

## Z ZAGRANICY

LIUBOV MELNYCHUK

### THE STATE OF PROVIDING THE SOCIOCULTURAL NEEDS OF ETHNIC ROMANIANS IN UKRAINE

#### HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Chernivtsi region of Ukraine is a unique land, which combines historical heritage of Northern Bukovina and part of Bessarabia, where Ukrainians, Romanians, Moldavians, Poles, Jews, Germans, Russians and many other ethnic groups tolerantly coexist and harmoniously cooperate.

Northern Bukovina, together with the southern Bukovina (most of the Suceava county of Romania) was ceded in 1775 by the Ottoman empire from the Principality of Moldavia to the Austrian Empire. There it was first part of Galicia, then after the 1848 revolution, an autonomous grand duchy. At the disintegration of Austro-Hungary in 1918, the elected representatives of Bukovina decided in Chernivtsi (Cenăuți), the capital of the province, upon indissoluble union with Romania.<sup>1</sup>

Today's Chernivtsi Oblast of Ukraine that used to be the part of Romania between 1918 and June 1940, when it was occupied by the Soviet Union, and on 2 August 1940 it was transferred to the Ukrainian SSR. The region constituted the northern part of the historical region of Bukovina, the northern part of Khotyn County of the region of Bessarabia, and the north-western corner of Dorohoi County of the region of Moldavia.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Chernovtsy region overview*, [http://www.ukrainetradeinvest.com/en/regions/chernovtsy\\_area/overview/](http://www.ukrainetradeinvest.com/en/regions/chernovtsy_area/overview/)

On June 28, 1940, in accordance with the Article 3 of the secret protocol to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, Soviet Union occupied from Romania Bessarabia, northern Bukovina and the Hertsa district. The Soviet take-over of the Northern Bukovina was motivated as a compensation for the belonging of Bessarabia from 1918 till 1940 to Romania and not to Ukrainian SSR/Soviet Union as well as by the fact that unlike its south, the north of Bukovina was mostly populated by ethnic Ukrainians, whose cultural development, relatively free under the Austrian Empire was suppressed by Romania in the inter-war period. The occupation of the Hertsa district, which prior to that was never part of neither Austro-Hungary, nor Russian Empire, was not even mentioned in the Soviet-Nazi agreements, and was the result of simply where the Soviet troops stopped in 1940.

On August 2, 1940, out of some of the territories occupied on June 28, Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic was formed, the 15th Soviet republic. The remainders of the territories were included in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic – the northern part formed the Chernivtsi region, the southern part was included in the Odessa Oblast. It has been argued on why did the Soviets split the taken territories like this. In the case of the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), their borders were largely preserved, and even the Soviet press before August 2, 1940 described a Moldavian SSR with all the occupied territories included.

Unlike the Bessarabian population that was somewhat accustomed to Russian rule (it was part of the Russian Empire before 1918), the Bukovinian population has never been expecting a possible Russian attempt for take-over, and staged many protests, without realizing that could provoke serious Soviet reprisals.

In the winter and spring of 1941, Soviet troops have opened fire on many groups of locals trying to cross the border into Romania. When a 3000 to 5000-strong march of civilians gathered momentum in the small city of Storozhynets on March 26, 1941, they overthrew the Soviet administration. It was fired upon by NKVD from well-organized ambush on April 1, 1941 near Fântâna-Albă, a few kilometres from the Romanian border, killing around a thousand unarmed civilians, men, women, children and elderly alike. Only 300 were killed “on the spot”, the others, injured, were chased through woods and fields, caught, tied to horses and dragged to already dug spots where if still alive were given the last shots.

Between September 17 and November 17, 1940, by a mutual agreement between USSR and Germany, 43 641 “ethnic Germans” from the Chernivtsi region were moved to Germany. The total German population was however only 34 500, and of these 3500 did not go to Germany. The obvious difference accounts for Romanians, Ukrainians and Poles that the local German organizers included as “Germans”.

Unfortunately, upon their arrival the Nazi government sent over half of them to concentration camps, and only some were freed after protests of the Romanian government.

Throughout 1940–1941 several tens of thousands Bukovinians were deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan, of which 13 000 alone on June 13, 1941; regardless of their ethnicity. In 1944, when the Soviet troops returned to Bukovina, many fled to Romania, and the region has been seriously depopulated. Also the ethnic composition has changed. In 1940, there were roughly 6:4:2:1:1 Ukrainians:Romanians:Jews:Germans:Poles. Today the number of Jews, Germans and Poles is statistically insignificant, the number of Romanians has decreased substantially, while many immigrants have appeared from eastern Ukraine and Russia proper. During the Soviet times (1940–1941, 1944–1991) there has been slow but constant migration of ethnical Romanians to Moldavian SSR, where they could learn in schools and universities in Moldavian/Romanian language, unlike in the Chernivtsi region. Many ethnical Romanians/Moldavians are to this date officially registered as Russians or Ukrainians, a legacy of the former USSR.<sup>2</sup>

During the Soviet period, The Ukrainian Soviet authority originally pushed in favor of the adoption by the Romanian population of many parts of northern Bukovina of a “Moldovan” identity.<sup>3</sup> This went hand-in-hand with the imposition of the Cyrillic alphabet for both those who used “Romanian” and called it this way, and for those who called their mother-tongue “Moldovan”. Only a minority of the Bukovinian Romanians was told to call themselves, and re-identified themselves as “Moldovans”.<sup>4</sup>

The Romanian population of Chernivtsi Oblast was persecuted by the Soviet authorities on ethnic grounds, especially in the years following the annexation until 1956. In neighboring Bessarabia the same persecution did not have a predominantly ethnic orientation, being based mostly on social, educational and political grounds.

The situation in the northern part of Bukovina is very up-to-date for the study of both Romanian and Ukrainian nation-building.

Nowadays, according to legislation of Ukraine on national minorities, the relevant work is carried out in order to create appropriate conditions for each ethnic community for the preservation, development and enhancement of national and cultural traditions. About 80 nationalities are inhabited in Chernivtsi region.

---

<sup>2</sup> Chernovtsy region overview, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> D. Levin, *The Lesser of Two Evils: Eastern European Jewry under Soviet Rule*, Philadelphia, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> I.A. Rus, *Variables affecting nation-building: the impact of the ethnic basis, the educational system, industrialization and sudden shocks*, New Brunswick, NJ, 2008, p. 288.

The national population of Chernivtsi Oblast has Ukrainian majority – 689.1 thousand persons, or 75% of the total population. The second largest community is Romanians – 114.6 thousand persons, or 12.5%, and the third is Moldovans – 57.2 thousand persons or 7.3%.<sup>5</sup>

#### ROMANIANS INVOLVED IN UKRAINIAN POLITICS

The first relatively free, multi-party elections in the unicameral parliament of independent Ukraine, the Supreme Council (Verkhovna Rada) took place in 1994. A majority of the Romanian inhabitants of the Chernivtsi oblast (a minority in the Storozhynets region, a majority in Hliboca and Hertsa) voted for Kravchuk's challenger, the former prime minister and subsequent president, Leonid Kuchma. The reason for this was the lack of support of many Romanians for the more intense Ukrainian nationalists.<sup>6</sup>

The most important ethnic Romanian politician in Ukraine was a nationalist intellectual from the Chernivtsi region. He was the only ethnic Romanian from the region, and one of only two who were able to win a seat in the Supreme council (parliament) in Kyiv in 1994. He was Professor Ion Popescu of the University of Chernivtsi (philologist, teacher of Russian language and literature). He was born in 1964 in the village Nuzhnia Petrovka Storozhynetsky district of Chernivtsi region and was a Sociology professor specialized in sociolinguistics (PhD dissertation "Romanian-Russian bilingualism and language situation in the southern area of the Chernivtsi region" (1993)). He had doctorates in Philology and Philosophy and MA in International Relations and participated in the writing of Ukraine's post-Communist constitution. Ion Popescu was first elected as an independent in the second round of the 1994 single-member district elections, held on April 10, 1994. He represented the mostly Romanian electoral district no. 434. In the second round, the Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine supported him.<sup>7</sup>

During the period from 1994 to 1998 he was MP of second convocation. Ion Popescu was a Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Relations Committee on Human Rights, National Minorities and International Relations, permanent

---

<sup>5</sup> Румунський аспект в Чернівецькій області [Електронний ресурс] // Довідка щодо забезпечення прав національних спільнот на Буковині Чернівецької обласної державної адміністрації, <http://versii.cv.ua/sotsialni/rumunskyj-aspekt-v-chernivetskij-oblasti/4019.html> [accessed: 15.11.2014].

<sup>6</sup> Anne Sophie Krossa Integration of Unequal Units: Comparing the German and the European Unification Processes, <http://www.gesis.org/Datenservice/Osteuropa/links/xdacountry/htm> [accessed: 21.11.2014].

<sup>7</sup> B.P. Rekshynskyj, *Elections: Final Results*, April, 1994, [http://groups-beta.google.com/group/soc.culture.ukrainian/browse\\_frm/thread/2f65881f0da93508/fd56e3db901bb4c2?q=Popesku+1994&rnum=4#fd56e3db901bb4c2](http://groups-beta.google.com/group/soc.culture.ukrainian/browse_frm/thread/2f65881f0da93508/fd56e3db901bb4c2?q=Popesku+1994&rnum=4#fd56e3db901bb4c2) [accessed: 21.11.2014].

Representative of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (PABSEC) in Committee on Culture, Education and Social Affairs. During 1997–1998 Ion Popescu was speaker in PABSEC about issue of youth cooperation.

During 1996–1998 he was permanent Representative of Ukraine to the Council of Europe (Committee on Local Government, Regional Planning and Environment). From 1998 to 2002 he was deputy of Ukrainian parliament.

Ion Popescu is the author of over 50 scientific papers and specialist linguists in the field of language policy, forecasting, preventing ethnic conflict on the ground of languages. He is a publicist. He speaks Ukrainian, Romanian and French.<sup>8</sup>

He is a member of the Party of Regions, member of the parliamentary relations and relations with non-governmental organizations since 1996, the Committee on Economic Policy and Development since 1998, president of sports and cultural club “Dragos Voda” (Chernivtsi), a member of the leadership of the Christian Democratic alliance of Romanians in Ukraine, a member of the National Council of the Romanian Directorate in Chernivtsi region, a member of the Presidium of the Party of regional revival “Labor Solidarity of Ukraine” since 2000.

Another candidate whose name indicates a Romanian origin was Alhip Rosca (Alchip Roshka). He took part in elections in 1998 and obtained 9,543 votes in Chernivtsi region.<sup>9</sup>

During the parliamentary campaigns in independent Ukraine, most self-identified “Romanians” have voted for Romanian nationalistic parliamentary candidates, and especially Dr. Ion Popescu. The intensity of Romanian nationalism for the 2002 parliamentary elections among ethnic Romanians (“Romanians” plus “Moldovans”) was identical to that for the 1998 once. Its declining intensity among “Romanians” was “compensated” by its greater spread among self-identified “Moldovans”.<sup>10</sup>

The parliamentary elections of March 31, 2002 in Chernivtsi region were marked by widespread irregularities, allegedly including some electoral fraud. This caused the incumbent deputy Ion Popescu to lose the elections. One of the techniques that were used was “candidate cloning”. A younger Popescu, Vladimir Popescu, had been induced to run in order to confuse the voters. On the proportional side of the ballot, the political forces that would later be associated with the “Orange Revolution” obtained 51.1% of the vote. The pro-Kuchma forces obtained 30.29%. These political

---

<sup>8</sup> Попеску Іван Васильович, <http://www.popesku.openua.net/bio.php>

<sup>9</sup> I.A. Rus, *Variables affecting nation-building...*, *op. cit.*, [accessed: 17.11.2014].

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 319–320.

parties were loosely allied with the (pro-Yushchenko) Popescu campaign, and were sometimes served by the same individuals.<sup>11</sup>

During parliamentary elections in 2002 Mikhail Bauer was elected in electoral district 204 because he won 45,96% valid votes cast. He was the head of the Direction for education and Science of the Chernivtsi Regional State Administration in 1998–2002. Nevertheless, Mikhail Bauer, whose father was an ethnic German, remembered that his mother was ethnically Romanian before election time, only to “forget” this soon after the elections. The only Romanian nationalistic candidate, Ion Popescu, Obtained only 20.03% of the valid votes cast for candidates.

Another Romanian candidate was the Bukovynian Romanian Iurie Vataman, who obtained 1.04%. He represented the anti-Kuchma, somewhat pro-Russian Political Party “Apple”.

For the period of VII convocation of the Supreme Council Chernivtsi region was represented by Mukola Fedoruk (201 district), Oleksandr Fyschuk (202 district), Gennadiy Fedoriak (203 district), Artem Semeniuk (204 district).<sup>12</sup>

Chernivtsi region was represented by Mukola Fedoruk (201 district), Ivan Rybak (202 district), George Tymish (203 district) and Maksym Burbak (204 district). The Romanian speaker representative is George Tymish from Glyboka district village Kupka.<sup>13</sup>

#### THE LAW OF UKRAINE REGARDING THE STATE LANGUAGE POLICY

The Law “On Principles of the State Language Policy of Ukraine”,<sup>14</sup> signed by former president Yanukovich on August 8th, 2012, has generated one of the harshest security-related debates on the Ukrainian political scene since its independence. It has been part and parcel of a much larger debate than usually perceived in Bucharest, which tends to see the issue as only pertaining to the Romanian minority. In reality, for Kyiv this is a key security concern, in relations with Russia and the latter’s instrumentalization of the Russian speaking population of Ukraine for geo-political manoeuvres.

The law was signed in August 2012. Its main provisions stipulated that, if the population of a minority exceeds 10% of a region (Romanian and Moldovan are

---

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 328.

<sup>12</sup> Офіційний портал Верховної Ради України, [http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p\\_deputat\\_list?skl=8](http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p_deputat_list?skl=8) [accessed: 27.11.2014].

<sup>13</sup> Центральна виборча комісія Позачергові вибори народних депутатів України 2014, <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2014/wp030?PT001F01=910> [accessed: 27.11.2014].

<sup>14</sup> “Bulletin of the Verkhovna Rada (BVR)”, 2013, № 23, p. 218 – official publication.



expressly mentioned), the minority has the right to use their national languages in local administration, official documents of local governments, schools and public inscriptions<sup>15</sup>.

The Language act provides for the right of national minorities to use their native language, in particular on the Romanian territory of the Chernivtsi region, said Deputy from the party of regions, Deputy Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada Committee on issues of human rights, national minorities and interethnic relations, Ivan Popescu.

“The Law on languages, which came into force after signing by the President of Ukraine, has already been carried out in the regions. For example, in the Chernivtsi region Hertsia the district Council had already adopted a decision on the implementation of this law. A working group was established to examine the possibilities of application of the norms of the law” – he said.

The Politician noted that each country Chapter in the region, knows the Romanian language, and in each of the settlements of the district there are schools with the Romanian language teaching. According to him, the Ukrainian-language schools should introduce the study of the Romanian language.

“Thus, on the level of education no additional resources for the implementation of the law on languages are not required. As for the other districts of Chernivtsi region, where compactly live Romanian-speaking population, in the near future will be established the working group on the situation” – the politician noted.<sup>16</sup>

However, at the local level, in the regions compactly populated by Romanians, the law has produced few effects. The implementation of the law has remained the same. The true effect of the law was to further politicize the debate on the language while deflecting attention from issues of effective governance or be used by politicians, including politicians representing the Romanian minority, for electoral mobilization. The law on languages has not changed and had no real impact on the working and functioning of the Romanian schools or of the Romanian newspapers.

The real problem has been not the use of language in administration, but the gradual drop in numbers of Romanian schools (from 89 schools in 1991, to 70 at present), which could also have occurred due to objective reasons – the demographic changes, wherein the number of Romanians has gradually dropped in the last two decades, which is consistent with a trend all over Ukraine. On the other hand,

---

<sup>15</sup> D. Dinu, O. Milevski, *Strengthening Cooperation on the Romanian Minority Issue in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine*, <http://www.crpe.ro/en/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Policy-Brief-38-Romania-Ukraine-Cooperation-on-minority-issue-post-Euromaidan.pdf>.

<sup>16</sup> *Regions: In the Chernivtsi region are planning to develop the Romanian language*, <http://yellowpage.in.ua/en/archives/48569>

the politics of assimilation or Ukrainization has never stopped since independence. This tacit policy of the Ukrainian state has not been targeted exclusively on the Romanian minority in the country, however the replacement of Romanian schools with Ukrainian ones has been done through doubtful methods whereby groups of parents would ask authorities to replace the schools, invoking reasons like lack of economic and career perspectives for the children who graduate from Romanian schools.

As previously stated, at the end of February the Ukrainian Rada adopted a legislative proposal to repeal this law mostly as a measure of precaution against the Russian minority, the largest in the country. Although the proposal was blocked by a veto of the interim President, Romanian officials have issued statements to express concerns. Although based on a misinformation of Romanian authorities, the statements issued, as well as the media debates within these few days have revealed some interesting aspects. While the Minister for the Relation with Romanians Abroad was expressing concerns about the Romanian minority being deprived of the ability to use its native language in official contexts, representatives of the Romanian community in Ukraine were stating that, in reality, the Romanian community wasn't *de facto* enjoying this right, due to poor implementation of the law and, possibly, to the artificial segregation between Romanian and "Moldovan" – speaking minorities, which affects turnouts in census and therefore the possibility of the Romanian minority to claim its rights commensurate with its size.<sup>17</sup>

#### NATIONAL COMMUNITIES' RIGHTS TO PURSUE EDUCATION IN THEIR MOTHER TONGUE

In compliance with the Law of Ukraine "On National Minorities in Ukraine" in Northern Bukovina respective work on monitoring the educational needs of ethnic minorities living in Bukovina, the preservation and development of their national cultures, rituals and customs is carried out. In the field of secondary education 4 minority languages are taught, including Romanian as a preschool and school language.

Overall 17.4% of students study the Romanian language. There are 77 secondary schools and gymnasium with the Romanian language training and 13 – mixed in the Ukrainian and Romanian studies. For example: H. Asaki High School in Gertsia; M. Eminescu High School in Karapchiv, I. Nekulche gymnasium in Boiany; Chernivtsi gymnasium № 6.

---

<sup>17</sup> D. Dinu, O. Milevski, *Strengthening Cooperation on the Romanian Minority Issue...*, *op. cit.*,



Above 18.000 pupils study the Romanian language, literature, history, culture, customs, traditions of Romanians and Moldovans. Almost 400 students attend courses of the Romanian literature.

Due to the variable component of curricula at schools with Romanian teaching there are additional hours to study Romanian language and literature, local history, the history of the Romanian people, literature of native land and so on. Any discrimination by language is non-available. All changes are entirely voluntary.

The current network of pre-schools also focused primarily on the needs of the population. Number of kindergartens and the number of Romanian-teaching schools has increased in recent years. There are 48 Romanian preschools and kindergartens and 14 schools with Romanian and Ukrainian languages learning in the region. 17 groups of preschool children to prepare for teaching in grade 1 are organized at the schools of district Hertsa. Romanian group of 20 children functions in kindergarten number 1 in Chernivtsi.

The teaching of the Romanian language and literature is provided by 215 teachers. Yurii Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Universities in Romania and Moldova provide teachers for schools in the field of the Romanian education. Yurii Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University creates Romanian mini-groups at certain faculties. Nowadays 115 students study in the Department of the Romanian Language and Literature and 92 students study in Yurii Fedkovych College at the primary school department for Romanian schools.

130 graduates of Yurii Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, young professionals of Ukrainian literature joined schools teaching in Romanian over the past 5 years. The selection of candidates for teaching in universities in Romania and Moldova from number of graduates from region (citizens of Ukraine with Romanian and Moldova origin) is held annually. Over the past 5 years, 324 candidates have entered into various degrees and forms of education in Romania through competitive selection..

The Institute of postgraduate training in Chernivtsi region created groups to develop textbooks for schools with teaching in Romanian.

The academic Olympiad in Romanian language and literature held annually. Pupils from minority languages schools are actively involved in all competitions in basic disciplines.

Student teams from schools of national minorities are well represented in the groups, clubs, associations, artistic and aesthetic direction, including dance, vocal, choral singing and classical dance, theatre, arts. Important role in the development and preservation of cultural heritage of ethnic communities play international

cooperation. 14 objects of education in Romanian-speaking regions have been built during the last three years.

According to calculations made by the Ukrainian state institutions, Romanians in Ukraine have a better-developed system of primary, secondary and higher education in their native language of instruction, they can choose between a broader array of programs on the regional radio and TV stations, and issue more press publications in their native languages. Ukrainian experts estimated that this situation is an effect of Bucharest's ill will, without however mentioning the asymmetry in the numbers of the two minorities and low financial support the Ukrainian government offers to ethnic Ukrainians living abroad.<sup>18</sup>

#### BROADCASTING ISSUES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR NORTHERN BUKOVINA'S ROMANIAN-SPEAKING POPULATION

Transmission of Romanian programs in Chernivtsi region is: radio 25% of the total (25 minutes daily on 1<sup>st</sup> National Channel), television – 20% (an average of 2.5 – 3 hours a week).

There is the Romanian association in Chernivtsi regional TV and radio broadcasting. It creates programs in Romanian language:

- 2 daily editions of “News” on the radio and twice a week on television;
- information and analytical, educational, entertainment TV show “Express TV” (50 min. twice a month) about the main events of the week, current socio-economic development of the region;
- “Romanian word” (30 min. twice a month) – educational channel, which aims to spiritual, moral and aesthetic education through the prism of literary and art. The program from series “Romanian word” – “Way to Eternity” (author – I. Fede) was awarded the Diploma of the 2<sup>nd</sup> degree at the International Festival of TV and radio programs “My native land” in Uzhgorod in 2005;
- “We are Bukovynians” (30 min. every Thursday) – cultural and information program that cover activities of the local government, community, socio-economic situation in districts where Romanian-speakers densely live, cooperation of states concerning Euroregion “Upper Prut”, pages about the history and culture of Bukovina, the activities of museums and other art institutions;

---

<sup>18</sup> T. Iwański, *Ukraine – Romania: a sustained deadlock*, OSW Commentary // Issue 68 | 29.12.2011 | centre for eastern studies [http://www.osw.waw.pl/sites/default/files/commentary\\_68.pdf](http://www.osw.waw.pl/sites/default/files/commentary_68.pdf) [accessed: 25.11.2014].

- “Pearl” (30 min. 4 times per month) – cultural, folk and ethnographic music program about the preservation of spiritual traditions, the development of amateur and professional music groups;
  - “Noutets” – 15 min. 2 times a week
  - “Eternal Values” – 30 min. 1 time per month
  - “The world of the native word” – 30 min. 1 time per month
  - “Night Studio” – 60 min. 4 times a month
  - “Between Past and Future” – 30 min. 2 times a month
  - “Destiny of Women” – 30 min. 2 times a month and so on.
- Together on television for 9.5 hours a month.

There are information and analytical, educational, entertaining radio programs, such as:

- “Panorama of Bucovina” (20 min. per week) – the main theme is social security, the economic situation in the region, problems of population;
  - “Dialogue of the Day” (20 min. weekly) concerning economic reforms, promoting new forms of production, investment attractiveness of Bukovina, pension reform;
  - “Youth Wave” (20 min. weekly) about aesthetic, patriotic and moral education of youth, coverage the educational sector;
  - “In our country, in my country” (20 min. every Wednesday) about famous people of Bukovina, spiritual revival of the land, the history of Bukovina villages;
  - “Come on Thursday” (20 min. every Thursday) – entertaining musical program with the participation region’s experts and representatives of interesting professions;
  - “From the sources of national beauty” (30 min. every Saturday) – educational, folk and ethnographic musical program;
  - “Sunday shop” (30 min. every Sunday) – promotion of cultural values, literature and art of the Romanian-speakers.
  - “Our in our country” – 20 min. 4 times a month
  - “On the national sources” – 20 min. 4 times a month
  - “News” – 5 min. 20 times a month and so on.
- So, 12.3 hours per month on the radio.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Румунський аспект в Чернівецькій області [Електронний ресурс]..., *op. cit.*

The regional radio “Bucovina” was opened in 1995, the range of which includes the neighboring counties of Moldova and Romania and it gives a real possibility: 1. to provide true information about Ukraine and Chernivtsi region to Ukrainians, who live in Moldova and Romania; 2. preparing transmission in Romanian language, to provide truthful information Romanian people of neighboring areas; 3. to show the real level of national, cultural, religious, political, social and economic needs, rights and freedoms of Romanian-speakers and other national minorities in Ukraine.

However, the impact on adjacent territories is much smaller than the impact on the Chernivtsi region, because there are powerful TV and radio stations in the border with Romania that broadcasting in our territory.

Highly professional journalists with great experience makes television and radio programs in Romanian language. Thanks to their efforts edition became a real spiritual and cultural center for the Romanian-speakers of the region and it united around a scientific, artistic, social and political elite.

The close creative relationship is with the Department of Classical and Romanian Philology Chernivtsi National University, professors and students from the University of Suceava (based on CNU held annual scientific symposia, conferences, literary and religious holidays), student teams from secondary Romanian-teaching schools. Mutual respect and cooperation characterizes relations between Chernivtsi Regional State TV-Radio Company and the Consul General of Romania in Chernivtsi, Romanian Society of Culture by Mihai Eminescu, “Bukovinian arts center of revival and promoting Romanian traditional culture” (International Television Festival of Romanian folk music “Diversity of flower garden” are carried out by joint efforts) and writers. They are permanent and active participants of broadcasts in Romanian. Due to these programs residents find out new works, books, translation.

Live program “Express TV” offers viewers to discuss such important topics as pension, medical and social welfare of veterans, protection of single-parent families, the negative effects uncontrolled behavior of young people, cross-border cooperation between Chernivtsi oblast and Suceava region, development of small and medium-sized businesses, the fate of Bukovina illegal immigrants in European countries and so on.

TV program “The bitter cherry” (by L. Parpauts) was awarded an honorary diploma in the nomination “The best author’s work” at the festival “My native land” in 2006 and at the festival “Way of Legends” in Suceava.

Live radio program “Stay with us” on the radio station “Bucovina” is transmitted daily, except weekends, which receives many phone calls not only from Romanian-speakers of Chernivtsi region, but from the neighboring counties – Romania

and Moldova. Journalists from Chief Editorial Board of the World Service “Radio–Ukraine” (main editor is Vitaly Zyhrya) on its own initiative create this program.

The preservation and development of national traditions, customs, folklore and musical culture is in the spotlight of the programs in Romanian. For years, these topics are covered in radio programs “Native Land” and “Sunday shop”, concerts “Melomania”, “From the sources of people’s beauty” and TV programs “We are Bukovynians”, “Pearl”.

During last two years musical TV show “Pearl” (author and presenter is Y.Levchyk) airs every week, it introduced the Romanian Television Festival of folk music “The diversity of flower garden”. The festival was attended by more than 100 artists aged from 6 to 25 years. Winners of the festival are invited to various international folklore festivals. For example, the traditional “Bukovina meetings”, “Under Kichera” (Poland), “Native Village is a source of inspiration” (Romania).

Well known in the Chernivtsi region and abroad folklore and ethnographic groups are participants of TV and radio broadcast (choral, dance, vocal, vocal-ethnographic): “Tserenkutsa”, “Dor Bukovynians”, “Alunelu”, “Kodra Kozmynuluy”, “Dragos Voda”, “Play”, “Playul Hertz”, “Mertsishor”, “Legend” and others. A talented violinist, teacher of Chernivtsi Art School, Chernivtsi Philharmonic lead singer, director of the ensemble “Play” Nicolae Hakman creates the rubric “Nostalgia for romance” (in the program “Pearls”). He gives concerts in France, Holland, Austria, Germany.

Bukovynians celebrate spring holiday Martisor on March, 1 every year. Mother’s Day “Pearls for mother” and folk festival “Master’s Holiday” are celebrated too. The folk festival “Master’s Holiday” takes place in the village Krasnoilsk Storozhynets region involving Ukrainian, Romanian and Polish groups, because the area is home to several ethnic minorities, where they live compactly and friendly.

The real event in the cultural life of the Chernivtsi region is celebrating of birth (January 15) and death (June 15) of a prominent Romanian poet Mihai Eminescu, who lived, studied and worked in Chernivtsi. There he died. There is a monument to him and during public holidays Bukovinians put flowers to the monuments of Taras Shevchenko and Mihai Eminescu with respect to them.

“Mother tongue” (“Limba noastră”) is the traditional holiday of Romanian language, which involves all region artists, all national and cultural societies – Romanian, Polish, Austrian, German, Jewish, Russian and others. This festival unites Bukovynians, who glorified it in the world – People’s Artist of Moldova Maria Iliuts, ethnographer Professor John Pavlenko, poet and professor of Chisinau Arkady Suchevyanu, known Romanian singer Sofia Vikovyanka, famous conductor and

artistic director of Chisinau Opera Alexandru Samuel. All cultural events are covered in the Romanian programs.

The new project “Constellation of feelings” (greeting program of Romanian-speakers) has been realizing since May 2006.

The Creative Union programs in Romanian have many plans for future. They strive to implement Television Festival of Romanian pop song “Dreams of Stars” and the project “From the ashes of nothingness” about architectural, cultural, literary, historical monuments of the Romanian-speakers, who are in North Bukovina.<sup>20</sup>

The first international investment forum of Bukovina with the participation of the business community and the authorities of Ukraine, Austria, Germany, Indonesia and Romania is covered in the TV news programs and thematic radio programs too. It is emphasized the relevance and prospects for cross-border cooperation between Chernivtsi and Suceava regions.

Romanian-speaking television and radio programs in Chernivtsi region are the most important examples that equal opportunities for political, economic, social, ethnic and cultural needs of ethnic minorities are created in the Northern Bukovyna according to the Constitution of Ukraine and the current legislation.

#### CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE CARE

Folk art groups are created in the settlements of the region, densely inhabited by Romanians and Moldovans. At present, there are twenty-two national and cultural societies and associations of the Romanian-speaking communities. For example:

- Christian Democratic Alliance of Romanians in Ukraine;
- National scientific and educational association “Aron Pumnul”;
- Romanian community in Ukraine;
- Association of Romanian Culture named by M. Eminescu;
- Cultural and Sports Club “Dragos Voda”;
- Medical Society “Isidor Bodya”;
- League of Romanian Youth “Zhunimya”;
- Interregional Association of Moldovan culture of Bukovyna;
- Chernivtsi Oblast Charitable Foundation of Culture “House of the Romanian language”.

---

<sup>20</sup> Про стан та перспективи двостороннього співробітництва у сфері громадської інформації, реалізації спільних проєктів між державними телерадіокомпаніями України та Румунії. Державний комітет телебачення і радіомовлення України Чернівецька обласна державна телерадіокомпанія.



Traditional events are:

- Literary and artistic meetings dedicated to anniversary of the birth and the death of M. Eminescu (“Emineschiana”);
- Romanian Spring Festival “Mărțișor”;
- Participation of amateur folk groups in the Folk Festival “Bukovyna meeting” held in Poland, Romania and Hungary;
- A traditional Romanian holiday “Limba noastră cea română” (“Our native Romanian language”) The annual Romanian language holiday ‘Limba noastră cea Romana’ takes place in Chernivtsi under the auspices of the local administration and Romania’s regional Mihai Eminescu society. Representatives of the local authorities, Romanian national and cultural associations, delegations from Romania’s Suceava, Iasi, Radauti, Targu-Mures, mass media and writers participate in the event;
- The traditional annual festival of the Romanian Christmas customs and carols “Florile Dalby”.<sup>21</sup>

There are 80 public libraries, 74 clubs and 4 art schools serving ethnic communities in Hertsa, Novoseletsia, Storozhynets regions and Chernivtsi. Many Romanian publications are in M. Ivasyuk Regional Library. Library fund of minority languages literature is 129 286 books, including: Romanian – 50 545 books and Moldavian – 240.000 books.

In the region there are programs supporting ethno-cultural communities.

In 2008, two amateur teams from Romanian villages of the region received the statues of “National”: folk groups “Tsarankutsa” Culture House of Suchevely and “Kalyonka” Culture House of Cherepkivka in district Glyboka.

The events of the TACIS project “Joint Cultural Heritage” took place during the City Days on October 3–4, 2009. They included the 20th jubilee International folk festival “Bukovynian Meetings”, 2nd International festival “Bukovynian Springs” forum of the national communities of Bukovyna and presentation of the project results – books, film and database. This year’s festival “Bukovynian Meetings” was carried out particularly solemnly.

In its jubilee the festival gathered in the capital of Bukovina 17 Ukrainian and 7 foreign folk groups that represent poly-ethnic communities of Ukraine, Romania, Poland and Slovakia. The festive event aimed at popularization of the traditional Bukovynian culture enjoyed great popularity both among Chernivtsi audience and

---

<sup>21</sup> Румунський аспект в Чернівецькій області [Електронний ресурс]..., *op. cit.*

numerous guests and tourists. 150 foreign and 500 Ukrainian participants represented poly-ethnic folklore on the streets and squares of the city – on pedestrian Olha Kobylyanska Street and on the open stage of Philharmonic Square.

Such transference of the variegated holiday from theatre to Chernivtsi streets contributed greatly to the intimacy of the audience with the unique Bukovynian folklore, gave an opportunity to feel like an integral part of the rich cultural heritage. The concert in Philharmonic Square gathered really numerous spectators. Positive result of the project is that Chernivtsi citizens and guests are more and more interested in the national culture. Sustainability of the project is also observed, within the framework of its events tradition of culinary expositions was established. At that time ancient national cuisine was represented by national and cultural societies. Chernivtsi restaurants got interested with the idea and on the City Days they represented exhibition and sale of national dishes of the nations of Bukovina. Chernivtsi citizens and guests could regale on real masterpieces of the Ukrainian, Romanian, Polish, Slovak, Hungarian, Jewish and German cuisines. In such a way, one of the prominent elements of the cultural heritage – national cuisine – won spurs in Chernivtsi.

International festival of national crafts “Bukovynian Springs” has also become traditional. For the second time it took place in the renewed Square of the Turkish Well. The festival gathered 17 Ukrainian and 13 Romanian craftsmen who represent sometimes unique kinds of national art – icons on glass, wood carving, egg painting, glass wares production, embroidery, weaving, pottery, etc. The festival had also begotten a marvelous tradition that became the best evidence of multiplier effect of the project: it turned into a part of the crowded fair named Chernivtsi Uzviz that united national craftsmen not only from Bukovyna but from all the lands around. The event became so popular that the City Council administration took the decision henceforward to carry out the Chernivtsi Uzviz firstly every month and then every weekend in such a way giving the craftsmen an opportunity to sell their works. This innovation will considerably decorate the city life on weekends, create new tourist attraction and imbibe fresh life in just renewed Square of the Turkish Well.

Books “Chernivtsi: Joint Cultural Heritage” in Ukrainian, English and Romanian and “Chernivtsi: a Meeting Place of Cultures and Religions” by I. Chekhovskyi became the result of the project. Presentation of these books as well as of the film “Bukovyna without Borders” and database of the project participants took place during these festive days within the framework of the forum of national communities. It gathered not only representatives of the national and cultural societies of the Northern and Southern Bukovyna, but also famous publicists, ethnographers, directors

of museums, culture figures of the region, directors and librarians of schools, gymnasiums and lyceums of the city, representatives of mass media, interested citizens. Book by I. Chekhovskiy excited great interest among the historians. Besides, pupils of the Chernivtsi schools use it while studying the course "Native City". The book "Bukovyna: Joint Cultural Heritage" useful to them. It has absorbed reach illustrative and textual material about key elements of the cultural heritage. In the book there are parts about legends, life of the national communities, national craftsmen of Bukovyna, Bukovynian traditions and holidays, festivals, talented folk groups, architectural and spiritual acquisitions, tourist attractions. The book is intended on the wide range of readers, including scientists, tourists and guests of Bukovyna. Participants of the presentation highly estimated the work of the project participants, everybody who helped to prepare books, film and database, popularize poly-ethnic Bukovyna and draw together two states.

The project events were revealed in the local and trans-border mass media. Once again the aptness of the motto of the project "Let's Unite through Culture!" was testified.<sup>22</sup>

VI International Festival-Contest of Romanian Folklore "Diversity of Flower Garden" was held in Chernivtsi on October 8–10, 2010. The organizer of the festival was Bukovynian Art Center of Revival and Promotion of Romanian Traditional Culture, which had received a grant from the Chernivtsi City Council to support this social youth project. Suceava Culture Center "Bukovina" and Regional Center of Aesthetic Education "Youth of Bukovyna" were co-organizers of the festival. Children and youth from Ukraine, Romania, Moldova and Bulgaria participated in the festival.

Bukovynian Art Center of Revival and Promotion of Traditional Romanian Culture established the TV festival-contest of Romanian folklore in 2004 in partnership with the Chernivtsi regional state Television and Radio Company. The festival, which had received wide popularity among the Romanian community of Ukraine, in 2006 gained international status.

The main objective of the festival "Diversity of Flower Garden" was to improve social and artistic status of the authentic folklore, reveal original creative groups, individual performers and craftsmen, promote development of music culture and art.

From the materials of the festival television and radio programs were prepared, which broadcasted by all the media partners, including Trans-Carpathian Regional

---

<sup>22</sup> Project TACIS "Joint Cultural Heritage": Building Bridges, Reviving Traditions, <http://chernivtsy.eu/english/project-tacis-%E2%80%9Cjoint-cultural-heritage%E2%80%9D-building-bridges-reviving-traditions/>

State Television and Radio Company, TVR Jassy, TVR3, TVR International, TV Favourite, Radio Bukovina, Ukraine Radio International, Radio Romania-International.

Among the major events of the festival there were performances of soloists on folk instruments, vocal, folk and dance groups. The program also included a scientific conference and a roundtable. Final and Gala Concert of laureates of the festival was held on October, 9–10, 2010 in the Regional Center of Aesthetic Education “Youth of Bukovyna”.<sup>23</sup>

The region created favorable, and the most important, equal conditions for national cultural revival and development of all national cultures.

### CONCLUSIONS

One of the largest ethnic groups in Ukraine is the Romanian-speaking community. The largest quantity is represented in Chernivtsi region (20%). The Ukrainian government facilitates protecting the rights of national minorities in socio-political, educational, language and other walks of life. For a comfortable existence Romanian and Moldovan minority in Ukraine, there is enough ethno-cultural communities of Romanian speakers that provide their rights in access to information via the media, television and radio in their native language. The rights of Romanian-speaking minority in Ukraine enable this ethnic group to preserve and develop their national identity on the territory of Ukraine. Top priority of the Ukrainian foreign policy aims at joining the European Union. Therefore, our government adheres to established EU rules aimed at ensuring the rights of national minorities and supports the development of ethnic groups' identity on the territory of Ukraine. The policy of our state towards minority rights is complied with the European standards, in particular, should facilitate integration of Ukraine into the EU.

In recent years, relations between Ukraine and Romania began to acquire a new quality. There are attempts to overcome the negatives of the past, refuse from considering the prospects of relations in the light of past misunderstandings and unmet national and state ambitions.

Joining the EU and NATO provide opportunities for establishing positive dynamics of multilateral relations, highlighting the common commitment to democratic and European values.

The new balance of interests, aspirations and mutual responsibility of the political elites of the two neighboring countries should be found where ideas are the com-

---

<sup>23</sup> *Diversity of Flower garden in Chernivtsi*, <http://chernivtsy.eu/english/diversity-of-flower-garden-in-chernivtsi/>

mon European Security and Cooperation, European solidarity and a desire to build an economic and political space in United Europe. These efforts will open up new opportunities for regional and European initiatives between official Kyiv and Bucharest in case of mutual rejection from grievances and claims.

#### ABSTRACT

The issue concerning sociocultural needs of national minorities is one of the most vital and topical in relations between Ukraine and Romania nowadays. The article deals with the problem of protecting the rights of Romanian speakers' national minorities in socio-political, educational, language and other walks of life on territory of Northern Bukovina.

The vector of Ukrainian foreign policy is aimed at joining the European Union. Taking this into account, our state adheres to the norms established by the EU bound for preventing the violation of the rights of national minorities to support the development of the identity of individual ethnic groups on its territory. Ensuring the rights of the Romanian-speaking national minority of Ukraine allows the specified ethnic group to preserve and develop its national identity within the territory of Ukraine. The policy of our state in the direction of ensuring the rights of national minorities is oriented towards European standards, which should definitely contribute to the fastest possible accession to the EU.

The article discloses the wide range of topics: historical background; Romanians involved in Ukrainian politics; key trends concerning the rights of national communities to study in their native language; problems and prospects broadcasting for Romanian-speaking people in the Northern Bukovina; culture enhancement. Romanian-speaking minority's rights enabling this ethnic group to preserve and develop their national identity on the territory of Northern Bukovina in Ukraine.

#### KEYWORDS:

Romanian speakers, national minority, Northern Bukovina, Ukraine, Chernivtsi region, social evolution, rights

## STRESZCZENIE

### STAN ZABEZPIECZENIA SOCJALNO-KULTURALNYCH POTRZEB ETNICZNYCH RUMUNÓW NA UKRAINIE

Kwestia potrzeb socjalno-kulturalnych mniejszości narodowych jest obecnie najważniejszą w stosunkach Ukrainy i Rumunii. Autorka rozpatruje problem respektowania prawa rumuńskojęzycznej mniejszości w sferze społeczno-politycznej, oświatowej, językowej i innych na terenach północnej Bukowiny (obwód czerniowiecki).

Wektor polityki zagranicznej Ukrainy jest skierowany na integrację z Unią Europejską. Ukraina uwzględnia w swojej działalności normy UE, które nie dopuszczają do łamania prawa mniejszości narodowych, a popierają rozwój poszczególnych grup etnicznych na swoich terenach. Zapewnienie praw rumuńskojęzycznej mniejszości narodowej Ukrainy pozwala określonej grupie etnicznej zachować i rozwijać swoją tożsamość narodową na terytorium Ukrainy. Polityka państwa w kierunku zapewnienia praw mniejszości narodowych zorientowana jest na standardy europejskie, co zdecydowanie powinno przyczynić się do jak najszybszego przystąpienia do UE.

W artykule przedstawiono szeroki zakres tematyczny: tło historyczne; Rumunów zaangażowanych w politykę ukraińską; kluczowe trendy dotyczące praw wspólnot narodowych do nauki w języku ojczystym; problemy i perspektywy radiofonii i telewizji dla ludności rumuńskojęzycznej północnej Bukowinie; wzmocnienie kultury. Zaprezentowano prawa mniejszości rumuńskojęzycznej umożliwiające tej grupie etnicznej zachowanie i rozwój tożsamości narodowej na terytorium Bukowiny Północnej na Ukrainie.

#### SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

nosiciele języka rumuńskiego, mniejszość narodowa, Bukowina Północna, Ukraina, obwód czerniowiecki, ewolucja, prawo

## Изложение

Питання соціокультурних потреб національних меншин сьогодні є одним із найактуальніших у відносинах між Україною та Румунією. У статті розглядається проблема захисту прав румуномовних національних меншин



у суспільно-політичній, освітній, мовній та інших сферах життя на території Північної Буковини.

Вектор української зовнішньої політики спрямований на інтеграцію до Європейським Союзом. Зважаючи на це, наша держава дотримується встановлених в ЄС норм, спрямованих на недопущення порушення прав національних меншин на підтримку розвитку самобутності окремих етнічних груп на своїй території

Забезпечення прав румунофонської національної меншини України дозволяє вказаній етнічній групі зберігати та розвивати свою національну самобутність в межах території України. Політика нашої держави у напрямку забезпечення прав національних меншин орієнтується на європейські стандарти, що безумовно повинно сприяти якнайшвидшій інтеграції України до ЄС.

У статті розкривається широкий спектр тем: історична довідка; румуни, залучені до української політики; основні тенденції щодо прав національних громад на навчання рідною мовою; проблеми та перспективи мовлення для румуномовного населення Північної Буковини; розвиток культури; права румуномовної меншини, що дозволяють цій етнічній групі зберігати та розвивати свою національну ідентичність на території Північної Буковини в Україні.

Ключові слова:

носії румунської мови, національна меншина, Північна Буковина, Україна, Чернівецька область, соціальна еволюція, права

AUTOR:

Lubow Melnychuk – dr doc. Katedry Stosunków Międzynarodowych i Komunikacji Społecznych, Narodowy Uniwersytet im. Yuria Fedkowycza w Czerniowcach, Ukraina, e-mail: l/melnichuk@chnu.edu.ua

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6380-5610>



Od prawej: Anna Pietuch, Zbigniew Waldemar Okoń, Andrzej Rybak  
oraz uczestnicy jubileuszowego spotkania