perspektiven* 9, no. 3 (2008): 216–22; Markus Winkler, *Jüdische Identitäten im kommunikativen Raum*, 2007; Markus Winkler, “Wandel im Zeitalter der Modernisierung: Czernowitzer Presse vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg” [Change in the age of modernization: The Czernowitz press before World War One], in *Presse und Stadt: Zusammenhänge, Diskurse, Thesen/City and Press: Interaction, Discourse, Theses*, ed. Susanne Marten-Finnis and Markus Winkler (Bremen, 2009). For more works on the interwar Jewish press in Cernăuți, see <http://www.port.ac.uk/research/ceisr/researchprojects/jewishpress1918-1940/> (last accessed October 1, 2011).

192. Mariana Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina: Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918–1944* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2001); see also Mariana Hausleitner, “Gegen die Zwangsrumänisierung: die Kooperation von Bukowiner Deutschen, Juden und Ukrainern in der Zwischenkriegszeit” [Against forced Romanianization: Cooperation among Germans, Jews, and Ukrainians in Bukovina in the interwar period], *Werkstatt Geschichte* 32 (Hamburg, 2002): 31–43.

193. Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics of Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995). Livezeanu examines Romania’s interwar nation-building with a focus on incorporation of three newly acquired provinces of Bukovina, Transylvania, and Bessarabia. She demonstrates how central Romanian authorities dealt with what they believed to be an inferior cultural and educational level and the disadvantaged political position of the Romanian population in these provinces. The predominantly non-Romanian ethnic composition of the borderlands’ urban centers appeared to be the major challenge for the Romanianization policies. The remedy took the form of education reform and promotion of Romanian culture as well as agricultural reforms aimed at emancipating peasants and fostering the growth of the new Romanian middle class to substitute for Germans and Jews.

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194. According to numerous archival documents and personal memories, mass violence against Jews began in different areas of Northern Bukovina as soon as Soviet authorities and troops left them. In some cases—but not always—it was organized or inspired by Romanian and German military; in other cases the organizers were members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists or locals with no obvious political or ideological orientation. For more, see Jean Ancel, “The Romanian Way of Solving the ‘Jewish Problem’ in Bessarabia and Bukovina, June–July 1941,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 19 (1988): 187–233; Vladimir Solonari, “Patterns of Violence: The Local Population and the Mass Murder of Jews in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, July–August 1941,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 8, no. 4 (2007): 749–87 and Svetlana Frunchak, “Commemorating the Future in Post-War Ukrainian Chernivtsi,” *Eastern European Politics and Societies* 24, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 435–63.

195. Transnistria was created as a political unit by the Nazis to compensate Romania for the regions of Transylvania and southern Dobruđa which had been lost to Hungary and Bulgaria, respectively. (In fact, only the Nazi government viewed the annexation as compensation, while the Romanian leader, Ion Antonescu, resisted this act precisely because he never recognized partial annexation of Transylvania to Hungary. I thank an anonymous reviewer for the Carl Beck Papers for bringing this point to my attention.) A territory of approximately forty thousand square kilometers situated between the Dniester and the Bug rivers, in the south corner of what is today Ukraine, Transnistria was used by Romanian authorities for deportation, imprisonment, and occasional execution of Jews from Bukovina, Bessarabia, and neighboring territories. The majority of these prisoners died from starvation, disease, malnutrition, and atrocities. The following is only a selection of the many works that deal with Transnistria but not directly with Bukovina: Jean Ancel, *Transnistria*.

Vol.1–3 (Bucharest: Atlas, 1998); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Campaigns. History and Documents Summaries* Vol. 1–3 (Tel Aviv, 2003); Julius S. Fisher, *Transnistria: The Forgotten Cemetery* (South Brunswick, NJ: T. Yoseloff, 1969); Dalia Ofer, “The Holocaust in Transnistria: A Special Case of Genocide,” in *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union: Studies and Sources on the Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-occupied Territories of the USSR, 1941–1945*, ed. Lucian Dobroszycki and Jeffrey Gurock (New York: Sharpe, 1993); Dalia Ofer, “Life in the Ghettos of Transnistria,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 25 (1996): 229–247; E. Ophir, “Was the Transnistria Rescue Plan Achievable?” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 6, no. 1 (1991): 1–16; A. Shachan, *Burning Ice: The Ghettos of Transnistria* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); V. P. Shchetnikov, “K istorii ievreiskikh lagerei-getto na territorii Transnistrii: 1941–1944” [On the history of the Jewish camp-ghettos in Transnistria, 1941–1941], *Holokost i suchasnist’ 1* (Kiev, 2003): 14–15; L. Sushon, *Transnistriia v adu. Chernaia kniga o katastrofe v Severnom Prichernomorie (po vospominaniiam i dokumentam)* [Hell in Transnistria: The black book about the Holocaust on the Northern Black Sea Coast, based on memoirs and documents] (Odessa, 1998); Ie. Sypko, “Osoblyvosti Rumuns’koho okupatsiinoho rezhymu v Ttransnistrii (ideoloho-kul’turnyi aspekt)” [Ideological and cultural aspects of the Romanian occupational regime in Transnistria], *Visnyk knyzhnoii palaty 1* (Kiev, 2001): 32–34.

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196. V.Kurylo et al., eds., *Radians’ka Bukovyna. 1940–1945. Dokumenty i materialy* [Soviet Bukovina, 1940–1945. Documents and materials] (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1967); Some documents on Bukovina can be also found in *Voz’iednannia ukrains’koho narodu v iedynii Ukraini kii Radians’kii derzhavi (1939–1949)* [Reunification of the Ukrainian people in the single Ukrainian Soviet state, 1939–1949] (Kiev, 1949).

197. Ivan Fostii et al., eds., *Knyha pam’iati Ukraïny. Chernivets’ka oblast’* [The memory book of Ukraine: Chernivtsi province], 2 vols. (Chernivtsi: Prut, 1994).

198. Serhii Osachuk, Volodymyr Zapolovs’kyi, and Vasyl’ Kholodnyts’kyi, “Dodomu v raikh!” *Pereseleattia nimitsiv z Pivnichnoi Bukovyny 1940 roku (materially, svichennia, dokumenty)* [“Back home to the Reich!” The repatriation of Germans from Northern Bukovina in 1940 (materials, witnesses, documents)] (Chernivtsi: Zoloti Lytavry, 2004).

199. Jean Ancel, ed. *Documents Concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry During the Holocaust*, vol. 5, *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria* (New York: Beate Klasfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, “Plans for the Destruction of the Romanian Jews and Their Discontinuation in the Light of Documentary Evidence (July–October 1942),” *Yad Vashem Studies* 16 (Jerusalem, 1984): 381–420; *Behold the Children of Our Time: Case Histories of Youth Aliyah Trainees Who Arrived in Palestine from the Deportation Camps in Transnistria in 1944* (London, 1945); Matatias Carp, *Holocaust in Rumania: Facts and Documents on the Annihilation of Rumania’s Jews, 1940–44* (Budapest: Primor Publishing, 1994); Theodore Lavi, ed. *Pinkas Kehilot Romania* [The book of a Romanian community] (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1970); Ottmar Trasca and Dennis Deletant, eds., *Al Treilea Reich și Holocaustul din România 1940–1944: documente din arhivele*

germane [The Third Reich and the Holocaust in Romania, 1940–1944: Documents from German archives] (Bucharest: Editura Institutului National pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România Elie Wiesel, 2007).

200. Alexandr Kruglov, ed. *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* [A collection of documentary materials about the destruction of the Jews of Ukraine by the Nazi in 1941–1944] (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002); Oleksandr Lut's'kyi and Tamara Halaichak, *Kul'turne zhyttia v Ukraïni. Zahidni zemli: Dokumenty i materialy*, vol. 1, 1939–1953 [Cultural life in Ukraine: Western lands, Documents and materials, vol.1, 1939–1953] (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1995); Theodor Schieder, ed., *Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mitteleuropa*, vol. 3, *Das Schicksal der Deutschen in Rumänien* [Documents on the expulsion of Germans from East-Central Europe, vol.3, The fate of the Germans in Romania] (Berlin: Bernard und Graefe, 1957); Ievhen Shtendera and Petro Potichnyi, *Litopys UPA* [UPA chronicles] (Toronto: Vyd-vo Litopys UPA, 1977–2002), vol. 19; Alexandr Rekunkov, ed., *Niurnbergskii protsess. Sbornik materialov v 8-mi tomakh* [The Nuremberg Trial: A collection of documents in eight volumes] (Moscow: Iuridicheskaia Literatura, 1987–1999), vol. 5.

201. Stelian Neagoe, ed. *Bătălia pentru Bucovina* (see note 94).

202. Margit Bartfeld-Feller, *Nicht ins Nichts gespannt. Von Czernowitz nach Sibirien deportiert. Jüdische Schicksale, 1941–1997* [Deported from Czernowitz to Siberia: Jewish destinies, 1941–1997] (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1998); Margit Bartfeld-Feller, *Am östlichen Fenster. Gesammelte Geschichten aus Czernowitz und aus der Sibirischen Verbannung* [At the eastern window: Collected stories from Czernowitz and from the Siberian exile] (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2002); Shlomo Bickel, *Dray Briday Zaynen mir Geven* [I had three brothers] (New York: Matones, 1956); Sassona Dachlika, “Volksfeinde.” *Von Czernowitz durch Sibirien nach Israel. Eine Erzählung* [“Enemies of the people.” From Czernowitz through Siberia to Israel: A story] (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2002); Yosef Govrin, “Reminiscences of a Jewish boy,” *Yalkut Moreshet Periodical* 64 (Tel Aviv, 1997): 79–105; Jacob Melzer and Jancos Reise, *Von Czernowitz durch die Transnistrische Verbannung nach Israel 1941–1946* [From Czernowitz through the Transnistrian exile to Israel 1941–1946] (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2001); Klara Schächter, *Woss ich Hob durchgelebt, was ich durchgemacht Habe. Brief einer Jüdin aus der Bukovina verfasst in Transnistrien 1943* [What I have lived through and survived: Letter of a Jewish woman from Bukovina written in Transnistria in 1943] (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1996); Emil Wenkert, *Czernowitzer Schicksale. Vom Ghetto nach Transnistrien deportiert. Jüdische Schicksale, 1941–1944* [Czernowitz destinies: Deported from the ghetto to Transnistria. Jewish destinies, 1941–1944] (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2001); Marcus Winkler and Jewgenija Finkel, *Juden aus Czernowitz. Ghetto, Deportation, Vernichtung, 1941–1944. Überlebende berichten. (Aus dem Russischen von Kateryna Stetsevych)*. [Jews from Czernowitz: Ghetto, deportation, extermination, 1941–1944. Survivors tell their story (translated from Russian by Katerina Stetsevych)] (Vienna, 2005). The memoirs and collections cited in the previous section also deal in part with the events of the Second World War.

203. *Chernovitskoie obshchestvo ievreiskoi kul'tury im. Shteinbarga. Vestnik. Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi. Svidetel'tsya ochevidtsev* [Chernivtsi society of Jewish culture. Herald. People remain people. Eyewitness accounts], 5 vols. (Chernivtsi, 199–1996).

204. Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010).

205. Iurii Ferenchuk, *Bukovyns'ki karpaty u vohni povstannia: spohady i svidchennia pro boiovi dii UPA v hirs'kykh raionakh Chernivets'koï Oblasti* [Bukovinian Carpathians in the flame of rebellion: Memoirs and eyewitness accounts of military actions in the mountainous districts of Chernivtsi province] (Chernivtsi: Prut, 2001); D. Holyk, *Moï spohady pro stalins'ki represii na Bukovyni v 1940–1941 rr. ta ikh naslidky* [My memories of the Stalinist repressions in Bukovina, 1940–1941, and their consequences] (Hlyboka, 2002); Iurii Horbashevs'kyi, *Bytva za Bukovynu: moï spohady pro dramu Ukraïntsiiv pid okupatsiiamy chuzhyntsiiv* [The battle for Bukovina: Recollections of the drama of Ukrainians under foreign occupation] (Chernivtsi, 2003).

206. See M. Ivanenko et al., eds., *Bitva za Bukovinu* [The battle for Bukovina] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1967); M. Ivanenko et al., eds., *V boiakh za Radians'ku Bukovynu* [In the battles for Soviet Bukovina] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1967).

207. *Veterani pe drumul onoarei și jertfei spre cetățile de pe Nistru (Mărturii, episoade, doc. privind acțiunile Armatei rom. în Campania de eliberare a Basarabiei, nordului Bucovinei și Ținutului Herța) 22 iunie–26 iulie 1941* [Veterans on the road of honor and sacrifice toward the Dniester fortresses: Testimonials, events, documents about the actions of the Romanian army during the campaign to liberate Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, and Hertza Province, June 22–July 26, 1941] (Bucharest, 1996).

208. Maria Beckers, *Heimatgedanken* [Thoughts of the motherland] (Cologne, 2003); Walter Ernst, ed., *Erinnerungen an Althütte, Bukovina* [Remembering Althütte, Bukovina] (Augsburg: Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 2002); Irma Bornemann, *Mit Fluchtgepäck die Heimat verlassen—50 Jahre seit der Umsiedlung der Buchenlanddeutschen* [Fleeing the home with light luggage—fifty years since the resettlement of Bukovina's Germans] (Stuttgart: 1990); Anne-Marie Hilgarth, *Anika* (Elms Court, England: Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., 1980), repr. by the Bukovina Society of the Americas (2000). Like other memoirs, these publications contain information on earlier and later periods along with World War II.

Historical Studies, 1940s–1991

209. “U kogo chto bolit, tot o tom i govorit.”

210. “Bessarabia i Pivnichna Bukovyna—radians'ki zemli. Dovidka” [Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna—Soviet lands: Information], *Komsomol's'kyi propahandyst* 7 (1940): 55–59; “Myrne rozv'iazannia radians'ko-rumuns'koho konfliktu v pytanni pro Bessarabiiu i pivnichnu chastynu Bukovyny (Povidomlennia TARS)” [Peaceful resolution of the Soviet-Romanian conflict over Bessarabia and the northern part of Bukovina (TARS information)], *Bil'shovyk Ukrainy* 7 (1940): 1–4; “Torzhestvo Stalins'koi myrnoï polityky—Vyzvolennia Bessarabii i Pivnichnoi Bukovyny vid rumuns'koi okupatsii i voz'iednannia ikh z Radians'kym Soiuzom” [The triumph of Stalinist peace policies—The liberation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovyna from Romanian occupation]

and their reunification with Soviet Union], *Partrobitnyk Ukraïny* 14 (1940): 1–4; “Triumpf mudroï zovnishnioï polityky” [The triumph of wise foreign policy], *Bil'shovyk Ukraïny* 7 (1940): 5–7.

211. G. Medvedenko and I. Starovoitenko, “Besarabiia i Pivnichna Bukovyna (istoryko-heohrafichnyi narys)” [Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina: An historical-geographical sketch], *Komunistychna Osvita* 8 (1940): 24–37.

212. *Na onovlenii zemli. Shcho dala radians'ka vlada trudiashchym Pivnichnoï Bukovyny* [On the rejuvenated land: What Soviet power gave to the workers of Northern Bukovina] (Chernivtsi, 1941); *Sovetskaia Bukovina (K godovshchine osvobozhdeniia ot Rumynskikh boyar)* [Soviet Bukovina: To the first anniversary of liberation from Romanian boyars] (Chernivtsi: Otdel propagandy i agitatsii Obkoma KP(b)Ukr, 1941).

213. S. Komarnyts'kyi, *Radians'ka Bukovyna v roky Velykoï Vitchyznianoï Viiny 1941–1945 rr.* [Soviet Bukovina in the Great Patriotic War 1941–1945] (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1979), and the post-Soviet updated edition, *Vony nablyzhaly peremohu. Bukovyna ta Bukovyntsi v roky Velykoï Vitchyznianoï viiny 1941–1945 rr.* [They made the victory sooner. Bukovina and Bukovinians during the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945] (Chernivtsi, 1995); S. Komarnyts'kyi “Vklad trudiashchykh Radians'koï Bukovyny u peremohu nad fashysts'koïu Nimechchynoiu” [The contribution of Soviet Bukovina's working people to the victory over fascist Germany], *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 7 (1970): 47–53; S. Komarnyts'kyi, “Z istoriï Komsomolu Pivnichnoï Bukovyny (1920–1945 rr.)” [From the history of the Young Communist League in Northern Bukovina, 1920–1945], *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 7 (1969): 61–68; V. Shyichuk “Vyrobnycha aktyvnist robitnykiv Radianskoï Bukovyny v 1940–1941 rr.” [The production activity of workers of Soviet Bukovina in 1940–41], *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 11 (1973): 97–101; P. Svytko and S. Komarnyts'kyi, “Borot'ba proty fashysts'kykh okupantiv na Bukovyni v 1941–1944” [The struggle against fascist occupiers in Bukovina, 1941–1944], *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 8 (1965): 66–72.

214. Alexandre Cretzianu, “La politique de paix de la Roumanie à l'égard de l'Union Soviétique,” [The Romanian policy of peace toward the Soviet Union], *Nation Roumaine* 7 (134) (Bucharest, 1954): 3–5 (newspaper); A. Cretzianu, “The Soviet Ultimatum to Romania (26 June 1940),” *Journal of Central European Affairs* 8 (Boulder, Colorado, 1949–1950): 396–403; Dionisie Ghermani, “Die Rumänische Bukowina: Dreieinhalb Jahrzehnte nach Kriegsende” [Romanian Bukovina: Thirty five years after the end of World War II], *Donauraum* 24, no. 3 (Vienna, 1979): 113–22.

215. Dirk Jachomowski, *Die Umsiedlung der Bessarabien-, Bukowina- und Dobrudschadeutschen: Von der Volksgruppe in Rumänien zur “Siedlungsbrücke” an der Reichsgrenze* [The resettlement of the Bessarabia-, Bukovina- and Dobrudzha-Germans: From the Volksgruppe in Romania to the ‘settlement bridges’ at the borders of the empire (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1984); Sophie Welisch, “The Second World War Resettlements of the Bukovina-Germans,” *Immigrants and Minorities* 3 (1984): 49–68; Lorenz Werner, *Der Zug der Volksdeutschen aus Bessarabien und dem Nord-Buchenland* [The emigration of Germans from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina] (Berlin: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1942).

216. Jurij Fedyns'kyj, "Sovietization of an Occupied Area through the Medium of the Courts (Northern Bukovina)," *American Slavic and East European Review* 12 (New York, 1953): 44–56.
217. Dov Levin, "The Jews and the Inception of Soviet Rule in Bukovina," *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 6, no. 2 (London, 1976): 52–70; the quotation is from page 67.
218. Arkadii Zhukovs'kyi, "Ukraïns'ki zemli pid Rumuns'koïu okupatsiieiu v chasy druhoï svitovoï viiny: Pivnichna Bukovyna, chastuna Bessarabiï i Transnistriia v 1941–1944 rr." [Ukrainian lands under the Romanian occupation during the Second World War: Northern Bukovina, a part of Bessarabia, and Transnistria in 1941–1944], *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 1–4 (1987): 83–96.
219. Hermann Weber, *Die Bukowina im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Völkerrechtliche Aspekte der Lage der Bukowina im Spannungsfeld zwischen Rumänien, Sowjetunion und Deutschland. Darstellung zur Auswärtigen Politik* [Bukovina in the Second World War: Aspects of international law regarding the situation of Bukovina caught between Romania, Soviet Union, and Germany. A sketch of international politics] (Hamburg, 1972).
220. Zhukovs'kyi, "Ukraïns'ki zemli pid Rumuns'koïu okupatsiieiu" (see note 218), 90, 94.
221. Jean Ancel, "The Romanian Way of Solving the 'Jewish Problem' in Bessarabia and Bukovina, June–July 1941," *Yad Vashem Studies* 19 (Jerusalem, 1988): 187–233.
222. *Ibid.*, 198.
223. For many examples of non-Jews hiding and otherwise helping Jews, see, for example, *Chernovitskoïe obshchestvo ievreiskoi kul'tury im. Shteinbarga. Vestnik. Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi. Svidetel'sva ochevidtsev* (see note 203).
224. Solonari, "Patterns of Violence" (see note 194).

Historical Studies after 1991

225. Miroslav Tejchman, "Pripojení Besarábie a Severní Bukoviny k Sovetskému Svazu v r. 1940" [The annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina by the USSR in 1940], *Slovanský Přehled* 7, 3 (Prague, 1991): 192–200.
226. Christopher Zuger, "The Soviet Consumption of Northern Romania (Bukovina and Bessarabia)," *East European Genealogist* 4 (Winnipeg, 1995): 13–17.
227. Valerii Pasat, "Evakuatsiia nemetskikh kolonistov s territorii Bessarabiï i Severnoi Bukoviny v 1940 godu" [Evacuation of German colonists from the territory of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina in 1940], *Otechestvennaia Istoriiia* 2 (Moscow, 1997): 87–106.

228. Lya Benjamin, ed., *Evreii din România între anii 1940–1944* [The Jews of Romania, 1940–1944] (Bucharest: Hasefer, 1993); I. Butnaru, *The Silent Holocaust: Romania and Its Jews* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992); Dennis Deletant, *Hitler's Forgotten Ally: Ion Antonescu and his Regime, Romania 1940–1944* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2000); Alexander Şafran, *Un tăciune smuls flăcărilor: Comunitatea evreiască din România, 1939–1947. Memorii* [An ember saved from the flames: Memories of the Jewish community of Romania, 1939–1947] (Bucharest: Hasefer, 1996); Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

229. The first National Day of Commemorating the Holocaust was held in 2004. October 9 was chosen for this event because it marks the beginning of Romanian deportations of Jews to Transnistria in 1942. On October 9, 2005, the Romanian minister for foreign affairs, Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu, participated in the laying of a wreath at the Holocaust Memorial in Iaşi. On October 9, 2006, a ceremony took place for setting the keystone of the National Holocaust Memorial in Bucharest. International observers such as Paul Shapiro, director of the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies in the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., believe that Romania was only beginning to come to terms with its role in the Holocaust on the eve of its joining the European Union in 2006. Particularly insufficient is the treatment of the Holocaust in secondary education. “The government’s commitment seems to be genuine but this is a society with a history of denial,” remarked Shapiro. Romanian political leaders also publicly recognized during the commemoration events that acknowledgment of the country’s role in the extermination of the Jewish population on the territories that belonged to the wartime Romanian state represented a serious challenge. See, for example, Justyna Pawlak, “Romanians Lack Remorse over Holocaust,” *Reuters*, October 9, 2006. On the politics of Holocaust commemoration in Romania and its influence on Moldovan historiography, see also Diana Dimitru, “The Use and Abuse of the Holocaust: Historiography and Politics in Moldova,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* no. 1 (Spring), (2008): 49–73.

230. Mihai Aurelian Căruntu, *Bucovina în al doilea război mondial* [Bukovina in the Second World War] (Iaşi: Junimea, 2004); *Eliberarea Basarabiei și a nordului Bucovinei (22 iunie–26 iulie 1941)* [The liberation of the Northern Bukovina, 22 June–26 July 1941] (Bucharest: Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1999).

231. Dimitru Şandru, “Bucovina și Nordul Basarabiei în planurile iredentei Ucrainene 1940–1944” [Bukovina and Northern Bessarabia in the plans of Ukrainian irredentism, 1940–1944], *Revista istorică* 8, no. 3–4 (Bucharest, 1997): 203–18.

232. Pavel Moraru, *Bucovina sub regimul Antonescu (1941–1944)* [Bukovina under Antonescu (1941–1944)] (Chişinău: Prut Internațional, 2004).

233. *Ibid.*, 110, 120.

234. L. S. Anokhina, “Kholokost na Bukovine v dokumentakh gosudarstvennogo archiva Chernovitskoi oblasti” [The Holocaust in Bukovina in the documents of the State Archive of Chernivtsi province], *Vestnik TKUMA*, 6, no. 37 (2003): 3–4; V. Hrynevych, “Ukraïna pislia Kholokostu: do problem vzaiemovidnosyn radians’koï vlady ta ievreïv Pivnichnoï Bukovyny naprykintsii druhoï svitovoï vi’ny” [Ukraine after the Holocaust: The relationship between Soviet power and the Jews of Northern Bukovina towards the end of the Second World War], *Holokost i suchasnist’* 6 (2002): 9–10, no.1 (2003): 5–6; O. V. Novosiolov, “Ievreïstvo Bessarabiï, Bukovyny ta Transnistriï pid Rumuns’koïu okupatsiïeu u 1941–1944 rr.” [The Jewry of Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transnistria under the Romanian occupation in 1941–1944], *Holokost v Ukraïni u rehional’nomu ta zahal’noliuds’komu vymiri. Materialy mizhnarodnoi konferentsii. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats’* (L’viv, 2005), 65–67.

253. Oleh Surovtsev, “Deportatsii ievreis’koho naselennia Pivnichnoï Bukovyny v 1941–1942 rokakh” [Deportations of the Jewish population of Northern Bukovina in 1941–1942], in *Ternopil’s’kyi derzhavnyi pedahohichnyi universytet. Naukovi zapysky. Serii: Istoriiia 1* (Ternopil’, 2004), 128–33; Oleh Surovtsev, “Dolia ievreis’koï hromady Pivnichnoï Bukovyny pislia podii Holokostu” [The fate of the Jewish community of Northern Bukovina after the Holocaust], in *Pytannia istorii Ukraïny: Zbirnyk naukovykh statei 7* (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2004), 133–37; Oleh Surovtsev, “Hazeta ‘Bucovina’ iak dzherelo vyvchennia antysemits’koï polityky Rumuns’koï vlady v Pivnichnii Bukovyni v 1941–1944 rokakh” [The newspaper ‘Bukovina’ as a source for studying the anti-Semitic policies of Romanian power in Northern Bukovina, 1941–1944], in *Naukovi zapysky instytutu politychnykh ta etnonatsional’nykh doslidzhen’ NAN Ukraïny*, 31 (Kiev, 2006), 122–31; Oleh Surovtsev, “Holokost u Chernivtsiakh v roky rumunonimets’koï okupatsii” [The Holocaust in Chernivtsi during the Romanian-German occupation], in *Bukovyns’kyi istoryko-etnohrafichnyi visnyk 4* (Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 2002), 89–92; Oleh Surovtsev, “Holokost u Pivnichnii Bukovyni v 1941–1944 rr.: istoriohrafichnyi ta dzhereloznavchyi analiz pytannia [The Holocaust in Northern Bukovina, 1941–1944: Historiography and sources], in *Materialy V Bukovyns’koï Mizhnarodnoi istoryko-kraieznavchoï konferentsii, prysviachenoï 130-richchii zasnuvannia Chernivets’koho natsional’nogo universytetu imeni Iuriiia Fed’koviycha*, 1; *Istoriiia Ukraïny. Kraieznavstvo* (Chernivtsi: Knyhy–XXI, 2005), 249–51; Oleh Surovtsev, “Kreshcheniie kak sposob spaseniia bukovinskikh ievreev v gody Holokosta” [The use of Baptism to rescue Bukovinian Jews during the Holocaust], in *Kholokost. Materialy dvadsatoi ezhegodnoi mezhdistsiplinarnoi konferentsii po iudaike* (Moscow: Sefer, 2005), 68–71; Oleh Surovtsev, “Protse deportatsii ievreis’koho naselennia Pivnichnoï Bukovyny 1941–1942 rokiv iak skladova antyievreis’koï polityky rumuns’koï okupatsiinoï vlady” [The deportation of the Jewish populations of Northern Bukovina in 1941–1942 as a constituent of the anti-Jewish policies of the Romanian occupational forces], in *Problemy istorii Holokostu 3* (Dnipropetrovs’k: Porohy, 2006), 130–47; Oleh Surovtsev, “Prymusovi roboty dlia ievreïiv: osoblyva skladova ‘ostatochnoho vyrishennia ievreis’koho pytannia’ v Pivnichnii Bukovyni v 1941–1944 rokakh” [Forced labor for Jews: a special component of “the final solution of the Jewish question” in Northern Bukovina, 1941–1944], *Naukovi zapysky z ukrains’koï istorii: zbirnyk naukovykh statei 18* (Ternopil’: Aston, 2006), 271–79; Oleh Surovtsev, “Stanovyshche ievreis’koho naselennia Pivnichnoï Bukovyny ta Khotynshchyny u 1918–1941 rr.” [The condition of the Jewish population of Northern Bukovina and the Khotyn region in 1918–1941], *Pytannia istorii Ukraïny: Zbirnyk naukovykh statei 8* (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2005), 244–249; Oleh Surovtsev, “Trudova

eksploatatsiia ievreis'koho naselelnia Pivnichnoi Bukovyny v period rumuns'koï okupatsii kraiu v 1941–1944 rr.: ohliad ta analiz materialiv Derzhavnogo arkhivu Chernivets'koï oblasti” [The labor exploitation of the Jewish population of Northern Bukovina during the Romanian occupation, 1941–1944: A survey and analysis of the holdings of the State Archive of Chernivtsi province], in *Druha svitova viina i dolia narodiv Ukraïny: Materialy Vseukraïns'koï naukovoï konferentsii* (Kiev: Sfera, 2005), 211–15.

236. Even when the acts of violence perpetrated by OUN members and the influence of its anti-Semitic propaganda on local population are acknowledged by Ukrainian historians, this recognition does not change their general conceptualization of the OUN as a heroic and victimized contributor to the “movement for national liberation.” For example, in his analysis of the OUN’s activity in Chernivtsi province in 1940–1941, Ivan Fostii cited about ten mass murders of Jews in the region initiated and perpetrated by the OUN, matter-of-factly remarking afterward: “These massacres of innocent people did not add honor or glory to OUN. On the contrary, they alienated people from the organization,” turning to the analysis of the reasons of the OUN’s failure to reach their goal—creation of an independent Ukrainian state. Ivan Fostii, “Diial'nist' OUN na Bukovyni u 1940–1941 rr.” [Activities of OUN in Bukovina in 1940-1941], *Zarkhiviv VUcHK/GPU/NKVD-KGB*, 1–2 (1999): 454–71 (quotation from p. 466). For more on the politics of memory of the Holocaust in Bukovina, see Svetlana Frunchak, “Commemorating the Future” (see note 194).

237. P. Bryts'kyi, V. Iaroyvi, “Povernennia Bessarabii i peredacha Pivnichnoi Bukovyny” [“The return of Bessarabia and the transfer of Northern Bukovina”], in *Materialy III Mizhnarodnoi istoriko-kraieznavchoï naukovoï konferentsii* (Chernivtsi, 1995), 53–59; Ihor Burkut, “UPA: zvytiashni dii i trahichni uroky” [UPA: Prolonged actions and tragic lessons], *Bukovyns'kyi Zhurnal* 2–3 (1992): 128–66; Andrii Duda, “Repressii proty Ukraïns'koï intellihentsii Bukovyny (1940–1951)” [Repression of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Bukovina, 1940–1951], *Bukovyns'kyi zhurnal* 1–2 (1996): 123–33; V. Demochko and B. Bilets'kii, “Chernivtsi ta chernivchany u morotsi voiennoho lykholittia” [Chernivtsi and its residents in the darkness of wartime unrest], in *Pytannia istorii Ukraïny. Zbirnyk naukovykh statei* 7 (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2004), 128–33; Duda and Staryk, *Bukovyns'kyi kurin' UPA* (see note 184); Ivan Fostii, “Diial'nist' OUN na Bukovyni u 1940–1941 rr.” (see note 236); Ivan Fostii, “Okupatsiia Chernivetskoï oblasti rumuns'kymy viis'kamy v 1914–1944 rr. ta ii naslidky” [The occupation of Chernivtsi province by Romanian military and its consequences, 1914–1944], in *Pytannia istorii Ukraïny. Zbirnyk Naukovykh statei* 6 (Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2003), 263–75; Ivan Fostii, “Represii Komunistychnoho rezhymu proty bukovyntsiiv u 1930–1960” [Repression of Bukovinians by the Communist regime, 1930–1960], in *Materialy III mizhnarodnoi Konferentsii* (1995), 78–83; Serhii Hacman, “Aspecte diplomatice ale problemei Basarabiei și Bukovinei în relațiile internaționale (1940)” [Diplomatic aspects of the Bessarabian and Bukovinian questions in international relations (1940)], *Apulum-Acta Musei Apulensis* 34 (1997): 611–20; Serhii Hacman, “Basarabia și Bukovina în planurile statice ale U.R.S.S. (anul 1940)” [Bessarabia and Bukovina in the strategic plans of the USSR, 1940], in *Sovietizarea nord-vestului României* (Satu Mare: Ed. Muzeului sătmărean, 1996), 15–29; Serhii Hakman, “Bukovyns'ka problema v mizhnarodnykh vidnosynakh (cherven'–lystopad 1940)” [Bukovinian problem in international relations, June–November 1940], in *Visnyk tsentru Bukovynoznavstva* (Chernivtsi, 1993), 164–72; Serhii Hakman,

“Do pytannia pro pryiednannia Bessarabii ta Pivnichnoi Bukovyny do SRSR” [On the annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to the USSR], *Do vytokiv nazvy kraiu Bukovyna/600-rihchia pershoi pysemnoi zhadky: tezy dopovidei ta povidomlen' konferentsii, Chernivtsi, 2–3 zhovtnia 1992* (Chernivtsi, 1992), 24–25; Serhii Hakman, “Politorhany RSChA pid chas voiennoi operatsii po vkluchenniu Bessarabii ta pivnichnoi chastyny Bukovyny do skladu SRSR” [Red Army political organs during the military operation to incorporate of Bessarabia and the northern part of Bukovina in the USSR], in *Bukovyna—mii ridnyi kraii. Materialy konferentsii* (Chernivtsi: Vizyt-Info, 1997): 84–8; Serhii Hacman, “Pregatirea si efektuarea operatiunii militare pentru includerea Basarabiei si nordului Bukovinei in U.R.S.S. (iunie–iulie 1940)” [Preparation and realization of the military operation for the incorporation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina in the USSR, June–July, 1940], *Sargetia-Acta Musei Devensis* 26, no.2 (1995–1996): 569–83; Serhii Hacman, “Problema Basarabiei si a Bukovinei in relatiile sovieto-germane (iunie 1940–iulie 1941). Aspecte geopolitice si geostrategice” [The Bessarabian and Bukovinian question in Soviet-German relations, June 1940–July 1941: Geopolitical and geostrategic aspects], *Sargetia-Acta Musei Devensis* 25 (1992–1994): 863–871, also repr.: “Problemele Basarabiei si nordului Bukovinei in relatiile sovieto-germane (iunie 1940–iulie 1941). Aspecte geopolitice si geostrategice” [The Bessarabian and Northern Bukovinian questions in Soviet-German relations, June 1940–July 1941: Geopolitical and geostrategic aspects], *Glusul Bucovinei* 15, no. 16 (1997): 24–31; Serhii Hakman, “Problema Bessarabii ta Bukovyny v mizhnarodnykh vidnosynakh (berezen'–lystopad 1940 r.). Dyplomatychnyi aspekt” [The problem of Bessarabia and Bukovina in international relations, March–November 1940: The diplomatic aspect], in *Pytannia istorii novoho i novitnioho chasu* 5 (Chernivtsi: Prut, 1997), 111–22; V. Holovin and L. Burdeniuk, “Bukovyna v radians'ko-nimets'kykh vidnosynakh (1939–1940)” [Bukovina in Soviet-German relations, 1939–1940], *50 rokov voz'iednannia Pivnichnoi Bukovyny i Khotyns'koho povitu Bessarabii z Radians'koiu Ukraïnoiu u skladi SRSR. Tezy dopovidei i povidomlen' oblasnoi istoriko-kraieznavchoi naukovoï konferentsii. Chernivtsi 11–12 travnia 1990 r.*, Part 1 (Chernivtsi, 1990), 20–21; Vasyl' Kholodnytskyi and S. Kholodnyts'kyi, “Do pytannia pro vybory narodnykh zasidateliv na terytorii Chernivets'koi oblasti v 1940 r.” [On the elections of people's deputies in Chernivtsi province, 1940], in *Bukovyna—mii ridnyi kraii. Materialy konferentsii* (Chernivtsi: Vizyt-Info, 1997), 84–6; Vasyl' Kholodnyts'kyi, M. Zahainyi, and B. Bilets'kyi, “Repressyvni aktsii radians'koï vldy na teritorii Chernivets'koi oblasti v 1940–1941 rokakh” [Repression by Soviet authorities in Chernivtsi province, 1940–1941], in *Pytannia istorii Ukraïny* 1 (Chernivtsi, 1997), 217–23; Vasyl' Kholodnyts'kyi, “Z istorii diial'nosti Bukovyns'kykh poliaktiv pid chas Druhoi svotovoï viiny” [From the history of Bukovinian Poles during the Second World War], in *Naukovyi visnyk Chernivets'koho Universytetu* 73–74, History (Chernivtsi: Ruta, 2000), 201–10; Vasyl' Kholodnyts'kyi, “Z istorii vzaiemvidnosyn mizh radians'kymy i nimets'kymy predstavnykamy v radians'ko-nimets'kii zmishanii komisii po evakuatsii bukovyns'kykh nimtsiv u Chernivtsiakh” [On the relations between Soviet and German representatives in the mixed commission for the evacuation of Bukovinian Germans in Chernivtsi], in *Naukovyi visnyk Chernivets'koho universytetu: zbirnyk naukovykh prats,* 123–124, History (Chernivtsi: “Ruta,” 2002), 193–206; Iryna Musiienko, “Dystsyplyna po-Stalins'ki: mify i real'nist' (ukaz vid 26.06.40 i ioho realizatsiia v Chernivets'kii oblasti v 1940–41 rr.)” [Discipline à la Stalin: Myths and reality. The order of June 26, 1940, and its realization in Chernivtsi oblast in 1940–1941], in *Pytannia istorii Ukraïny. Zbirnyk naukovykh statei* 2 (Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 1998), 250–61; Iryna Musiienko, “Politychni repressii na Pivnichnii Bukovyni ta Khotynshchyni u 1940–1941

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238. Ivan Fostiiı, *Pivnichna Bukovyna i Khotynshchyna u druhiiı svitoviiı viini 1939–1945 rr.* [Northern Bukovina and the Khotyn region in World War II] (Chernivtsi: Chernivets’ke oblasne viddilennia poshukovoho ahenstva “Knyha Pamiati Ukraïny,” 2004).

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239. *Kurkul* was the term used by party officials to designate wealthier peasants; a Ukrainian equivalent to the more widely known Russian term *kulak*.

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240. See, for example, *Za bil’shovys’ku propahandu i ahitastiiu* 15–16 (1940): 23; *Komsomol’skyi propahandyst* 8 (1940): 8; *Partrobitnyk Ukraïny* 15 (1940): 12; “Zakon pro vkluchennia pivnichnoiı chastyny Bukovyny, Khotyns’koho, Akkermans’koho ta Izmail’s’koho povitiv Besarabiiı v sklad Ukraïns’koï Radians’koï Sotsialistychnoiı Respubliky (Pryiniatyı VR SRSR 2 serpnia 1940 r.)” [The law on the inclusion of the northern part of Bukovina, Khotyn, Akkerman, and Izmail counties of Bessarabia into The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on August 2, 1940], *Bil’shovyk Ukraïny* 8 (1940): 27; *Mirnyiı dogovor s Rumyniieiı* [The peace treaty with Romania] (Moscow: OGIZ, 1947).

241. *Dovidnyk administratyvno-teritorial’noho podilu Chernivets’koï oblastiı stanom na 1 liutoho 1961 roku* [Directory of the administrative-territorial division of Chernivtsi province as of February 1, 1961] (Stanislav: Oblasne knyzhkovo-hazetne vydavnytstvo, 1961); the same for February 1, 1966 (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1966) and for October 1, 1976 (Chernivtsi, 1976); *Narodne hospodarstvo Chernivets’koï oblastiı. Statystychnyiı zbirnyk* [People’s economy of Chernivtsi province: Statistical collection] (Chernivtsi, 1959); *Narodne hospodarstvo Chernivets’koï oblastiı. Statystychnyiı zbirnyk* [People’s economy of Chernivtsi province: Statistical collection] (Kiev: Statistika, 1973).

242. H. Borysova et al., eds., *Radians'ka Bukovyna 1946–1970. Documenty i materialy* [Soviet Bukovina, 1946–1970: Documents and materials] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1980); see also a collection of materials on interwar and postwar periods, *Dva zhyttia. Pro mynyle i suchasne Bukovyny* (see note 168).

243. He saw it as the worst era for Bukovinian Ukrainians, the alleged autochthons of the region. Notably, Lukiianovych generally perceived Soviet power in Bukovina as bringing large improvements in terms of economic and infrastructure developments and even cultural achievements. He pointed to the advancement of universal education, Ukrainian art and folk culture, and language—the common use of Ukrainian in rural areas. He was disappointed by what he perceived as the near complete Russification of urban centers. Lukiianovych also remarked, without any regret, on the destruction of the “Bukovinian mosaic” dominated, according to him, by Germans and Jews, and he admitted that the demographic vacuum was filled by local Ukrainians and Russian-speaking specialists. Filiaret Lukiianovych, *Vrazhennia z Bukovyny* [Impressions from Bukovina] (Philadelphia, 1971).

244. Stepan Dalavurak et al., eds. *Bukovyna. Rik 1991* [Bukovina: The year 1991] (Chernivtsi: Prut, 1993).

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246. Rykhlo ed., *Kolys' Chernivtsi buly...* (see note 171).

247. Mikhail Mittsel', *Evrei Ukrainy v 1943–1953 gg.: ocherki dokumentirovannoi istorii* [Jews of Ukraine, 1943–1953: Sketches of documented history] (Kiev: Dukh i litera, 2004).

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248. M. Andrilishyn, “Sovetskaia zemelnaia reforma na Bukovine” [Soviet land reform in Bukovina], in *Trudy Moskovskogo instituta inzhenerov zemleustroistva* 21 (1963), 18–29; A. Bachyns'kyi, “Braters'ka dopomoha narodiv SRSR u zdiisnenni sotsialistychnykh peretvoren' na prydnais'kykh zemliakh Radians'koï Ukraïny (1944–pochatok 50-kh rokiv)” [Fraternal aid from the peoples of the USSR in achieving the socialist transformations of the Danube region of Soviet Ukraine, 1944 to the early 1950s], *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 1 (1984): 64–71; B. Biletskyi, “Vtilennia v zhyttia Lenins'kykh idei elektryfikatsii sela na Radianskii Bukovyny (1945–1970)” [Implementation of Lenin's ideas on village electrification in Soviet Bukovina, 1945–1970], in *Mynule i suchasne Pivnichnoi Bukovyny* 2 (Kiev, 1973); I. Burkovs'kyi, M. Zahainyi and M. Ivasiuk, *Dzherelo nashoi syly* [The source of our strength] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty,

1974); A. Ivaniuk, “Zdiisnennia Lenins’koho kooperatyvnoho planu na Bukovyni” [The implementation of Lenin’s plan for cooperatives in Bukovina], *Ukraïns’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 7 (1972): 62–69; Volodymyr Kholevchuk, “Rozyvytok kul’tury Radians’koi Bukovyny v 1959–1965” [Cultural development in Soviet Bukovina, 1959–1965], *Ukraïns’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 9 (1968): 60–65; V. Kostash, “Vklad molodi u vidbudovu i dal’shyi rozyvytok promyslovosti Radians’koi Bukovyny: 1946–1958” [The contribution of youth to the reconstruction and further development of industry in Soviet Bukovina, 1946–1958], *Ukraïns’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 3 (1973): 64–71; Heorhii Kozholianko, “Zminy v pobuti trudiashchykh Chernivets’koi oblasti za roky Radians’koi vlady” [Changes in the everyday life of workers in Chernivtsi province during the years of Soviet power], in *Vozz’iednannia ukraïns’kykh zemel’ v iedynii Ukraïns’kii Radians’kii derzhavi. Materialy respublikans’koi konferentsii* (Uzhhorod, 1976), 236–40; V. Kul’chytskyi, “Radians’ke budivnytstvo v Pivnichnii Bukovyni (1940–41)” [Socialist construction in Northern Bukovina, 1940–1941], in *Problemy pravoznavstva. Mizhvidomchyi naukovyi zbirnyk* 27 (1974), 31–39; Mykola Lishchenko, “Stvorennia i zmitsnennia Radians’kykh orhaniv vlady na Bukovyni (1940–1941)” [The creation and strengthening of the organs of Soviet power in Bukovina, 1940–1941] in *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats’ istorychnoho fakul’tetu ChDU* (Chernivtsi, 1957): 70–105; Tamara Marusyk, “Osnovni napriamky rozvytku nauky na Bukovyni 1944–1950 rr.” [Major directions of science development in Bukovina 1944–1950], in *50 rokov voz’iednannia Pivnichnoi Bukovyny i Khotyns’koho povitu Bessarabii z Radians’koiu Ukraïnoi u skladi SRSR. Tezy dopovidei i povidomlen’ oblasnoi istoryko-kraieznavchoi naukovoi konferentsii. Chernivtsi 11–12 travnia 1990 r.*, Part 1 (Chernivtsi, 1990), 140–41; *Narysy istorii Chernivets’koi partiinoi orhanizatsii* [A history of Chernivtsi party organization] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1980); Mykola Lishchenko, “Vozziednannia Bukovyny z URSR” [Reunification of Bukovina with UkrSSR], in *Naukovi zapysky ChDU* 60, *Sektsiia suspil’nykh nauk*, no. 3 (1963), 7–20; D. Shcherbina, “Z istorii narodnoi osvity na Bukovyni v pershi roky Radianskoi vlady (1940–41)” [From the history of people’s education in Bukovina during the first years of Soviet power], in *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats’ istorychnoho fakul’tetu ChDU* (Chernivtsi, 1957), 157–72; O. Stepanova, “Rost blagosostoianiiia naseleniia Bukovyny za roky Sovetskoi vlasti” [The increase of living standards in Bukovina during the years of Soviet power], *Ekonomika Sovetskoi Ukrainy* 7 (Kiev, 1980): 36–40; N. Syrota, “Pershi roky kul’turnogo budivnytstva na Radians’kii Bukovyni (1940–1941)” [The first years of cultural construction in Soviet Bukovina, 1940–1941], in *Pytannia istorii narodiv SRSR. Respublikans’kyi mizhvidomchyi naukovyi zbirnyk* 3 (1966): 46–51; M. Zahainyi and M. Kravets’, *Svitla dolia Bukovyny. Vesna vidrodzhenoho kraiu* [The bright fate of Bukovina: spring in the resurrected land] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1974); *Z istorii Chernivets’koi oblasnoi orhanizatsii Komunistychnoi partii Ukrainy* [From the history of the Chernivtsi provincial organization of the Communist Party of Ukraine] (L’viv, 1963). See also a Communist-era publication by a Polish author on Polish communities in Southern (Romanian) Bukovina: Ryszard Kukier, “Osadnicze i kulturowe oblicze wspólczesnej Polonii poludniowobukowinskiej w Rumunii” [Aspects of settlement and cultural life among contemporary southern Bukovinian Poles in Romania], *Przeglad Polonijny* 15, no. 1 (Wroclaw, 1989): 59–75.

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Conclusion

255. Jewish nationalism represents a special case with some of its currents, including Zionism, adhering to the classic territorial visions of the future, while others seek autonomy for the Jewish communities within their current states of residency. Some see territorial or autonomy solutions as temporary on the way to the future emancipation and assimilation of Jews.

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