

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN BUKOVINA. THE PERIOD OF ITS LEGAL FUNCTION (1921-1924)

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***REZUMAT:** Partidul Comunist din România în anii 1921-1924, deși era organizație legală, nu a acționat ca un partid național, ci ca o grupare coordonată de formațiunile românești aflate la Moscova sau Harkov. Acest fapt se poate constata din deciziile Ministerului de Interne care cerea autorităților locale din Bucovina să supravegheze activitatea comuniștilor din regiune. Împiedicarea acțiunilor propagandistice i-a obligat pe membrii P.C.d.R să găsească metode ilegale pentru a-și promova ideile politice. Cu toate că unele inițiative ale comuniștilor de pe teritoriul Bucovinei s-au bucurat de un relativ succes P.C.d.R. a rămas tot mai izolat în viața politică a României.*

După al IV-lea Congres al Cominternului și după a IV-a Conferință a Federației Comuniste Balcanice din anii 1922-1923, comuniștii din Bucovina s-au regrupat, organizându-se în noi structuri. Astfel, s-au fost înființate diverse „comitete în fabrici” și „grupuri de stradă” care urmăreau să îndeplinească hotărârile luate de forurile superioare aflate în străinătate. Aceste structuri au reușit pe parcursul anului 1924 să obțină o serie de succese în Bucovina. Scoaterea în ilegalitate a P.C.d.R. îi va obliga pe comuniști să-și reconsidere metodele de activitate.

At the same time as the foundation of the Romanian Socialist-Communist Party, in May, 1921 (which in fact represented the withdrawal of this party from an existent current in the Socialist Party, and not the continuation of the old one), takes place not only a relative destabilization of the Romanian Socialist and Social-Democratic organizations – including that of the working class – but also the removal of the national feature from the propagandistic stock of the party.

The fact that the Communist movement in Romania, after 1921, was of a foreign origin, has been confirmed on one side by the participation of the party at the Third Congress of the Communist International (Moscow, June, 22 - July 12, 1921), by the illegal emigrant groups in the Sovietic Russia, which were organized in the so-called Romanian groups from Moscow and Harkov, and on the other side, once the Communist Party was in Romania a creation of the Komintern, namely the Bolshevik Government of Moscow – which was supplying money to this party (was providing propagandistic materials and was training ruling class in special schools its aims could be nothing but contrary to this national interests of the people and of Romanian state.

Even on these terms, the Romanian Socialist-Communist Party has legally carried on its activity between May, 1921 and April, 1924, confronting itself however with a series of internal organizational problems and with the repressive measure of the officials. The communist movement of Bukovina had a serious opponent, the social democrats, who contested its right to allegedly appear as representatives of working-class¹. Under these auspices, the Provisional Executive Committee of the Romanian Socialist Party – being represented by Gh. Tănase, M. Pauker, N. Sinulescu and C. Ivănuș – made a petition to perfect of the capital on account of being forbidden its public meetings. But the perfect, in in his arguing, request the acknowledgement of the rules that allow the existence of a political party – the other parties not being restricted in order for the Romanian Communist Party to hold its meetings².

In Bukovina the communists suffered the same treatment on the authorities, as well as those from Bucharest and from the other provinces. The administrative authorities of Bukovina were accused by the Minister for Internal Affairs of being careless in granting the citizenship to Jews considered to be in collusion with the Russian bolsheviks.³ Knowing the communists action of instigating the factory workers to strike, the Ministry of Labour and of Socialist Protection has founded an administrative department in Bukovina which forms a *Region*, having its headquarters in the Administrative Palace of Bukovina in Cernăuți and which has powers – of detension – in case of strikes or work conflicts⁴. The Ministry of Home Affairs also met the local authorities of Bukovina halfway as well, in order to stop the communist propaganda by sending the Prefecture of Rădăuți county (July, 13, 1921), a „Disposition of the Censoring office”, by means of which it gave the following instructions:

1. The Censoring office is organized after the following norms: **a.** in localities (places) where newspapers never or seldom come out the censoring is made honorifically by you (the prefect) or your substitute, according to the principles in the Old Kingdom; **b.** in places where there are daily or periodical newspaper (up to publications), the service is made by a head of the censoring, namely you or another person; **c.** in places where more than 5 newspaper come out and where foreign newspaper are censored, the service is made by a large number of employees, namely: - a head of the censoring, helped by two people, a head and four office workers respectively; - in counties or towns where newspaper come out, the censoring will be made honorifically by a person authorized by you.

2. The job will be paid as follows: - the head of the censoring – 900 lei a months and the other jobs – 600 lei a month⁵.

Together with the dispatching of the Disposition of the Censoring by the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Prefecture of Rădăuți county requested competent local bodies the banning of the following foreign communist publications: *Der Judische Arbeiter* (Lemberg), *Internationale Komunist* (Teplitz Schonau), *Bukovina* (Winnipeg-Canada), *Die Eronerung des Brotes* (Berlin), *Korwats* (Reichberg), *Canadiski Ucrainez* (Winnipeg), *Narodna Volia* (Sorantom- U.S.A.), *Freiheit* (Teplitz Schonau), *Erkenntnis U. Befreiung* (Vienna), *Der neu internationale Weltrosocialismus* (Berlin am Vienna), *Swit-Communist* (New York), *Nowe Zyhyia* (Oliphant-U.S.A.), *Narodne Slovo* (Pittsburg-U.S.A.), *Qualidien Russe Novitatile* (Paris), *Magyar irresenta* (Budapest), *Amerika Magyar Nepszava* (New York, Pittsburg, Chicago), *Neew York Volkszeitung* (New York), *Mitteilungen des Judischen* (Vienna), *Buletin Communiste* (Paris), *Ruscki Golos* (New York), *Jovo* (Vienna), *Der Judische Socialist* (Czech Republic), *The Chicago Tribune* (European ed. Paris), *Novyi Mir* (Berlin), *Wicher Stimmen* (Vienna), *Komunist* (Winnipeg) and the brochures *La Revue Coministe* (Paris) and *Le Phare* (Switzerland)⁶. A series of American societies controlled by Jewish socialists spread those newspapers in Bukovina, and supported anumber of communist organizations in publishing journals such as *Freiheit* or *Neue Zeit*, with a strong socialist character⁷.

The Comminists have expressed several times their protest toward the repression on the past of the authorities, concomitantly with the propagandistic activity, as it happened in Baia, where on the first May, at the workers festival, a picture postcard illustrating five workers with their feet chained was sold - a symbol of repression they were wearing red shirts and waistband, under which there were written the words „Move on, proletarians, you are the savours at the world!”⁸.

The prevention of the propagandistic activity has urged the communist to resort to various guised ways of expression, lazing not only their infiltration in different state institutions, but some times, even on the shallowness the authorities were display the way it emerges from an article in *Adevărul* newspaper, on October 16, 1921: „The gendorme from Dorna Candreni has distribute to the inhabitants the „Vestea Mileniului” loose leaf and „Vestea Aurie”, containing the translucent curtain of the communism. The authorities do not attack importance to this movemet, considering it as being of free beliefs”⁹.

The Communist ways of infiltration in Bukovina was result of „the lack of cooperation between the Ministry and the local administration on terms of administrative unification of the country and the problems linked to this”⁷. On the basis of this misunderstanding, „a communist club, under the guise of a sports club led by Berall the chemist” has been founded, among whom we can notice some members with foreign names: Schwammental Oasis, Goldschaleger, Korn Nathan and Follender¹⁰.

The fact that the link of the communists from Bukovina and the foreign countries has been a productive one, consists both from the Bolshevik Propagandistic Bureau from Berlin (which has stated send „prints” on the communist wives addressed, containing instructions from the organization of women’s board for communist propaganda¹¹) and from informing the prefect of Baia county by the Ministry of Home Affairs, that lately, some German banknotes (made of silk and leather) bearing different inscriptions of propaganda, began to squeeze in¹². The organizing woman’s in Bukovina – as it is written in a document dated from December 31, 1922 – has been promptly carried out, on terms of which the decision of founding a Central committee of Propaganda among women – for the purpose of drawing this part of the population in the working class movement – has been taken only a month ago, at the Second Congress of the Romanian Communist Party (October 3-4, 1922).

In the report sent buy Dietrich (probably Gheorghii Dimitrov), on January 21, 1922 to the Presidium of the Komintern’s Executive from Moscow, where there is a commentary on things discussed at Vienna at the Balkanic Communist Federations Conference, on January 17, 1922 it has been estimated that: „while Bessarabia, which has a strong aversion to Bucharest, has always been feeling bound to the Ukraine Communist Party, and the South of Dobrudja as being bound to Sofia in Bukovina’s case the movement from the Old Kingdom was too much at the extreme left. Transylvania hasn’t been Unitarian: the German provinces were entirely rightist; the Romanian ones were party rightist, partly central; and the Hungarian ones partly central, partly communist”¹³.

According to the same report, it ssems that two trade-union central offices were formed: one at Bucharest and another – in which merged a part of a trade-unions from Transylvania, Banat and later Bukovina at Timișoara. The radicalization process of the communist movement in Bukovina continued. If at the level of other provinces even localities likes Galați, were the communist Bolshevik propaganda took she from of the „artistic groups”¹⁴, or even in the capital-city of country, where the communist were dealing with real financial problems, that the *Socialismul* newspaper from Bucharest called on the voluntary contribution of the public, making appear regularly call for help in its last publications, directed to readers, and it created a red-coloured stamp, of are and five lei, for help being sold all over the country and for benefit of the paper”¹⁵; in Bukovina, the communists didn’t wait for a favorable moment engage in propaganda, but they actually invented it. A right moment of communist propaganda in Bukovina was the so-called „trial from Dealul Spirii” (January 23, - April 4, 1922) user by the opposition to strike the government, whence the promulgation and publication of the royal decree of

amnesty, on June 4th, 1922 – having as a result the release of 217 prisoners out of 271 – when (...) after freeing some communist leaders involved in the communist lawsuit which was on trial at the Court Martial, the communist group was going to start all over again to undermine the state order having as a starting point „the rural population, where they were going to emulate each other in the land issue” though without neglecting afterwards their work also in the urban places of these provinces¹⁶.

At the Balkanic Federation’s Conference (January, 1922), where the Party was represented by comrade Parker, after debating the Party’s situation, the comrades Koralov, Marcovici, Pauker and Dietrich (Gheorghii Dimitrov) established the plan the Romanian communists were going to follow namely: the Party always has to take in consideration the possibility of a reactionary blow, as a result, they have a necessary steps at once, in order to ensure its existence and activity on terms of its illegality; the Party’s existent central office must summon as quickly as possible a conference in order to develop a program for the positive work of the Party, by setting up a working united front which can lead to the consolidation of the Party¹⁷.

In order to get the legal recognition from the authorities – after the arrests made by these, in May, 1921 – the Romanian communists laid down personal lists in the parliamentary elections (March, 1922), where the achieving of result, even if a moderate one (172.133 voters) represented an important fact. Later on, they gathered – the way they have been told to do at the Balkanic Communist Federation – at the Second Congress of the Romanian Socialist-Communist Party, which took place at Ploiești (October 3-4, 1922). Here, the party’s rules being adapted, it was specified: „1st article: the Romanian Communist Party is a section of the Communist International. It has no other aims than those of the International’s to which it belongs. 2nd article: the thesis and the decision of any kind of the Third Communist International are binding for all its members and for all the committees, commissions, groups s.o. of the Romanian Communist Party”¹⁸.

A further proof – if there was still necessary – of the subordination to the Komintern is also the stipulation which allowed the Executive Committee of the Communist International to annul any decisions of the congress or of the party’s conference. The Congress, which decided to give up the name of Socialist-Communist Party, adapting the official entitling of Romanian Communist Party, has delegated a Central Committee and has named Gheorghe Cristescu as a secretary of the Party.

Among the resolutions approved at the Congress, the one concerning the national problem can be noticed, in which it was estimated that: „the problem of the Romanian ethnic groups is a part of the problem of the ethnic groups from the Balkan Peninsula, which is inhabited by a mixture of nationalities and which will obtain its full national freedom only under the patronage of the Federative Socialist Republic of the Balkans Debates”¹⁹. In fact, as Gr. Niculescu stated – one of the founders of the Romanian Communist Party – „the party begins more and more to look like a religious sect. To this contributes, among other things, especially the development of clandestinity, long before it had become an illegal party. It has surrounded itself with sectarianism or at least it has all the appearances of a sect; while the workers who were woken to the political life had to make their way to the Peasant Party that they consider to be, after the Communist Party, as being the closest to their interests. Out of the 40.000 socialists that formed the Communist Party in 1921, it remains only around 5.000 members in 1923”²⁰.

The causes lie, above all, in placing the party by its leaders at the antipode of national interests, on account of which they were simply abandoned. After the Fourth

Congress of the Komintern, which took place in November-December, 1922 at Petrograd and Moscow, being at the same time the first and the last congress when among the delegates socialist-communists from the country were present, the Fourth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation (November, 1923) take place.

The preamble of the culmination at this conference was the adoption of the resolution „About the Romanian national problem” in which not the social aspects from our country, but the Sovietic territorial obsessions were approached.

It is no accident that the Romanian Communists – „slaves of Moscow” – have always insisted on the idea of revolution, even if in the country there were not any premises for revolutionary crisis. They activated and helped rebellions, insurrections, strikes, revolts which testify the so-called „national yoke” put on ethnic minorities. The last conventional expression was very much used in order to rise the national minorities against the unitarian statute, to produce its break and desintegration.

But, in order to produce a revolutionary movement, especially on the territories attached to Romania, aiming also Bukovina – the communist movement – according to a document dated in 1922 – devised „a new plan of propaganda in all the state and private institutions, in schools and in the army”. This plan – applied also in Bukovina – foresaw the establishment in all the centres of three local executive committee: 1. The main committee; 2. the youth committee; 3. the military committee. Each committee has its own district part, receiving orders from the main committee from Sofia, under the direct ordering of the Komintern, from which it receives orders directly through the Soviet leading bodies whose central point of communist propaganda from Balkans was in Vienna²¹. According to the same document, in its plan of work, the Soviet Russia foresaw even the entrance of the „red troops”, being massed together in a large number on the Dniestr (Nistru) riverside, in the attached territories. A critical phenomenon was recorded in Bukovina in the increasing number of the acts of espionage involving both Soviet agents and Romanian communists. In a trial in Cernăuți, the following were processed and imprisoned in August 1923 for crimes against the security of the Romanian State: Salamon Chigel, Alex Labici, Isidor Rosenwald, Priva Greissel, Vladimir Bihari, Jacob Wilner, Arthur Preis²².

In Bukovina, as well as the other Romanian provinces, besides this organization on large scale, a perpendicular descent in the Romanian society can be observed in all fields of activity. The final purpose of this thorough Communist organization, was a tearing of the Romanian country and the joining of the territories attached to Romania in 1918, to Soviet Russia, which they served. The way of the local communist organization, in mills, factories and workshops, emerges from a document dated in 1922: „the Romanian Communist Party, which strives to swallow up the bourgeoisie and to win the power, considers that the acceptance of the communist programme, by its members, is inadequate and therefore the communists insist on improving their destructive operation”.

The Communist want to determine all their members to participate regularly to its party's everyday affairs, right where the working class functions (institutions, factories, workshops, offices s.o.). As a basis in the arrangement of the revolution, it is pursued that in each of these centres (mills, factories) a group has to be formed, made of minimum three comrades, all adherents to the Party. If in a factory there are not three comrades, it will have to be found at least some sympathizers – in order to carry out the task – and their annexation to an adjoining group (from another factory, workshop s.o.).

The most important groups for the Party are those would perform revolutionary acts in institutions. Besides these groups, there are the so-called „street groups”, made up

by all the comrade who cannot join other groups, namely landlords, man-servants, owners, tradesmen s.o., but at the bottom of the organization lies the group from the institutions. In the general assembly, the group – both those from the institutions and of street – choose a bureau of 3-5 members which, in its turn, will deal with organization of the group's members, in accomplishing the revolution in workshop and institutions following some preliminary actions: spreading the communist press and other propagandistic means, recruiting the adherents for the workers, demonstrations collective informative concerning the inhabitants view about the political life s.o. If in the case of the counties committee is chosen, and for the big towns – a district committee, for the small towns – a town committee will be selected. In the villages the communists will form a local groups – at the head of which will stand a bureau, made by 3-5 members elected by the general assembly of the group – which in its turn, will divide into districts²³. In reference to the decisions made at the Fourth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation (November, 1932), about the direction the Romanian communists must follow, these were carried into practice in Bukovina, before and after they taken.

The Balkanic Conference requested – among other things – that the Romanian Communist Party should: **a.** mass together the scattered elements in different localities; **b.** intensify and create links between the central committees and the local organizations; **c.** have conference in every district; **d.** organize the members of the party grounded on the nuclei, the groups of the factories, workshops and offices; **e.** organize as often as possible „weeks of propaganda” („red weeks”); **f.** organize political campaigns; **g.** write papers and national brochures, both for the industrial workers, and for peasants; **h.** increase the member of activities and its systematization in trade-unions; **i.** form communist organizations in villages, s.o.²⁴.

Regarding the communist propaganda, we learn from a document dated on October 1st, 1922, that the Minister of Home Affairs, C. Comşa, informed the prefects of Baia and Fălticeni counties that “the socialist-communist party has sent its representatives, (...) with a first view to appoint to the service of different owners or landlords as stokers or mechanics at the threshing, harvesting machines or at the ploughs with engines, and from behind this activity – an ostentatious one – the communists have to identify the inhabitants who are malcontented discontented persons tented with their owners, landlords or authorities, to whom, according to the communist propaganda, the aims of the socialist-communist Party will be explained²⁵. Since the communist did not overlook – by the propaganda that has been engaged – started of any forms of ferments and movements the prefect of Rădăuți county requested that „the aforeside Ioan Solubewski an extremist propagandist, a strike instigator among there are factories²⁶”.

The establishment of „peasant sections in alliance with the communists has been discussed at the Communist Party's headquarters at a meeting held by the clandestine groups' leaders” (December 21, 1923) where founded „the organization of red week of propaganda has been decided with the participation of the workers from trade-unions and factories, on Christmass Eve²⁷”.

Consequently, we can observe not only a sustained propaganda engaged at the countryside and the intention to intrigue into communist sections the rural population, but also the existence of some organizing forms of the industrial workers. The Romanian Communists' means of communication and of propaganda are various. We do not know to what existent they were put into practice – not having any confirmation concerning this but the existent documents make clear their variety and complexity. For instance, „the Government from Moscow ordered their Romanian agents to procure the ciphered

dictionaries that were used, to try to insert agents into the telegraph station's personnel and even to corrupt them"²⁸.

In spite of the efforts made by the authorities from Bukovina to annihilate „the bolshevik plague” by means of instructions and arrests among the communists, by confiscating newspapers (*Lupta* or *Socialismul* in Ruși-Mănăstioara, Vama, Frasin, Stulpicani, Pojorâta and Iacobeni²⁹) and brochures (for example the one that was in circulation in Baia county on occasion of the first of May, printed Hungarian in Bucharest and which contained alluring texts and illustrations under the slogan „Proletarians from over the world, unite yourselves”³⁰ or of meetings and festivals (like the one May 1st, when in Zastavna, Vășcățți, Vijnița, Storojineț, Rădăuți and Cernăuți the celebration of the day was conditioned by „the interdiction to cause uprisings, street manifestations, inscriptions and even socialist placards and red flags even in the ensembly halls”³¹, it is observed, further on, that the trade-unionist socialist organizations succed to engage in propaganda, urging the workers to strike (as „in the timber factories from Rădăuți”³² and it is even acknowledged in a document that in Rădăuți „Isak Dankner – the head of the socialist trade-unions – acquires adherents among workers”³³.

The communist's activity from Bukovina complied with the communist party's tasks in urgently reaching the aimed objectives, namely the Sovietic territorial obsessions. The decisive moment of this antiromanian course in the Romanian Communist Party's history was notified as far back as the Fourth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation which took place in Berlin when for the first time the dismemberment of Romania has openly been discussed.

The finishing stroke given by the Romanian Communist Party came from the Komintern itself which, at its Fifth Congress (June 17-18, 1924) it adopted the document entitled: „the National Problem in Central Europe and the Balkans in which, in chapter XI the following was revealed: the congress agrees with the slogans made by the Romanian Communist Party of separating Transylvania and Dobrudja from Romania into independent territories”³⁴. Since Gh. Cristescu – who, together with Gh. Tănase, were members of the social-democratic faction – did not agree on this slogan, declaring himself against the idea of separating Transylvania, Dobrudja, Bessarabia and Bukovina from the Romanian state (seeing that Bukovina and especially Bessarabia were aimed he was replaced from the general secretary function of the party with Elek Koblos, in September, 1924, at the Third Congress of the Romanian Communist Party which took place in Vienna.

The adoption by the Romanian Communist Party at the Communist International's request, of such a political line, was the main argument in determining the Romanian authorities (the Liberal government) to decide the dissolution of the party and banning by law its activity – by applying „Mârzescu law” – in April, 1924.

The Romanian Communist party, accepting the Komintern's slogan „self-determination till the final separation of the Romanian provinces from Romania state”, any normal existence among the other political systems, as a hope of survival, has been undermined and eliminated the Romanian Communist Party was destroying itself. If in the internal level the Communist Party's activity between 1921-1924 has been characterized by the continuous misunderstandings among the group, concerning the tactical plan and the connections that were going to be settled with the Third International, after 1924, the Romanian Communist Party's dependency of the

Communist International became clearer, therefore its interests in the party's activity became even more evident.

NOTE:

1. Cristian Sandache, *Național și naționalism în viața politică românească interbelică (1919-1940)*, Iași, 2001, p.25;
2. „Adevărul”, din 8 aprilie 1922, p.2;
3. The Sionist society Jung Juda, for instance, was monitored by the authorities for opening the negotiations of joining the Komintern, *Minoritățile naționale din România, 1919-1925. Documente*, ediție coordonată de Ioan Scurtu, Liviu Boar, București, 1995, p.192, 263-264;
4. Arhivele Naționale Suceava (A.N.S.), Fond *Prefectura județului Siret*, 4/1922, f.2; Idem, Fond *Prefectura județului Rădăuți*, 11/1921, f.15-16; Bukovina had a Regional Department in Cernăuți, within which the 3rd Brigade had as its objective the supervision of the political parties of the left and of their legal and illegal organizations. In the same area of activity, there also existed the 10th Regiment of the country police of Cernăuți with its companies of the districts of Cernăuți, Storojineț, Rădăuți, Câmpulung, Dorohoi, Hotin, Suceava, Siret and Bistrița, Lazăr Cârjan, *Istoria Poliției Române*, București, 2000, p.223-224;
5. A.N.S. *Ibidem*, f.1;
6. Idem, Fond *Prefectura județului Baia*, 11/1922-1923, f.79;
7. *Minoritățile...*, p. 311;
8. „Dreptatea”, din 16 octombrie 1921, f.4;
9. A.N.S. Fond *Prefectura județului Siret*, 4/1922, f.7;
10. Idem, Fond *Prefectura județului Rădăuți*, 8/1921, f.6;
11. *Ibidem*, 11/1923, f. 2;
12. Idem, Fond *Prefectura județului Baia*, 11/1922-1923, f.161;
13. *Copilăria comunismului românesc în arhivele Cominternului*, ediție coordonată de Alina Tudor Pavelescu, București, 2001, p.67-68;
14. A.N.S. Fond *Prefectura județului Baia*, 11/1922-1923, f.29;
15. *Ibidem*, f.124;
16. Idem, Fond *Prefectura județului Siret*, 4/1922, f.1;
17. *Copilăria...*, p.271;
18. Ioan Scurtu, Gheorghe Buzatu, *Istoria românilor în secolul XX*, București, 1999, p.149;
19. *Ibidem*
20. Victor Frunză, *Istoria stalinismului în România*, București, 1990, p.30;
21. A.N.S. Fond *Prefectura județului Câmpulung Moldovenesc*, 22/1922, f.19-21;
22. Iancu Moțu, *România și comunismul*, București, 2000, p.118;
23. A.N.S. Fond *Prefectura județului Câmpulung Moldovenesc*, 22/1922, f.22-24;
24. *Copilăria...*, p.125;
25. A.N.S. Fond *Prefectura județului Baia*, 11/1922-1923, f.11-12;
26. Idem, Fond *Prefectura județului Rădăuți*, 11/1923, f.12;
27. *Ibidem*, f.1;
28. *Ibidem*, f.5;
29. Idem, Fond *Prefectura județului Câmpulung Moldovenesc*, 17/1923, f.14;
30. Idem, Fond *Prefectura județului Baia*, 11/1922-1923, f.94;
31. Idem, Fond *Prefectura județului Rădăuți*, 5/1924, f.4;
32. *Ibidem*, f.19;
33. *Ibidem*, f.12;
34. M. C. Stănescu, *Moscova, Cominternul, Filiala Comunistă Balcanică și România*, București, 1994, p.9-12.