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AECASSOWARY/2's COMMENTS ON BUKOVYNA AND BESSARABIA

## Translation

Northern Bukovina, which makes up the Chernovetska Oblast of the UkSSR, and southern Bessarabia, which is part of the Odessa Oblast of the UkSSR, were incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR in August 1940, as the result of an ultimatum proposed by the USSR to Romania and which the latter accepted.

The ethical makeup of Chernovetska ObI., based on the population in that area in 1959, was as follows: In thousands Ukrainians, 518.1; Rumanians, 79.7; Moldavian, 71.6; Russians, 51.2; Jews, 42.1; Poles, 6.0. Odessa Oblast: Ukrainians, 1.1 million; Russians, 440.3 thousand; Bulgarians, 153.1 Moldavians, 125.0; Jews, 121.3; Gaugazi, 21.7; Byelorussians, 10.0

There are about 100,000 Ukrainians living in Rumania. Official statistics show the number to be 65,000. According to information received from a Soviet source on 19 October 1966, strong efforts are being made to Rumanianize Ukrainians living in Romania.

The Soviet press and government referred to the incorporation into the Ukrainian SSR in 1940 of northern Bukovina and southern Bessarabia (Akermans'kyy land Izmayil's'kyy districts) as a historical act of justice, because it involved territory populated by a majority of Ukrainians. Ukrainians wholeheartedly supported the government of the USSR in this act. Ukrainians consider norther Bukovyna and the abovementioned area of Bessarabia as an organic part of its ethnographic territory.

Comments made in the international press concerning Rumanian attempts to take back northern Bukovina and southern Bessarabia were looked upon in the Ukraine as an experimental balloon on the part of Communist Romania and as a manifestation of Rumanian imperialism. There still exists in the Ukraine resentment toward Romania as a result of the attitude of
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Rumania toward the Ukrainian minority during the period betwee WWI and WWII and also because Rumanians took advantage of the support of Hitler's Germany and annexed to Rumania the northwestern part of Ukrainian territory, including Odessa, - the so-called Transnistria.

The Soviet press in the Ukraine has never commented directedly concerning the pretentions of Rumania, There were, however, indirect reactions, i.e., reminders in the press that the territories in question today are an integral part of the Ukraine and that the Ukrainian people have the Soviet Government to thank for this. There also are articles about how the Rumanians oppressed the Ukrainian minority. In one of the most recent articles on this topic, the following is maid:
"During many years Austro-Hungarian and Rumanian usurpers suppressed the development of this naturally rich country. It was destined for the role of an agrarian-raw material gain of the colonizers. The unbearable situation of the workers of the country was compounded by national suppression. The occupiers conducted a policy of forced Rumanianization of the Ukrainian and Moldavian population. They said that in northern Bukovyna there are no Ukrainians, but there are 'Ukrainian Rumanians', who must be converted to the Rumanian nation. One of the first acts of the occupiers in the country was to forbid the Ukrainian language. Already in 1927/28, there were no Ukrainian schools open during the school year..... An act of historical justice took place in June 1940, when the Red Army, on orders from the Soviet Government, crossed the Dnister and liberated the workers of Bukovyna from foreign bondage and bourgeois-landlord rule. The people of northern Bukovyna were willfully united with their mother - the Ukrainian SSR." (I.M. Kravchenko, Sec'y of the Chernovetska Obkom CPU, "Sotsiyalystychna Perebudova Ekonomiky Radyanskoyi Bukovyna" / Rebuilding of the Socialist Economy of the Ukrainian Bukovyna, Ukrainian Historical Journal, No. 8, August 1967, pp. 11-18.)

Unofficially, the Soviet regime also is taking advantage of Rumanian pretentions to show Ukrainians that they have to stick with Russia because only she can guarantee the future boundaries of the Ukraine, and without her help, other neighbors of the Ukraine, particularly Rumania, will try to usurp a portion of Ukrainian lands.

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In spite of their anti-Communist tendency, all Ukrainian emigres are undivided in their estimation of Rumanian pretentions. The emigres are in favor of leaving present borders as they are. They consider the annexation of norther Bukovyna and parts of southern Bessarabia a justified act, and consider Rumanian pretentions as unfriendly to the Ukraine.
 ської РСР і частина полудне вої Басарабії，що входить в склад Одесь－ кой області УРСР，бұли прилучені до УРСР в серпні 1940 року，в результаті ультиметуму，цо його поставив уряд СРСР урядові Румуні ї， i який уряд Руму月ії прийняв．

Етні чний склад Чернінецької області，на пі дставі перєпису насє－ лення в 1959 р．，такий：українці－ 518.1 тис．，румуни－ 79.7 тис．， молдавани－ 71.6 тис．，росіяни－ 51.2 тис．，євре -42.1 тис．，поля ки－ 6.0 тис．Насःлення Чдеської області：українці－ 1.1 міль．，росі ни－ 440.3 тис．，болгари－ 153.1 тис．，иолдавани－ 125.0 тис．， євреї－ 121.3 тис．，гагаузи－ 21.7 тис．，білоруси－ 10.0 тис．

в Румуніі проживає ок． 100 тис．українів，на підставі обіційної статистики－ 65 тис．Українсьне населення в Румунії є під сильним тиском румунізації／пор．Інйормація з 19 жовтня 1966／．

II．Прилучення Північної Буковини і частини полуднєвої Басарабії ／Аккерманський，Хотинський і Ізмаїльський повіти／до України в 1940 році，советський уряд і преса коментували як акт історичнод̈ справедливости，тому，во йшлося про терени，які в тнітучій більшост： були замешкелі укра＂нцями．Якщо йдеться про тодішнн і теперішнє ставлення українського народу до цього актухххх уряду СРСР，то
 і згадану частину Басарабіі органічною частиною своєї етнограффічно\％ територіі．

В Україні коментували ххषвікйхяяष згәдувані в міжнародні立 пресі претензїі румунського уряду відібрати назад Півні чну Буковину і частину південної Басарабї，як ммх пробний бальон комуністичного уряду Румунїі та як вияв румунського імперіялізму．В ¥країні досі існує ресентимент доррзмунів з огляду на екстермі наційну політику

 рівської Німеччини і приєднали до Румуні ї полудне во－ххххину частину української теритсрії включно з Одесою－т．зв．وррансністрія．
 про претензї̈ румуні в．Були натомість посєредні реакці ї，себто при－ гөпки в пресі про те，що згадані територі关 є сбогодні складовою част

















 - ИIロ














NEW OLD THREAT TO URPARIS

## By CLARENCE A. MANNING

t has long been a defect of the Communists as if that the education of both Arican statesmen and schol; that they have paid far s attention to the realities Eastern and East Central rope than they have to the rying out of certain arbiry assumptions based uptheir ignorance of the past i their reliance on the eslished order of the ninenth century when it seemas if the old imperial order the great empires was deled to be permanent. Chis was made evident in 7 with the refusal of both United States and its Alin the West to support a lly democratic order in $h$ the old Russian and the Austro-Hungarian Emes. The right of self-deterration was all too often cgarded in favor of the ms of certain new states ase leaders had suceceded wimning the American carwas the same after World $r$ II when the dream of orming dear old Uncle Joe yed a great part in turning $r$ large areas of unwilling ple to the tender mercies
would favor the introduction of a peaceful and free world.

## Reduce Tensions

There are signs that this same mood may again recur in the face of the many ap pearances that the schism between Moscow and Peking and the sharpening of the crisis in Asia seem to be bringing about new efforts to build bridges to the satellite states, not with the hope of solving problems but of re ducing tensions regardless o. he increased denunciations of the United States by ali Communist parties.
There have long been statements by prominent Americans of Polish descent urging support of the Polish acquisi tions in the west, and at the same time renewing claims to the Polish "kresy," those parts of Byclorussia and Ukrame that had been joincd with Ulmaine and Byelorussia in 1939.
We have just had another statement from Nicolae Ceau sescu, the leader of the Ru-
manian Communist Party, the injury to Rumanian Comthat seems to indicate more of munism even in the time of the same kind of propaganda, ${ }^{\text {' }}$ Lenin, when that all-powerful this time in an area that is' leader appointed non-Rumaeven less known to the Amer- nians to lead the country and ican people, Bukovina and carry on the struggle against Bessarabia.
Bukovina, which does have in some parts a Rumanian minority, was joined with the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the eighteenth century, 'and Bessarabia which is in a simi lar situation, was detached from the Turkish Empire at the end of the century and hen was taken over by the Russians. At the end of Worid War I, both areas were desirous of joining an independent Ukrainian state The Slavic element had been so strong that many of the best known Ukrainians in Vienna were Bukovinians, ully aware of their Ukrain an sympathies and the less developed Bessarabians were not averse. But it was not to be. Scarcely had the movement for hiberation of West ern Ukraine golten under way way when the Rumanial army occupied both areas and defended their claims so strenuously that at the time when the Council of Ambas sadors awarded Galicia to Poland they tacitly allowed Rumania to occupy Bessarabia even though American official and diplomatic maps stil marked it as Russian under Rumanian occupation.

Pipe ont Culture
During the period between the wars, the Rumanian government did everything possible to wipe out the traces of Ukrainian culture by advancing theories to the effect that Ukrainians were Rumanians who had for various reasons forgotter their native language and neecied only to be retrained in it. The results proved singularly unsuccessful. By 1927, even on the streets of the bigger cities it was possible to hear more Slavic than Rumanian.
Still, very few visitors who
t were admitted were in a posithe government of King Fer dinand and Queen Marie. He has protested the actions of Stalin in strengthening the Soviet Union by detaching these provinces in 1939, and he is seeking to secure a cer tain kind of sympathy and perhaps support from a West that has never taken the rouble to ascertain what were the real feelings of the population. Fur that population has suffered exactly as have all the Ukrainian lands from the Russianizing efforts of Moscow under whatever slogan they are presented.

## Perpetuate Domination

Thus at the present time it will not be long before we shall undoubtedly hear that my bridges to Rumania would be accompanied by good wishes that in some way hese Ukrainian provinces may once again be restored to control by Bucharest, and thus porpetuate in the name of revised Communism that non-Slavic domination that was the distinctive feature in the area bectween the two World Wars.
There is something in this idea that fits well into the peculiarly naive view of many Americans as to the need for establishing some sort of a legitimacy in the area, even as. Ceausescu deplores the return of the Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria where the population was largely Bulgarian and dominated by the same sort of armed control of the Rumanian army.
$T$ is sincerely to be wished hat some light as to the real situation can penetrate American political thinking and teaching. Twice in the last half century the United States has muffed the solution of the problems of the area by a fundamental mis.
mania to occupy Bessarabia, even honst Amorican oficial ly and diplomatic maps still ed marked it as Russian under i, Pumaniar occupation.

Pive ont Cuntare
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In 1940 these areas passed under various pretexts into the Ukrainian Soviet Republic during the honeymoon of Fitler and Stalin. Eater they were reannexed to a Nazidominated Rumania, when the master tyrants fell out and the Germans extended Rumania to include even the region of Odessa. When the Communist system was imposed in Rumania, with Western permission they were in part handed back and in part remained in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

During the past year with - the downfall of Khrushchev,
there have been some signs fothat the present rulers of Commmamb Rumania have ibcta swekng some relaxition ' of Lac Moscow supervision of ffammanian affairs. They have becn cempled to put ont ieclcrs that they might welcome bridges to the West, while Rumanian delegations almost 2 alone of the Moscow satellites they have not been committed to that course as closely as the Albanian Communist Party.

Now, in a new protest, Ce ausescu has complained ; of
non-siavic domination that
non-siavic domination that Was the disinctive feature in he aiva butween the two Wond Wars.

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I. is sincerely to be wished chat some light as to the real situation can penetrate Amorican political thinking and teaching. Twice in the last half century the United States has muffed the solution of the problems of the area by a fundamental misassessment of the various national claims. It is to be hoped that if there is in some way to be a reshuffling, the American people will not blindly approve some form of propaganda, but will make secious efforts to extend the syhere of freedom and so to work for a really free world.

Soxing
By IVAN
Old Winter marvelled much To sce the melting snow And how the cracking ice Sct free the water's flow. Old Winter. wondercd. whun

RSEY CITY and NEW YORK，FRIDAY，MAY 13， 1966 4．88．VOL．LXXIII．


## телюе до науновиів，щоб иого в＇ctuamcbry noninuey

－11－го лю вільного світу＂，－казав чансон Президент．Президент вка－ јсб в зав на те，що жадна інша эсите－влада такої великої держа－ овців，ви，як ЗДА，не мала б таких ，по－обмелених цілей і так мало
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У－добродійностн Дикан Гардд нер，але він не промовляа， хоч в програмі була і його промова．Зате коротко віта－ ли Президента губернатор Нь Джерзі Риманы Гюз президент Прнистонського університету $\boldsymbol{P}^{2} 0 \mathbf{0}, \Phi$ ．Гу－ гін，який персдад Превиден－ тові диплом почесного док－ орату праза．Президент цжансон в своїй промові не гадував сенатора Фулбрай－
але йогө промова була пповіддю на те，що сказав лбрайт 21－го квітня в уні－ ситеті Джана Гопкінса．

OTOERIL WA TENY

ADIMKX I MOJOZK
імор．－Українське ічне Товариство ，，За－ лаштовус в суботу， оадня，о год．7－ій я залі ，，Самопомо－ тімор при вулиці

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Fens＂Matia …

Bphrancbia noponeea Grucabeta включае y obith porcosia Borompmpa Mohowaxa
Лондон．－Брхтанська ко－Єлисавети сказано，що по лі－ ролева Єлисавета II мале－нії тестя Володимира Моно－ жить до 31－го потомства паха，королл Гарольда，во－ донькй британсьтого короля на включиа у своє генеало－ Гаролыді Гитк，лка в 1070 Гімне коріння і славну леді році внйнына замім за велй－Годайву，лка за легендар－


 chmoro дісари Monomaxa．Kodertpi，nó́ у дей croció пүо де пиние повий том де－
 ди кндзie，rpaqie i баронis， зложений найбілышим авто－ ритетом в ділднці генеалогіі продр．Дейрсттом．Цно вістку подая нойорисьнй нодеи－


 украйській транскрипціі Во－ лодимир，＇а не－ак зеикли нитати в чужіи літературі －Владімір．В тій самі статті про родовід королеви туо Єлисавети II．

## Pymyin sronowye mpotencií fo Bymosmm

## \％becapáiil

Бунарешт．－－－Румунські румунських копуністів－ офіційні чинникй називаю－визнати права СССР до Ву－ ть теперішнє перебування в ковини і Бесарабії．Таким чи－ Бупарешті генерального се－ном Чаушеску змінив вла－ кретарл компартії СССР Је－сне становище，бо у вересні оніда Врежнєва－，，нор－минулого року，підчас сеого мальною не офіційноно ві－перебування у Москві він під－ зитою＂длл обговорення від－писав спільну деклярацію， носин між＂братнии＂ком－в नкіи стверджується ，，непо－ партілй．Aле пасправді－рушність＂румунсько－совєт－ рушність румунсько－содет－
сьтих держадних корднір


## TONREE AO HayEUBHBO, LHUQ

## noro e'cmamobry norivusy

- 11-го лю вільного сеіту", - казав кансон Президент. Президент вка- $^{\text {к }}$ јсіо в зав на те, цо жадна інша осите- влада такої великої держаовців, ви, як ЗДА, не мала б таких , по- обменсних цілей і так мало moea mola
iддио ren4MX 4MX
rJI-yвнкористодугала ó сдо:о moгутно збройну снлу, ли це робитг Урид дісї країт. 3 Презндептом прноу: і согретар здоров's, вихования i добродійности джан Гард-
 xоч в програмі оулa i пого промова. Зате коротко віта-

ли Ірезидснта губериатор Ho Джерзі Ричари Гюз i президент Iриистонського універоитету Ројл, ©. Гyгін, лкий перидид аррелидентові диплом почесного докорату праза. Президент โжансон з свої промові не гадував сенатора Фулбрай-

але його промова була
повіддо на те, що сказав
лорайт 21-го квітня в уніситеті Джана Гопкінса.

## OTEOETAS HA TENTY


APMAK I MOJOKE
'імор. - Українське ічне Товариство ,,Залаштовуе в суо́оту, Фавнл, о год. 7-ій з залі ,,Самопомо:тімор прия вулнці 239 даскyciaze Fenty ,Hama no қія і старші". B дискусійного ттимуть: Леся , Молодь і укези", Остап йка Хмілевні подружська про ших від
Мацюрак
лоді від

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јондон. - Британська ко-| Єлисавсти сказано, цо по ліролева Єлисавета II нале- ніі тестя Володимира Моножить до 31-го потомства maxa, королл Гарольда, водонйкй британсbíoro короля Гaponiga 「rath, ska d 1070 році нийmтла заміж за велж-

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 украйпській традскрипиії Володимир, $/ \mathrm{a}$ не - як звикли читати в чужіи літературі - Владімір. B ті迹 саміиі статті про родовід королеви тио Єлисавети II

## Pymyin sronoвye mpetencif дo Dyrosnas / Becapáиii

Букарешт. ---Румунські румунських комудістів офіційні чинникй пазиваю- визнати права СССР до By ть теперішнє перебування в ковини і Бесарабіі. Таким чйБунарешті генерального секретаря компартії СССР Леоніда Ережнєва - „нормальною не офіційноюо візитою" дла обгогорення відносин мік "братніми" компартіямй. Aле насправді -
 conceroio mpammoro, yony Брежиев прийхае до Румуній, $\epsilon$ зголошені Pумупiero територіяльні претенсії до Буковини й Бесарабії, що іх Румунія дістала в 1919 році після розвалу Австро-Угорщини та царської Росії, i втратила в 1940 році коли іх зайняли совєтські рійська. Голова румунської компартіі Ніколач Чаушеску виголосив в минулу суботу 3 нагоди 45 річчя румунської комуністичної партії - тригодинну промову, в якій заявив, що це була „помилка" ці заходй.

