



THE CHIMERIC PERSONALITIES OF THREE *PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES* IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT (1921-1924)

FITZEK Sebastian¹, FITZEK Cătălina Daniela²

Abstract: *On the occasion of approaching of the Great Union Centenary, in this article we intend to analyse the character of three key personalities involved in the Communist Movement in Romania, during 1921-1924. The relevance of the study is determined by the need for a psychosocial radiography of a political phenomenon which has set its mark on a nation damned to a totalitarian destiny. The different attitudes and positions of the first founders towards the Great Romania project are due to the chimeric character of some atypical personalities. At both political and legal level, the first communist Party from Romania emerged by accepting the 21 conditions, also known as Zinoviev's theses. By this act, the movement assumed a deeply anti-Romanian position. Beyond the historiographical and data aspects, the Communist Movement also deserves a leadership analysis of the personalities. In this respect, the article focused on the analysis of two research directions: a). A biographical and documentary analysis of personalities that go through ideological metamorphoses generated by the historical and political context of the interwar period; b). An ideological and leadership analysis of the Party concerning the relationship between the leaders and Comintern between 1921-1923. In the secondary analysis, we consulted different articles, books and relevant studies for the proposed topic.*

Keywords: *communist movement, chimeric figures/personalities; anti-national movement, Comintern, illegality.*

Introduction in the research theme and methodology

A lot of books, studies, reports and assessments on the phenomenon of Romanian totalitarianism appeared in literature starting 1990 onward. By going through a large

¹ PhD, Senior Researcher, Institute for Quality of Life Research, Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Romania. E-mail: sebastian_thomas2000@yahoo.com / sebastian.fitzek@comunicare.ro

² MA at University of Bucharest, Master of Communication and Intercultural Strategies - Literature and Linguistics – German Language. E-mail: catalina.fitzek@gmail.com

part of the list dedicated to this topic, we realized that we are breathing a multi-coloured flow of opinion. The landscape of Romanian Communism seems to be a picture of a pastel painting, sometimes with contradictory opinions. When finally somebody decided to trace the first borders, the famous *Final Report*, a fabulous and controversial project initiated by former President Traian Băsescu, appeared in 2006. But is it scientifically correct to enforce a Report from starting with the title, thus eliminating any right to add something? Most of the answers were accompanied by an avalanche of criticism from well-known historians and researchers such as Florin Constantiniu, Gheorghe Buzatu, Daniel Barbu, Ciprian Șulea, Michael Șafir, Adrian-Paul Iliescu, etc. The ambition of the project's title hit the complexity of an inexhaustible and difficult to treat topic in a single official version. It is understandable why the proposed title exceeded by far the admirable effort of a single team. The intention, however, remains commendable in the absence of an official point of view. The dialogue remains open. Another unresolved dilemma comes from Romanian intellectuals who fail to agree upon a unitary picture of this phenomenon. Endless divergences in opinion and views has become a profoundly Romanian custom where pride is the main downside. With the thought of these situations, our scientific approach started by detaching from what has already been written, focusing on a fundamental research. In this spirit, we approached a documentary analysis of the files available in the National Archives of the State, a thesaurus of testimonies of a recently bygone world. In the first phase, we analysed a part of Security Files from 1919 to 1945. In the second phase, we partly analysed the Comintern archives, under the form of filed copies and, in the third phase, we consulted several secondary studies through which we also took into account other researchers' perspectives.

The theme is part of the psycho-social area, the structure of the work being determined by the analysis of two essential factors: a). The ambiguous positioning of the founding leaders over the Great Union in the period 1921-1923. b). Illegal nature and the cominternist origins of the R.C.P. (Romanian Communist Party). It is known that the first conflicts between the Communist leaders and the Romanian State Authorities began before the Party was founded.

A first cause is given by the anti-national character of the movement, and two other causes were due to the unconditional affiliation of the Party to the Third International and the direct subordination of the Party to the Comintern and Moscow. The subordination of the Party to a foreign authority has involved a dilemma from the beginning, regarding the concept of a political Party. The research questions start here. Beyond this debate, there are two further questions that are relevant to the research goals:

1. What are the main divergences between the first leaders and the Comintern, and how did these new changes affect the live of the new Party?
2. To what extent was the Soviet model of the *professional revolutionary* involved in the policy of cadres of the Communist Party in Romania?

The two questions we are trying to answer are in this case necessary to understand the psycho-social radiography of the Movement. An important limitation of this research is generated by the huge abundance of information found in the archives, which is why

we have made a strict selection of information considered to be priority according to the proposed objectives.

The chimeric personalities of three *professional revolutionaries* in the history of the R.C.P. (1921-1924)

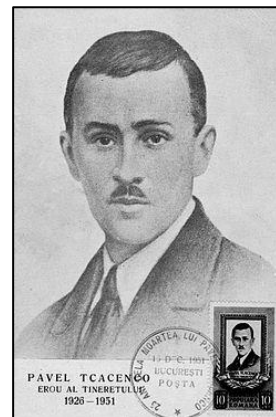
First of all, it is necessary to briefly state the birth of the Communist Party of Romania in order to clarify a problem related to the change of the Julian calendar to the Gregorian calendar, the cause for reaching a gap of 13 days. The change of the calendar was decreed in the Official Gazette no. 274 of 6 March 1919 (p.6, 114 – p.6, 115). This explains why the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia was moved from October 25 to November 7. However, the Romanian Communist Party continued to celebrate its birth on the old style on May 8, though it should have been moved on May 21st.

Just a few years after the Great Union, on the 8th of May, 1921, (after the old calendar), the first Congress of the Romanian Communist Party was established. "*On May 8, 1921, the congress was held in Bucharest, which consecrated the transformation of the Socialist Party into the Romanian Communist Party*" (Frunză V. 1990, p. 26-27). The statement is almost true except that the new Party was created by rupture and not by transformation. The split was possible due to a rough core of radicals that immediately accepted the 21 conditions (Cioroianu, A. 2007, p.20). "*With the exception of Gheorghe Cristescu, the first general secretary of the interwar Communist Party, all those who succeeded him were non-Romanians, an aspect highlighted in the overwhelming majority of the works dedicated to the history of interwar Communism. Besides Al. Danieluk-Ştefanski, the others came from the minorities, but were born in the provinces united with the Old Kingdom in 1918 and had Romanian citizenship (Elek Köblös and Stefan Foris in Transylvania, Vitali Holostenco in Basarabia, Boris Stefanov in Cadrilater)*" (Diac, C , P.125). The pro-Soviet character of R.C.P. and the fear of the Romanian society towards the Russians generated a less popular rupture. As evidence from over 45.000 S.D.P. members, R.C.P. reached in 1922 only 2000 members (Denize, E. 2005).

The story of a professional revolutionary: Pavel Tcacenco

An important artisan of this schism was the less known Pavel Tcacenco (Romanian citizen of Russian ethnicity with his real name Iakov Antipov, born in Transnistria in 1901), leader of the communist faction in S.D.P., important founder of the communist movement in RSS Moldova and legendary founder of R.C.P..

Participant and witness of the Bolshevik Revolution, Pavel Tcacenco is elected in 1919 as secretary of the Communist Committee in Chişinău. His important influence on the Communist movement in Romania was determined by the Comintern policy and its relationship with journalist Alecu Constantinescu, an important communist leader in Bucharest.



On August 6, 1920, the contact between the two organizations was interrupted by the arrest of Tcacenco, who is sentenced to death in his absence in Chişinău. Running in Iaşi, shortly after, Tcacenco became a member and an important leader in the S.D.P. communist group, decisively influencing the split and the emergence of the new Party. In March 1921, Tcacenco became a member of the Central Committee, but was arrested on March 26, 1921, and tried in the Spirii Hill Process (Pleşa L., 2014, p.36), where he was sentenced for a year with Gheorghe Cristescu, (the first General Secretary of R.C.P.), Elek Kőblős, Mihai Gheorghiu Bujor, Moscu Kohn and 267 other communists accused of treason by affiliation of the new Party to the Third International. The charging was motivated by the acceptance of the 21 conditions imposed by the Comintern, and especially by paragraph 12, which required members of the Party to act legally or illegally in the interest dictated by Moscow, a point considered by prosecutors to be a direct attack on national sovereignty. During the trial, Tcacenco acknowledges that he distributed communist propaganda material, but denies any affiliation with anarchist Max Goldstein, who would have led a criminal assault on the Senate. Eventually, the young activist flees from the country to Prague, where he works for Comintern. Returning to Romania to organize the Workers' and Peasants' Blocks together with Timotei Marin and Boris Stefanov, they are all arrested again, on August 15, 1926 and imprisoned for betrayal against national interests. Soon he escapes with the help of the Communists in Chisinau but he is caught later, tortured and shot at the border with the Soviet Union. The official communist propaganda considered that the illegal activity, torture and death of Paul Tcacenco are the martyrdom of a model to follow for any *professional revolutionary*. Killed at the age of 25, his image becomes a landmark of the authentic communist fighter by reaching basic objectives and features:

- a. son of a Smolensk railway worker, a status that ensures the healthy origin of cadres
- b. studying for a short time law in Petrograd, where he enrolled and participates in the October (old calendar) November (new calendar) Bolshevik Revolution, a status that legitimizes the revolutionary profession.
- c. active member and agent of the Comintern
- d. arrested and convicted several times in Romania and RSS Moldova for illegal activities
- e. founder member of R.C.P.
- f. tortured and killed for Comintern interests

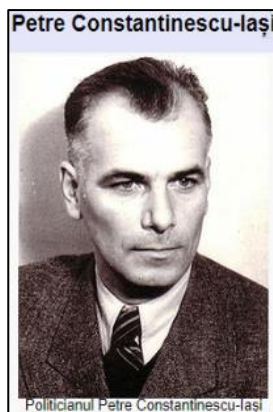
His short life can be read as a common fragment of the interwar period, a less than peaceful period, in which Great Romania, recently formed and with a political system still too young, tries to cope with unknown challenges. On the other hand, the Communist movement has become a utopian attraction for the pro-Russians, eager to serve the ideals of the Comintern, although they also did not suspect the danger of the moving sands behind ideological promises.

Pavel Tcacenco is the prototype of an introverted young man like Nicolae Ceausescu, devoid of any oratory talent, but remarkable by his promethean ambition, fed by the chimeric illusion of a discovered and learned ideology in the initiatory path from Sank Petesburg. He wants to study Law, according to Lenin's model, he reads and comes to

believe in the bigoted model of the revolutionary profession. His enlistment in the Comintern confirms the high degree of action, adherence and conviction that a young man, easily manipulated, manifests due to his lack of experience. His acidic relationship with the Romanian authorities degenerated into an absurd and dangerous struggle which the young Pavel Tcacenco lost, missing the chance to understand that his struggle was imaginary and was produced in the name of a compatible ideal with the Soviet regime and incompatible with the homeland where he was born. The Anti-Romanian character of the Comintern was visible, yet it does not explain why even ethnic Romanians have fallen into this illusion, which, as we shall see, have thrown into the abyss of an anti-national vision.

Petre Constantinescu-Iasi, the opportunist prototype of the Romanian communist intellectual

Among other important figures of the founding members of the R.C.P., we find the professor and historian Petre Constantinescu-Iași, who became minister of Propaganda in 1945, member of the Romanian Academy in 1948 and director of the "Nicolae Iorga" History Institute in Bucharest. Concerned about his seniority in the history of the Communist Party, Petre Constantinescu-Iași has submitted several memoirs about the modification of some data on his biography. *"In a series of memoirs submitted to the Secretariat of the Central Committee of PMR and the Party Control Committee, he demanded that the age in the Party be recognized in 1920!"* (Cioroianu, A. 2014, p. 127). The acceptance of this year preceded the appearance of the R.C.P., his name, becoming linked to the founding of the Party by accepting the 21 points. Another matter is surprising: Constantinescu-Iași is a university professor, teaching Romania's history at the Faculty of Theology in Chișinău, yet he gets to collaborate with some ethnic projects of the Comintern. Moreover, in 1934, he became a founding member of the USSR Friendship Organization.



How could a university professor of history accept the 21 points? *"Constantinescu-Iași sustained that since 1920, when he used to be a history professor at Iași and also a member (for two years) of the Social Democratic Party, he made contact with the S.D.P. Communist group led by Tcacenco, and later at the constituting congress of the R.C.P. in May 1921, he had been appointed as rapporteur on one of the congress days and presented Party's position on press and propaganda issues."* (Cioroianu, A. 2014, p.127-128).

The legacy and veracity of his statements were confirmed in the Report of the Party Control Committee (1965), which found the following statement: *"We believe that his request is fulfilled, and I propose that the CCP Political Bureau of the PRM establish his Party status in 1921"* (Collection 53, file C-156, vol. 1, tab. 2). Beyond this debate the following dilemma arises: if by determinism we explain why Paul Tcacenco is more philosophical than the philosophical, Petre Constantinescu-Iași seems to come out completely from these patterns.

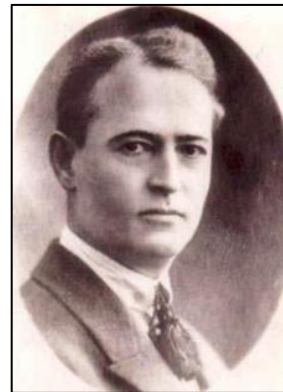
Son of the institutor Gheorghe Constantinescu, a Romanian ethnic born in Iași, old style – educated and raised, later a history professor at a theology faculty, Petre Constantinescu-Iași accepts the pact with Comintern plans. The insistence of recognizing his seniority in the Party from the 1920-21 reveals that he has never agreed to the Great Romania project. Reading the 21 conditions is sufficient to understand why all the R.C.P. signatories were against the national interest. In conclusion, the case of Constantinescu-Iași, university professor in history, is the subject of another chimera. His image of a Romanian communist who wanted to be seen as a left-wing man cannot take him out of the Comintern painting.

Constantinescu-Iasi is a complex and typologically-difficult case. A professor of history, a socialist, and then dedicated communist, positioned himself against the Great Union, since the Comintern period. He embodies the prototype of a Romanian communist intellectual. A good at propaganda journalist, Constantinescu-Iași takes steps back in the delicate moments of the illegal period, dissociating himself from any connection with the R.C.P.. When arrested, in 1934, the teacher vehemently denies any connection with the Bolshevik propaganda of the Comintern, declaring that he only fights against fascism. Twenty years later, under the peaceful protectorate of the P.C.R., Constantinescu-Iași returned in full-power with another reported history, claiming that he was in connection with R.C.P. since the 1920s, at that time the Party didn't even exist. His contradictory testimonies about his role and seniority within R.C.P. make him look duplicitous. *"In 1934, he solemnly declared that his work was socialist and not communist. In 1954, he claimed to be a Communist ever since the early days of the Party. The two testimonies cannot be true at the same time, it is clear that Petre Constantinescu-Iași has mystified the reality at least in one of them"* (Gioroianu, A. 2007, p.129). Its duplicity is explained either by the advantageous or by the disadvantageous context of the two historical situations. In 1934, he was only a socialist, and in 1954, he declared himself a committed communist.

Gheorghe Cristescu, the socialist wandering son, who enthusiastically experiences the communist adventure

Gheorghe Cristescu "the quilt-maker" is the story of another chimera. Romanian Leftist Ethnic becomes the first General Secretary of the R.C.P. on 8th of May, 1921. Born in October 10, 1882, in the commune of Copaci in Giurgiu County, Cristescu is, in his first part of life, a convinced socialist. Between 1907 and 1920, he received leadership positions in the Union of Socialists from Romania, the Social Democratic Party and the General Trade Union Commission.

His oratorical talent and observation skills are quickly noticed and appreciated by Lenin, at the 1920 Moscow meeting. Asked by Lenin why he refused to sign 2 of the 21 conditions of accession, Cristescu replied: *"I can only vote what helps my country's development and to be more precise: being accepted here we went along with the other delegates I took along. In order to answer your question of why I voted against, I'm answering*



this to you: each country has its own objective and subjective development conditions. A country is economically developed, another belongs to the third world and another is in the middle; the intellect stays the same.

This state has made me think that I cannot play with the situation of our organization. And I, as a Commander of the Workers' Movement, know that the one who obtains with the minimum of sacrifices maximum gain is a distinguished commander, and then we know from the laws of evolution that one can not jump into the unknown. Germination in the mother's womb is done in nine months, and those who violate this law of nature risk an abortion. Then comrade Lenin told me: Comrade Cristescu is right. We will let each Party do their organizing and propaganda work according to their country's specificity"¹.

Cristescu's critique of the anti-national character of the Comintern is accepted and even appreciated by Lenin, which is why he gets to be appointed first Party secretary a year later. His distinct position differentiates him from other Communists, Cristescu and Pătrășcanu being more Socialist than Communist leaders, simply because they opposed anti-national directives. The Romanian historiography did not keep much data about Cristescu between 1921 and 1944. Nevertheless, I discovered some original testimonies of the character depicted by the archaeologist Iancu Moțu, where I caught some interesting ideas about the situation of Romania, after the First World War. Asked about Dej's detention about the beginnings of the Communist Party, Cristescu replied:

"You know very well what Romania was, after the war (the First World War). Chaos, everyone was doing whatever came in mind. Then, as a socialist in Bucharest, I made the decision to run for elections to become a deputy. And succeeded, without much struggle. I had some funds, I was in good relationship with everyone, both the police and some politicians. One, a liberal, told me I was too handsome and smart for not getting into the Chamber. I believed him and I got here. Then came some Hungarian comrades from Transylvania and some Jewish comrades from Iasi and told me that Racovski (Cristu Racovski, the head of Ukraine) sends me greetings and that we ought to keep in touch, that there is something great which awaits to happen for the country. I knew he was among comrade Lenin's friends, who has great confidence in him, for what he had done for the soviets since 1916.

After a while, there came some comrades who told me that Lenin was dissatisfied with what was happening in Romania, that the socialists were revisionists and gave themselves to landowners and capitalists. That we had to do everything we could to hit them where it hurted most. It was, like, right after the comrade Racovski was, part of the delegation that made the decision to create the Comintern. There, in Moscow, Racovski announced that there was a Communist Party in Romania, but that it was working illegally because the bourgeois government had not yet lifted the state of siege. I knew we did not have a Party, but I knew that many comrades, especially the Bessarabians (Jews) were in Bucharest and that they were trying to hit the political regime. I knew that too. From Ardeal, the Hungarians were going to move against forced union with Romania, Kun (Kun Bela) was performing miracles in Hungary. So, we in Bucharest needed to help them out of all power. We were supposed to help them keep the Soviets in Hungary and help comrade Racovski hit the occupation regime in Bessarabia. So we organized ourselves. Me and others... (I do not remember their names) we have been

¹ Dosarul Cristescu: Asasinat politic sau crimă pasională? online accessible at <http://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-arhiva-1254587-dosarul-cristescu-asasinat-politic-sau-crimapasionala.htm> (consulted 28.06.2017).

tasked to make a great deal of agitation against government measures, to expose the exploitation of the peasants and workers of Bessarabia and Transylvania. Especially we had to interrogate the Chamber, make the atmosphere in the press. And there was enough room for that, as there were many newspapers that had their own men in backstage. Big problems were only in Iași where a worker from RMS (State Monopolies) Nicolina gathered a bunch of thugs who severely beat the comrades who put the red flag on some buildings. The flags were taken down and put the Romanian tricolour to our great disappointment. They asked the police to allow them to arrest our comrades who wanted to protest. They had a march there. The occasion was the funeral of a bakery worker. But the nationalists stopped any manifestation of sympathy and against the government on the grounds that some of our men had pistols. How can you not have a gun? How did you defend yourself from the police or nationalists? I had a revolver for a long time. Even in the Chamber was over me. Ion Munteanu. Ion Munteanu is the founder of a national right movement. He can be considered a kind of precursor of the Legion¹. The citation renders some of the image and tensions unfolded in 1921 shortly before R.C.P. was truly established. Cristescu replies this in a dialogue with another social-democrat, a certain L.I. In Aiud prison, between 1957 and 1964. The material was typed in three copies, and the original written with a pencil was typed and the three copies can be found today in the Library of the Romanian Academy.

On December the 2nd 1920, the first emergence signs of the R.C.P. appeared, a document signed by Cristescu, Popovici, Moscovici, Boris Ștefanov and other socialists, in which they agreed to all the conditions imposed by Second International. They were committed to "struggling with all their strengths for the theses and conditions to be" fully accepted "by the future Congress of the Socialist Party, to participate in the Balkan Communist Federation, whose decisions and decisions they will recognize, to make changes to The editorial office of the press to become a real communist and to propose and support Popovici, Cristescu, Moscovici, Carl Barta, Boris Ștefanov, Iancu Iliescu, Tănase Gheorghe, Roșvan and Bolintineanu to be part of the Central Committee, and Grigorovici, Jumanca, Flueraș to be excluded from the Party "(Ilie O., Ilie C., 2009, p.13).

The internal struggles of the Socialists have become quite deep among the various contenders at the head of a Party that had to decide whether or not to join Third International. The beginning of 1921 was tumultuous by the existence of three currents:

- a. *The left-wing radicals, who all agreed unreservedly with the signing of the 21 criteria and unconditional affiliation to Comintern*
- b. *The right-wing, which wanted to maintain Party's autonomy*
- c. *The center, which wanted affiliation but with certain reservations*

Cristescu case becomes a chimera, as long as it is affiliated with the radical left, although his behaviour, discussions and decisions describe him rather as a moderate. He refuses to sign the two points of the 21 criteria and believes in Lenin's theses, but with certain reservations. Here is what Cristescu answers to the judges after he is arrested right after the Party's founding: "Does the fact that we want the good of this people and of the country they live in can be an act of breaking down the society? No, your honoured judges. And if you want to send us to prison only for this desire, if it takes us in, we will go,

¹ Iancu Moțu, „arheologia” unei mărturii a lui Gheorghe Cristescu-Plăpumaru. Racovski și partidul care nu există accesibilă online la adresa: <https://vasilegocea.wordpress.com/2011/04/18/iancu-motu-arheologia-unei-marturii-a-lui-gheorghe-cristescu-plapumaru/>

your honoured judges, with the clear thought and the consciousness that through our sacrifice we have provided a better life for the others" (Tănase S. 2008 , p.46).

His more nationalist than comintern speech convinced personalities such as Iuliu Maniu, Nicolae Iorga and other interwar figures who witnessed a jury in his Spiri Valley Hill. Witnesses say that Iorga disapproved the arrest of this group, considering the act to be a state abuse. Yet, there is a contradictory duality between his presence in the radical area and especially his position as a freshly elected prime secretary at the head of the R.C.P. and the nationalist side of his discourse. His bipolar character marks once again the chimeric archetype of his personality.

The Second Congress of the R.C.P. took place on 3rd of October 1921, when Cristescu was reconfirmed at the head of the Party. The new statute provided the following article in which the R.C.P. reconfirmed its oaths to Comintern:

- Article 1. The Communist Party of Romania is a section of the Communist International. It has no goals other than those of the International to which it belongs.
- Article 2. The Communist Theses and Decisions belonging to Third International are binding on all members and committees, commissions, groups, etc. of the Communist Party of Romania. (Scurtu I., Otu P., 2003, p. 240).

In the 18th and 19th of February 1926 elections, Cristescu appears on the list of 26 positions for councillors, but is harshly criticized by Comintern for the alliance with the Socialists declared the death enemies of the Communists. As a result, in the same year, Cristescu is expelled from the Party by motion, motivating the following aspects: "*that he always had an opposite conception to that of C.C. As regards the Party direction in the national and trade union issues has shown liquidation offenses to Party members and governing bodies, has undertaken and continued a systematic campaign against the illegitimate Party against the C.C. and its representatives, seeking its discretisation in the face of Party members and workers "*, etc. (Ilie O., Ilie C., 2009, p.18). His response lacking of any self-criticism was sent to the Comintern in the form of a letter of protest against the anti-national character of the Communist Movement. "*We have objected to you that it is a great mistake to break the Party, that we will weaken the working class's fighting force, especially when it is clear that the bourgeoisie has teamed up not only on national but also on international scale ... I nevertheless listened and coming to the country I broke the Labor Movement. We are in the seventh year since the break of the Movement and instead of going towards progress, as you have said, we have come to destroy a movement. Today we have nothing, so ... I am forwarding to you my resignation as a representative of Romania to the International Communist Office.*" (Ibidem).

The categorical rupture of the International and from R.C.P. led Cristescu to return to the socialists. He writes in his own newspaper: "The Socialist Triumph", setting the foundations for a new Party: the Socialist Party, then, in less than three years, in the lack of members for joining the Romanian Socialist Party. Gheorghe Cristescu "the quilt-maker", the first secretary of the R.C.P., has never been a communist in the true sense of the word. Its political character, more socialist than communist, was revealed through his critical attitude towards the Comintern. His relationship with R.C.P. was opposed to the relationship between the Party and the Third International. Although

his role is decisive in the emergence of this movement, Cristescu has repeatedly opposed the Party's interests. 1926 is the year when he realizes the gap between the chimera of his beliefs and the cominternist reality of his own Party.

The illegal period of the Communists in Romania officially began after the adoption of the Mârzescu law, from 19th of December 1924 and lasted until 23rd of August 1944, during which a massive monitoring held by the state authorities was organized of all the members and of their actions. In the background of the Special Intelligence Service (P.C.M.-S.S.I.) there are a lot of interesting data on the illegal activity of R.C.P. members. Suspecting the Jews with Romanian citizenship of cooperating with the Communist Party has become a habit in monitoring all their activities, even if in most cases there were no obvious evidence. Katy Sami is the case of the Ploiesti Jew accused of activating in the Communists' illegal Movement. In the official documents of the PCM-SSI he appears under the name of Katz Samy, the person mentioned through the following words: Katz Samy "who after the cession of Bessarabia disappeared, declaring that he is leaving to Palestine but is believed to have gone to the USSR" File no. 4-1931 I). The confrontation between Katz Samy and Elvira Petcu (a young woman) shows that there is insufficient information, her case remaining largely unclear. Another case is that of Pauker Mendel Emanoil, the uncle of Ana Pauker, who was suspected of having links with the Communist Party, although he only supported the Bloc of Democratic Parties. Pauker was regarded as a left-wing man, but not as a communist. In the file 5553, p. 124, it is shown that on 3rd of October 1931, Emil Pauker and N. Grauer requested the registration of "Adevărul" company in the Trade Register. In the file 3266 S.II – the 1940, a note is shown that Emil Pauker has a nephew named Henry Sulberg, who does communist propaganda in Ploiești. Emil Pauker is not personally pursued for his own activities, but he is only suspected because of his nephew who in turn is only suspected of being in connection with the illegal. Another interesting case is that of Gheorghe Stere who protested against the Antonescu regime by radio broadcasting to the Romanians (Moscow Post: 6 o'clock, in Romanian). The peasants gathered data to make Gheorghe Stere's record and to prove his anti-Romanian character and his collaboration with the Russian forces which were demanding the liberation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina from the so-called "imperialist Romania".

Even the former collaborator of the R.C.P., Cristescu "the quilt-maker" appears as a suspect in the file 42/1943, though he has been activating for a long time in the Romanian socialist boat. After his dismissal in 1924, Cristescu is suspected that between 1943 and 1944 he would have resumed his ties to the Comintern. Here is what is said in a May 5th 1943 report. 3rd Chapter (P.C.M.-S.S.I. no. 2379, 42/1943): "Cristescu Gh. – the quilt-maker came to Bucharest in order to transport his family to Călimănești." In another report made on January 16, 1944 from the same file, it was stated that: "*We are informed that Gheorghe Cristescu – the quilt-maker would have an important role in the Communist organization in Romania.*" Why did Cristescu, after being kicked out of the Party and immediately resigned to Comintern, would have wanted to get in touch with the communist organizations? A hypothetical answer could be given by some ideas that lived in the general context of that era where it was said that a victory of the allies would have brought the Red Army to Bucharest. The imminent hypothesis of this fact

probably led Cristescu to try to reconcile the communist camp with the socialist one, that he represented.

Conclusions

A first general conclusion is that the R.C.P. project was anti-national and unconstitutional, failing to meet the political and legal conditions in order to be called Party. Firstly, the R.C.P. was illegal from the first day of its birth by accepting the 21 criteria by which it was obliged to serve to interests established in Moscow. Secondly, R.C.P. was in a representation and subordination relationship to Comintern, which led to a direct interference and control over the power structures by appointing programs, leaders, decisions and actions. It was not possible for R.C.P. to be a Party, but a mere annexation of the Comintern present in Romania. His presence as a representative of a foreign organization was later considered by the Romanian authorities to be a danger to national sovereignty. The regulation of this anomaly was made only in 1924 by the Law of Mârzescu. The delay of the reactions was argued by the slow bureaucratic and legal process of justifying an already existing thing, a decision that could have been taken from the very first day of existence.

From the perspective of biographical and leadership analysis, the case of Paul Tcacenco is the story of a revolutionary professor slaughtered in Romania for the Bolshevik ideals. Tcacenco is the agent of the Third International, faithful to the Red Revolution and ready to fight for importing this model. The lack of experience through its pro-Communist and philosophical positioning quickly attracted the attention of the Intelligence Service, a situation that prevented him from activating in the public light. Recognized as a representative of the Comintern, Tcacenco realised the seriousness of the situation too late. Trying to avoid being prisoned, destiny will push him to death by desperate flight to U.S.S.R.. His revolutionary activity was later considered by communist authorities to be a role model. In his memory, some streets were renamed, and his name was strangely preserved after the 90's. The Pavel Tcacenco street in Voluntari commune provides him with a place in the post-communist collective memory.

Professor Constantinescu-Iasi is the perfect case of the opportunist who fought to maximize personal advantages. Although he is a professor of history, his personality's chimera is given by his position towards Great Romania. Recognized as the founding leader of the R.C.P. by promoting the 21 conditions, Constantinescu-Iasi is a contradictory, opportunistic and slippery figure even of his ideological belief. In the interwar period, he chose to declare himself as a socialist, and after 1945 denies socialism declaring himself as communist since 1920.

Gheorghe Cristescu is the only founding leader of R.C.P. who criticized part of the adhesion theses, and is the one who contradicted Lenin, gaining his admiration. In the analysis of his biography, of speeches and decisions, we observe a socialist ideological personality that has strayed on the Comintern field. Cristescu did not criticize the project of Great Romania and seems to be the only person accepted in the Romanian political entourage. It is well seen and described as a charismatic. However, his communist experience ends in 1924 when he resigns from the Comintern and is

released from his duties within the Party. Cristescu was considered by the Communists a traitor, a political activist embroiled in the socialist coat. His ideas are animated by the struggle against the bourgeoisie he sees guilty for the injustices suffered by the working class. Communist ideology seems to be a way but not a creed in itself. Cristescu is the enemy of the bourgeoisie, but he is Romanian first and can not accept the Comintern-Communist version where there is no Great Romania. Cristescu is not the follower of violence, nor does he believe in the radical change of social-political order, the parliamentary way being his only option. His late rehabilitation during the Ceausescu era was an attempt to reconcile old socialists with new Communists, a gesture that was more symbolically regarded. Cristescu did not want to return to politics. His refusal was justified by the definitive schism between his belief and communist ideology.

A summary of these three cases is presented in the following conclusions:

- (1) Pavel Tcacenco became the model of the *professional revolutionary* who tried to unsuccessfully import a Leninist model to Romania, misunderstanding the unequal differences between the two political systems.
- (2) Petre Constantinescu-Iași embodies the opportunist prototype of the Romanian communist intellectual who is only concerned with the image and the rehabilitation of his past and the advantages he could gain by legitimizing his past.
- (3) Gheorghe Cirstescu is the case of the socialist wandering son who enthusiastically experiences the communist adventure later to finally reject it through the incompatibility between his political vision and the Comintern Thesis.

Through the reached conclusions is justified the chimeric character of the three personalities who played an important role in the emergence of the Communist movement from 1921-1923. The R.C.P. picture of that time was preserved as a Comintern mask, failing to individualize and detach itself from the shadow of this international political colossus. Tcacenco is not interested in Greater Romania, but only in the Bolshevik Revolution; Constantinescu-Iasi is the socialist converted to a kind of principal Communism in the name of a struggle against fascism, and Gheorghe "the quilt-maker" remained as a socialist who was never a communist. In all three cases, personal beliefs have struck the chimera of ideological propositions in which none have been found, not even Tcacenco who imagines a liberating Communism of the dominant classes without understanding what is behind this movement. In each case, personal survival has become the only way of cohabitation with times prepared for wars, famine, and crimes. Tcacenco's death is heroic for Soviet Stalinism, but not for Great Romania, Petre Constantinescu-Iasi's duplicitous character saves him from certain dangers and helps him later, while Cristescu remains consistent with his theses in a world Who crossed three periods of deep social agitation: the Cominternist, the illegal and the official-communist period.

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