8th LUMEN International Scientific Conference Rethinking Social Action. Core Values in Practice | RSACVP 2017 | 6-9 April 2017 | Suceava – Romania

Rethinking Social Action. Core Values in Practice

Applying the Multidimensional Theory for the Romanian Political Parties in Austrian Bucovina (Last Decade of 19th Century – Second Decade of 20th Century)

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https://doi.org/10.18662/lumproc.rsacvp2017.24

How to cite: Gafiţa, V. (2017). Applying the Multidimensional Theory for the Romanian Political Parties in Austrian Bucovina (Last Decade of 19th Century – Second Decade of 20th Century). In C. Ignatescu, A. Sandu, & T. Ciulei (eds.), *Rethinking Social Action. Core Values in Practice* (pp. 257-269). Suceava, Romania: LUMEN Proceedings
https://doi.org/10.18662/lumproc.rsacvp2017.24

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Vlad GAFIȚA[1]

Abstract

Along with liberalism, the nationalism is among the greatest ideologies that have configured, redefined and transformed European society at the turn of the XVIIIth and the XIXth centuries. In the last decades of the 19th century, the Romanian national movement from Austrian Bukovina turned from cultural stage into political phasis. Initially, Romanian political organizations were included into federalist or autonomist currents from Austro-Hungarian Empire. Politically, according to multidimensional theory, Romanian parties belong to the cleavage entitled Center/ Periphery, but also Church-State and Employers-Workers cleavages. Indigenous political formations have often collaborated with allogenic parties in national, social, economic, political or cultural matters. Relating to one-dimensional theory of parties, Romanian political groups may be encountered both in the center-right and center-left wings. On 28 of November 1918, the Romanian national movement of emancipation attended the goal of unification with the Romanian Kingdom. After this point, the Romanian political parties from Bukovina had to integrate into the political scene of Great Romania. Some suppressed themselves, others were assimilated into other parties from Old Romanian Kingdom.

Keywords: nationalism, multidimensional theory, one-dimensional theory, political parties, Romanians.

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https://doi.org/10.18662/lumproc.rsacvp2017.24
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1. Introduction

The multidimensional theory of political parties [1] belongs to Norwegian sociologist Stein Rokkan, being developed also by French political scientists such as Maurice Duverger and Daniel-Louis Seiler. It states that the political evolution of Europe has historically been affected by three successive revolutions: the national revolution, the industrial revolution and the international revolution.

The national revolution generated, on the functional axis - the Church-State cleavage, on the territorial-cultural axis - the Center-Periphery cleavage [2]**.** The industrial revolution adds, on the functional axis, the cleavage of the Capitalists-Workers, and on the territorial-cultural axis - the Primary sector-Secondary sector cleavage

2. Theoretical Background

The Church-State Cleavage. The result of the national revolution, of cultural origin, opposes the clergy to the anti-clerical category. The clergy represents the holders of the political and social influence of the church, while the anti-clerics are the followers of the separation between State and Church, sustaining, in the same time, the secularization of social life. In the category of clerical parties, we can mention: the Austrian Christian-Social Party, the Romanian Christian-Social Party of Bucovina, the Catholic parties in the Empire. Among the political anticlerical parties, we can include the Liberal German Party, the Social-Democratic Party, the Socialist Party [3 p19-20].

Center-Periphery Cleavage - has a cultural origin, resulting also from the national revolution. It puts in opposition the Centralists or Unitarians with the Autonomists, the Federalists or the Regionalists. Within this cleavage are originating two families of political parties:

- On the centralist side - parties supporting and sustaining the state;
- On the peripheral side - ethno-nationalist and regionalist parties.

This cleavage is organically related to the nation-building process [3 p20-21].

Owners-Workers Cleavage. Being of socio-economic origin and resulting from the industrial revolution, it opposes the interests of those who own the means of production and exchange with workers or proletarians (industrial or agricultural). Here we find two political families: the bourgeois and conservative parties (classic right) and the worker's parties, linked to the center-left side or to cooperative movements [3 p 21-23] (examples:

Romanian Social Democratic Party in Bucovina, led by George Grigorovici and the Democratic Peasant Party, chaired by Aurel Onciul).

Rural-Urban cleavage. In the rural political area, we can find conservative parties and peasant parties, and in urban area - bourgeois, social-democratic, socialist parties etc [3 p21-22].

Applying the multidimensional theory for the Bucovina's duchy

The most important cleavage encountered at the parties in Habsburg Bucovina is the Center-Periphery one. The political streams in Bucovina's duchy are inspired, into the pre-partinist phase, from the Viennese model. The Centralist stream supported Vienna's domination over the Crown countries, but also the weakening of the provincial autonomy. The left-right axis has a liberal origin, sustaining the centralization of the state and a higher control of federal structures on Cisleithania's provinces (the Austrian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) [4 p171]. The autonomist / federalist power was heavily represented in provinces such as: the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, Bohemia, Moravia, and Bucovina [5 p72-76]. In the latter Crown country, was remarked for a short time - the National Autonomous Society (1872), with the political newspaper „Der Patriot". The most important leaders of this proto-political formation were: Alexandru Petrino, I. G. Sbiera, Gheorghe Hurmuzachi and Alexandru Hurmuzachi. At the origin of the Romanian nationalist parties in Habsburg Bucovina was „Concordia" Political Society (1885-1892), representing the core of the Romanian National Party - "Concordia" (1892-1897) - (official newspaper "Gazeta Bucovinei", President Iancu Zotta). On the same autonomist-federalist line, evolved the Romanian National Radical Party and the Romanian National People's Party - led by politicians like Iancu Lupu, George Popovici and Iancu Flondor [6 p264]. The publications of these parties -were"Patria", respectively "Deşteptarea" from Chernivtsi [7 p85-90].

The Church / State Cleavage - has a pre-partinitarian phase, characterized by iosefinism and post-iosfinism (the secularization of the monasteries, the creation of the Church Fund in Bukovina, the secularization of the school and its removal from the church's control, the institutional reform of Bucovina - Juridical, religious, social, political), but also through neo-absolutism (the rebound of the rise of the influence of the Catholic Church). During the party phase, we find political groups of clerical origin – for example, the Christian-Social Party (led by Prince Alois von Lichtenstein and by Vienna's anti-semitic mayor, Karl Luegger). This political party has a correspondent in Bukovina. In 1908, PNR turned into the Romanian Social Christian Party, but soon gave up the Christian-Social

title, due to the anti-Semitic valences of the party of origin. Groups of anti-clerical shades are found both on the left (PSD in Bucovina) and on the right side (the German Liberal Party) of the political squad. These categories of parties backed down the influence and diminished the role of the Church in society, as well as the progress, layoffs and reform of the social space.

The landowners-patrons/workers cleavage includes political parties such as the German Liberal Party, the Romanian Conservative Party, the Armenian-Polish Party - in the area of the owners, or Social Democratic Party, Peasant Party, Democratic Peasant Party - in the area of industrial and agricultural workers. The Social Democratic Party (established in 1896) from Bucovina was organized in national sections: Romanian, Jewish, Polish. The official newspaper of the Romanian PSD section was the newspaper "Lupta" (1906). The publication of the political formation, in the German language, was called "Volkpresse". It is also worth mentioning the political grouping Peasant Society, made up of Germans, Ruthenians and Romanians, which lies in the center-left area of the political scene. In the first years of the twentieth century, the Democratic Peasant Party (Leaders Aurel von Onciul and Florea Lupu, relied, ideologically, on publications like: "Privitorul", "Voința Poporului". This political formation is declared to be a class party, by defending the interests of the peasantry and rural secular intelligentsia (teachers). The Democratic Peasant Party, however, had a language characterized by demagogy and populism, because, in reality, it was not a left-wing party, by having a nobleman as a leader (Aurel Onciul). This group would fall into the Prend-tout or Catch-all party category (the only real goal being the incorporation of as many voters as possible, regardless of the class or social category they belong to. They were attracted by social or economic promises with a high degree of populism.

Rural-urban cleavage is reflected by the conflict and political struggle between peasant parties versus liberal or social-democratic parties.

3. Argument of the paper

Along with liberalism, the nationalism is one of the great ideologies that have shaped, redefined and transformed European society at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Like the liberal current, it has known a great conceptual and terminological complexity, suffering a multitude of metamorphoses, conditions, interactions, diversifications, atomizations, pluralizations. Maintaining a series of fundamental, immutable principles, the nationalism also multiplied into various facets, forms, particularisms, becoming increasingly difficult to set in certain patterns or fixed

classifications. Today, in the academic and scientific world, there is no longer talk about one liberalism, but many variations of liberalism (ideological, political, economic, English, French, German, etc.). So, we cannot discuss about one nationalism, but many nationalisms (ethnic, cultural, civic).

Based on the feeling of "national community", nationalist ideology has 3 assertions, according to which:

- The nation has an explicit specificity.
- The interests and values of the nation prevail over all other interests and values.
- It must be as independent as possible, which requires the recognition of its political sovereignty.

The nationalisms function and subscribe to complex antagonistic couples, such as: liberalism - authoritarianism, imperialism - anti-imperialism, racism - antiracism, relativism - universalism, romanticism - rationalism, hierarchy - equality of national cultures [8 p16]. Generally, they are divided into three typologies. A first model, specific to England, imposes a individualistic, pluralist, libertarian and universalist sort of nationalism. A second type (originally encountered in Russia and Germany) has its features: ethnicity, organicism and collectivism. The third typology (French) is a hybrid, combining civism and collectivism, or the Nation and the General Will [8 p16]. In parallel with the rise of civic conscience, nationalism has two aspects, sometimes contradictory, sometimes complementary: an exclusivist and holistic one (when it is a tool of struggle for sovereignty, in the name of a particular culture) and another inclusive and individualist (when it legitimizes the citizenship on behalf of the existence's will of the national state. Therefore, such a distinction corresponds, apparently paradoxically, to the opposition, and, at the same time, to the complementarity between national determinism and self-determination.

Naturally, we are asking ourselves, in which of the three models mentioned above, is falling the Romanian nationalism? We tend to move towards the second type, characterized by ethnicity and organicism. Thus, we are regarding the nation as a "soul -body" entity, born under the influence of a community consciousness. It is generally known that, some European peoples, generally, and Romanians, in particular, have three successive forms: the home community; language community, community of destiny. First, in temporal and chronological sense, the home community was known under the name of *ethnos*, *gens*, *natio*, *ethnicus*, existing today also. The second form, meaning the language community, the adaptation of the former to the spiritual requirements of time, tends to gradually fade the consciousness of origin. The linguistic community imparts the tendency

towards a cultural unit, which, in turn, becomes, with the dawn of modernity, a genuine instrument of defense of national consciousness. The third, more recent form, is the consciousness of the community of destiny. It consists in the conscious solidarity of the members of a nation, in the sense of preserving their national unity, regardless of sacrifices [9 p110-113].

In Eastern Europe and in Romanian space too, the aristocracy kept, until the second half of the eighteenth century, a certain sense of class cohesion. The delay to the Western world has allowed for a certain continuity in the modern age, of that *medieval natio*, but with the necessary adaptations. It was accredited the idea that the nobility would be the "depository" of the nation. Some scholars like Emil Niederhauser (in the book *The Rise of Nationality in Eastern Europe*, Budapest, 1981) considered that the part of the Romanian nation in the Principalities was noble, but not in Transylvania. As such, the Moldavian and Wallachian boyars participated in the defying and formation of modern "intelligence" [10 p 200]. Even in the first decades of nineteenth century, the idea of nation overlapped with the boyarship and the incipient bourgeoisie. With the accomplishment of the "small union" (1859), the Great Reforms of Cuza and the victory in Independence War, a national bourgeoisie gradually emerged, but without including the majority of the population. At the level of the discourse, the revolutionary generation of 1848 tried to identify herself with the peasant class, proposing more or less radical reforms. Also, many of them, on the channel and the romantic model, idealized the peasantry as an archetype and representative of Romanian specifics and value, through folklore, literature, etc [10 p198-202].

The development of nationalism in the Principalities was circumscribed to an interesting "melange" of progressive liberal ideas, but also to some conservative ones, promoted by the local aristocracy. In its turn, she is considered a „guardian" of traditional, perennial values, such as the property, preservation of the national edifice, based on the glory of the forerunners. Such a mix of ideas appears in the context of the gap between Romanian society, compared to Western and Central Europe.

The Romanians from Transylvania did not benefit from the existence of a noble class (boyars), remaining during medievalism and modernity under the "anathema" of that "tolerated natio". However, they have managed to adapt and create their own models of nationalism (cultural and then political). Generally, this current is viewed and analyzed like an ideology and a political movement of emancipation too. Usually, the Romanian historiography is prefers the second option [11 p 153].

At the beginning of eighteen century, Transylvanian native intellectuals have created a particular form of cultural nationalism, through

the Transylvanian School, adapting some forms of Enlightenment, firstly - to a new reality of a double confessionalism (Greek-Catholic And Orthodox), and secondly - to the rich „bag of ideas", related to the Latin origin of the Romanians. After the establishment of Austro-Hungarian dualism in 1867, the Romanian elites initiated, in Transylvania, a great effort to build a coherent national-political movement, materialized through intense petitioning activity and by creation of a powerful party, capable to defend and support their demands. The *Pronunciament* (1868) and the *Memorandum* (1892) marked and finalized the petitionalism, whose debut belonged to the eighteenth century. Through the Romanian National Party, began the political institutionalization of the emancipation movement, which ended with the Great Union of 1918 [12 p5].

4. Arguments to support the thesis

Beginning with the second half of the nineteenth century, an integral part of the nation - the Bukovinian Romanians also created their own emancipation movement. They have generally entered into the algorithm of transition, from cultural to political nationalism, creating and developing their own original or particular form. For example, the Revolution of 1848-1849 had some specific elements in Bucovina. It took place as a zonal aspect of the Habsburg Empire's revolution, in the context of the Galician region, a region ruined by asperities, conflicts, tensions between the various nationalities present here. Each one had its aspirations, its goals, divergent or antagonistic interests. The Poles wished Poland to be rebuilt as a national state, the Ruthenians demanded that the southern province along with the north of the Bucovina district to become an autonomous state nucleus, thus conflicting with the Romanians. Besides, the other nationalities in Bucovina did not have a unitary vision or direction, during the 1848-1849 Revolution [13 p 368]. The privileged social classes of the Germans and Jews were identified with the interests of the imperial circles, while the lower classes were on the side of the Romanian or the Ruthenian national groups.

The diversity of social, religious, confessional, national interests, the different intensity of revolutionary action depending on geographical areas, provinces, ethnic groups, the ability of authorities to maintain and exploit tensions between nationalities – all of these are explaining the weakness of the anti-Habsburg protest, or, in the case of Bucovina – the moderate nature of protest actions. Beyond these assertions, we cannot deny Romanian people desire to unification in a single great state [14 p 246].

The community and linguistic conscience of Bukovina's natives could not be eradicated, despite the influences or interactions with other nationalities (Austro-German, Polish, Jewish, Ruthenian etc). In this sense, a specific form of resistance was the emancipation by culture or cultural nationalism. Beginning with the last decades of the nineteenth century, the nationalism of the Romanians in Bucovina has begun to emerge, by crossing different stages: one represented by cultural societies, a protopartinic phase (of political societies), and a stage - initiated by the creation of „Concordia" - Romanian National Party, in 1892, and ended with the outbreak of the first world conflagration.

Romanian cultural societies have emerged as germs of the emancipation stream, being at the same time a launching pad for future organizations and political parties, that emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century. The evolution to the Romanian nationalism was not made directly by the "firing of the stages", but it has gone through the cultural phase of defining its own identity. Resistance to a so-called "more advanced and evolved civilization", such as the Austro-German one, could not be applied to the Bukovinian natives, without a specific framework.

The intensification of the Romanian cultural nationalism [15 p 29] in Bucovina has benefited from a multitude of favorable factors, such as: the emergence and consolidation of a modern state through the unification of the East and South Carpathian provinces, the development of academic societies, the publishing of scientific papers, magazines, newspapers, various popularization brochures about the origin, the language, the culture of Romanian Nation [16 p153]. The native elites of Bucovina, as well as those in Transylvania, used every opportunity or weakness of the Habsburgs to regain their independence. Confronting some failures in foreign policy (the defeat of 1859 with France and Sardinia), but also in domestic politics (the Hungarian political crisis, the financial recession), the Empire of Austria was forced to give up the neo-absolutist regime or to make concessions to provinces, widening their autonomy. In spite of many difficulties, due to this favorable context, Bucovina regained its provincial autonomy status, with the rank of duchy, with its own Diet (Provincial Parliament) and its own coat of arms (in 1861-1862) [17 p85].

5. Arguments to argue the thesis

The transition to the political nationalism in Bucovina *came under the sign* of the regaining provincial autonomy in 1861, and the establishment of more stable and more evolved parliamentary life. In the Habsburg

Monarchy, the birth of the parties was in close association with the parliamentary work of the provincial Diets. The dispute in the Vienna Parliament, regarding the adoption of the new Constitution in February 1861, had two directions - a federalist-autonomist current and a centralist-liberal one. (*center-periphery cleavage*) The fundamental law of 1861 was characterized by pronounced centralism. A so-called "Party of the Constitution" coalesced around it. Its opponents formed the core of the Federalist Party [17 p 246].

Applying the typologies imposed by political science theorists like: Stein Rokkan, Max Weber, Daniel-Louis Seiller, or Pierre Bréchon - these formations fall into the so-called center-periphery cleavage, but we can also include them into the notability party type. Almost naturally, the political and partisan configuration of the Viennese parliament has also been translated into provincial Diets. Of course, that Bucovina was no exception. For several decades, both in Vienna and in Chernivtsi, a bipartite, political and parliamentary system functioned. It is absolutely necessary, however, to point out that in the Duchy of Bucovina, there were no parties, in the modern sense, until 1892, but only political, orientation groups, either centralist or federalist. Broadly speaking, centralist liberalism supported the idea of state consolidation not only in Austria, but also in other states in south-eastern Europe, such as Romania. The statement should be nuanced in the context in which the political model applied in the modern Romanian state was inspired by the French liberalism, not the German one. In Austria, the liberal-centrist spirit assumed the subordination of the other provinces and nationalities to the preeminence of the Austro-German element and to the Roman Catholic confession, a phenomenon not existing in Romania.

Returning to the political choices of the Romanian elites in Austrian Bukovina, for a decade after the regaining of the autonomy of the province, some representatives of native ruling class were apparently and paradoxically oriented towards the centralist current. These are the deputies Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi and the archimandrite Teofil Bendela. Both conspired, that the limits and the degrees of autonomy offered to the provinces, did not bring real advantages for Bucovina. Moreover, there were precedents, when small provinces were included to larger crown countries, even by central governments of federal nuance. Bukovina's autonomists had a conservative and nationalist orientation. Led by Baron Alexandru Petrino, the federalist group comprised mostly representatives of the local boyar elite such as Gheorghe Hurmuzachi (Brother of Eudoxius), Ioan Mustaţă, Gheorghe Flondor, or allogeneous owners like Armenian Cristof Iakubovici. The predominantly rural social configuration, as well as the restrictive electoral

system, imposed the leadership of the "noble state", within the Romanian elite, but also among the other nationalities.

For a short time, the Romanian federalists in Bukovina created a political association, named Society of National Autonomists (April-December 1872), publishing the German newspaper "Der Patriot" as a press release. For an easier reception, by central and provincial authorities, this publication used the official language of the state. The political Program published in "Der Patriot", included a wide range of claims and issues, such as: maintaining the autonomy of the Orthodox Church, developing state education, limiting the rent of the Religious Fund by foreigners, removing land debts, compensating landowners, etc. From the very beginning, we note that the core of this society, consisting mostly of representatives of the boyar elite, was pervading the support of moderate goals, such as preserving the autonomy of the province, and more radical wishes, such as the expansion of the electoral area towards masses. All these ideas were, however, within the limits of constitutional legality.

Thus, the ideological framework was characterized by a certain heterogeneity, supporting and promoting claims of the most diverse: free press, the material and spiritual development of all nationalities within the monarchy (including the Bucovinian Romanians); expanding the autonomy of the duchy on all levels of society (at the level of the commune, church, school); mediating conflicts through debates, that focus on cultural, political, economic, social issues; opposition to the centralizing trend of Vienna. Regarding the ways of action and national struggle, the Society of Autonomists has drawn a series of directions, which remained valid for the Romanian emancipation movement as well: organization of ordinary and extraordinary gatherings, petitions, resolutions, printing of Brochures, leaflets, branch development at provincial level [18 p 215].

The dominance of the conservative boyars, within the autonomous political formation, imposed a certain "dose" of passivism in the case of relations with the Centralist Party and the authorities from Chernivtsi and Vienna. Although, at a theoretical level, the Program and the Statute of the National Autonomous Society supported the attraction of many classes and social categories as possible, in the service of political and national struggle, in fact, this objective remained at the stage of desideratum. The attempt to block the work of the provincial assembly had limited success, as part of their legislative projects managed to pass only with the extraordinary approval of the central power. For several years, after a series of partial and limited electoral successes, the Bucovinian federalists began to transform themselves into national conservatives, with some advantages and disadvantages. Through the so-called "Bucovina doctrine"

(Bukowinerthum), the Romanian native elites became more and more inclined to compromise or to renounce national struggle and identity. Provincial Diet Deputies had turned into simple officials, "docile tools" into authorities hands, and the subordination of legislative power to executive one, became, often, a rule.

The action of the Romanian boyars in Bukovina proved to be quite inefficient, requiring a tightening of the ranks and a re-evaluation of the strategy of the national struggle, in the sense of democratization and a broad participation of the masses in the political life of the duchy. The emergence of a new, progressive stream, represented by the young Romanian intelligentsia, coming from the ranks of the urban and rural bourgeoisie, constituted a beneficial counterweight to the opportunism of the conservative and old politicians. This was materialized by the creation of the Concordia Political Society in Chernivtsi in 1885.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Bukovinian Romanians created their first political party (1892) in the modern sense (the „Concordia"- Romanian National Party). It had to protect their national, social and economic interests before Austrian provincial and imperial authorities, but also in relations with the other nationalities in Bucovina. Some researchers state that there were several Romanian parties in Bucovina, in fact being only one, with several variants, (Conservative, Radical, Popular) differentiated by the degree of moderation or by radicalism of the national struggle, but also by the social basis. However, program differences were not significant.

6. Dismantling the arguments against

The Austrian Bukovina parties, belonging to the Romanians or other nationalities, fall quite easily in the typology of cleavage theory, but after their integration into the political scene of Great Romania (1918-1940), some of them disappeared or were assimilated by larger or elder political parties from Old Kingdom of Romania or Transylvania. The political and party system of interwar Romania fits better on the typology induced by one-dimensional theory (left-center-right axis).

7. Conclusions

The Austrian Bukovina parties, belonging to the Romanians or other nationalities, fall quite easily in the typology of cleavage theory, but after their integration into the political scene of Great Romania (1918-1940),

some of them disappeared or were assimilated by larger or elder political parties from Old Kingdom or Transylvania. The political and party system of interwar Romania fits better on the typology induced by unidimensional theory (left-center-right axis).

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