**Bukovina Region in the Collective Memory of Ukraine and Romania:**

**Representation in History Textbooks**

by

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## Statement of Copyright

# Abstract

This thesis aims to investigate how the historical region of Bukovina is reconstructed in Ukrainian and Romanian collective memories, and identify the implications for the respective regional and national identities. My enquiry is threefold: the attitude of the two nations to Bukovina, the interrelation of their narratives on the regional history, and perception of each other. I provide an overview of the historical context in which Bukovina was shaped as a region and analyze the mythology connected with Bukovinian identity. The methodology of the thesis is comparative discourse analysis of these representations in national and regional Romanian and Ukrainian history textbooks published in the post-communist period. In this context, I regard schoolbooks as "sites of memory" and identity-building tools. I explain the relation of the national identities towards the region by Smith's theory of "ethnoscape", residing in inalienable association between a nation and a particular territory, what results in national appropriation of this territory. The research established that Bukovina is "an overlapping ethnoscape" for Ukrainian and Romanian national imaginaries; therefore, they preserve divergent versions of the history of the region. Moreover, the analyzed sources exhibit mutually ignoring discourses on each other, which creates an effect of mental "remoteness" between the neighboring states.

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**Introduction**

The historical region of Bukovina was framed as a multicultural Austrian province, with Ukrainian, Romanian, Jewish, German, Polish etc. population. Due to the peaceful character of interethnic relations, in the "classical" canons it is remembered as a tolerant region par excellence. However, in the aftermath it was a subject to controversial historical developments, re-cutting the borders, and contestation. As a result of the ethnic composition and historical legacy, a century-long dispute on the terrain was set between the two biggest ethnic groups – Ukrainians and Romanians.

Nowadays Bukovina is split by Ukraine and Romania in northern and southern parts respectively[1]. The land border was officially acknowledged by the two states in the Treaty on good-neighborhood relations and co-operation in 1997. The question I want to answer in this thesis is how Bukovina is a shared in Ukrainian and Romanian collective memories, what are the reasons and the implications for the national and regional identities. In other words, my research problem is: how Bukovina and its regional identity are reconstructed in the two national traditions? Thereby, I concentrate more not on "what really happened" but how it is reflected in the social memory and what place it occupies in the national identity.

My enquiry is threefold. First, I am interested in the attitude to Bukovina within the national identities, or how the region fits the two nation-state projects. Second, I look at the incorporation of the history of the region in the national histories, and the interrelation of the two stories: if they are converging, overlapping or contradicting? Third, I regard the perception of the Other, if it is close or remote; friendly or hostile, and if the image of multiculturality and tolerance of the Bukovina comes into play here.

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[1] See Appendices III and V.

These research objectives can be reached through the comparative analysis of the various "sites of memory", such as historical and fiction literature, mass-media, oral history etc. Out of feasibility considerations, in my study I focus on one of such memory places, namely on history textbooks, which I interpret as a specific kind of historical narrative, a concise mythological canon, a quintessence of historical traditions. Moreover, they are powerful socializing and nation-building media with massive scope.

The role and importance of history textbooks was realized with the amplifying European integration processes. It encountered negative stereotypes which had been planted as time-bombs in the interethnic and inter-state relations. In this context, an ample campaign of cross-border adjustments of history education content was launched under the aegis of Council of Europe. It is in the field of schoolbooks that most resources have been laid down in fighting the myths. Joint textbook commissions on controversial issues in history were set between neighboring states. For instance, Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research was established in Braunshweig (Germany). As one of the Institute's experts pointed out, "with the growing importance of interethnic and intrastate warfare, education has become one of the major fields that international interventionism in post conflict societies has focused on"[2].

These processes encountered difficulties as advancing to the East. After the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe the main trend of historiographies has been the revision and "decolonization" of national histories, which naturally reflected the nation- and state-building processes. As a result nation-centric models of the past have been constructed and settled in history education. However, it was shortly noticed that in the realm of the textbooks negative ethnic stereotypes were widespread, while in especially controversial fields of the histories of neighboring countries virtual "wars" were held.

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[2] The official web-site of the Institute: http://www.gei.de/index.php?id=9&L=1

In such a way, in this region the nationalist historical projects and the countries' EU accession aspirations juxtaposed. As a result of this clash some reconciliation began in the field of history textbooks. "History without frontiers" projects started to be promoted in CEE region[3]. Though, this process is going rather problematic, oftentimes it is limited to the declarations, while the education paradigms remain untouched.

Constructing image of the Other towards neighboring Poles and Russians in Ukraine came in the focus of a professional critique by Natalia Yakovenko and Andriy Portnov[4]. Though, in these cases bilateral Ukrainian-Polish and Ukrainian-Russian committees were set to adjust the approaches to the history, in the textbooks particularly. Some reconciliation is taking place in Romanian-Hungarian historical controversies. Nevertheless, the process is quite slow and fragmentary. It is a question to what extend they really found place in practice, but the fact is that the process started and the ice was broken.

Similar adjustment exists between Ukrainian and Romanian historians, especially intensive efforts are made in Chernivtsi – Suceava academic co-operation[5]. However, it mainly involves scholar circles and has not transcended to the public sphere, including education. Though, a pilot project of this kind can be mentioned, the seminar on Ukrainian-Romanian mutual representations in history textbooks, which was held at Chernivtsi University in June 2007.

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[3] More on the concept of "History without frontiers": *The reform of history teaching in schools in European countries in democratic transition.* (Strasburg: CDCC, 1995); *Mutual understanding and teaching of European history: challenges, problems and approaches.* (Strasburg: CDCC, 1996).; *History Without Frontiers. A practical guide to international history projects in schools in Europe.* (Strasburg: CDCC, 1996); *Against bias and prejudice.* The Council of Europe's work on history teaching on history textbooks, (Strasbourg: CDCC, 1996).

[4] See: Natalia Yakovenko. "Pol'sha I poliaky v shkil'nykh pidruchnukakh z istorii, abo vidlunnia davnioho I nedavnioho mynuloho" ("Poland and the Poles in the school history textbooks, or the echo of the ancincient and recent past"). *Paralel'nyi svit. Doslidjennia z istorii uiavlen' ta idei v Ukraiini 16-18 century*, (Kyiv, Krytyka, 2002), 336-383; Andriy Portnov A. Terra hostica. in: *Krytyka*, Year VI, Issue 6 (56) June (2002), 11-13; A.Portnov Ochyma susida: Suchasni rosiis'ki pidruchnyky z istorii pro Ukrainu (With the neighbor's eyes: Contemporary Russian history textbooks about Ukraine). *Suchasnist'*. (October 2000), 154 – 156.

[5] Serhiy Troian. "Kontakty uchenyh Ukrainy, Moldovy i Rumynii: vzaimoponimanie putem dialogov i sotrudnichestva" ("Academic contacts of Ukrainian, Moldovan and Romanian scholars: mutual understanding via dialogues and co-operation"). *Romania, Moldova, Ucraina: buna vecinatate si colaborare regionala.Materialele simpozionului stiintific international.* Chisinau 15-16 octombrie, 1998. (Chisinau, 1998), 215-224.

The methodology of the thesis is comparative discourse analysis of Romanian and Ukrainian school history textbooks, published after 1990s, which are my primary sources. I compared four types of textbooks: two national (Ukrainian and Romanian) and two regional (only Ukrainian: for schools with Ukrainian and Romanian languages of instruction). Studying both national and regional textbooks allows to trace the borderline between national and regional discourses.

I identify the main discursive structures used in the textbooks in relation to Bukovina region. For this purpose I concentrated on the crucial events and periods in the history of the region, among them being: ethnogenesis in the territory if of Bukovina; the concept of Bukovina and the Austrian heritage; the interwar period; the WWI and WWII; Soviet rule over northern Bukovina; Bukovina in post-communist period, kin-minorities; Interethnic relations (image of "the other"), European integration.

Furthermore, as the analytical matrix of the research I used the concepts of suggested in the taxonomies of George Schopflin, Anthony Smith, Andrew Wilson[6]. It helped me to follow the regional mythology of Bukovina which I classified as "the Golden Age" myth (Smith), as well as both Ukrainian and Romanian national myths which incorporate the Bukovina region – "Myth of territory", "Myth of ethnogenesis" (Schopflin) "Homeland" (Wilson).

As it derives from the scope and focus of my research, I was primarily concerned with the ample analysis of the vast historiography on the history of Bukovina region. In the thesis I use the secondary literature which is necessary and sufficient to contextualize the textbook representations. The literature can be grouped in three big clusters: theoretical works; works on Ukrainian and Romanian identities and mythologies; and literature on Bukovina proper.

Theoretical framework of the research is set by the concepts of identity, memory, and myth. I placed my subject in the logic of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined communities* which

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[6] George Schopflin. "The Functions of Myth and a Taxonomy of Myths", *Myths and nationhood* / Geoffrey Hosking, George Schöpflin, ed. (London : C. Hurst, 1997), 19-35; Anthony Smith. "The 'Golden Age' and National Renewal", *Ibid.*, 36-59; Wilson A. "Myths of National History in Belarus and Ukraine", *Ibid.*, 182-197.

presumes the idea of the constructed nature of nations, historical regions and their identities[7]. A logical extension of this concept is the fact that the imaginary of these communities is based on some narratives constructing their unity and continuity. In this respect I refer to Eric Hobsbawm and his idea of "*invented traditions*", according to which nations are "cemented" by a canonical version of the past[8]. Similarly, Pierre Nora's notion of memory explains the selectivity of historical facts and interpretations by a certain society, and contributes to theoretical approaching history textbooks as "*sites of memory*"[9]. Mythology which is an apt category to interpret the attitude of national identities to the regions is scrutinized and typologized in the above-mentioned works by Smith, Schopflin etc.

A cluster of literature is devoted to the post-communist transformations of Ukrainian and Romanian identities, their mythologies and school policies. Thus, Catherine Wanner regards the past-dependency syndrome in Post-Soviet Ukraine, the process of nation- and identity-building in Ukraine[10]. For sketching the national mythologies I used the deconstructivist work by Romania historian Lucian Boia[11], while the deconstruction of Ukrainian historical myths is represented by in Andew Willson's article, presented in the methodology explanation. Education policy as a mean of socialization of the young citizens is presented in Viktor Stepanenko's study on the social construction of national identity in the post-Soviet transitional Ukraine through school policy[12]. Ukrainian history textbooks are analyzed by Yakovenko and

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[7] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* (London, Verso, 1991).

[8] Eric Hobsbawm "History is a weapon against an invented Past - if we are brave enough to use it". *Open Society News*, Winter, (1994), 7 - 11.

9 *Realms of memory* / Under the direction of Pierre Nora**,** (New York : Columbia University Press, 1996-1998). 3 vol.

[10] Catherine Wanner. *Burden of dreams: history and identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

11 Boia L. *History and myth in Romanian consciousness* (Budapest, CEU Press, 2001).

[12] Viktor Stepanenko**,** *The construction of identity and school policy in Ukraine*, (Commack, N.Y., 1999).

Portnov. Romanian history education policy since 19th century is described by Mirela Murgescu in the article on Romanian history textbooks to communist period[13].

For providing the historical context in Romanian period I used the works of Irina Livezeanu's and Mariana Hausleitner's studies of cultural policies in Greater Romania towards the newly incorporated regions, including Bukovina[14]. As a contested territory Bukovina has been in the focus of interest in Ukrainian and Romanian historiography. This defined its tendentious character, though it was used as a source on the national traditions. I referred to some sources by the trendsetters of traditional Romanian-Ukrainian dispute on Bukovina, Io Nistor and Omelyan Poppovych[15]. Among the 1990s wave of discussion I can mention Ukrainian author from Diaspora Arkadiy Zhukovs'kiy[16] and Romanian historian Nicolae Ciachir[17]. A number of recently published works by the authors from Chernivtsi University was used in the thesis: collective monograph *Bukovina in international relations*[18], the *History of Chernivtsi* by Oleksandr Masan and Ihor Chekhovskiy[19], articles by Ihor Burkut[20], Volodymyr Fisanov *Bukovina in Ukrainian-Romanian relations in the 20th century: Historical-political context*[21]. The international efforts of Bukovina studies are represented in

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[13] Mirela Murgescu. "School textbooks and the heroes of Romanian history". *Culture and the Politics of Identity in Modern Romania,* Conference Papers, (Bucuresti May 27-30 1998).

[14] Irina Livezeanu. *Cultural politics in Greater Romania. Regionalism, Nation Building and Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930,* (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1995); Mariana Hausleitner. "De la romanizarea Bucovinei la Holocaust, 1918-1944". *Romania si Transnistria: perspective istorice si comparative*, (Bucuresti, Curtea veche, 2004), 127-144

[15] Ion Nistor *Bucovina sub Dominatiunea Romaneasca: La 20 de ani de la Unire*, Cernauti; I.Nistor. *Unirea Bukovinei 28 noiembrie 1918. Studiu si documente*, (Bucuresti, Cartea romaneasca, 1928).
Popovych O. *Vidrodzhennia Bukovyny (spomyny)* (*The Renaissance of Bukovina. Memories*), (Lviv, 1933), 95.

[16] Arkadiy Zhukovs'kiy *Istoriia Bukovyny (History of Bukovina)*. in 2 vol. Vol 1. (until 1774), (Chernivtsi, Redaktsiino-vydavnychyi viddil oblpoligrafvydavu, 1991); vol. 2 (after 1774). (Chernivtsi, Chas, 1993).

[17] Chiachir N. *Din istoria Bucovinei (1775-1944).* (Bucuresti, Editura didactica si pedagogica, 1993).

[18] *Bukovyna v konteksti ievropeis'kyh mizhnarodnykh vidnosyn (Z davnih chasiv do seredyny 20 stolittia). (Bukovina in the context of European international relations. From ancient times till the middle of the 20th century),* ed. Vasyl' Botushans'kiy. (Chernivtsi, Ruta, 2005).

[19] Oleksandr Masan, Ihor Chekhovskiy. *Chernivtsi : 1408-1998.* (Chernivtsi, Misto, 1998).

[20] Ihor Burkut. Problemy etnotolerantnosti u polietnichnomu seredovyshi (Na prykladi evroregionu "Verhniy Prut") ("The issues of ethnic tolerance in a multiethnic environment. The example of the "Upper Prut" Euroregion"), *Evroregiony: potensial mizhetnichnoi harmonizatsii*, (Chernivtsi, Bukrek, 2004), 191-208.

[21] Fisanov. «Bukovina v ukrainsko-rumynskih otnosheniiah v 20 veke: Istoriko-psikhologicheskiy kontekst » («Bukovina in Ukrainian-Romanian relations in the 20th century : Hitorical-psychological context»). *Moldova, Romania, Ukraina: buna vecinatate si cooperarea regionala,* Materialele simpozionului stiintific international (Chisinau, 15-16 octombrie, 1998).

particular by Andrei Corbea-Hoisie, who reconstructs the world of the Austrian "Czernowitz civilization"[22].

The thesis is designed in a "deductive" logic, from the general theoretical considerations, through the historical context and background, to the particular analysis of the main target of research, which is reflected in the structure.

In the first Chapter *Nation States and Overlapping Ethnoscapes: Towards a Theoretical Model* I define a theoretical approach**,** which lies in the domain of social constructivism: and is based on the notions of identity, memory and myths. I regard both nations and regions are "imagined communities" which are based on a certain set of myths. I explain the relation of a national identity towards a region by Smith's theory of "ethnoscape", residing in inalienable association between a nation and a particular territory, what results in national appropriation of this territory. This "ethnoscape" relation is imbedded in the "invented traditions" of the two nations, and stored in collective memories. I focus on one of the "sites of memory", history textbook, its main features and its role in identity-building.

In the second Chapter  *Bukovina Between History and Myth: Shifting borders – shifting identities*   I provide an overview of historical context in which Bukovina was shaped as a region and analyze the mythology connected with Bukovinian identity. In the second section I identify the place it occupies in both Ukrainian and Romanian national identities, explaining it by the "Territory", "Ethnogenesis" myths. It is argued that Bukovina is an "overlapping ethnoscape" for Ukrainian and Romanian imaginaries. According to Smith's typology I regard the regional "Bukovinism" myth as "Golden Age" and follow its reflection in national memories and transnational studies.

The third Chapter *Representation of Bukovina in Collective Memories through History Education* presents an original analysis of the representation of Bukovina in Ukrainian and

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[22] Andrei Corbea. *Paul Celan si "meridianul" sau. Repere vechi si noi pe un atlas central-european.* (Iasi, POLIROM, 1998).

Romanian textbooks published in post-communist period. According to the methodology described above, I analyzed Romanian and Ukrainian national schoolbooks, for the 5$^{th}$-12$^{th}$ grades, which contain information on Bukovina, either in a separate section or in the integral text. Besides, I made the research on the two regional textbooks *History of the native land*, used in Chernivtsi region at Ukrainian and Romanian schools.

The agenda suggested in the research could be further extended in a number of directions; which could not be addressed within present thesis. Thus, I conceive broadening the scope the subject area of research: from regional issues to overall Ukrainian-Romanian mutual perceptions throughout the history. It would be instructive to introducing other stories in the picture by researching representations of the region in Austrian, Jewish, Polish, Soviet traditions. Furthermore, a comparative study with other post-Austrian regions, for example Transylvania, Banat, Galicia, would give a possibility to trace more generalizations about regional identities and their reconstruction in the nation-states.

The thesis is written based on academic supervision and theoretical training at Central European University, in combination with field research in the intellectual centers in Bukovina region, Chernivtsi "Yuriy Fed'kovych" National University in Ukraine and "Stefan cel Mare" Suceava University in Romania.

## Chapter I. Nation States and Overlapping Ethnoscapes: Towards a Theoretical Model

### 1.1 National Appropriation of Historical Regions

With coming of modernity the nation-states in Central and Eastern Europe incorporated the territories with different historical experiences and ethnocultural peculiarities. They had to adjust these reminiscences of the dead empires in their national discourses in one or another way. In this part of the thesis I intend to establish theoretical framework for the correlation between national discourses and regional identity.

I start with the premise that both national and regional identities are social creations. In this regard it is helpful to refer to the famous concept of "*imagined communities*" introduced by Anderson. Though he deals primarily with nations and nation-states, the notion can be also applied to other social unities, as for instance, a region. As Anderson puts, "all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined"[23]. The basic idea of this conception – that a community dwells on its social construction – is constructive for understanding that a historical region is defined primarily in people's minds, rather than in objective reality.

Here one needs to make a distinction between a nation-state and a region within it as an "imagined community". A nation is a culturally constructed community, whereas a region may be not, and in this sense, implicitly is a more natural entity than a nation. Besides, a nation has a more developed infrastructure and capacity to support the ideas it dwells on, transforming it into a state policy, whereas the latter is in a sense a more unstable and weaker community being dependent on the way how it is incorporated in the national framework.

Communities are kept together through their narratives, memories and myths which create an illusion of its unity and continuity. Myths are crucial for a national identity, creating

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[23] B.Anderson *Imagined Communities*, 6.

basis for its legitimization and *raison d'être*. The interconnection between myth and identity is scrutinized by Smith who suggested an "ethno-symbolic approach" to national identity[24].

For understanding the relation between national and regional identities, I find precious Smith's observation that a national myth constructs a tight, inseparable association between a nation and a territory, creating the so called "*ethnoscape*"[25]. In the national myth the territory is not only a geographical region, but is ascribed certain inalienable spirituality; a "*territorialization of memory*" takes place: "the landscape is invested with ethnic kin significance, and becomes an intrinsic element in the community's myth of origins and shared memories"[26]. Wilson also points to the fact that "nationalist historiographies tend to develop myths of irrevocable association between people and a particular territory, 'a rightful possession from one's forefathers through the generations"[27].

This idea is elucidative for explaining the case of contested border regions, as Bukovina. Smith rightly noticed that in case a certain terrain has "overlapping ethnoscape meaning for different *ethnies*", then for them this territory acquires a special symbolic significance[28]. As he puts it, "in these cases, certain areas of land come to possess a special symbolic and mythic meaning, and some ethnoscapes are endowed with a sacred and extraordinary quality, generating powerful feelings of reference and belonging"[29]. According to Smith, this type of myths is vital for territorial claims, as "ethnoscape" is used as a "title-deed" for a certain territory[30]. National memory requires restoration and reincorporation a "lost" territory to the "mother-state".

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[24] A.Smith, "Myths and Memories of the Nation".
[25] Ibid., 150.
[26] Ibid.
[27] A.Wilson "Myths of National History in Belarus and Ukraine", 33.
[28] A.Smith, "Myths and Memories of the Nation", 152.
[29] Ibid., 150.
[30] Ibid., 69.

The phenomenon of myths is elaborated in a collective work with contributions by Hosking, Schopflin, Smith and Wilson[31]. In my study I use Schopflin's taxonomy of national myths which distinguishes 8 main type of national myths: a) myths of territory; b) myths of redemption and suffering, c) myths of unjust treatment; d) myths of election and civilizing mission; e) myths of military valour; f) myths of rebirth and renewal; g) myth of ethnogenesis and antiquity; h) myths of kinship and shared descent[32]. Out of them I identified two types - *myth of Territory* and *myth of Ethnogenesis* – as relevant to interrelation between national and its territorial entities.

These myths are regarded in more details when applied to the case of Bukovina in the next chapter. Now it is important to stress that both these myths are interrelated and together create the "ethnoscape" effect which has direct consequences for framing the attitude of a nation-state to a historical region. This attitude basically lies in trying to monopolize the identity space on the whole territory of "ethnogenesis".

The question arises out of this discussion – what are the consequences of this monopolizing attitude on the side of nations to the region itself? Kate Brown argues that the indistinct identity or even factual disappearance of the historical region of Polissia on the Ukrainian-Polish border is the result of "the dramatic reconception of space, and consequently of lives, by means of national taxonomies which transformed zones of cultural contingency into cogently packaged nation-spaces"[33]. She considers that modernization sharpened the "angles" and left no room "for the ambiguous identities and hard-to-pin-down allegiances of the border dwellers"[34].

However, some of the historical regions do not only survive in the national sociopolitical context, but preserve quite strong identity and even become important players in public life, as

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[31] *Myths and Nationhood*, ed. Geoffrey Hosking, George Schöpflin, (London : C. Hurst, 1997).
[32] G. Schopflin. "The functions of Myths ad a Taxonomy of Myths".
[33] Kate Brown. A Biography of No Place, (Harvard University Press, 2004), 299.
[34] Ibid., 230

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for example Transylvania[35]. There is an inevitable tension between a nation state project and a regional identity: on one hand, nationalist ideology by definition tends to disseminate its values in the whole national territory, on the other hand, a region might see a threat to it identity from the homogenizing "center". The final score of this tension depends on the set of complex reasons, which needs a careful research. But the crucial aspect is the compatibility between national and regional identities and correlation of their forces. The two types of identities are not usually mutually exclusive; they can co-exist, overlap and correlate in a certain way.

In order to adjust the in-built conflict between nation-states and heterogeneous regions the concept of *multiple identities* was introduced into the scholar debate. This approach presupposes that each individual, as well as community, has not only one identity, but a number of them - gender, religious, cultural, ethnic, regional, national, supra-national etc. Smith suggests that in more complex societies the identities are more multiple[36]. Moreover, according to him, numerous identities do not necessarily contradict and can naturally fit each other, though Smith admits that there can be a potential identity conflict. In such a way, in fact the very existence of regional and national identities does not imply a contradiction; the nature of this relation is contextual.

An interesting case in this sense is Italian border city Trieste, which has a mixed population and cultural identity, which enters in a conflict with some Italian discourses trying to appropriate it: "Juxtaposed memories are the most relevant factors which block a harmonious development of identity and of multiple belonging"[37].

Another "peacemaking" category in this sense is *"cultural identity"* which reflects more sensitively the multiple nature of individual or collective identity, and does not distinguish between national, linguistic, religious or regional identities. Romanian scholar Viktor

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[35] Laszlo Kurti. *The remote borderland: Transylvania in the Hungarian Imagination.* (State University of New York Press, 2001).
[36] A.Smith. Myths and Memories, 229.
[37] R.M Malabotta. "Overlapping Cultures". *Redefining Cultural Identities: the multicultural contexts of the Central European and Mediterranean Regions.* Ed. Nadia Svob-Dokic, 2001, 29.

Neumann touches upon a regional aspect of cultural identity. He states that the multiple character of social identities is especially pronounced in the border regions where multiculturality is traditional[38]. Neumann argues that borders are often artificially created, and along them there are always zones of overlapping complex identities, with "mixed traditions stemming from cohabitation". He concludes, that multiple identities are more applicable for describing regional communities[39]. Therefore, "multiple identities" are a constructive framework for studying interrelations between regional and national identities, especially in the case of multiethnic border-regions.

To sum up, the interrelation of the regions and nations is defined by the strong association of a nation with a territory, or 'ethnoscape". Multicultural border regions are the case for overlapping ethnoscapes.

### 1.2 "Invented Traditions": History Textbook as a *Lieu de Memoire*

Going back to the "imagined" nature of a community, let us focus on the mechanisms of identity-building (similar process for both national and regional identities) and then define some patterns of incorporating a region into a national identity. A community should share some imaginary values, memories, myths about itself, which gives a sense of spiritual unity and historical continuity, or in other words, an identity.

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[38] Viktor Neumann. *Conceptually Mystified: East-Central Europe torn between ethnicism and recognition of multiple identities,* (Bucharest, Encyclopedia Publishing House, 2004), 133.
[39] Ibid., 135-140.

To visualize the further discussion, here is a tentative scheme of the theoretical framework in which I regard construction of a community in my research:

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Community (nation or region)
              |
           Identity
              |
Social Memory, Myth –>Tradition –>  history textbook
              |
           History
```
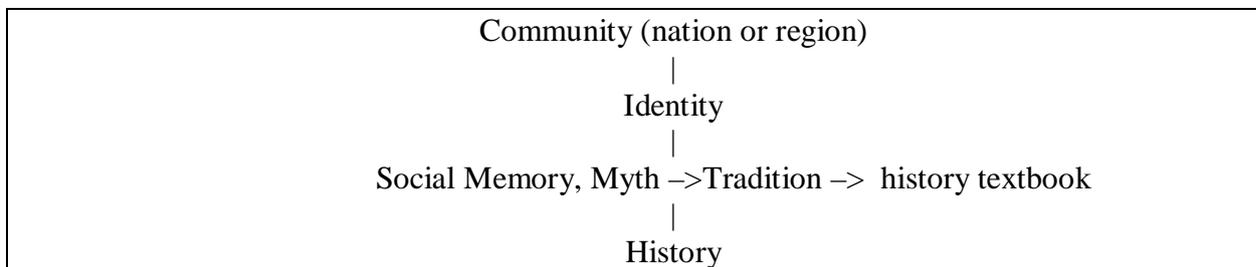
The interrelation between these categories is not linear, but subtle and elusive, though. Identity is to a large extent understanding and defining oneself through the past. Consequently, historical memory is a source for an identity. It is important to mention, that in a society historical knowledge functions on at least two different levels: scientific and the level of mass-consciousness (including memories, myths, stereotypes etc.). The latter is actually what "feeds" a social identity.

Memory is another crucial category for analyzing an "imagined community". It was brilliantly introduced in the social sciences and humanities by French historian Pierre Nora in the monumental work on the "*Lieux de memoire*" ("*loci memoriae" or sites of memory)* of France[40]. He establishes the correlation between history and memory, which are close and opposed in the same time; the main difference seen in the fact that memory is a part of historical knowledge, considered to be socially significant[41].

In our case it is important also to use Nora's notion of "sites of memory". According to him, they are a product of the interaction between memory and history and the definition would be: "any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any

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[40] *Realms of memory*.
[41] Ibid., vol. 1, p.3

community"[42]. In such a way, "sites of memory" include: places such as archives, museums, cathedrals, palaces, cemeteries, and memorials; concepts and practices such as commemorations, generations, mottos, and all rituals; objects such as inherited property, commemorative monuments, manuals, emblems, basic texts, and symbols. This concept is fundamental for the thesis dealing with a particular type of "site of memory" – a textbook.

Both national and regional identities are based on memories and myths, forming together what Hobsbawm aptly called "*invented tradition*". It reflects how a community perceives itself and its history. As he rightly pointed out, "if there is no appropriate past, it can always be invented. The past is legitimized"[43]. This tradition, or canon, is invented, stored and reproduced in the mass-consciousness of the society, in mass-media, artistic and academic literature etc. But it will not be an exaggeration to assume that one of the main channels of constructing and transferring identity is education.

In this context it is proper to refer to Foucault and his concept of "*power-knowledge*" *relations* and "*truth*" a form of power'[44]. Education is one of the systems which translate the knowledge which is considered to be true by the respective sociocultural entity[45]. It creates 'hierarchization' of facts and their interpretations, transferring also values and norms. Through education a society socializes new generations and, in such a way, reproduces itself and its identity.

As special role in identity-building is played by history education, given its axiological function. Didactic history legitimizes the present through the past; it contains national myths and memories in the most concentrated form. It has a unique capacity to create "us" by contrasting with the Other. We have to make a reservation that history education is not the

[42] Ibid., vol.1, p.xvii.
[43] E.Hobsbawm E. Debunking Ethnic Myths. 9.
[44] M.Foucault. *On power, from Politics, Philosophy, Culture*: *Interviews and other writings 1977-1984*, L.Kritzman, ed., (New York, 1988), 107.
[45] Michel Foucault. *The politics of truth*; ed. Sylvere Lotringer & Lysa Hochroth, (New York : Semiotext(e), 1997), 177.

only source of historical knowledge. Moreover, as Abraham Mole argued in his "*Sociodynamics of Culture*", the consciousness of contemporary society is formed under increasing influence of mass-media, in contrast to the traditional cultures based almost exclusively on education knowledge[46]. But education still has a powerful effect, as it gives knowledge in the most systematic form and covers a massive audience of young people. Here we can distinguish at least two levels: secondary and tertiary, among which the former is indubitably more influential due to its obligatory character in most of the contemporary countries.

In this subchapter I will focus on the school history textbook as the reflection of history education policy which, as I argued above, is an important identity-building tool. History textbooks are the places where historical knowledge, together with myths and stereotypes, are stored, which makes it an important **"*site of memory*".** In my study I regard the textbook not only as a didactic tool, but as a genre of historiography which due to its specific nature regarded further, has a special place in social memory. I will analyze the main its features which make it a powerful mean of identity-building.

History textbook is a projection of that minimum of scientific knowledge which is considered to be necessary for each member of a society. Therefore, it is a result of *reduction* of knowledge, accompanying by selection of some facts and ignoring the other. As Russian historian M.Barg rightly observed: "Each cultural-historical epoch is able to extract from the oblivion only a certain row of "historical facts""[47]. This idea was elaborated in the semiotic

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[46] Abraham Mole. *Sotsiodinamika kul'tury (Sociodynamics of culture)*. Translated from French, (Moskow, Progress, 1973).

[47] Mikhail Barg. "Istoricheskoe soznanie kak problema istoriografii" ("Historical conciousness as a problem of historiography"). in *Voprosy istorii*, (1982), no. 12, 49-66, 54.

conception of Yuriy Lotman who aptly added: "We can complete an interesting list of non-facts for different epochs"[48].

This leads to the inevitable, conscious and unconscious, selection of the historical knowledge to be included in a textbook. Obviously, textbooks belong to the most reductive genres of historiography. The famous expert of the theory of historical epistemology Robin Kollingwood wrote in his context that a history textbook is not a „history of the whole world, but just those selected facts, which have to be remembered by the candidates for certain exams".[49]

Another feature of textbooks is its *lagging behind the academic vanguard* which should not be regarded as a defect of a certain textbook, but as a peculiarity of this type of literature, being a result of didactical adaptation. As Abraham Mole wrote, "Profession of an author of a textbook is to translate the information into a simple language, so that it becomes available for the consumer"[50]. Hyperbolizing a bit, Kollingwood noted that "by the time a certain message reaches the textbook, it will be either debunked or at least significantly undermined by the progress of cognition". [51]

At that, educational model of history presents the "settled down" knowledge, while scientific circles debate on certain problematic issues. So textbook is a *static model of the past,* in contrast to the dynamic scholar version of history. In the didactic system historical information obtains structure, topics and subtopics, periods in the history education. It is transformed in a *standardized canon.*

Contemporary mainstream historical epistemology generally agrees on the subjective nature of historical cognition and writing. History writing is a product of selection of some facts, their interpretation and creation of a reconstruction of the past. Interpretation and

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[48] Yuriy Lotman. "Problema istoricheskogo fakta". (The problem of a historical fact). *Vnutri mysliashih mirov. Chelovek – tekst – semiosfera – istoriia*. (Moskva, Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 1996), 301, 302, 303, 304.
[49] Robin J. Kolingwood. *Ideia istoii,* (Kyiv, Osnovy, 1996), 553.
[50] Abraham Mole. *Sotsiodinamika kul'tury*, 221.
[51] R.Kollingwood. Ideia istorii, 467.

evaluation is by its nature subjective. It can depend on the author's value preferences and sociopolitical conjuncture. We understand the past through the prism of the present.

Textbooks reflect this trend more conservatively, being in a way a quintessence of the mainstream tradition of national history. That is why "rewriting" of textbooks always takes place after the major social changes in a society. Textbook embodies collective memory of the society and demonstrate what kind of history it wants to see. In a way, the genre of history textbook is *"a nation's autobiography"*; it is also written from the "top" of present day and tries to make sense of the previous life path.

However, school history is unreflective on this phenomenon, which is the root of the main misconceptions and stereotypes concerning history among the schoolchildren. Being simplified to a high degree, a textbook is usually *dogmatic*.

Whatever the didactic reasons may be, it is important to stress that due to the specific feature of the textbook, it creates a feeling that it has always existed, exists and will exist. According to the apt expression by R.Bart, the textbooks are nothing else as "*referential illusions*", which leave an impression that what is narrated in them is "what actually happened"[52]. This illusion is reached by different stylistic techniques, described by S.Weinberg. First, textbooks avoid meta-discourses, authors' assumptions and hesitations. Meta-discourse is a common practice for historians who write for each other, but it is absent when they compose texts for the schoolchildren. Second, they mostly do not contain references to the primary sources, and to how the text was created, if there are sources – just to illustrate what is written in the textbook. Third, according to Weinberg, textbooks narrate on behalf of an omniscient third person, that is to say that the author is not visible, but writes from the position of transcedentality, so to say, from the top of knowledge. It does not distinguish between the

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[52] Cited from: Weinbourg S. *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*. Published April 20, 1999 [cited May 15, 2004]. Access: [http: // www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kwin9903.htm ]

factological and interpretative parts in the text[53]. That is why the euphemisms like "historical truth", a new wave of which started in 1990s find receptive audience among schoolchildren and spread pupils' illusions that history is described in the textbooks "as it happened".

In this context, it is helpful to turn to Edward Said's theoretical contribution in his "Orientalism" and draw parallel between his orientalist and the author of a textbook, and between "orientalism" and the model of history created in a textbook. He argues that the objective of an orientalist is to "approximate" the East, which is so remote and incomprehensible for a European. In this process he "prepares", interprets and adapts the East for a wide audience, and "sooner or later the reader forgets about the efforts put by the orientalist and perceives the restructured East, described in the reader as the East by itself. Objective structure and subjective reconstruction (representation of the East by an orientalist) become interchangeable"[54]. In such a way the remote East becomes accessible, being dynamic when it belonged to itself, it becomes now didactically instructive. Said says that orientalist's activity "canonizes the East; it is transformed into a canon of textual objects which are transferred from one generation of students to another"[55].

Similar processes take place in the transformation of academic historical knowledge into a school discipline. A "canonization" of the past happens; the past becomes a concrete and integral picture. A pupil is not able to grasp history him/herself: it is as remote to him, as the East for a European. But in the canon "served" in a textbook it becomes reachable. It is simplified and schematized, but it gives an impression of understanding the past.

Furthermore, paradoxically, as a result of the afore-mentioned features, a history textbook is in a way *ahistorical*. It operates with the categories of the present thinking; the events "happen" in the text like in its own time. As Ukrainian historian Andriy Portnov

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[53] Ibid.
[54] Edward Said. Orientalism, (Kyiv, Osnovy, 2001), 172.
[55] Ibid.

neatly pointed out, "Slavic princes behave in the textbook like the deputies of Verkhovna Rada [Ukrainian parliament – V.V.]"[56].

Under these conditions history textbooks naturally become places for myths, stereotypes etc., having far-reaching effect on historical consciousness of the youth, and implicitly, on their identity. Though recently some efforts have been taken to present more interpretations of history at school, but this trend is still rather an exception than a rule. In my opinion, this situation is the responsibility of the particular authors who intend to falsify history at schoolbooks. I regard it as a result of the very nature of education models of history, which need to give the schoolchildren some positive answers and primary knowledge in order not to confuse them. This relates especially to the school level of history education, whereas its university version has already to be a step to a deeper understanding of historicity. Related to this, R. Kollingwood argued that it is not a defect, but rather a necessary feature by definition, as school history – and its version in the textbooks – are destined to the audience which is not informed and motivated enough in order to make independent judgments. However, the question still lies in the proportion and balance between dogma and variety of interpretations.

These characteristics, outlined above, acquire a special importance, taking into consideration the powerful social impact of history textbooks and school history in general. This type of historical narrative by definition is destined to the most mass social group – youth, the future of a society. The circulation of textbooks is in 50-100 times higher than the edition of academic monographs. Thereby, the social role of a history textbook is much higher and responsible from the point of view of identity-building, than of professional historical literature which is addressing a limited number of specialists.

All this makes history textbook an important "*site of memory*". It is a genre of historiography, whose stylistics reflects certain tradition where deep socio-political factors and

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[56] A. Portnov A. "Terra hostica", 13.

confrontations find place. It is a cultural-political act where interests and aspirations of many social actors and factors intersect. On the one hand, a textbook is a mirror of historical consciousness in the wide sense of the word, containing in the concentrated form the tradition in which a society envisages its history. On the other hand, it is also a significant element of identity-building. All this makes textbook analysis a telling method of studying social imaginaries, in our case, the memories of Ukraine and Romania about Bukovina region.

## Chapter II. Bukovina Between History and Myth: Shifting Borders – Shifting Identities

### 2.1 "Bukovinism": Regional Identity or a "Golden Age" Myth?

In this part I intend to show the peculiarities of the historical context in which Bukovinian regional identity was shaped, and outline the mythology connected with it. For interpreting this phenomenon I classified it using the concept of "Golden Age" myth. It is important for the understanding of the further reframing of Bukovina region in the post-communist Ukrainian and Romanian identities, regarded in the following subchapters.

Exposed to the international influence in the crossroads of Ottoman, Habsburg, and Russian empires and the nascent nation states, Bukovina (German: *Bukowina*; Romanian: *Bucovina*) changed its state belonging at least four times during its turbulent 20[th] century history. Referring to this fact, contemporary Bukovinian historian V.Fisanov aptly called Chernivtsi[57], the center of the region, *"a wandering geopolitical point"*[58]. History of the region demonstrates how the change of state affiliation, redrawing borders, replacing political systems and ideologies, which influenced Bukovinian mentality and shaped its regional identity.

In 9-13th centuries the territory, which later became known as Bukovina, consecutively was a part of the Slavic feudal states: Kyivan Rus' and Halych-Volyn' principality. From the mid-14th century, it became the nucleus of the Moldavian Principality, with the city of Suceava as its capital from 1388. In the 1541, the Moldavian Principality came under the control of the Ottoman Turks, but it remained autonomous. For the short periods of time, the Polish Kingdom occupied the northern part of the region.

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[57] Cernivtsi is the current Ukrainian name of the city, which has historical version in German (Czernowitz), Romanian (Cernauti), Polish (Czerniowce), Russian (Chernovtsy).

[58] Fisanov V. "Problema bezopasnosti v usloviah podvizhnyh geopoliticheskih tochek: sluchay s Bukovinoi". ("Security issue in the conditions of wandering geopolitical points: The case of Bukovina"). *Pogranichnye raiony na postsovetskom prostranstve: netraditsionnye aspekty bezopasnosti. Materialy seminara* (Chernovtsy, October 1996), (Kyiv, Fenix, 1997), 82-89.

The history of Bukovina as a region started in 1774 when Bukovina became a part of Austrian empire, enjoying the status of a Duchy and wide autonomy since 1861 until 1918. After the WWI, on the "corpse" of Habsburg empire, the newly created Greater Romania incorporated the region. In 1940 Northern Bukovina, populated predominantly by Ukrainians, came under the authority of the Soviet Union and became administered as Chernivtsi region within the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. Southern part of Bukovina remained in Romanian state. After the collapse of the USSR independent Ukraine "inherited" the territories of the former Ukrainian Soviet Republic, including this region.

Now, we turn to the formation of local identity in Bukovina. The region acquired its own name and identity under the Austrian rule. In 1775 the Ottomans ceded the territory to Austro-Hungarian Empire, which regarded Bukovina as a strategic link between Transylvania and Galicia. The region was administered first as a part of Galicia (1786-1849) and then as a duchy and a separate crown land. Bukovina acquired the status of a separate crown land according to Austria's Constitution of 1849[59].

The population of this territory was traditionally multicultural, which is another important factor of Bukovinian history, affecting its regional identity. According to Georg Krekwitz, the territory of Bukovina in Moldovan principality was populated by Ruthenians (Ukrainians), Moldovans, Polish, Bulgarians, Germans[60]. The multiethnic population of Bukovina was further diversified under Austrian rule, when the multiethnic population (but mostly German and Austrians) from the empire started to move to Bukovina from demographically overpopulated lands. According to the ethnic map composed by Romanian historian Ion Nistor on the basis of the Austrian population census in 1910, the two major ethnic groups in Bukovina were still Ukrainians and Moldovans/Romanians; among the minorities being Jews,

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[59] *Bukovina v konteksti mizhnarodnykh ievropeiskyh mizhnarodnykh vidnosyn*, 265.
[60] Cited from: A.Zhukovskiy. *Istoriia Bukovyny*. vol. 1, 92.

Germans, Polish, Hungarians, Lipovans etc.[61]. There were also small communities of Armenians, Czechs, Slovaks, Russians, Roma.

Though Bukovinian population became ethnically even more diverse, it did not result in the outbreak of ethnonational or religious conflicts. On the contrary, the regional identity of Bukovina, widely known in historiography as „*Bukovinism*", is characterized by unique interethnic tolerance[62]. In spite of the high risk of interethnic conflicts which is peculiar for multiethnic borderlands, Bukovina acquired and preserved the image of an exceptionally tolerant region with a strong tradition of peaceful cohabitation of its multiethnic and multicultural population. As Romanian Germanist Andrei Corbea mentions, Bukovinism was a "fashionable concept", through which "Czernowitz multi- and supra-national civilization attempted to legitimize itself in front of the nationalist impulses from wherever they were coming"[63].

And moreover, this identity is ascribed to a big extend the resistance of the region to interethnic conflicts in the conditions of fast development of national movements. According to this viewpoint, "Bukovinism" played the role of a "buffer" from interethnic conflicts in the conditions of fast development of national movements and contributed to the fact that the region avoided extremes of interethnic tensions.

It is an open question, to which extend „Bukovinism" was a reality or a myth. Indeed, even in the 20th century, when in Europe there was so much violence, in the multiethnic Bukovina interethnic relations did not escalate in bloodshed conflicts. One of the examples of such tolerance which is invoked is relative unpopularity of local anti-Semitism in Bukovina. In contrast, in the collective memory there are illustrative cases of salvation of Jews by

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[61] See Appendices: I. Distribution of Races in Austro-Hungary and II. Etnographische Landkarte der Bukowina nach der Volkszahlung 1910 by Ion Nistor.

[62] Dobrzhanskiy A. "Bukovinism" kak raznovidnosti regional'nogo samosoznaniia v Avstro-Vengrii kontsa 19-nachala 20 vekov" ("Bukovinism as a type of regional conciousness in Austro-Hungary at the end of the 19th-at the beginning of the 20th century"). In: *Avstro-Vengriia: integratsionnye protsessy I natsionalnaia spetsyfika*, (Moscow, 1997), 75-76, 82.

[63] A.Corbea. *Paul Celan si "meridianul sau"*, 31.

Bukovinian authorities: a Polish citizen of Chernivtsi, consul to Chile G.Shimonovich saving 300 Jews from repressions; Bukovinian entrepreneur V.Alexandrescu rescuing many Jews, among them the famous poet Paul Celan; Chernivtsi mayor Traian Popovici saving hundreds Jews from fascist persecutions during WWII.

At the same time, memory is selective; it does not save the other side of the story, omitting the facts of interethnic tensions and radicalization of the national discourses in the 1930s, activity of Romanian pro-fascist organization "Iron Guard", spread of anti-Semitism and Holocaust etc. in Bukovina, which were demonstrated in the study by Mariana Hausleitner[64].

Now let us focus on „Bukovinism" as a phenomenon, and later on discuss how it became a myth. The phenomenon of tolerance can be explained by the history of the region. It should be first observed that multiethnic composition of the region was formed naturally, throughout the centuries, even prior to the Austrian colonization. The tradition of peaceful co-habitation was established historically, through intensive interethnic contacts. Consequently there was no built-in source of interethnic conflict. And tolerance is naturally interwoven in the regional identity of this **"meeting place of cultures".** However, this reason is not sufficiently explanatory, as there are other multiethnic regions which did not create phenomenon of a harmonious multiculturality.

It is also important in this context that Bukovina was a region of Austro-Hungarian Empire which was modernized much later than other provinces, for example Transylvania. It was also a multiethnic region, being in a way in a similar position on the crossroads of Austrian-Hungarian Empire and Greater Romania and having two dominant ethnic groups: Romanians and Hungarians, like Ukrainians and Romanians in Bukovina. These conditions of the competition between two comparable in number and activity communities created premises

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[64] M.Hausleitner. "De la romanizarea Bucovinei la Holocaust", 1918-1944. 127-144.

to exacerbation of interethnic relations in the two regions. Nevertheless, due to the *late modernization, relative economic backwardness, strong communitarianism,* Bukovina was characterized by a lower degree of interethnic competition and hostility, than Transylvania or Galicia. An additional factor here might be that in Bukovina there was a very high percentage of other minorities, especially the Jews, and none of the ethnic groups was close to absolute majority. This fact relieved the tensions and helped to avoid strong confrontation.

A crucial role in the ethnopolitical stability in Bukovina was played by the decentralized administration and relatively liberal ethnic policy of the Habsburgs, who were trying to keep equidistance between the ethnic communities. After handling the revolutions of 1848-1849 and making significant changes in political system through the constitution of 1867, Austrian authorities developed their ethnic policies and for a period of time managed the multiethnic empire, giving ethnic minorities civic, political, linguistic and cultural rights. Ethnic groups were represented in the regional Seim and in Austrian parliament in Vienna. This laid the basis for the tradition of constructive co-operation between the ethnic communities. One of the successful examples of interethnic collaboration in local authorities was the international deputies committee called "the Free thinking Union" which was created in 1903 with Ukrainian, Romanian, Armenian, German deputies representing Bukovina in the Vienna Parliament[65].

German language was spreading as the main state language, but minority languages could be also freely used officially. German, Ukrainian and Romanian were acknowledged official languages in the province, could be used in official organizations; so they could be used in the sphere of education and religion. In this time the regional tradition of communicating in several languages was established; most of Bukovinians speaking German, Ukrainian, Romanian, Polish and understood Yiddish.

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[65] Dobrzhanskiy O. *Natsionalnyi ruh ukraintsiv Bukovyny drugoi polovyny 19-pochatku 200 stolittia,* (Chernivtsi, Zoloti lytavry, 1999), 259-292.

Another important factor is the socioeconomic progress of the region which started in the last decades of the 19th century, after ceasing of endless wars in Bukovina in the previous periods[66]. The long-awaited peace was established in the region after the region was divided between Russian and Austrian empires, which lasted until WWI.

Some socio-psychological explanations of "Bukovinism" can be also adduced. Indubitably, frequent shifting of borders and citizenship had a deep and far-reaching impact on Bukovinian identity. For this multiethnic region it had dramatic scope and results: "cutting" and "re-cutting" the borders of the region, without proper respect of ethnic composition of the population, but only geopolitical interests of great powers, had a deep impact both on interethnic relations and regional identity. Being a small coin in great geopolitical games in the 20[th] century Europe, Bukovina created its own values and a model of multiethnic cohabitation, as a kind of defense mechanism against the brutal political cataclysms.

This effect of "transient citizenship" resulted in some characteristics of Bukovinian historical consciousness which contributed to the famous interethnic Bukovinian tolerance. Thus, the "changes of flags" over the Chernivtsi Town hall took place before the eyes of one-two generations of Bukovinians. All those political storms were passing by, for the survived, as a movie. This naturally caused some sort of "philosophical" attitude towards authorities and politics, as to something temporary and transitory. This, in its turn, this attitude determined such feature as pragmatism, concentration of survival, every-day life and busyness. As a result, Bukovinians were more inclined to co-operation with their fellow-townsmen of different ethnic origin, which laid the basis for peaceful co-existence in this region.

This type of explanation was neatly formulated by contemporary specialists in Bukovinian history O.Masan and I.Chekhovskiy:

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[66] I.Burkut I. "Problemy etnotolerantnosti u polietnichnomu seredovyshi (Na prykladi regionu "Verhniy Prut"), 193.

"The key to understanding this phenomenon of multiculturalism lies in the turbulent history of the region and its capital, where flags and symbols changed more often than generations… Border areas are amazing and transitional space with traveling borders, covered by snowdrifts of history. As a result one can live in several countries in turns, without making any step, stating at the same place. They not asking anybody's opinion, come to the person themselves, hastily changing the coats of arms on the governmental buildings, the cut of the uniforms and marches of regimental brass bands"[67].

The authors rightly point out that each citizen of such a border region finds him/herself in a "personal border situation": having to stake on a language, religion, state, ideology in a game of history, whose rules are revealed at the end of the game. It is very difficult to do this in the conditions when a yesterdays' partner become "the other" and vice versa; when an official language can overnight become unwanted or even prohibited.

As a result, the population has gone through a change of state belonging, citizenship and nation-building several times within one-two generations and entered regional memories. Thus, the Austrian "unity of interests" was changed with Greater Romania ideology of a newly formed nation-state, which in its turn was substituted by the idea of Soviet solidarity and historical unity; and then by independent Ukrainian nation-building project[68]. In the conditions of "transitive" borders, this region could not have steady national identity, so it created its own values and a kind of local values and patriotism, which was put above some ephemeral ideologies. In such unclear conditions, border region involuntarily some own steady values are formed, "which no party, nation or culture can fully expropriate"[69].

Speaking about "Bukovinism" as a myth, it is important to understand how it was created and transformed later by many generations of historians and publicists. This concept was articulated at the end of 19th century. In the second half of the 20th century, mostly due to the

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[67] O.Masan, I.Chekhovskiy. Chernivtsi, 90.
[68] Fisanov. Bukovina v ukrainsko-rumynskih otnosheniiah v 20 veke: Istoriko-psikhologicheskiy kontekst, 116
[69] O.Masan, I.Chekhovskiy. *Chernivtsi*, 91.

German and Austrian historians, this topic acquired a pronounced mythological character. It can be explained by the fact that these ideas were formulated mostly by the German repatriates who left the city in 1919, and later by Bukovinian intellectuals running from Bolshevik terror in 1940, as well as by the Jews leaving from Holocaust. Naturally, their memories about "old good Czernowitz" had nostalgic idealized character.

In this respect, it is not surprising, that there is a strong aura of "lost paradise" about "Bukovinism". The idea of the idyllic harmony in Austrian Bukovina was expressed by contemporary German writer Georg Geintzen in the famous metaphor comparing the old Austrian Czernowitz with a *"ship of pleasure with Ukrainian team, German officers and Jewish passengers on the board under the sail of tolerance"*[70].

"Bukovinism" myth has in its core retrospective idealization of a certain period in the past, which gives grounds to typologize it as a regional variant of the *"Golden Age*" myth. Smith distinguishes 3 main types of 'Golden age' myths: those based on 1. political or military expansion, imperial power; 2. holiness and purity; 3. intellect and beauty, philosophical, literary and artistic creativity[71]. In this classification the Bukovina canon falls rather under the third sub-type, stressing such virtues as belonging (even though diachronically) to the "high culture" through Habsburg heritage. A typical demonstration of this type of myth, which is imbued with nostalgia, is the famous expression of already cited writer Georg Gientzen: "…times when in Czernowitz coachmen were discussing about Karl Krauss' and 'the pavements were swept with the bunches of flowers' and in the city there were more bookshops than cafés"[72]. At the same time, Bukovinian "Golden Age" suggests its own specific virtue: the unique interethnic tolerance. It draws a paradise-type picture depicting idyllic co-habitation of ethnic groups, which were clashed later on in the sharpened interethnic competition and especially in the two world wars.

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[70] Cited from: Ibid., 92.
[71] A.Smith. The "Golden Age" and National Renewal. In. Hosking, 42.
[72] Cited from: O.Masan, I.Chekhovskiy. *Chernivtsi* 91.

The phenomenon of "Bukovinism" is a subject of a deeper analysis which is not the primary subject of the present thesis. For us it is crucial to understand how and why Bukovinian identity was remembered. Here I want to stress that this myth rests on the phenomena, which contrasted in a good light with then realities in the neighboring territories, for instance with Russian empire, as well as with the following periods of homogenizing Greater Romanian policies and Sovietization. Myths, similarly to caricatures, select the most pronounced features of the portrayed person or phenomenon and amplify them then more. As there is no smoke without a fire, there is no myth without premises. This gives premises to treat "Bukovinism" as a regional identity mythologized retrospectively.

## 2.2 Bukovina in the National Identities of Ukraine and Romania: Ethnogenesis, Territory, and other Myths

Before analyzing the way Bukovina is re-framed in the post-communist identities of Ukraine and Romania and typologizing the main myths on it, it is important to understand the complexities of their state-building. Regionalization issues were especially delicate in the immediate aftermath communist regimes in both countries. They were undergoing deep socio-political and economic transformations and reshaping their national and political identities. In this context any kind of regionalism was often interpreted as the "threat" of federalization and loss of territorial integrity.

Though in the Greater Romania period the heterogeneity of its provinces was significantly reduced, still there are strong historical regions in the country[73]. As Boia states, "the Romanian nation, like any other, is less unitary than in the imaginary. It was assembled from distinct parts, welded together by the ideology and centralizing force of the unitary national state…"[74]. However, this fact is not accepted in the national identity and moreover is

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[73] See for reference Appendices III and IV – Maps of historical regions of Romania.
[74] L.Boia. *History and Myth*, 12.

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perceived as a danger for the national unity. Boia argues that in Romania there is an exaggerated fear that Romania may disintegrate. Regionalism became a part of the discourse defending integrity and unitarian character of these states. The most agitated regional issue was Transylvania, where regionalism is often suspected to have a tinge of separatism. This issue was highly politicized in the 1990s, when there was a revival of nationalist political forces, such as the "Greater Romania" party.

In its turn, in Ukraine the existence of the regions with different historical experiences, and especially the East-West linguistic and cultural cleavage or Crimea, had also a political echo, due to the lack of statehood experience in the contemporary borders[75]. Similarly to Boia's observations, Kate Brown points out that post-communist Ukraine is "a creation in with the streamlining of hybrid identities into national groups… created unambiguously Ukrainian nation-space"[76]. Though the very fact of heterogeneity of the nation by no means diminishes the rationale for the existence of a state, but needs to be addressed rather than ignored in the state-building, it causes morbid fears in the transitional post-communist identities.

Bukovina itself was not central in these fears, as for both states there were more pending aspects of regionalism and it was not a subject of irredentist movements or official territorial claims. But the paradox lies in the fact that that though Bukovina is relatively "peripheral" for both national identities, it becomes central in their relation to each other, within a strong tradition of legitimizing disputes, trying to appropriate Bukovina, at least in the memory. Some tensions in the bilateral relations in the early 1990s were explicitly or implicitly connected with reluctance to acknowledge the existent border.

For Romanian national identity Bukovina is remembered as a "lost" territory, therefore in the public discourse, mass-media and some radical nationalist political circles nostalgia for the Northern Bukovina was created. One of the exemplary variants of Romanian traditional

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[75] See for reference Appendix V. - Map of historical regions of Ukraine.
[76] K.Brown K. *A biography of no place*, 230.

historical narratives on Bukovina is presented by Nicolae Chiachir[77]. He regards Bukovina as a historical Romanian land, annexed by Austrian empire from Moldovan principality in 1775 and "re-integrated" with Romania in 1918; taken away by the USSR in 1940; and a sentimental episode of "Again together" in 1941-1944. This interpretation is full of nostalgia, though it concludes with the statement: "During centuries Romanians have lived with Ukrainians in harmony on the blessed land of Bukovina"[78].

At the same time, Ukrainian identity answered the challenge with a legitimizing discourse right after the proclamation of Ukrainian independence in 1991. The most condensed and classical examples of this discourse was written Ukrainian historian from Diaspora Arkadiy Zhukovs'kiy in early 1990s[79]. It has a pronounced defensive style, with frequent references to Romanian authors. The main idea running through the whole text, legitimizing that Bukovina is exclusively Ukrainian land is explained in the section "indigenity of Ukrainian element in Bukovina" [p.35]. He places Bukovina in the history of Ukraine, at that using ahistorical formulae like "Ukrainian tribes" [p.18], "Ukrainian state" referring to Kyivan Rus' [p.33] etc.

This situation can be explained through Smith's concept of "Overlapping ethnoscape", presented in the previous chapter. According to it, the territories with "clashing interpretations of ancestral homelands" acquire a special symbolical significance in the national identities of the respective nations[80]. Indeed, Bukovina is the case for this phenomenon. Due to the historical developments and multiethnic composition, it left a deep trace in the memories of Ukrainians, Romanians, Austrians, Jews and others, but a special place it occupies in the national identities of the two numerically dominant autochthon ethnic groups – Ukraine and Romania. As a result, Bukovina is deeply embedded in their national identities and collective

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[77] N.Chiachir *Din isoria Bucovinei (1775-1944)*.
[78] Ibid., 150.
[79] A.Zhukovs'kiy. *Istoriia Bukovyny*. In 2 vol.
[80] A.Smith, *Myths and Memories*.

memories, and is an irreplaceable part of their history. In a way, the region is a shared and undivided memory space, having a symbolic meaning, rather than a rational underpinning.

Now let us have a closer look at how the Bukovina ethnoscape is created. With this purpose I turned to the taxonomies of myths suggested by Schopflin[81]. Among the national myths which reflect the relation of a nation to its territory, thereby to the regions, I identified two myths from this typology: *"Myth of ethnogenesis and antiquity"* and *"Myth of territory"*. Both of them are interconnected and fused sometimes. Both of them connect inseparably ethnicity with a territory, or are *"territorializing memory"***,** according to Smith's expression.

As we saw above, the indigenity debate is very characteristic for Ukrainian and Romanian historiographies on Bukovina. It is characteristic for the main nationalist ideologists both of Ukraine and Romania to describe Bukovina unilaterally, only through the prism of a certain ethnic group. Following the logic of *"Ethnogenesis and Antiquity"* myth, both Ukrainian and Romanian historiographical canons try to legitimize "exclusive" rights on Bukovina through tracing the deepest roots of its settlement on this territory, and thus their indigenity.

A closely related *"Myth of territory"***" implies that a territory of a contemporary state has always existed, and uses teleological arguments that the unification was predetermined. This myth has unlimited retrospective force, projecting the current political realities to the past. This type of myth in Romanian consciousness, which tells of "an imaginary, century-long (or even millennia-long) unity of the Romanian space", was identified by Boia[82]. *Wilson deconstructed in Ukrainian imaginary a similar myth which he calls "Homeland myth".* He explains that this phenomenon is especially peculiar for the post-communist Eastern European states whose borders do not always coincide with the imaginary limits of the nation itself. In Ukrainian case,

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[81] G.Schopflin. "The Functions of Myths ad a Taxonomy of Myths", 28-35.
[82] Boia L. *Myth and history*, 13.

this myth goes as far as to Schytians and Sarmathians, or more often, Kyivan Rus' which included territories Transcarpattia, Bukovina and TransDniester[83].

Applied to Bukovina, this myth uses as a legitimizing argument the fact of the belonging of this territory to Kyivan Rus' by Ukrainian tradition, or to Dacia and Moldovan principalities by Romanian historiography. According to Wilson's typology, The "Homeland" myth can have two sub-types: *offensive*, in case that contested territory lies beyond the borders of a particular nation, and *defensive*, justifying its internal territories in respond to the contestation by other nations[84]. In this regards, Bukovina is a subject to such a myth which works in both directions: for Ukrainian national historiography it has *defensive* character trying to justify Bukovina's indigenous belonging to Ukrainian territory; while Romanian myth of Bukovina has *offensive* character, implying spiritual belonging to Romania of a "outside" region. It is remarkable that they are peculiar for both national identities. In fact, we deal with the same myths, following the same logic, but turned differently.

The above described myths often are transformed in the so called "historical rights" for a certain territory. Considering the case of Bukovina, Boia distinguishes a twofold approach: ethnic right in regards to the southern half, and historical right for the whole Bukovina as a part of Moldavia, as Romanians were a minority in the northern part[85]. He draws a parallel with the case of Transylvanian dispute: "In both cases the invocation of a historical right (Transylvania previously belonged to Hungary and Bukovina to Moldavia and later Romania) cannot be used to override the wishes of the present majority (Romanian in Transylvania and Ukrainian in northern Bukovina) [86].

Interestingly, how the famous deconstructor himself goes into a pragmatic rationalization of the need to renegotiate national mythology. He says in fact that this should be clarified for

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[83] A.Wilson. "Myths of National History in Belarus and Ukraine", 33.
[84] Ibid.
[85] L.Boia *History and Myth*, 181.
[86] Ibid., 182

the sake of "normalizing the relations with the neighbors" and of European integration. And later he gives even a more unfit rationale as for a deconstructivist historian, but more as a politician. Thus, he says that even though Romanian majority was changed by Austrians in Bukovina, the factual state of affairs is to be accepted and treated as a kind of compensation for the areas, where Romanians gained majority at the expense of the others, like in Dobrogea[87].

I argue that this is exactly the approach which allows cosmetic change of the discourse, but which does not affect the underpinning. In fact he suggests to make a negotiation with the neighbors because Romanians also profited from other neighbors, and not because "historical" rights which he had just deconstructed are imaginary and anti-scientific. As to the "European integration" rationale, it has been too frequently used as the euphemism for normalizing the neighborhood relations, and proved to be insufficient for the real re-thinking of national mythologies. There should be a deeper recognition of the imaginary character of "ethnoscapes" in the society in order the stereotypes and myths stop working, instead of the appeals to pragmatism, as rationality does not work in the collective memory like for individuals.

### 2.3 Bukovinism Revisited: Nationalizing and Europeanizing

After identifying the common attachment of Ukrainian and Romanian nation projects to Bukovina, in this section I suggest to return to the phenomenon and myth of "Bukovinism" described in the first section, and to retrace its transformations in the immediate aftermath and in the post-communist time. The local and in a way transnational myth of "Bukovinism" had its further evolution in national contexts. Naturally, it was differently interpreted in Romanian and Ukrainian traditions: from negation to internalization.

After the incorporation of the region in the Greater Romanian nation-state in 1918, Austrian period is remembered as the "classic" period of Bukovinian regionalism. The

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[87] Ibid., 183.

syncretic regional identity started dissolving in the increasingly nationalized discourses of the main ethnic groups in Bukovina, synchronically with the general trend in Europe at the beginning of the 20[th] century and amplifying in after the WWI. "Bukovinism" ideology did not fit the radicalized ethnicities any more and was gradually substituted with multiple competing nation-building projects.

This laid the basis for the Ukrainian-Romanian dispute on Bukovina as the two biggest ethnic groups in the region. Though Bukovina became a subject of ethnic competition even in Austrian times, these were relatively peaceful and mutually compatible local discourses related to limited national, political and cultural liberties within the Austrian province.

The real confrontation started with the acquiring and strengthening of the national identities by the ethnic communities. This is the time of definite separation between regional common or compatible discourses and mutually exclusive national ones. The new generation of Ukrainian and Romanian politicians laid down political demands for closer relations with other historical regions with Ukrainian population – Galicia for Ukrainians[88], and Romanian provinces for Romanians[89]. The competition culminated in the parallel proclamations rule over Bukovina in autumn 1918: Ukrainian Assembly declared its will to unite with Western Ukrainian Republic and Romanian National Council proclaimed unification with Romanian state[90].

It is worth to mention yet the project of peaceful "divorce": so called **"Ukrainian-Romanian condominium",** suggested by the Ukrainian Assembly and its leader O.Popovych, supported by the moderate Romanian National-Democrat party headed by Aurel Onciul. This project envisaged the division of Bukovina according to ethnic majority principle – setting Ukrainian authorities in the Northern Bukovina, Romanian ones in Southern part, and in

[88] O.Dobrzhanskiy. "*Natsionalnyi ruh ukraintsiv Bukovyny drugoi polovyny 19-pochatku 20 stolittia*" ("*The National Movement of Ukrainians in Bukovina in the second half of the 19[th] – the beginning of the 20[th] century*") (Chernivtsi, Zoloti lytavry, 1999), 439.
[89] I.Nistor. *Unirea Bucovinei 28 noiembrie 1918. Studiu si documente*, 33.
[90] O.Popovych O. *Vidrodzhennia Bukovyny (spomyny)*, 95.

Czernowitz a Ukrainian-Romanian condominium was to be set, the governments in mixed locations was to be decided by the local communities.

This compromise project, set in the tradition of constructive regional cooperation, was refuted by the radical Romanian National Party headed by Iancu Flondor. Greater Romania appeared in the picture and the whole Bukovina was occupied by Romanian troops. In such a way, the last attempt of regional cooperation to find a compromise was defeated by the nationalist appropriations.

Greater Romania homogenizing context exhibited harsh opposition to the regionalism in Bukovina. Besides, as Andrei Corbea points out, nationalist Romanian forces opposed to the idea of "Bukovinism" considering the Jews to be its main beneficiaries[91]. He also mentions about the "daco-romanist" project in Bukovina of Nicolae Iorga, an idol of Romanian historiography and Greater Romanian politician, who was unpleasantly impressed by cosmopolitanism in Bukovina he saw during his trip in Bukovina in 1890s[92].

One of the setters of Greater Romanian project on the region, Romanian historian from Bukovina Ion Nistor expressed its main idea of wiping the Austrian legacy in a concise form in 1918:

> "Today, when the national principle is celebrating its great triumph, when the old states are tumbling down, and in their ruins rejuvenated states within the ethnic boundaries of each nation are arising, 'Bukovinism' has to disappear… Bukovina has united with Romania, within whose boundaries there is no room for homo bucovinensis, but only for civis Romaniae"[93].

Romanian tradition in the post-communist period continues contesting "Bukovinism". Thus, historian from Suceava Mihai Iacobescu considers that Central Europe inherited a post-

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[91] A.Corbea Paul Celan si "meridianul" sau, 34.
[92] Ibid., 100.
[93] Cited from: I.Livezeanu. *Cultural politics in Greater Romania,* 49.

Habsburgic space of "a strange syncretism" and "denatured and exaggerated concepts which form the Habsburg myth"[94].

Instead, another "Golden age" was created for Bukovina, transferred from the national one, of Greater Romania. This shift was set also by Ion Nistor, the author of a laudation speech about the positive effects on the development of the region under Romania administration, describing an idyllic picture of general prosperity, everybody's satisfaction, unprecedented economic development[95]. Though, in contemporary Romanian critical historiography the interwar period receives contradictory accounts. For instance, Boia calls in question whether Greater Romania was a Golden age for Romania and suggests that it "can no longer be a useful model"[96]. However, in the nationalist discourses it is still a period of glory, national unity and democracy. It is important for our research that this view is still reflected in the textbooks, which is not surprising taking into account the sluggishness and lagging behind the academic discussion of this kind of historiography as its in-built feature, as it was demonstrated in the theoretical part of the thesis.

Turning to the interpretation of "Bukovinism" in Ukrainian tradition, in its mainstream it internalized the myth and even re-framed it.

Ukrainian perception of Bukovina was perverted and hybridized by Soviet propaganda which tried to adjust the multiethnic aura of Bukovina in the myth of socialist internationalism. Soviet historiography presented 'Bukovinism' as an example of "friendship and unity" in the multinational state of the Soviet Union.

Bukovina's identity and image was significantly eroded. Very often it was referred to in the literature as an amorphous space without identity. For instance, it is addressed as a "forgotten land between Western Europe, Russia and Turkey", stressing its peripheral position

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[94] Mihai Iacobescu. "Bucovina intre mitul habsburgic si realitate istorica". in: *Analele Bucovinei*. Anul XII, no.2 (2005), 289.
[95] I.Nistor. *Bucovina sub Dominatiunea Romaneasca: La 20 de ani de la Unire*, 35-39.
[96] L.Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian consciousness*, 6.

– geographical and geopolitical[97]. Moreover, some authors go further and contest Bukovina as an irrational territory, a result of some misunderstanding or error: "Of all the rag-tag foreign leavings that make up present-day Ukraine, the remotest and the most obscure is the Bukovina"[98]. Even stronger assessment is made by A.J.Taylor calling Bukovina a "meaningless fragment" and describing it as an accidentally forgotten piece of land which was somehow left as insignificant on the border of different empires and civilizations[99].

Since the fall of communism, the question of regional identity in Bukovina finds itself, once more, in the centre of attention in Ukraine and acquires a new currency in the context renaissance of national ideology. Since the Austrian relatively liberal ethnic policy in Bukovina, in particular for Ukrainians, in contrast to homogenizing Greater Romania project and denationalizing Soviet period, it turned to be the most suitable period for idealization as a Golden age. In the contemporary vortex of events confusing for most people, most myths tend to be rooted in Austrian times. Post-communist socioeconomic crisis makes it catching to look backwards, to the times which retrospectively a remembered, with a taste of nostalgia for the "romantic times". This explains partly the popularity of the "Bukovinism myth" in post-communist Ukraine. The myth of *"little Vienna"* is cherished till now and would be proudly outspoken by a Chernivtsi dweller to a tourist.

A new impetus to the "Bukovinism" discourses is given by the European integration processes in the region. The topic became fashionable again and therefore mythologized. In the context, the myth was rediscovered, with a new-minted nuance of Europeanness. Within the European discourse, the new reincarnation of "Bukovinism" is an argument that this region was (and therefore is) in European cultural and historical space.

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[97] Viorel Roman, Hannes Hoffbauer. *Bukovina, Bessarabiia, Moldaviia: Zabytaia zemlia mezhdu Zapadnoi Evropoi, Rossiei I Turtsiei. (Bukovina, Bessarabia, Moldavia: The Forgotten Land between Western Europe, Russia and Turkey).* (Chernovtsy, Prut, 1996).
[98] Anna Reid. *Borderland: A journey through the history of Ukraine.* (Westview Press, 1997.) 93.
[99] Ibid.

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Interestingly, it happened not only in the aspiring to access the European Union Ukraine, but in Europe itself, which is looking for an apt model of multicultuality and tolerance. "Bukovinism" gives a positive example of interethnic tolerance in multiethnic regions of Europe. One of the exemplary cases was the Conference in Poland in 1994 called "Bukovina – "Europe in miniature", where Bukovina was appealed to as a unique example of tolerance and multiethnicity for the whole Europe[100]. This idea was also underlined by the descendent of the Austrian monarchs Otto von Habsburg in his article "Chernivtsi, or What is Tolerance": "There was a synthesis of national consciousness and a higher, so to say, European view, in Chernivtsi. In this multinational city it was proved that peoples can reach much through common culture; that different languages and religious groups can peacefully reach a great common idea"[101].

In this context, it is opportune to mention that one of the challenges of Europeanization of the continent is to find an appropriate idea or model for the diverse cultural space, to integrate histories and to establish a common memory culture[102]. Though, as S.Berger proposes, there is a danger that the national myths will be substituted with a European one. Instead, he suggests to change the paradigm to openness, provincialization and regionalization of Europe[103]. In this respect, Bukovina also should be treated and carefully studied as an original and complex phenomenon, rather than transformed in new artificial constructs.

As it was demonstrated, the turbulent history, geopolitical wandering, multiethnicity of Bukovina shaped its syncretic regional consciousness, so called "Bukovinism", which is known for its unique interethnic tolerance. It was a regional identity, but highly mythologized,

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[100] S.Troian. "Kontakty uchenyh Ukrainy, Moldovy i Rumynii: vzaimoponimanie putem dialogov i sotrudnichestva", 220.

[101] Cited from: Masan O., Chekhovskiy I. *Chernivtsi*, 90.

[102] *Conflicted memories: Europeanizing contemporary histories*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger. (New York, Berghahn Books, 2007), 15.

[103] S. Berger. "Writing National Histories in Europe: Reflections on the Pats, Presents, and Futures of a Tradition. In: *Conflicted memories*, 66.

though, as a "Golden Age" of Austrian times, as an example of socialist internationalism, and being currently transformed in the European myth, as an example of harmonious combination of national and international. In a nutshell, Bukovina issue for Ukrainian discourse lies mostly in legitimization, while for Romania it is coming in terms with the loss of territories which is accompanied with nostalgic memories. Consequently, "Bukovinism" was differently framed by the two nations: contested in Romanian historiography and reincarnated in Ukrainian tradition, with a European smack.

However, despite the Europeanizing trends in the political context of integration, both national traditions have not changed significantly re-thought their traditional approaches to the region of Bukovina and each other. As the further textbook analysis shows, these discourses have changed the introductions and implanted some fragments on tolerance, but despite all the declamations on European unity, both in Romanian and Ukrainian textbooks, the discourses are basically the same, and contain traditional structures and clichés.

# Chapter III. Representation of Bukovina in Collective Memories through History Education

## 3.1 Teaching Bukovina in Ukraine and Romania, and its Implications

As it was outlined in the first chapter, history textbook is an excellent source for studying national identity and canons, memory. Their analysis aims too demonstrate what kind of identities and myths on Bukovina Ukrainian and Romanian school history creates. But before doing the proper textbook research, I am going to explain the education framework in which the history of Bukovina region is taught in Ukraine and Romania

The structure of history education and in particular the history of the regions is different in the two countries. In Ukraine, besides the national history course, there is an optional component of the so called "History of the Native Land" as a separate course, studied in the 7-11 grades in the regional schools, with the separate textbooks available. In Romania the study of historical regions is not institutionalized as a separate subject at schools. Moreover, the national history has the tendency to be integrated in European or universal context, with parallel narratives.

In the context of Bukovina in Ukraine there are two types of regional history textbooks: general national textbooks for the schools with Ukrainian language of instruction and for the Romanian language schools. In such a way, the very education system creates regionalist discourse is supported and reproduced in the imaginaries of young generation, and therefore, creates the premises for sustaining regional identity in Bukovina. In Romania history of southern Bukovina is not studied separately, but is incorporated in the national history curricula. Furthermore, in the public discourse and school courses, reflected in different regional maps of Romania, Southern Bukovina is included in Moldova region[104].

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[104] To compare the mapping see Appendices III and IV.

Another structural difference between the two traditions is constant repeating of the whole history in every grade in Romanian school history, whereas in Ukrainian system each year different periods are taught. As a result, Ukrainian schoolchildren study contemporary history in a more conscious age, while their Romanian peers repeat the whole historical process in every grade. If there can be made an assumption out of this observation, that would be a more systematized and continuous picture of the past for the Romanian pupils, and an emphasized recent history with a bit obliterated image of the ancient history for Ukrainian schoolchildren.

Ukrainian school policies and history education in particular has been a subject to ample research in the recent years. Thus, a study on the school policy in the post-Soviet transitional Ukraine describes the process of social construction of new national identity in Ukraine[105]. The research on the Ukrainian history textbooks showed that post-communist Ukrainian intellectual elite has revised the Soviet conceptions of the past and created a new conception of national history[106]. Taras Kuzio noticed that in the Ukrainian textbook traditions the main interpretations have changed in a number of aspects, one of them being the evaluation of the Austrian regime in the contemporary Ukrainian territories, which is now regarded as generally positive for Ukrainians[107]. At the same time, as Kataryna Wolczuk noticed, the post-communist nation-building co-exist with the declarations about the aspirations to modernization and prosperity in the framework of the European community and demonstrated "Europeanness"[108].

The situation is similar in Romania. From late 1990s the trend to stress and demonstrate Europeanness of Romanians suggesting a more balanced approach, more European discourse, in order to overcome the stereotypes of the past and build the future in the present and to show

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[105] Viktor Stepanenko, *The construction of identity and school policy in Ukraine*.
[106] Nancy Popson. The Ukrainian history textbook: introducing children to the "Ukrainian nation". in: *Nationalities paper*s. vol. 30. no. 2. (2002), 326.
[107] Taras Kuzio, "History, memory and nation building in the post-soviet colonial space", in: *Nationalities papers* 30, no. 2 (2002), 253.
[108] Kataryna Wolczuk History, Europe and "the national idea": the "official" narrative of national identity in Ukraine. in: *Nationalities papers*. vol. 28. no. 4, (2000), 689.

the relation between Romanians and Europe[109]. But in fact, except the introductions and some introduced fragments, they show almost no difference, present the same logic of interpretation; the classical plots are depicted in the same way. As already cited in the thesis Romanian historian Boia acknowledged, after the provoked discussion in the society on revising the national history, the textbooks have changed slightly, diversified, but still remained highly mythologized[110]. A research of Romanian history textbooks to communist period showed that the "Pantheon" of national heroes, constructed in modern Romania was formed 19[th] century and has not changed much since then, either in the selection of the idols, or in their mythologization[111].

As to the mutual representations in Ukrainian and Romanian textbooks, they do not abound in the information on each other, to put it mildly. Thus, Professor at Chernivtsi University Oleksandr Sych demonstrated in his research of Ukrainian textbooks that there is a significant vacuum of information on Romania, and the existing one is either neutral or has negative implication[112].

The representation of Bukovina region and its history within the national historical traditions is analyzed in the next section where I present the results of the textbook analysis proper.

### 3.2 Bukovina in National Textbooks: Ukrainian and Romanian Interpretations

In terms of the above-sketched structures of history education in the two countries, I did my research on the basis of four categories of textbooks: national Romanian textbooks on general Romanian history; national textbooks on general Ukrainian history, which are taught

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[109] O.Bozgan, O.Lazar M.Stamatescu, B.Teodorescu *Istorie.* (Textbook for the 12[th] grade), (Bucuresti: All educational, 1999).

[110] L.Boia, *History and Myth*, 19.

[111] M.Murgescu. "School textbooks and the heroes of Romanian history", 1-11.

[112] Oleksandr Sych. *Istoriia Rumunii v ukraiins'kyh pidruchnykah z istorii (The history of Romania in Ukrainian history textbooks).* Report at the seminar at Chernivtsi University, June 2007. To be published.

in all Ukrainian regions (including Chernivtsi region); Ukrainian textbooks on Bukovina history which are taught only in Chernivtsi region schools; Ukrainian textbooks on Bukovina history, which are taught in Chernivtsi region, in the schools with Romanian language of instruction),

Here are some general trends observed in the national textbooks in relation to or having implications for our subject, which reflect some common features, peculiar to this type of literature, as it was demonstrated in the theoretical section.

The performed discourse analysis of the used Romanian and Ukrainian textbooks shows that despite the history textbook writing boom in post-communist Ukraine and Romania, a big number of them, they do not differ much between themselves in the interpretation of the crucial points of history. Sometimes, they repeat the same plots, formulations and clichés. The mainstream canons have been established and are transferred from one generation of pupils to another.

Second, both traditions have the *ethnoscape* syndrome**.** They start their narratives on the national histories from neolith period, which reflects the general national mythology of territory and ethnogenesis, analyzed before in the thesis. Their texts create a transcendentalist description of the states, like they have always existed, just in another hypostasis. Thus, they create the effect of teleological continuity of the contemporary states. In all regarded cases they very vaguely put when we start talking about Ukrainian and Romanian nations. A very characteristic sample is this: "All possible measures were taken in order to eradicate the ancient aspiration of Ukrainian population to reunification with Superior Dnieper Ukraine"[113]. Similar examples can be found in Romanian texts.

Third, the textbooks under analysis have manipulative manner of presenting facts and formulations. For instance, in Romanian textbooks the word "national" is used for Romanian,

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[113] V.Sarbei. *Istoriia Ukraiiny. 19 – pochatok 20 stlittia* (Textbook for the 9th grade), (Kyiv, Geneza, 1996), 127.

as speaking about Catholization of schools having "bad consequences for education in national language"; "*national*" used for "Romanian"[114]. Similarly, Bukovinians stand for Romanians - it creates an impression for the schoolchildren that it was really that Romanians were the only center of social and political life in Bukovina. Besides, substitution of notions is made: speaking about the Others (Hungary, URSS, Habsburg empire) Romanian authors use the term "annexation"; but when referring to the fact of gaining territories by Romanians, they use "unification", "return to mother-state", "(re-)integration". These techniques create not only knowledge, but a certain perspective and way of thinking. Besides, it is characteristic that both sides pick more advantageous periods and facts and silent the other.

Fourth, simplistic and ahistorical rhetoric is peculiar to the textbooks. The texts do not often reflect the complexity of historical processes, and use contemporary categories and notions for historical contexts. For example, here is a passage which mentions "Ukrainian language" spoken in Moldova the 15th century: "It should be mentioned that Ukrainian population was sympathetic to Stefan [The Great – V.V.] who was married to a Kyivan princess Yevdokia, Ukrainian language was the language of Moldovan principality"[115].

Comparative analysis of the representation of Bukovina was performed through the matrix of the nodal points of Bukovinian history, according to the following questions:

- The ethnogenesis in the territory if Bukovina;

- concept of Bukovina and Austrian heritage;

- interwar period; the WWI and WWII;

- Soviet rule over northern Bukovina;

- Bukovina in post-communist period, kin-minorities;

- Interethnic relations (Image of the Other).

- European integration.

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[114] M.Manea, B.Teodorescu. *Istora romanilor. De la 1821 pana in 1989.* (Textbook for the 12th grade). (Bucuresti, Editura didactica si pedagogica, 1995), 48.

[115] V.Fedorak, N.Cherkach *Istoriia ridnoho kraiu* (Textbook for the 7-11 grades), (Chernivtsi, Prut, 2001), 22.

*Ethnogenesis* topic is central in the analyzed textbooks, creating together an ethnospacial unity, like a territory and the ethnos belong together. The territory of ethnogenesis is very sketchy, which permits later on refer to the borderlands as they were ethnically homogeneous.

The plot starts with the interrelation between the proto-Romanian population (referred to as proper Romanians in the Romanian textbooks) and the Slavs. In Romanian narratives Slavs are depicted as a foreign body of migrants, with a lower culture, in the continuous massive of more-developed autochthon "Romanianism": "At the middle of autochthon Romanian population Slaves were penetrating from the East. … Slavs remained at the territory of our Motherland, and were assimilated by the autochthones who were superior in number and their civilization…"[116]. The use of "our Motherland" is a demonstrative example of unlimited transcending the nation-state territory back in history.

Ukrainian textbooks present Bukovina as a "historical province with mixed population", where in the northern part Ukrainians lived since ancient times, but there were many Romanian villages; and vice versa in southern part[117]. Thus, Bukovina in the contrast to most Romanian versions, it also defines the north-south ethnic division of Bukovina, which is not present in Romanian textbooks[118].

*"Myth of Territory"* is achieved through teleological understanding of the inevitable and continual imperative of further creation of nation-states. Retrospectively they reconstruct the events in a fatalistic way, like everything was a logical process leading to the ideal of contemporary state.

Here is the main point of divergence between the two national textbook traditions: Bukovina is referred to as both "old Romanian land"[119] and is presented among three "ancient"

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[116] H.Diacoviciu, P.Teodor, I. Campeanu. *Istoria romanilor. Din cele mai vechi timpuri pana la revolutia din 1821.* (Textbook for the 7th grade), (Bucuresti, Editura didactica si pedagogica, 1997), 66.
[117] S.Kulchytskiy M.Koval, Yu. Lebedeva. *Istoriia Ukraiiny* (Textbook for the 10th grade), (Kyiv, Osvita, 1998), 70.
[118] V.Sarbei. *Istoriia Ukraiiny. 19 – pochatok 20 stlittia*, 12.
[119] M.Manea, B.Teodorescu. *Istora romanilor. De la 1821 pana in 1989*, 47.

Ukrainian lands[120]. Later on, chapters like "Romanian provinces under the foreign rule", "Romanians beyond Romania" create constant "virtual" presence of them, including Bukovina, in the orbit of Romanian spirit, giving the virtual feeling of temporal and spatial continuity, integrity of "Romanian lands". Likewise, Ukrainian textbooks include the chapters about interwar period like "Ukrainian lands in the composition of Romania"[121]. Similarly, another Romanian textbook informs the reader about 3 millions of Romanians living under foreign rule - Austro-Hungarian, Russian – who were exposed to denationalization, prevention of national development, through prohibiting their participation in political life and "administrative hostility towards Romanian cultural life"[122].

The "*Territory myth*" can be followed also in the chapter "War for the national *re-unification* of Romania", which implies that it had been unified before and the unification was inevitable[123]. This formulation suggests the logic that it was not creation of a state, but its restoration, what should make it more legitimate.

A crucial point is the representation of the very concept of Bukovina, as a region - as a construction of Austrian rule or as something natural. Romanian manuals present the creation of Bukovina negatively, as a tearing-off a part of Moldova which was a hard blow on the Romanian unity: "As a result of Kuchuk-Kainardgi Peace treaty, the Habsburgs tore off in 1775 the north of Moldova with its old capital in Suceava. From that time on this territory with massive Romanian population has become known under the name of Bukovina"[124]. Here we can see that Moldova region would be preferred to Bukovina as a region.

Another similar estimation, but also showing that these were the principalities who "ceded" the territory (though they were not sovereign themselves) and, secondly, it shows

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[120] V.Sarbei . *Istoriia Ukraiiny. 19 – pochatok 20 stlittia*, 12.
[121] S.Kulchytskiy M.Koval, Yu. Lebedeva. *Istoriia Ukraiiny* (Textbook for the 10th grade), 70.
[122] O.Bozgan, O.Lazar M.Stamatescu, B.Teodorescu *Istorie*, 59.
[123] M.Manea, B.Teodorescu. *Istora romanilor. De la 1821 pana in 1989.*, 196.
[124] H.Diacoviciu, P.Teodor, I. Campeanu. *Istoria romanilor. Din cele mai vechi timpuri pana la revolutia din 1821*, 170.

Moldovan resistance to the decision of the great powers and his attachment to the territory, as well as its heroic side: "the principalities ceded to the winners Oltenia, Bucovina (annexed by Austria, the reason why the ruler Grigore III Ghica was thrown off and killed according to sultan's order because he opposed to this concession) and Bessarabia[125]. This passage reflects the unjust appropriation of the Romanian territory by Austrians: Through corruption, blackmailing and military pressure, the territory which was a part of Moldova became an Austrian province at the end of Russian-Turkish war[126]. One more interpretation: Bukovina was formed by tearing-off of a northern part of Moldova in 1775 "as compensation to the Austrians for the increasing influence of Russia in Romanian states in the second half of 19[th] century"[127]. Even stronger claim is made by the authors of another schoolbook referring to Bukovina as "stolen" by Habsburg Empire in 1775[128]

Attitude to the Austrian rule and heritage is another important point of divergence between the two national historical traditions. In Romanian textbooks it is presented as a harmful phenomenon for Romanianism in Bukovina. They suggest that the main outcome of Austrian rule for Romanians was denationalization and the "loss of the status of majority" in favour of Ruthenians/Ukrainians[129].

In general, referring to the Austrian heritage, Romanian textbooks do not estimate the multicultuality as positive; but more as an artificially created phenomenon by Austrians. It narrates the development of culture in the region only as the center of formation of Romanian elite, without accentuating that Habsburgs actually provided the framework for this.[130]. This period is presented as Germanization, though later when talking about greater Romania this policy is perceived as a natural function of a "unitarian" state.

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[125] S.Oane, M.Ochescu. *Istoria Romanilor.* (Textbook for the 8[th] grade). *(*Bucuresti, Humanitas Educational, 2001), 96.
[126] Ibid., 114.
[127] O.Bozgan, O.Lazar M.Stamatescu, B.Teodorescu *Istorie*, 61
[128] M.Manea, B.Teodorescu. *Istora romanilor. De la 1821 pana in 1989*, 47
[129] Ibid., 47.
[130] S.Oane, M.Ochescu. *Istoria Romanilor*, 114.

Therefore, Bukovina is presented as a region with no particular regional specificity, just as a stolen land. However, there is an interesting twist when Bozgan's text mentions that after the incorporation of the territory in the province of Galicia in 1786, Bukovina was "loosing its historical individuality"[131].

Paradoxically, Romanian interpretations not only do not notice any positive impact even in the economic sphere, but also evaluate it as a period of retarded economic development, though Bukovina has significantly progressed in this regard: "From economic point of view, Bukovina underwent a modest development. Due to the rural structure of Bukovinian population"… urbanization did not change social structure of Romanian population, most of them remaining agrarians[132].

As to the Ukrainian textbooks, they describe Austrian time generally positive, but reservedly. Most of them mentioned a relatively good situation, presentation in Vienna parliament[133]. But some of them demonstrate reduction of Ukrainian population, mostly because of the Jews and other the titular nationalities in the respective empires IN relation to Bukovina they mention discrimination of Ukrainian language in 80-90s of 19th century and serious impact of Romanians in cultural sphere, especially churches[134]. Though, Ukrainian textbooks referring to the 19th century, when there was no Ukrainian state, still mention reduction of the concentration of Ukrainians in the territory of Ukraine and appearance of minorities[135].

This interpretation diametrically contrasts with the Romanian canons which exactly complain on Austrian favoring for Ruthenians and relate the reduction of Romanian population to this period. Thus, one Romanian textbook goes as far as to argue that "Forced

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[131] O.Bozgan, O.Lazar M.Stamatescu, B.Teodorescu *Istorie*, 42.
[132] Ibid., 61; M.Manea, B.Teodorescu. *Istora romanilor. De la 1821 pana in 1989*, 47..
[133] S.Kulchytskiy M.Koval, Yu. Lebedeva. *Istoriia Ukraiiny* (Textbook for the 10th grade), 70.
[134] V.Sarbei. *Istoriia Ukraiiny. 19 – pochatok 20 stlittia* (Textbook for the 9th grade), (Kyiv, Geneza, 1996), 127, 155.
[135] Ibid., 154.

denationalization of Romanians" took place in Austrian Bukovina, when Romanian language was prohibited in schools and churches[136]. At the same time, he still describes the huge number of Romanian national societies and parties; opened chair of Romanian language and literature at Chernowitz University, introduction of universal suffrage from 1907, "which Romanians could use for their ideals"[137].

However, when it comes to a comparison, they mention some positive sides of Bukovinian situation. Thus, Bozgan's textbook devotes an entire page in his subchapter on Bukovinian Romanians, saying that "the situation of Romanians in Bukovina significantly differed from that in Transylvania". It explained that despite all negative phenomena, Habsburgs tried to mediate conflicts between the nationalities, in contrast to the Hungarian nationalist policy in Transylvania[138].

*Image of the Other* is created implicitly. In Romanian version it is more about ignoring the Other: it includes a small amount of information on other nationalities until the Austrian times, except pure mentioning of their artificial appearance in the region. Diversity is dated only by middle 19th century and is explained as a result of the "colonization policy of the Habsburgs" of changing ethnic structure of the population, adding to the Romanians who were majority until 1775 – Germans, Ruthenians, Armenians, Jews, Secui etc[139]. Ukrainians appeared as a "danger" in the plots about 1918, when they claimed for "Romanian land" of Bukovina and "threatened" by annexation[140].

The next crucial stage of Bukovinian history – the interwar period – is narrated even more controversially. Naturally, in Romanian textbooks it is depicted as "Golden Age", described as the return to the "mother-state". Occupation of Romanian troops in 1918 is presented as defensive act, because the "Austrians planned unification of Bukovina with

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[136] M.Manea, B.Teodorescu. *Istora romanilor. De la 1821 pana in 1989*, 172.
[137] Ibid., 173.
[138] O.Bozgan, O.Lazar M.Stamatescu, B.Teodorescu *Istorie*, 61.
[139] Ibid., 42.
[140] M.Manea, B.Teodorescu. *Istora romanilor. De la 1821 pana in 1989*, 226.

Galicia; while Ukrainians who proclaimed their independence from Russia claimed for Bukovina in its turn" [141]. So, Romanian military intervention in 1918 was just a counteraction against Austrian and Ukrainian plans.

In Ukrainian interpretations interwar period was a time of assimilation and Romanization in all spheres. Romania is qualified as "one of the most backward countries in Europe". The same textbook mentions economic crisis, decay of cultural life, preferences for Romanian population and the Khotin uprising against the Romanian rule[142]. Another Ukrainian national textbook reports about relative loosening of the regime and legalization of political parties in 1928-1938, connecting it with the Tatarbunar revolt in 1924. And at the same time, it provides information on Ukrainian nationalist movement[143].

It is interesting to follow how the delicate issue of the Greater Romania's policy towards ethnic minorities is legitimized in the Romanian tradition. Here the textbooks try to justify the homogenizing project, using the formulae like "integration". They acknowledge the existence of a significant number of minorities (28,1%) and their "dissatisfaction" with the "administrative and educational unification". After that they concentrate on the long depiction of the liberties of minorities, "guaranteed by the Constitution": had ethnic political parties, who usually were in power in coalition, other rights equal to those of Romanians, their own schools, press and churches. Romanian chauvinist political forces are presented only referring to 1929-1933, and explained by the economic crisis, as well as detached from the government which "could hardly cope with them"[144].

An even more justifying version was found in another schoolbook, presenting in a completely positive light. It mentions "Deeply democratic character of creation of the Greater Romania", which determined that "unity did not substitute diversity", "democratic political

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[141] S.Oane, M.Ochescu. *Istoria Romanilor*, 120

[142] S.Kulchytskiy M.Koval, Yu. Lebedeva. *Istoriia Ukraiiny* (Textbook for the 10th grade), 198-200.

[143] F.Turchenko. *Novitnia istoriia Ukraiiny* (Textbook for the 10th grade) (Contemporary History of Ukraine), part I, (Kyiv: Geneza, 1994), 270.

[144] S.Oane, M.Ochescu. *Istoria Romanilor*, 141-145.

regime, which permitted affirmation of all values, no matter of nationality, language or religion". "Creation of the national unitarian state was realized through manifestation of the special spirit of a tolerance, which was written in the declarations of unification of all Romanian provinces. Democratic, representative and tolerant character of the act of the Great Unification had positive influence on the following evolution of Greater Romania"[145]. Then follows a short notice that: "It happens only in 1938, in extremely difficult internal and external context, that King Carol II introduced monarchic authoritarian regime".

Romanian discourse is basically denying any *local identity* in Bukovina, only concentrates on the national one, to whatever period it relates, even when nationalism was a matter of elites, and the peasants were working and cared about their lives, and not about political issues. For instance, when describing the events of 1918 Manea's textbook narrates how "politic-diplomatic measures were accompanied by the struggle of "large Romanian masses" in the provinces", but does not mention the alternative compromise Romanian project of A.Onciul, and the regional "condominium" endeavors.

A relatively balanced account is given by Kulchytskiy's schoolbook for the 10[th] grade. It describes Bukovina as a historical province with mixed population. At the same time, it introduces ethnic nuances, informing that in the northern part Ukrainians lived since ancient times, but there were many Romanian villages; and vice versa the southern part was populated mostly by Romanians, but there were some Ukrainian settlements[146].

Soviet occupation in 1940 is partly convergent in Romanian and Ukrainian text canons. Both agree that this was an occupation. In Romanian version it was a tragic event, firstly because of the end of Greater Romania[147]. Participation in the WWII was for "liberation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina" which was enthusiastically accepted by local

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[145] O.Bozgan, O.Lazar M.Stamatescu, B.Teodorescu *Istorie*, 89.
[146] S.Kulchytskiy M.Koval, Yu. Lebedeva. *Istoriia Ukraiiny* (Textbook for the 10[th] grade), (Kyiv, Osvita, 1998), 70.
[147] S.Oane, M.Ochescu. *Istoria Romanilor*, 324.

Romanians"[148]. In Ukrainian interpretation it was also an "annexation" of Bukovina and Bessarabia by the USSR, but it stresses that "Soviet union demanded that part of Bukovina with Ukrainian majority[149]. In both traditions the communist period in Bukovina is very sketchy, if not absent at all.

In the aftermath of communism the stories become more restrained and politically correct. The main plot here is the basic treaty mentioned neutrally in the context of external changes in post-communist Romania[150]. The rationale for peaceful relations is given in the context for the sake of regional stability, protection Romanian minority and European integration. An excerpt from the treaty with Ukraine is given in one textbook, as well as the information on regional cooperation in Black sea region is mentioned[151].

In the Ukrainian textbook on contemporary history for the 11[th] grade there in the chapter on international relations of independent Ukraine a few paragraphs are devoted to the relations with Romania, though it is not informative about this neighbor in the rest of the text. It regards the Basic treaty between the two states as a "very important act" for the national interests of Ukraine and European security. Later on it tells the story about the territorial claims on the side of Romania, in particular towards northern Bukovina. It explains Bucharest's ultimate decision to sign the treaty on the border by its EuroAtlantic integration agenda[152].

### 3.3 Bukovina in Regional Textbooks: Ukrainian and Romanian schools in Chernivtsi region

Since there is no regional textbooks in Romania, in this section I will analyze what kind of regional history is constructed the education in Chernivtsi region, Ukraine, in a comparative perspective of the two regional textbooks: for the schools with Ukrainian language of

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[148] M.Manea, B.Teodorescu. *Istora romanilor. De la 1821 pana in 1989*, 342.
[149] F.Turchenko. *Novitnia istoriia Ukraiiny*, 277.
[150] S.Oane, M.Ochescu. *Istoria Romanilor*, 166.
[151] O.Bozgan, O.Lazar M.Stamatescu, B.Teodorescu *Istorie*, 165-166.
[152] S.Kul'chytskiy, M.Koval', Yu.Lebedeva. *Istoriia Ukrainy*. (Textbook for the 11[th] grade), 323.

instruction[153] and those with Romanian language[154]. The latter was written specifically for the Romanian minority in Chernivtsi region, as an original textbook and not just translated from any of the national textbooks, was supported by The "Mihai Eminescu" Romanian language Center in Chernivtsi with the rationale to show also those parts of Bukovinian history "which have not been paid proper attention, not to say ignored", in addition to the Ukrainian regional Fedorak's textbook.

It is important to bear in mind, that these textbooks address a specific audience of the schoolchildren from Northern Bukovina, and consequently, has potential to form regional identity of the up-coming generation. While their peers of the same age from other regions of Ukraine get their knowledge from the national textbooks, Chernivtsi region citizens have a supplement in the form of the class on Bukovina history. Importantly, national Ukrainian overlaps with the regional one, as children study both narratives. As to Romanian part of Bukovina, it does not provide special component of education in regional history of Bukovina, thus not constructing Bukovinian regional discourse and identity for the school children in Suceava County. And they limit themselves with the national history of Romanians, the same which is taught throughout the whole Romania.

As it turned out during the research, that these two textbooks basically repeat the respective national narratives, I will concentrate here mostly on the nuance and differences in the interpretations.

First, naturally, the regional textbooks contain more detailed information on Bukovina than the national ones. Consequently, they are less selective, less ignoring and more interpretative. Though, there is not much of a dialogue.

Second, these texts are often a bit more sensitive to the other story, if not in the interpretations, but at least in the selection of information; the proportion of the plots on the

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[153] V.Fedorak, N.Cherkach *Istoriia ridnoho kraiu (*Textbook for the 7-11 grades), (Chernivtsi, Prut, 2001); .
[154] D.Dragnev, S.Purici., C.Ungureanu, I.Gumenai. *Din istoria tinutului natal,* (Grade not specified), (Cernauti, Editura Alexandru Cel Bun, 2002).

others ethnic groups is more equal, though far from ideal. Even though the information is biased, it recognizes the fact of the other's existence. For instance, in the textbook for Romanian minority some Ukrainian viewpoints are given in addition to the main text as "some theories in historiography", with their arguments, while in national Romanian textbooks they are completely absent. Thus, it gives some information on Halich principality [p. 31], Shypin land [p.38] etc. However, similarly to national Romanian conception, for Romanian regional textbook it is peculiar to generalize the word "Bukovinians" as euphemism for Romanians[155].

Third, both of them reflect more on the regional identity issues, the phenomenon of multicultuality and tolerance etc. It is explicitly shown in the introduction of the Ukrainian textbook. Trying to create a balance between the national and regional, it addresses the reader with explaining the purpose to preserve national identity in Bukovina, and at the same time stresses on the "multiethnicity": "Bukovina is the mother for the representatives of all peoples who live here and are the citizens of our state: Ukrainians, Romanian, Moldovans, Jews, Russians, Poles, Germans etc. They brought a unique colour in the history of the region. Mutual influence of different peoples and their cultures during a long historical period created the phenomenon of Bukovinian tolerance which, as in a drop of dew, reflects the unity of the world in its diversity". And then it connects Bukovinian multicultural regionalism with the European idea: "Tolerance is the basic value of European civilization at the change of millennia and a great achievement of history. Join it!"[156].

"*The myth of territory*" is represented in the Romanian textbook through the passage about "historical space of Romanians" and the fact that historical borders do not always coincide with the actual borders of contemporary nation-states[157].

Ukrainian narrative reflects the *Ethnogenesis myth* by emphasizing that northern Bukovina as a Slavic land, being a part of Kyiv Rus and Halich early feudal principalities[158].

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[155] See: D.Dragnev, S.Purici., C.Ungureanu, I.Gumenai. *Din istoria tinutului natal*, 73, 108 etc.

[156] V.Fedorak, N.Cherkach *Istoriia ridnoho kraiu*, 4.

[157] D.Dragnev, S.Purici., C.Ungureanu, I.Gumenai. *Din istoria tinutului natal*, 5.

Then it mentions Shipin land, as a part of Halych principality, then Poland and in Moldovan principalities from 1499. In the part about the history of settlement of Ukrainians and Romanians in Bukovina lands, it lists the main nationalities of Bukovina: Ruthenians (Ukrainians) – from the 6[th] century, indigenous; Vlahs (Romanians) – from 14[th] century, indigenous in Hertsa, part of Storozhynets, Hliboka districts; Jews (16[th] century), coming Germany and Galicia[159].

Similarly, Romanian textbook starts the history of the region from geto-dacian population, which supposedly was populating these territories, but without exact mapping. The Slavs appear later, approximately in the 6[th] century[160]. But ethnogenesis proper is described rather delicately in the Romanian minority textbook, it is depicted generally a simultaneous for both ethnic groups within a longer period[161].

The "*Golden Age*" of Austrian Bukovina is present in the purest form in Ukrainian regional textbook: "In general for the advanced culture of all peoples of Bukovina were characterized by: democracy, universal values of the good, justice and humanism, optimism"[162]. Austrian period is described as the most positive, in contrast with the following periods of Romanization, Sovietization, and Russification.

In contrast, Romanian regional version perceives creation of Bukovina as a region identically to the Romanian national canon: as annexation, even "Theft" of Bukovina by Austria[163].

Regionalism and regional identity has a complex and controversial account by Romanian textbook. They do not form an integral perspective and rather resemble a compilation of opinions.

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[158] V.Fedorak, N.Cherkach *Istoriia ridnoho kraiu*, 11.
[159] Ibid., 107.
[160] D.Dragnev, S.Purici., C.Ungureanu, I.Gumenai. *Din istoria tinutului natal*, 26.
[161] Ibid., 43
[162] V.Fedorak, N.Cherkach *Istoriia ridnoho kraiu*, 53.
[163] D.Dragnev, S.Purici., C.Ungureanu, I.Gumenai. *Din istoria tinutului natal*, 61.

On one hand, it narrates the 19[th] century it concentrates on the raise of national-ethnic consciousness among Romanians, with no mentioning of local identity[164]. It repeats the national canon of the "loss of identity" by Bukovina, without specifying what kind of identity, while in fact Bukovina got its identity under Austrian rule.

Later on it still dryly informs about representation of ethnic groups in Vienna parliament and "Bukovinian liberal Union". Then it mentions the example of Bukovinian solidarity in 1848, so called "Petition of the Land" which demanded autonomy of the region, and where "despite the ethnic mosaic the population was regarded as a homogeneous entity"[165].

One more aspect of regional identity appears in a negativist logic, as opposed to the incorporation of Bukovina into one province with Galicia: "Bukovinians did not have anything in common with Galicians: different historical past, different ethnic, religious and social structure…". It says that "Bukovinian elites did not accept the forced unification with Galicia…", without specification that under "Bukovinian" it was meant to say Romanian[166]. Here some double standards appear: the authors "oppose" the unification of Bukovina with Galicia explaining by different identity, but speaking about the plans to unite with Romanian principalities it seemed preferable to regional autonomy. A positive evaluation to regionalism is given as opposed to previous Galician affiliation, as it gave more privileges to Romanians[167].

Multiethnicity in Romanian textbook is presented as "colonization" of the region by other ethnic groups, as an artificial phenomenon, encouraged by Habsburgs: "Habsburg domination of 114 years transformed Bukovina in a heterogeneous province in ethnic and confessional terms"[168]. Though, it does mention tolerance, describing interconfessional relations[169].

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[164] Ibid., P.88
[165] Ibid. 99
[166] Ibid., 73.
[167] Ibid., 102.
[168] Ibid., 117
[169] Ibid., 143

Passages on the phenomenon of peaceful interethnic co-habitation are very frequent in the Ukrainian text. Here is one of the samples: "Bukovina was the most multiethnic province of Austrian empire (9 nations), but all of them were called Bukovinians and were tolerant to each other"[170]. Moreover, it underlines the peacefulness of Romanian-Ukrainian co-existence: "During this period living in the territory of the region the two biggest autochthonous peoples, Ukrainian and Romanian, have accumulated vast experience of good-neighborhood peaceful co-existence. There was no conflict on the ethnic basis recorded"[171].

In local discourses the image of *the Other* is also present, but relatively mild. Though, despite the generally pronounced tolerance discourse, at the end of the Ukrainian textbook there is a table with "chronology of attacks on Bukovina", listing the Tatars, Hungarians, Moldavians, Turks, Poles, Russians[172]. It is converging with the Romanian's when mentioning that the majority of autochthonous ethnic groups – Ukrainians and Romanians - were engaged in agriculture, as opposed to the Jews, Germans populating the cities. In Romanian local version there is also reference that "Poles – first made alliances with Moldovan boyars, then - with Germans and Jews. Perception of the other nations appears as a convergent point, as a common treat to the ethno-demographic situation, mentioning that both Ukrainian and Romanian population was mostly rural, while the Others – Jews, Germans and Polish – occupied the urban spaces.

Interwar period is reconstructed almost identically with the Romanian mainstream interpretations, as described in the previous subchapter. In addition, it mentions that Bucharest was "appealing to historical rights and ethno-economic criteria" for "integration" of Bukovina in Kingdom[173]. Except "integration", there is a formulation "Nationalization"[174] of Cernivtsi University - another euphemism for Greater Romanian policies, which the recognized experts

[170] V.Fedorak, N.Cherkach *Istoriia ridnoho kraiu*, 34.
[171] Ibid., 16
[172] Ibid., 106.
[173] D.Dragnev, S.Purici., C.Ungureanu, I.Gumenai. *Din istoria tinutului natal*, 145.
[174] Ibid., 161.

in Greater Romania politics Livezeanu and Hausleitner called "Romanization"[175]. Justification of homogenizing policy is given – as a matter of survival and counteracting territorial claims.

An interesting turn is made in the Romanian manual when interwar period is reconstructed as a classical "*Golden age*". Paradoxically, it is this period when the textbook is especially generous in epithets and description of the "interethnic paradise" in Bukovina, the "peaceful co-habitation of Romanians and non-Romanians", which was not stressed in the before[176]. It lists a number of publications of ethnic communities, stresses that Ukrainian newspaper "Chas" was established under Romanian rule, and prohibited in the Soviet time[177]. In such a way, it appears that this is the time of peaceful co-existence, and not the Austrian period, which is the "classic" Bukovinism time in historiography.

The following passage is instructive in the whole discourse:

"Ethnic minorities (Ukrainian, Russian, Jewish, German, Polish etc.) benefited from a democratic regime and framework, established in 1923 Constitution. However, some measures of Romanian governments concerning Romanization of the institutions in which before dominated foreign legislations and languages, - natural measures for any state which wants to extend its authority in a given space – provoked, for a moment, their ungrounded opposition"[178].

Discussing the post-war impact in the history of Bukovina, the Ukrainian coursebook mentions the unification of Ukrainian lands, but not in an accentuated way, as it was done by the Soviet Union. Romanian textbook gives a negative account of the annexation of Bukovina by URSS, as harmful for all ethnic communities.

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[175] See: I.Livezeanu. *Cultural politics in Greater Romania*, M.Hausleitner. "De la romanizarea Bucovinei la Holocaust, 1918-1944.
[176] D.Dragnev, S.Purici., C.Ungureanu, I.Gumenai. *Din istoria tinutului natal*, 160.
[177] Ibid., 160.
[178] Ibid., 159.

Then Ukrainian book sketches the repressions and but liberalization in 1980s, which "gave possibility for national revival"[179]. Referring to the post-communist period Ukrainian text stresses on the active participation of Bukovinians in all-Ukrainian transformations and political life. A particular attention is given to the fact that Romanians in Hliboka, Novoselytsia (Noua Sulita) and Storozhynets 84% actively participated in the referendum on independence in 1991 (84%), 80% of them voting positively[180]. At this stage, regionalism issue is not explicit. This period is absent in Romanian version, as it covers the period until 1940.

As it turns from the performed discourse-analysis, Ukrainian and Romanian textbooks basically present two "parallel" independent stories on Bukovina which almost never engage in a dialogue. In general, they are either mutually ignoring and narrating like they do not notice the other side, or clashing with each other, invoking different background, are viewed through different spectacles – two national perspectives. As defined in theoretical part, the national narratives try to appropriate the region exclusively.

Both stories are written from national perspectives, even local. But local have a bit more regional topics and more sensitive interpretations, though not much more. It was observed that in Ukraine the regional Bukovinian discourse is much more pronounced, what is reflected in the history education structure and interpretation patterns. Bukovinian history constitutes a separate subject at Chernivtsi region schools, whereas in Romania it is an integral part of general course of the history of Romanians.

The two narratives have different "Golden Age" periods, which especially differ in the regional textbooks: for Ukrainian tradition it is the Austrian time, while for Romanian – the Greater Romania interwar period. These two periods are the most diverging in the two textbook canons.

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[179] V.Fedorak, N.Cherkach *Istoriia ridnoho kraiu*, 95.
[180] Ibid, 96.

**Conclusions: Shared Past - Conflicting memories?**

Being situated on the cross-roads of the Ottoman, Habsburg and Russian empires, Bukovina was formed as a specific historically, geographically and mentally framed space. Its turbulent history, changing state belonging, and multiethnic composition shaped its regional identity within Austrian empire in 19<sup>th</sup> century. In this time this "meeting place" of cultures and ethnic groups was characterized by a diffusion of cultures and syncretic local identity. However, the Bukovinian "melting pot" started to "boil" with national sentiments during the gradual nationalization of ethnic consciousness in the 20<sup>th</sup> century - its further destiny was decided in the national-state coordinate system.

The region became a contested terrain for the two biggest ethnic groups, populating Bukovina, - Ukrainians and Romanians. As a result of the dispute the two neighboring nations have conflicting memories about this space of the shared past. Both of them consider Bukovina as an inalienable part of their history and identity, an issue which remains at the crux of their conflicting viewpoints.

This phenomenon can be explained by the concept of "overlapping ethnoscape" – appropriation of a territory by more than one national memory. According to Smith, it is inherent for the nation states to ascribe a certain territory its ethnic spirituality. "Territorialization of memory" in the same place by two nations gives symbolical meaningfulness to the region for these national identities.

This relationship is imbedded in the national traditions, stored in different sites of memory. One of them is history education, which does not only store the canon of collective memory, but also reproduces it, as a powerful identity-building instrument. It would be an overstatement to assume that they are decisive in this process, but undoubtedly education is a channel of memory to the mind of future generations. The present research which focuses on

the reconstruction of Bukovina region in Romanian and Ukrainian school history textbooks identifies what kind of memories and myths on the region is preserved in the collective memories of the two states, and the impact they have on the national and regional identities.

As the discourse analysis of the school textbook analysis demonstrates, Ukrainian and Romanian national canons are contradicting in their interpretations of Bukovinian history. Interestingly, they are narrated as two opposite sides of the same story from their national perspectives. The main myths which create this effect are, in fact, the same: territory, ethnogenesis, homeland, continuity. All of them stress a more legitimate indigenousness through the "territorialization of memory".

At the same time, the textbooks analyzed do not engage into a "war of histories", but are rather mutually ignoring than openly clashing, and almost never convergent. In a way, they create "parallel worlds" in the borderland space. This makes the two neighboring states virtually more remote from each other, than they are geographically. Similar conclusion was made by Laszlo Kurti in relation to Hungarian imagination about Transylvania, "which become remote and contested at once"[181].

Therefore, image of the Other in these textbooks is not extremely aggressive, but implicitly or explicitly is either hostile or at least non-friendly. In general, throughout the history Ukrainian-Romanian relations are mentioned positively only in the passages about the traditional Bukovinian tolerance, which are more characteristic for Ukrainian textbooks, especially the regional one, but do not change the general discursive structures on "the other" in the rest of the text. There are few plots on constructive cooperation between Ukrainians and Romanians.

The very concept of Bukovina and its creation appears in the textbooks in different lights. In Ukrainian textbooks it is "celebrated" as a "Golden Age", in the form of

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[181] Laszlo Kurti. *The Remote Borderland: Transylvania in the Hungarian Imagination*, 195.

"Bukovinism" myth, with a strong stress on natural multicultuality and traditional interethnic tolerance. Romanian tradition regards creation of Bukovina as "theft" – a torn a part of Moldovan (and vicariously Romanian) land with no particular identity. Romanian national identity is ascribed to Bukovina, a fact which naturally shifts the "Golden Age" period to the interwar Greater Romania period in Romanian interpretations.

The region itself has a more clear shape and discourse in Ukrainian history education, which has a separate version of Bukovinian history for Chernivtsi region schoolchildren. Two regional textbooks - a Ukrainian one, and a textbook written specifically for Romanian minority – also present diverging versions of the history of Bukovina. They basically repeat their national canons, with a more accentuated regional discourse and slightly more negotiating content. The existence of such "parallel" stories in the local identities within the region might have a negative impact on the pattern of interethnic relations.

In Romanian canon, the Bukovina image is fuzzier. It is constructed only on the level of national education without creating a special narrative for the local population of southern Bukovina. Furthermore, it shifts the accents and meanings: southern part of the region is administratively and mentally included in Moldova region. The underpinning rationale for this is going deeper in the history, to Moldovan principality which is associated as more Romanian, then Bukovina, perceived as the Austrian legacy. Psychologically it might be explained by a syndrome of forgetting an "unpleasant memory" of loss of territory. A practical reason for the higher interest to Bukovinian studies in Ukraine, the deeper academic traditions in Chernivtsi than in Suceava.

While Bukovinian identity in Suceava county is dissolving in Romanian imaginary, the "Bukovina" term refers to the northern part. The whole territory Bukovina is "kept in the horizon" of the national history narrative and thereby incorporated in the mental map of Romanians. In such a way, according to Wilson's typology, in relation to Bukovina the

"ethnoterritorial" myth has "defensive" character in the case of Ukrainian mythology and "offensive" in Romanian myth, as both relate to the northern Bukovina, which is a part of Ukraine[182].

Two main implications of the above-mentioned phenomena can be identified: a loss of regional identity by southern Bukovina and a preservation of northern part as proper "Bukovina" in both Ukrainian and Romanian imaginaries. In its turn, it sharpens the discourse, because it creates an overlapping ethnoscape in the northern part of the region.

All the above-mentioned have far-reaching consequences for the interethnic relations in the region and between the two states. As it was demonstrated in theoretical chapter, history textbooks have a powerful effect on identity, including construction of stereotypes and perception of "the other". This creates premises for informational blockage which results in mental detachment between the two neighboring nations.

In order to eliminate the mutual "allergy" caused by the 'unsettled past' it is crucial to overcome the stereotypes and myths, first of all from the history textbooks. In this light, setting joint cross-border committees who would revise the content of the textbooks, as it was done in other European countries, would be beneficial. Without proper handling of the past which this cross-border/multiethnic region shares between nation states, it is not possible to create a common mental space or reconstruct compatible memories. Undoubtedly, this would facilitate cross-border co-operation and real integration.

At the same time, a reservation should be made that debunking national myths does not necessarily mean demythologization. As it was demonstrated in the analysis of Romanian textbooks, superficial declarations on European integration discourse are reflected only in some cosmetic changes through respective passages in the introduction and sometimes in the text, but do not result in the change of discursive structures. On the contrary, the fashionable appeal

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[182] A.Wilson A. "Myths of National History in Belarus and Ukraine", 33.

to Europeanness oftentimes leads to substitution of the national myths by a new, European one. Thus, in Ukrainian textbooks "Bukovinism", retrospectively played as a multicultuality model within a Europeanized discourse, ends up with the introduction of isolated plots of diversity without modifying the general approach.

One more remark should be made, that it would be utopian to expect that there can be an ideal, bias-free textbook. This medium has its in-built features, such as high reduction of information, simplification, lagging behind the academic achievements, dogmatism, ahistoricity etc., faults which are not privy only to a particular series of textbooks. Furthermore, they reflect the whole tradition and cannot go beyond it, so before the professional historiography changes hard to expect innovations in textbooks. Nevertheless, the textbooks can exhibit more reflectivity and sensitivity to "the other side" of the picture, especially in the border regions, say by "visiting" the narratives of the neighbors.

The ethnicity/territory myths have especially detrimental effect on regional identities and interethnic stability, developing into nostalgic memories and "offensive" myths. Thus, Romanian historian Boia suggests to deconstruct this myth and to "get used that Transylvania (like any other territory, anywhere) belongs equally to all its inhabitants, regardless of ethnicity"[183]. Instead, the concepts of multiple identities and overlapping cultures are more constructive and suitable for border regions. In this context the Bukovinian regional myth has a potential to become a point of convergence between Ukrainian and Romanian memories and identities, which cannot be realized though, without coming in terms with the past and sharing not only the territory, but the imaginary space.

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[183] L.Boia. *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness*, 23.

## Appendices

1. Distribution of Races in Austro-Hungary

2. Etnographische Landkarte der Bukowina nach der Volkszahlung by Ion Nistor.

3. Map of historical regions of Romania – 1

4. Map of historical regions of Romania – 2

5. Map of historical regions in Ukraine

Appendix I. Distribution of Races in Austro-Hungary

Distribution of Races in Austria-Hungary.

### Legend

- Germans
- Magyars
- Rumanians
- Croats and Servians
- Ruthenians
- Czechs
- Slovaks
- Poles
- Slovenes
- Italians

Slavs

Scale 1 : 7 500 000

Appendix II. Etnographische Landkarte der Bukowina nach der Volkszahlung. by Ion Nistor.
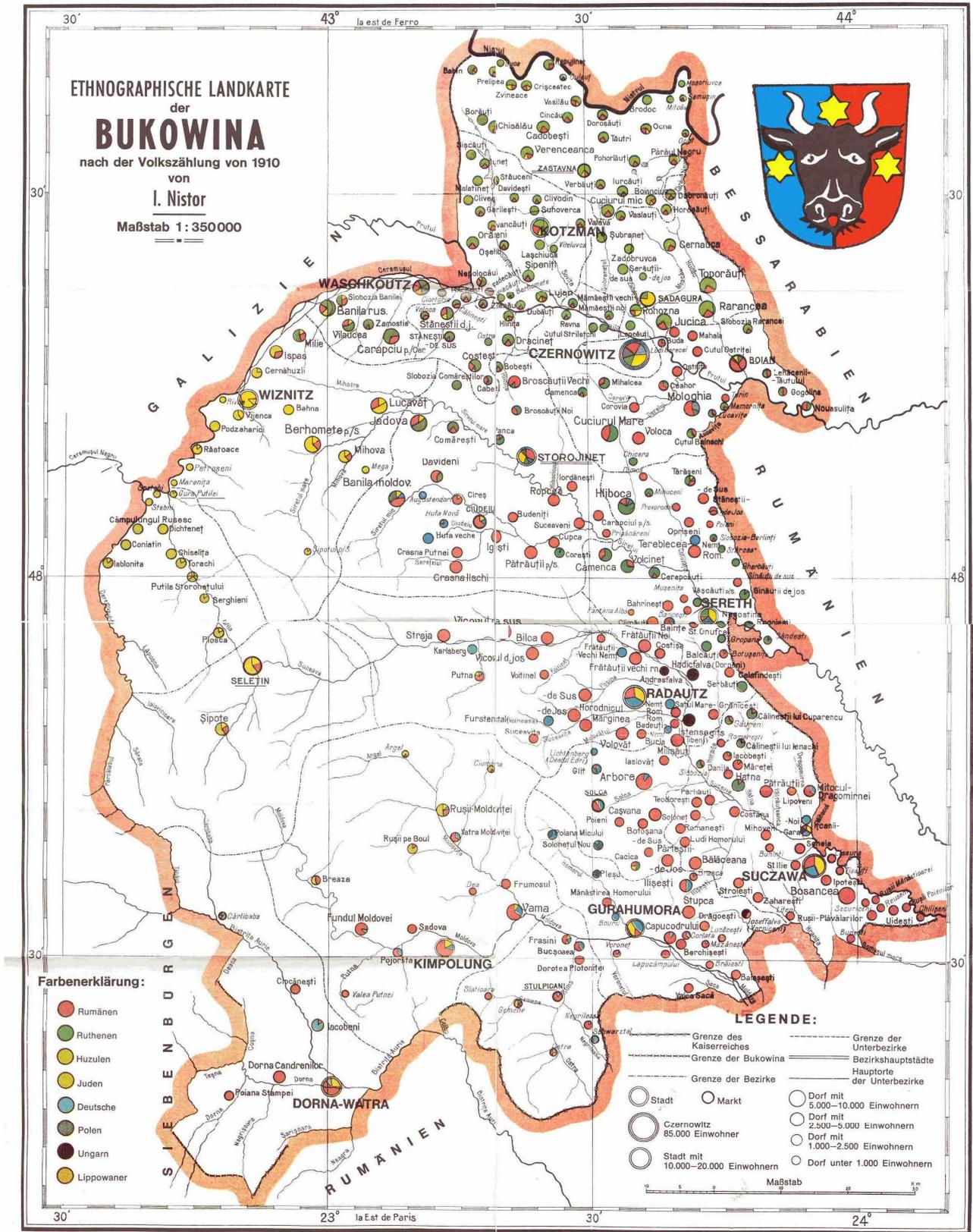
Appendix III. Map of historical regions of Romania – 1
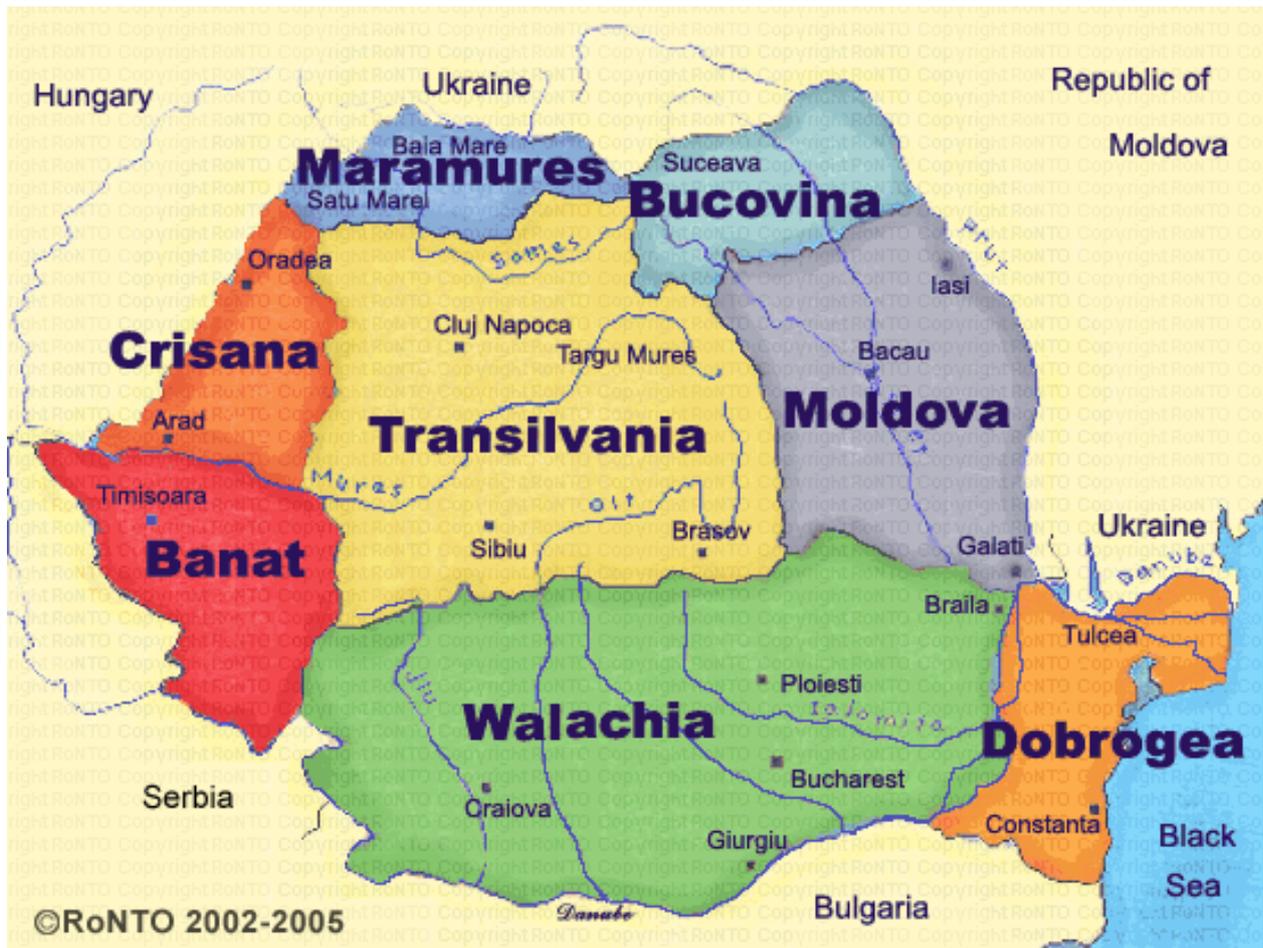
Appendix IV. Map of historical regions of Romania – 2



= MOLDOVA     = ȚARA ROMÂNEASCĂ (VALAHIA)

= DOBROGEA     = ARDEAL (TRANSILVANIA)

Appendix V. Map of historical regions in Ukraine

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