

STRUCTURAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL SIMILARITIES IN THE INSTITUTIONAL TROIKA: THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ROMANIA, THE COMINTERN AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIK)

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Abstract: In this article we analysed both the similarities and the differences between the structures and departments of three political organizations that were at the heart of the communist movement in Romania. The well-known affiliation through control and subordination of the Communist Party of Romania towards the Comintern and implicitly to the Communist (Bolshevik) Party in Moscow was considered dangerous by the Romanian authorities at that time. The mirror image of the three political entities requires a careful investigation of the relations of control and domination which have arisen between them. Whoever leads, who is the master and who are the performers — these are some questions which could shed more light on the emergence of this phenomenon coming from outside the Romanian space. The Organizational Chart, analysis of the structures and departments of the three organizations are relevant to a radiography of a troubled period during which the most controversial "party" of our national history was born. The edification of these aspects helps us understand and clarify the role and legal status of C.P.o.R. in the equation of the interwar political system.

Keywords: departmental organization chart, communist movement, political structures, organizations, illegality

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Introduction to the research topic and methodology

In this study we aimed to address the relations, the structural and organizational similarities of the Communist Party of Romania with the two "mother and father" organizations: the Comintern and the Communist Party (Bolshevik) from 1921 – 1923. The mirror image of the three political entities requires a careful investigation of the control and domination relations that arisen among them. Who is the leader, where is the master and how do we explain the ties of control and domination of the communist movement from Romania by accepting the 21 conditions? In this respect, the purpose of the research was set on the pursuit of three key factors:

- a) creation and establishment of an organizational chart on relations and departments at the level of the three organizations: the Comintern, the Communist Party of Romania and the Communist Party (Bolshevik);
- b) the status and image of C.P.o.R. by accepting the 21 conditions;
- c) a comparative analysis based upon similarities and differences of the structures and relations between the three organizations.

The communism phenomenon in Romania officially started with the appearance on the political scene of C.P.o R., an atypical political formation, anti-system and revolutionary ambitions.

The phenomenon of communism in Romania officially started with the appearance on the political scene of C.P.o R., an atypical political formation, anti-system and revolutionary ambitious. The conflict created between the first communist leaders and the Romanian State Authorities started from their position against the Great Union on 1st of December 1918. Two other illegal issues were determined by the affiliation of the C.P.o R. to the Third International and its subordination to the Comintern respectively to the Communist Party (Bolshevik). In this situation, the important decisions of the party were taken by Comintern and above them by Moscow, country leaders only having the role of executors of representatives of foreign interests. The subordination relationship of the party to the two foreign authorities involves an assessment of both the concept and status of a political party.

Is the C.P.o R. a party, an annex of a foreign organization, a political party, a terrorist political group or a group of interests of an international conspiracy? Why is it not clear in Romanian historiography a distinction between the sociological and political terminology of the concept of political party and any other form of political movement or organization? In addition to this conceptual debate, in this study, we have tried to answer to a fundamental point: what are the organizational structures and similarities between C.P.o R., Comintern, and the Soviet Communist Party (Bolshevik)? In order to answer the question, we used a qualitative research of the official documents present in the National Archives of the State, where we found evidence and data relevant to the proposed analysis. In the first phase, we conducted a content analysis on several of the files from 1919 to 1945, and in the second phase we collected some secondary studies, which helped us deepen some concepts and subjects in relation to other researchers. In the analysis of the files, we also approached other funds with documents. The most

important findings of the fund came from the police and National Security Service where we had access to data sheets, letters, documents, reports and photos reviewing the activities, cells and structures of the communist movement in Romania. The second relevant fund was the presence of the Comintern via filed copies within the National Archives of the State.

The Organizational Chart, the analysis of the structures and departments of the three organizations are required to radiograph the organizational beginnings of the communist movement in Romania. A limitation of this research has been generated by the rarity of references to C.P.o R.'s structures, which is why we have reconstituted its organizational image by selecting multiple data from several sources to reach our proposed goal.

The Comintern: Shepherd of all communist parties

ounded in March 1919 through the order of Lenin, the Comintern (Russian: Коммунистический) was an internationally communist organization, controlled by the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) as a command center for international political action outside the Soviet Union. Comintern saw seven World Congresses, between 1919 and 1935, his life being interrupted by Stalin in May 15, 1943. Execution of agents was performed by external collaborators of the Comintern under the name of professional revolutionaries, who secretly acted to spread Marxist-Leninist ideas. The Third International was represented by Molotov who, in his struggle for power, trying to get out of the shadow of Trotzki, remained famous by the following statement: "the theory of the third period in the imperialist development phase of capitalism." In support of this statement, Molotov believed that capitalist regimes were entering the final phase of decay in which the Soviet Communist model was to be naturally adopted. Acquiring this principle as a historical truth gave reason and courage to the Comintern to forbid all affiliated communist parties to interrupt any activity with the social-democratic parties. The divorce between the two ideologies, which until recently were considered wings of a joint movement against the bourgeoisie, did not appear to be so productive in Germany and France. The original goals of the Comintern were to overthrow capitalist regimes through the violent theory of military-type insurrections that first began in Germany. The Spartakist movement fuelled and led by Comintern failed lamentably by executing the heads of the movement: Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Later, before Hitler's rise, the struggle between the Social Democrats and the German Communists pushed Hindenburg's camp towards the Nazis. Hitler's coming to power was also facilitated by the Comintern, which focused only on the fight against the Social Democrats. In 1933, under Manulisky, the Comintern did not change the policy initiated by Molotov, the orders given to the German Communist Party being categorical in not collaborating with any other party. The protests of the German Communists demanding a tactical change in relations with the Social Democrats were in vain. The failures were only acknowledged in the Seventh Congress of 1935, when a new strategy for the conquest of Germany was demanded. As it is known, 1935 was late for any other attempt, most of the Communists in Germany were already being executed massively. Another change announced by Congress was the final break-up

between the Communist Party and Trotzki and the need to consider Stalin as the only theoretician and infallible leader of communism in the Soviet Union.

The Comintern's relationship with the Bolshevik Party was direct and subordinate, and the top of the Soviet political system was the leader. The organization of the Soviet Communist Party is pyramidal, based on the following two principles: Democratic Centralism and Internal Party Democracy. In fact, the base made up of most party members has never had a decision-making role, with no right to oppose or challenge the decisions of the governing bodies. "Party Democracy" was just a slogan present in leaders' speeches that ensured a mimicked democracy and absolute control of power. In the following scheme we can understand the place of the Comintern in the Soviet totalitarian system:

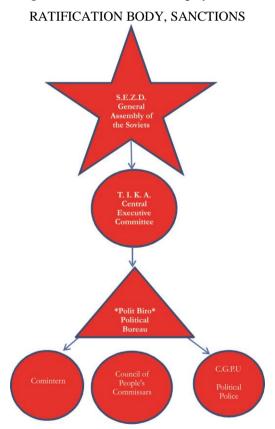


Fig.1. Communist Dictatorship of S.S.S.R.

Source: The scheme was made according to the graphical drawing from CMP Fund SSI 2379, 4/1931 (II) from NHCA (National Historical Central Archives)

Returning to the structural elements of connection between the Comintern and the Romanian Communist Party, in this analysis we started from the assumption that the Soviet model is the organizational pattern of Comintern affiliated communist parties. "In order for the efforts not to be dispersed, the Comintern has created a supreme body to lead and coordinate the work of the COMMUNITY PARTIES OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, parties which - according to the Statute of the Communist Party - are regarded as sections of the Communist International" (PCM SSI 2379, 56/1938). The central place of the decisions was represented by the Executive Committee, which was divided into the following sections:

- Organization;
- Propaganda and Agitation; b.
- c. Information;
- d. Connections:
- General Secretariat:

All parties from non-communicated countries were organized on the same sections. The five sections were adopted by C.P.o R., starting with the day of its establishment. The only notable distinction was that in the care of the Comintern General Secretariat there were representations of groups of countries chosen on different criteria and similarities. Thus, in Comintern, Romania was represented by the Secretariat no.10 together with the Baltic States. The Relations Department maintained relations and consultations with Communist Parties in non-communist countries. The Information gathers data and statistics on the lives of people in non-Communist countries, information which was then sent to Gugobez (General State Security Directorate) and to the Intelligence Section of the General Staff of the Red Army.

The direct submission of C.P.o R. to Comintern, and then Comintern to the Bolshevik Party, explains why the party was indirectly subjected to Moscow. Other adjacent and collaborative structures of the Comintern were also the different "internationals" thought of in some key independent domains in form but controlled as structures by the Executive Committee. The logic of the existence of these "international" was to work undercover on the principle of secret cells initiated by Lenin. The following auxiliary organs were known in the official list of these international organizations, some of which were also found on the territory of Romania:

- The International Professional Trade Unions;
- 2.. Cooperative International;
- 3. International Sports;
- International Red Fighting International;
- 5. Women Communist International;
- The Communist Youth International; 6.
- 7. International Red Aid;

- 8. International Red Teachers and Teachers;
- 9. The League against Imperialism and the Battle of the Colonies;
- 10. The International Transport Workers;
- 11. International Socialist Jurists;
- 12. International freethinkers;
- 13. International Mariners and Workers in Ports;
- 14. The URSS (brought to Romania by Petre Constantinescu-Iasi in 1934);
- 15. The Red International Revolutionary Writers.

The Executing Committee collaborates directly with the Red Army's Intelligence Service and the Gugobez Foreign Office. In the hierarchical order of power, the Comintern was led by its first secretary, who during the 3rd International was Bulgarian activist Georgi Dimitrov. The propaganda of the Comintern was focused on peace policy based on the following principles:

- The Red Army, as the army of the only socialist state in the world, must be increased, organized, and armed continuously.
- The Red Army will not take part in the wars between the capitalist states but will continuously seek to increase its potential in order to help the proletarian class and the defence of the communist homeland.
- The Comintern has the mission to demoralize through propaganda the cadres of the armies of the capitalist countries.
- 4. In the event of a war, it has to be turned into a class war, and the regional sections of the Comintern must help the Party in order to be able to get hold of it. (PCM SSI 2379, 56/1938, tabs 6 and 7).

Under Point 3, the core mission of the Comintern is to demoralize the armed cadres of the capitalist countries by propaganda. This also happened in Romania on November 19, 1942, when the Dobrogea Agency sent the following statement: "On November 11, 1942 in the personal train 9003 Bucharest - Constanta, police control organs and gendarmes C.F.R. they surprised the non-commissioned officer Andronic Elijah from the base of the regiment 2, having the service order No. 26427 of November 9, 1942, signed by Colonel Dumitrescu Constantin, while reading the persons in the wagon two communist manifestations, one representing the Romanian soldiers at rest and the other on the Bolshevik soldiers in front of whom were the Romanian prisoners. Both manifestos demanded that the Romanian army surrender to Bolshevik armies as they don't battle for a definite ideal, but for Hitler." (SSI PCM 2379, 42/1943). The discrediting of the national armed forces was intended to create confusion and ultimately mass desertion through which the Comintern hoped to weaken the capitalist countries. For this reason, among other similar reasons, state authorities considered any illegal activity as a criminal act and treason. If necessary, pacifist propaganda was also accompanied by the front or the army, by organizing insurrection, terror and crimes, a mechanism that thrived in the establishment of terror during the Bolshevik Revolution. The crimes in the name of international bolshevism were considered martyrdom and were used as examples to follow for any professional revolutionary. Let us recall here the acts of terrorism of Max Goldstein, that led to the Dealu Spirii trial and finally to the removal of the C.P.o R. outside the law. Synthesizing the general organizational description of the Comintern we have the following scheme:

Propaganda and Agitation organized by country PARTY Internationals as CENTRAL COMMITTEE bodies of the ORGANIZATI SECRETARIAT ON SECTION REGIONAL SECRETARIATS Source: ANIC, PCM SSI 2379, 31/1935. Legend: Line of direct subordination with the supreme governing body Line of direct subordination of different sections Line of direct subordination of independent organs in appearance Line of direct subordination of the Comintern sections Line of collaboration

Fig.2. Comintern organization chart

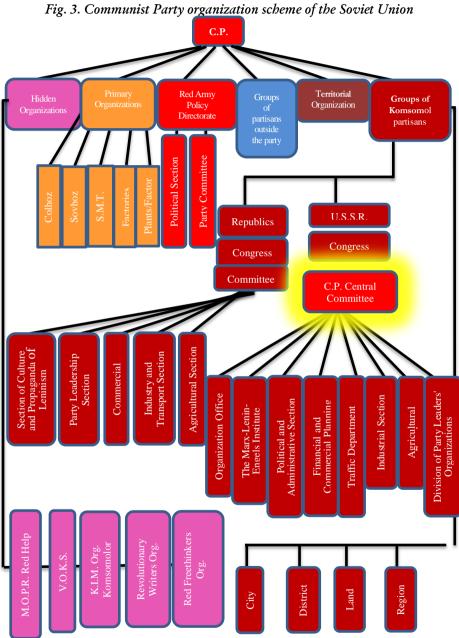
Another key activity of the Comintern was to duplicate the political activity if the party was unlawfully removed. In the French example, the method of duplication worked when party leaders were arrested, a secondary team took their place. This rotation ensures a permanent presence and activity of the Comintern. Outside these organizations, special ages were prepared, people who were not known to the state authorities and were not visible to the public. Their mission was to maintain contact between these organizations and the Comintern, occupying different social positions in society without attracting the attention of others. Their quality of secret agents provided information and double control through which everything was known. Finally, there was another ultra-secret Communist organization called "Party Protection," which was strangely unknown to political parties, being directly connected with the Gugabez Foreign Affairs Section. Their mission was to contact the authorities of the countries and to facilitate certain information of economic, political and social interest that facilitated certain activities of the Communist leaders. Another mission was to spy on public authorities, especially the Police that was tasked with monitoring and spying on the activities of the members of the Communist Party.

The collaboration of the Comintern with the Red Army in order to spread the Bolshevik Revolution globally created an intimate and lasting connection between a propaganda machine and a proletarian war. Some of the Comintern's international organizations, including the Propaganda, have become assimilated structures of the Red Army Staff. The preparation of the combat and propaganda missions were designed according to the following six principles: 1. technical military training; 2. preparations for railway transport; 3. supply and evacuation preparations; 4. the completion and organization of military personnel; 5. the tactical training of the ground in which the following military campaigns will be scheduled; 6. the political training of military cadres. (ANIC, PCM SSI 2379, 31/1935, fila 18)

Points 1 and 4 were strictly in charge of the Red Army's Military Operations Section, while points 5 and 6 were in the Comintern's concern. In turn, the two bodies were directly subjected to the Bolshevik Communist Party of Russia.

1. The Communist Party (Bolshevik): The Commander of the Comintern and the Light of the East

The relationship between the Comintern and the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has always been subordination and control (according to Fig. 2). The secret information of the Comintern was centralized and sent directly to the party's General Secretary. There is nothing in the hierarchical order above this function. Its power of decision was unlimited. Democratic centralism and internal party democracy have stopped definitively at this last floor. The paradox of the total power of the leader annihilates any right to opposition. Created in 1922, the party's General Secretary function was purely administrative, having a bureaucratic control character. Stalin is the first occupier to succeed in controlling the Political bureau (Political Bureau), which has secured his party's supreme leader status. The following figure outlines the organizational structure of the Bolshevik Communist Party of Russia, as it was around the 1940s.



Source: ANIC, PCM SSI 2379, 16/1942.

In Figure 3, we observe some important organizational similarities: a. The camouflaged organizations of the Comintern are in the direct subordination of the Communist Party (Bolshevik); b. The party is subordinate to the political direction of the Red Army, a function which assures the total control of the army by the party; c. Future activists and leaders of the Central Committee were recruited from the Komsomol partisan groups. The scheme itself does not reflect hierarchical and control relations, but only a projection of the organizational structures through which we understand how the party apparatus looked. The Soviet party model was the inspiration for all the other communist parties, including the case of the Communist Party of Romania. The presence and role of the Central Committee is to be the command centre of all decisions, which once were taken quickly and efficiently by all the other departments. The principle of democratic centralism was in fact only a mimic of domestic party democracy, as the Central Committee's executive function was to make decisions, and there was no other opposition or departmental body capable of opposing.

The camouflaged organizations were considered the most effective mechanisms of control, propaganda and struggle of the party for the control of society. The term "camouflaged" compensated for the party's official presence in the state that the nonsleeping enemy should never know who watches him over or who is behind this Big Brother. The lyrics of George Lesnea best capture the role of social control that the model of the Soviet totalitarian party has imposed on a general principle: "The party is all | In what are | And what tomorrow will laugh at the sun | It's in the cradle | And in the grey man, / It's in life that never dies".

The sections under the Central Committee had the role of state ministries, which, as noted in the organizational structure of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) departments, were under the full control of the C.C. and the Political Bureau, respectively. It is noteworthy that the executive nature of these sections was not decision-making but executive. Finally, Congress had a rather ritualistic role, the prologue, the plot, the action, the climax, the outcome and epilogue of the scene were always predetermined. Writing the script was still the work of the Political Bureau, and most of the time, the leader was responsible for directing of all stages. The whole structure was organized upon the pyramid model of power, the leader embodying the total will of the party, the state and the people he was leading as a general secretary, and afterwards as head of state.

2. Zinoviev's 21 Conditions and the New Status of the C.P.o R. as Annex to the Comintern

Accepting the 21 points of the new C.P.o R. he created a dilemma regarding the concept of political party beyond the illegal nature of the act, beyond the anti-national character and beyond its ideological justification. In order to clarify this, in the following, we analysed each criterion partly to answer the following question: what was it and who did it represent the C.P.o R.? The 21 conditions were taken from the work written by Sinowjew, G, "Die 21 Bedingung en der Leninischen Komintern" (The 21 Conditions of the Leninist Comintern):

- a) Since the first criterion was established a type of total obedience of all parties affiliated to the concern and decisions of the Comintern. Comintern was the only apparatus that had the right to interfere with the internal and organizational issues of affiliated parties. "All propaganda and agitation must have a communist character and correspond to the Communist International's program and decisions. All parties' press organs must be run by trusted communists who have shown their loyalty to the cause of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be treated simplistically as a formula taught outside. The props for the dictatorship of the proletariat must be organized in such a way that its necessity is to be understood by every simple worker, every working woman, any soldier and peasant, in the light of their simple lives that must be systematically observed by our press and used day by day." From this directive emerges clearly the importance and role of the press in the propaganda expansion of Marxist-Leninist ideas. The press departments are the first weapon of communist parties through which they have a duty to convince and convert the working class by becoming aware of the necessity of a world revolution. Here lies the whole objective of the Comintern, which was to be accomplished through the rallying of the socialist movements in a struggle against the dominant classes in the name of an ideal considered beyond any interest of the national state. The CPC thus becomes a project designed to ignore the reality of a dream fulfilled by the Great Union on 1 December 1918, cancelling any chance of being supported by the majority of Romanian ethnicity.
- b) "The Communist International is the international party of insurrection and proletarian dictatorship." The insurrection implied a revolution against the existing social-political order for decapitating the exploitative class of the bourgeoisie. This message respects the principle stated by Marx and Engels: "Proletarians from all countries, unite!";
- c) At the 3rd point is declared the urgent need for a total war on all fronts: "In almost all countries of Europe and America, the class struggle enters the civil war period. Communists cannot, in these circumstances, boast the bourgeois legality. It is their duty to create everywhere, alongside legal organizations, a clandestine body capable of fulfilling its duty to the revolution at the decisive moment". The three conditions set out so far are sufficient to demonstrate why no country could have tolerated such a movement and why these movements cannot enter the political party for at least three reasons: 1. They have no respect to any principle of national sovereignty; 2. They act according to terrorist political groups that incite disobedience, violence and crime against existing order; 3. the orders are not given by Comintern, and the leaders only have the role of executing them. The fourth point explicitly calls for a struggle for the



destabilization of the national armies in order to be dismantled or co-opted to the communist interest. "The task of the communist propaganda ideas includes the special obligation to conduct systematic and powerful propaganda among the army. When this agitation is interrupted by emergency laws, it must be continued into illegality. The refusal to carry out this work means betraying the revolutionary duty and is incompatible with a membership to the Communist International". Point 8 refers to the decolonization of Western powers, but for the Romanian case, the separation of Great Romania from Transylvania was demanded on the grounds that this land does not belong to the Romanians and must be removed from the exploited land status. The use of this criterion made the C.P.o R. become the first enemy of the Romanian project on the first day of December 1, 1918. Here is what was said in the text: "A clear attitude on the issue of oppressed colonies and nations is required by the communist parties in those countries where the bourgeoisie is in possession of colonies and oppresses other nations. Any party wishing to belong to the Communist International has the obligation to expose all the "imperialists" in the colonies; to support any evasion movements in the colonies, not only verbally, but also in deeds; to demand that those imperialist compatriots be expelled from the colonies; to cultivate in the hearts of the workers of their own country true brotherly feelings towards the working population of the colonies and the oppressed nations; to conduct a systematic propaganda among the soldiers of their own country against any oppression of the colonial peoples".

- d) Point 12 states: "Parties belonging to the Communist International must be built on the principle of democratic centralism. In this age of civil war, the Communist Party will only be able to do its duty if it is organized in a centralist manner, if the iron discipline dominates the party and if the centre of the party, supported by the trust of party members, is charged with the highest authority and the highest rights". The intent of this citation was to subordinate any human resource, organization and any form of power to a single leader, the leader of Moscow. This directive ensures control of the Comintern towards the Communist Party (Bolshevik).
- e) In the 13th criterion, any kind of crime, including domestic, if any, was legitimized: "The Communist parties must periodically purge their organizations in order to remove the concerned items and the small bourgeois". Stalin's goal was to use this directive in its struggle to seize power.
- f) The 14th criterion stated the need for international solidarity of the Communist parties on behalf of the soviet interests or, more simply, on behalf of the USSR. "Any party wishing to belong to the Communist International has the obligation to give unconditional support to any socialist republic in the fight against counter-revolutionary forces. Communist parties must carry out clear propaganda to prevent the transport of war material to the enemies of the Soviet republics. They also have to carry out either legal or illegal propaganda with all available means among the soldiers sent to stifle workers' republics."
- g) Point 16 strengthens the control of the Comintern on all Communist movements affiliated to the Third International through the following statement: "All decisions of the Communist International Congresses and the decisions of the Executive Committee are binding on all parties belonging to the Communist International. The Communist International, acting under the conditions of civil war, must be organized in a much more centralized manner than International II. In this process, the Communist International and its Executive Committee obviously have to consider in its entirety the particular conditions in which each party must fight and work and make binding general decisions only if such decisions are possible".

- h) Paragraph 17 requires the obligation of any affiliated party to bear the name of a Communist Party and declares war not only to the bourgeoisie but also to the socialdemocratic parties: "All parties wishing to belong to the Communist International must change their name. All parties wishing to belong to the Communist International should be called "the Communist Party of the X-Country (Communist International Section)". The name issue is not a formal one, it is a political issue of the greatest importance. The Communist International declared war on the entire bourgeois world and on all the socialdemocratic parties. The difference between the communist parties and the old "socialdemocratic" or "socialist" parties that have betrayed the flag of the working class must be clear to every single worker."
- i) Paragraphs 20 and 21 require several conditions for the accession of future parties to the communist movement, thus putting in place a totalitarian control vision. Practically, these parties must declare their adherence to the Comintern without being entitled to any autonomy and obviously without any other restrictions of national interest. "Those parties who now want to enter the Communist International but have not radically changed their old tactics must, before joining the Communist International, verify that no less than two-thirds of the Central Committee and the most important central institutions to be composed of comrades who, even before the Second Congress of the Communist International, pronounced themselves publicly and clearly in favour of the party's affiliation to the Communist International". Exceptions may be permitted with the agreement of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International also has the right to make exceptions to the representatives of the centrist tendencies mentioned in paragraph 7. "Those who do not respect the strictness of these conditions at the level of members or leaders - will be excluded from the party's life. In other words, the Comintern did not want the party's complete exclusion, but the exclusion of the members or leaders who were changed". Through these measures, leaders were deprived of the very essential character of leadership that requires a certain degree of freedom and autonomy. Leaders were at the top of the party with names, while decisions, dismissals, changes, and other important decisions were taken by Comintern. This quickly led to the fabrication of the leadership mechanism explaining why C.P.o R. was the target of intrigues that produced successive changes in leadership and internal struggles between different factions and representation groups. The last condition required a general guarantee of respecting the 20 initial conditions: "those party members who fundamentally reject the conditions and the theses decided by the Communist International will be expelled from the party". By this final decision, the C.P.o R. has definitively signed the status of Comintern's representative or obedient branch, thus becoming a mere annex of a single-eyed octopus, one brain, and several tentacles at the international level.

It should also be mentioned in connection with the schism between the socialists and the Communists, as a crucial moment in which the so-called "political party" was born. Before being named P.C.R., communist rebels were part of the Socialist Party of Romania. The May 8, 1921 Congress consisted of 540 mandates that accounted for 45,086 members. "All delegates pronounced for the transformation of the Socialist Party into Communist Party (the right-wing social-democrats left the party after the General Council of the Socialist Party in January-February 1921). On May 11, 428 (from other sources, 432) of mandates pronounced for unqualified affiliation to Communist III International (...) and 111 - for affiliation

with reserves" (Communist Encyclopaedia, 2012, p.401). There is an unproven presumption in certain historical sources that it was taken advantage on the absence of important socialist leaders who could not participate for certain personal reasons. This argument led to the conclusion that it was rather a split, not a transformation, as proof that the Socialist Party continued to exist without any problems.

In the absence of prefigured schemes in the archives we collected relevant data which we compiled within the following figure regarding the organization of the C.P.o R. on structures and departments:

Fig. 4. A scheme of the C.P.o R based on the reported mentions found in the archives and the specialized studies. Own Source

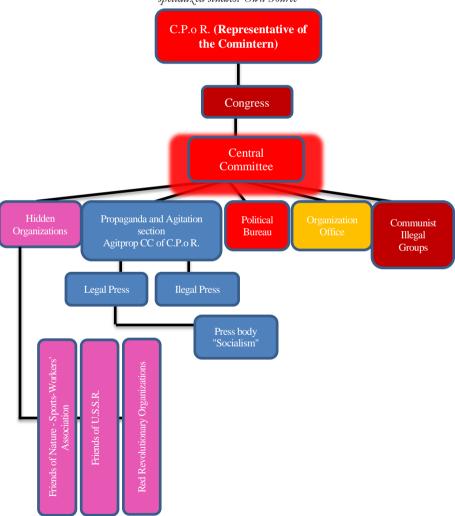


Figure 4 shows some important resemblances that the C.P.o R. has with the Communist Party (Bolshevik) and the Comintern. The C.P.o R. Executive Committee was made up of nine people elected throughout the country, respecting the model of the Bolshevik C.P. From the first Congress to the Second Congress in 1922, the new party was named the Socialist-Communist Party. At the level of territorial and electoral sections there were no organizations in Transylvania and Bucovina, as well as in Dobrogea, where the Communists were represented by the Ukrainian Communist Party, and in Dobrogea by the Bulgarian Communist Party. "Subsequently, a clandestine party conference held on 9-12 April 1922 recognized the provisional leadership and gave its mandate to continue the reorganization of the party and to take the necessary steps to legalize it as the Socialist-Communist Party of Romania. On the same occasion, a secretariat for Transylvania, led by Elek Köblös, was appointed to reorganize the sections of this region on Communist basis". (Communist Encyclopaedia, 2012, p. 403). It was only at the Congress in Ploiesti, on 2-3 October 1922 that the name of the Communist Party of Romania was called.

Of all the C.P.o R. sections, the most important department was Propaganda and Agitation, also known as "Agitprop CC". This was represented by two types of press: the legal one in which the party sustained propaganda through the "Socialism" organ and the illegal press, through which the party was supported by press bodies camouflaged under names which were apparently unrelated to the communist movement. Most of those who worked both in the legal and illegal media of the C.P.o R. reappeared in the communist press after August 23, 1944. "Some of them chose to change their names after turning weapons with their Romanian pseudonyms they used in the left-wing legal press or the conspirational names adopted at the party's indication: Mircea Bălănescu (born Eugen Bendel), Stefan Voicu (born Aurel Rottenberg), Ilie Zaharia (born Iosif Grünberg - Iuju), Ion Călugăru (born Leibi Croitoru), Sorin Toma (born Solomon Moscovici), Leonte Răutu (born Lev Oighenstein), Petre Năvodaru (born Fischer)". (Burcea M. 2016, p.17).

In the secret department of organizations camouflaged by the Comintern, "Friends of Nature" was initially a socialist association dedicated to young athletes. The Communists took it, keeping its name and used it for recruiting young cadres. The Red Revolutionary organizations were party secret cells present on the national territory where propaganda and training campaigns for future revolutionaries such as the DRO (Dobrogenska Revolutiona Organizatia - Dobrogean Revolutionary Organization) were being prepared. Another role of the DRO was to prepare teams to replace those who were arrested, exiled or imprisoned, a strategy copied to the Communist model of the ultra-secret communist organization "Party Protection."

Conclusions

The direct similarities between the structures and departments of C.P. (Bolshevik), Comintern and C.P.o R. are obvious in this analysis and seem to be no secret to many historians. The lack of documents in an organization chart at departmental level of C.P.o R. was a necessity to re-establish it in this study to highlight the presence of more than similar relationships. C.P.o R. has any Romanian roots; the formation is a copy or representation without a personality of the Comintern. The lack of an assumed identity, the absurd and obsessive control that the C.P.o R. accepts in its relationship with the

Comintern transforms it into a sick child, with no personality. To the same extent, the socialist detachment was more of a violent rupture encouraged by the hatred of the Third International than any movement associated with the socialist parties. The paranoia of the Cominternist Theses created the communist parties an autistic image in which no one could politically ally with anyone. Finally, the organizational analysis of the three entities explains what C.P.o R. was and why this movement from the legal period 1921-1923, respectively the illegal 1923-1944 cannot be considered a political party. The C.P.o R. faced a serious crisis present at several levels:

- C.P.o R. is an arm of the Comintern, and for this reason almost all-important decisions are taken outside the country
- The instability of the leaders is generated by the rapid changes dictated by Comintern;
- C.P.o R. leaders were no actual leaders, but merely executors of foreign decisions.
- internal conflicts have multiplied due to the struggles of several factions wishing leadership of the "party"; thus a possible reconciliation has become impossible;
- The lack of a clear organizational chart created an imprecise map of the territorial representation;
- For back-then Communists there was no Romania the Great, the communication and the political program having no connection to the national interest:
- propaganda structures were controlled and directed by Comintern, eliminating any possibility of adapting communist ideas to a native context.

The organizational chart of the departments of C.P.o R. is the model that will inspire the post-1945 C.P.o R. and deeply resembles the Organizational Chart of the departments of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) created by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Everything starts, organizes and develops around the Command Centre organized around the leader. The leader, as Secretary General, is at the top of the hierarchy and holds the ultimate power. His primary role within the party is to watch over the discipline and loyalty of his members on the principle: "the inner enemy never sleeps." The leader is the personified definition of totalitarianism by which he holds the absolute control of the state. At the department level, the Central Committee is the executive power forum, and at its centre is PoliticBuro (the Political Bureau), the key subdivision where major decisions are made. At the functional level, members of the Political Bureau executed the decisions of the Secretary General. The advisory role of the members of the Political Bureau was only formal, in fact nobody contradicted their party chief. The two principles: "democratic centralism" and "party internal democracy" appear as archetypes of ideological discourse and appear fictitious at the organizational level without ever materializing through consultations or decisions. The Leninist prototype was thinking of a perfect Pharaonic pyramid structure. The peak, represented by the leader, is the only decision maker, and the whole structure of the party approves, follows and

strengthens it. The party democracy mimetic corresponds to the mimetic of democratic centralism, both principles being the axis of unconditional support of the leader. Members who did not obey this rule were directly excluded by the system (see the Pârvulescu case of the 12th Congress of the C.P.o R.). Another organizational issue of C.P.o R. appeared in the period of illegality, after Gheorghe Cristescu's dismissal, which generated an instability in the relationship between the Central Committee and all the other departments. Leaders' frequent changes, the struggles of various interest groups for leadership, and the confusing directives from the Comintern have created an inability to represent and unite the Communist party. After 1924, all party congresses took place outside the country in cities such as Vienna, Ciuguevo (near Kharkov) and Moscow, and the Political Bureau was moved to Berlin and then to Moscow.

In conclusion, C.P.o R. was an arm of the Comintern, a representation that wanted to be a party after the prototype of the Bolshevik party. The structure of its departments was built on the terrorist model of Leninist P.D.S.M.R. Born without any personal vision, the formation personified an octopus with world utopian ambitions. Its political failure in the interwar period was guaranteed by its position against Romania the Great, an anomaly observed by Gheorghe Cristescu, which led to the anger between two conflicting wills.

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