



## ORIGINAL PAPER

# 8<sup>th</sup> of May 1921- The founding of the Communist Party from Romania (PCdR)- Analysis on the beginning of the communist movement in Romania until 1924

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### Abstract:

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as it has already been presented in my studies, the socialist movement was at a critical point. Some socialist intellectuals left PSDMR and joined the “Sincere Liberal Faction”, united with the National Liberal Party. Other socialists came closer to the actions of the Russian socialists that had, in Romania, connections as Constantin Dobrogeanu Gherea, Christian Rakovski and other political activists. The Social Democratic Party from Romania, during the last stage of the World War I, divided between the socialists and the communist followers after the Russian Revolution of February 1917 and the Counterrevolution of October 1917, when the radicals, “the reds” or Bolsheviks seized the power having V.I. Lenin and Lev Trotsky as main leaders. In January 1918, Romania and the Soviet Russia ended the diplomatic relations and a lot of Bolsheviks from Bessarabia entered in Romania. There were some strikes, as that in December 1918 (workers in printing industry).

In the summer of 1919, Romanian Army had destroyed the Bolshevik Republic from Budapest, led by Bela Kun, a Bolshevik agent, preventing the communism to get positions in Central and Western Europe. In 1919, the communist uprising of Spartakist Movement in Germany was defeated.

In Romania, a group of communists, many of them with other origins (Ukrainian, Polish, Bulgarian, Jew, Hungarian) put the bases of the Communist Party from Romania (PCdR) founded in Bucharest on May 8<sup>th</sup> 1921. Because of its anti-Romanian attitude, PCdR was declared illegal in April 1924, being in this situation until August 23 1944. In this article we will try to present the activity between 1921 and 1924 because, later, even the communist government of Romania, tried to minimize the importance of the “illegal activity”, because of the assumed Soviet political line.

**Keywords:** *the Communist Party from Romania; foundation; 1921; political party; communist movement.*

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### **I. Introduction. Historiographic landmarks**

The period of 1921-1924 was chosen for understanding and illustrating the manner in which, in Romania, from the socialist creed, there was made a turning towards the communist one. Obviously, in the historiography before 1989, the socialism had been seen as a manner in which the society headed towards communism. The founding of a communist party in Romania, in 1921, showed clearly that there was no longer a connection between the socialists from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the communists from the beginning of the third decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The Romanian socialists, from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as it was presented in the previous studies, had tried to attend the parliamentary configuration of the Romanian policy legally. They had launched an intellectual fight, editing newspapers, magazines, founding socialist clubs, hoping to attract the peasants and the workers on the side of their orientation. Furthermore, the socialist publications had started to offer medical and prophylactic information for preventing illnesses, epidemics, epizooties, in case the spring sanitation, through whitewashing, was done, they had also begun to publish advice on the collecting of the medicinal plants from nature, their cultivation, along with fruit-bearing trees, or on the benefits presented by the consumption of milk and fruits for children (Nacu, 2013: 175).

Nevertheless, the degree of penetration in the collectivity of the peasants and workers was reduced. The vote based on qualification made impossible the voting of the socialists by the peasants directly. The richer peasants who could vote were trying to not affront the landlords and the leaseholders, voting for the Conservative Party. The industrialisation initiatives had come from the National Liberal Party (PNL). The workers did not have the right to vote, their hope being also generated by the owners or the concessionaires they would work for” (Hitchins, 1983: 221).

The only accomplishments referred to in the previous studies had represented the access of some socialists in the 3<sup>rd</sup> College of the Chamber of Deputies, some reforms, as the Law of Trades, the Sunday Rest Law, adopted rather under the influence of the occidental liberalism.

Finally, the Romanian socialists were absorbed by the liberal mass, firstly uniting with “the sincere liberals”, a progressive branch of PNL.

World War I that Romania joined in 1916 along the Entente, which the tsarist Russia belong to, started well for Romania, but in the fall of 1916, Romania was on the verge of collapse, dealing with the excepting of Moldova from the Central Powers.

The crisis generated by the lack of grains (most of them set on fire by the retreating troops), the requisitions made by the occupant, the precarious sanitary structure, led to the bursting of the exanthematic typhus, along with the generalisation of malnutrition. In February 1917, the socialist Revolution broke out, followed, in October, by the Bolshevik Counterrevolution. If the Kerenski government wished that Russia to continue the war, the Bolsheviks around Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, wished that Russia would make separate peace, which contributed to the deepening of the Romanian crisis. Thus, although victorious on the front, in the summer of 1917, Romania had to accept the humiliating peace with the Central Powers from the summer of 1918, a peace that imposed requisitions, territorial ceasing and the existence of a control of the occupant on the political life from Romania.

In Romania, there had already arrived a radical socialist component, expelled by the tsarist authorities, starting from the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Between them and the Romanian socialists, there was a huge difference in thinking, but the communist-

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Bolshevik circles had started to become a precise force. Leo Trotsky had visited Dobrogea, noting that, for example Caragiale had criticised the vices of the Romanian politic and social life in his writings, which, in his opinion, was better than a proper propaganda.

Cristian Rakowski, a Bulgarian socialist activist would organise an underground movement against the involvement of Romania in the Balkan crisis from 1912-1913. He then became, at Moscow, until his execution by Stalin, one of the fiercest communist activists.

Yet, in Romania, the communist movement could not take roots although there were few attempts, as the printers' strike from December 1911 or the failed attempt to assassinate King Ferdinand at Iași (Botoran&Dobrinescu, 2013: 34-39).

Not even later, in 1912, the intellectual circles from Romania did not appreciate as possible the founding of a communist party, starting from the same ideas that would rush the end of the socialist current in Romania. In "Adevărul" newspaper, from the 12<sup>th</sup> of Mai 1921, Constantin Mille would note: "*Such a congress with its resolution would be far from the reality, as the sky from the ground, because the police and the prosecutor will not have mingled, because the divine freedom would have functioned again for three days in Romania, and everything would have ended with the same clamour and the same significance as that of a cigarette butt falling in the Danube*"

Furthermore, in January 1918, Romania sent troops in Bessarabia to stop the Bolshevik anarchy, thus, the antipathy against the Bolsheviks increased even more in our country.

In 1919, Hungary, recently ripped from Austria, would look for its way as democratic republic, through a Bolshevik revolution. Bela Kun managed, for a short time, to control the government, but, as it has been shown in recent study, Romania interfered promptly because Bela Kun was not observing the calendar for the retreating from Transylvania of the Magyar troops, and the European powers, sat at the negotiation table after November 1918, wished to not quit "Wilson's principles", that is, to offer the right to self-determination. The Romanian army's intervention was a success, in the summer of 1919, the government led by Bela Kun being dismissed and the irredentist danger from Transylvania, along with the communist one, were tempered, to some extent, for the moment (Nacu, 2020: 29-39).

Bela Kun found his refuge in USSR, where he tried to become involved in actions meant for the instauration of the communism in Germany, actions that would prove to be resounding fails.

Briefing the first attempts of Moscow to create a structure for the communists from Romania, Vladimir Tismăneanu notes: "*During the first world war, Rakovski shared Lenin's certitude that the imperialist war had to be transformed into a civil war and then a great global socialist revolution. It had a crucial contribution to the organisation of some pro-Bolshevik actions among the Romanian troops in Russia. Until the end of 1917, there had been organised a Romanian Military Revolutionary Committee at Odesa, as an answer of Rakovski's provocative messages to turn the arms against the national bourgeoisie, as a sign of solidarity with the Bolshevik Revolution. Later, Rakovski would reach Moscow, where he founded the Romanian department within the People's Commissariat for the External Affairs and he played a major role in de jure prevention on addressing the Soviet acknowledgment of the Romanian sovereignty over Bessarabia. In January 1919, he became the president of the People Commissars' Soviet from Ukraine, where he was planning to unite his efforts with the*

*Magyar communist republic of Béla Kun and to invade Romania (even despite the expressed orders of Lenin to not do it). The self-determination vision of Cristian Rakovski was one closer to the utopic internationalism of Rosa Luxemburg than to the traditional socialist principle of the national self-determination. More than this, the socialist revolutionary man saw in the export of the revolution one of the most precious duties, which ought not to be impeded by any national attachments and small-bourgeoisie nostalgies” (Tismăneanu, 2021: moldova.europalibera.org).*

The same opinion is shared by Adrian Cioroianu (Șchiopoiu, 2021, [www.adevărul.ro](http://www.adevărul.ro)): *“The communist idealists were determined to fulfil Lenin’s will. Thus, in the autumn of 1920, they gathered a delegation to leave for Moscow: Gheorghe Cristescu, Alexandru Dobrogeanu-Gherea, David Fabian, Eugen Rozvani, Constantin Popovici and Ioan Flueraș. Although, initially, it should have been only a journey for knowing the future possible partners, it proved that it represented the birth of the Romanian communist party. It was a great event at Moscow, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the Comintern. Cristescu and his group were faced with the “21 conditions” of Lenin, which could be answered with only “yes” or “no”. What the Bolshevik wanted was a harsh request – but the rules were the same for everybody. Of all, “the 12<sup>th</sup> seemed, in perspective, more important: all the members (the parties that were willing to adhere A/N) of the International obliged themselves to carry out open or camouflaged actions for serving the purposes established by Moscow, for this reason any other non-communist foreign government was considered a direct enemy, the only ally was, understandingly, the Bolshevik government from Russia (become, in December 1922, through the merging of Russia, Byelorussia and Ukraine, USSR)”.*

The fact that the soviet Russia was moving from the world war to the civil war, in which the white socialists (the Mensheviks and the Esers) were supported by the Great Powers against the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky made Romania consolidate its national unity and move on to the constitutional and land reforms. Yet, from 1918 to 1922, the terrific Spanish flu pandemic (called like that because only the Spanish media would report massively about it, Spain not being engaged in World War I) that broke out among the American contingents that were returning home, and the spread in the entire world, affected Romania, already in a precarious economic and sanitary condition, which inflated the communist agitators and, implicitly, the attempts to organise a communist party.

To this, it was added, after the Great Union, an increase in the number of workers and peasants, after the complete installation of the Romanian administration in the territories united with Romania.

Under the circumstances of the right extreme increase and the degrading of democracy, along with the degradation of the international situation, there was noticed a modest but noticeable growth of those who, even if they did not adhere directly, they would support the communist cause, especially starting with 1944. Romania could have reached, if Soviet troops had arrived in Bucharest, the greatest disaster from its history. In August 1944, the Romanian communists were part of the efforts made for subverting Antonescu, although their comrades from Moscow, many of them faithful to the 1921 teachings, would have desired an exclusively communist government, guaranteed by the presence of the Soviet troops. Nonetheless, the 20 years of illegality of the Romanian communists (1924-1944) were filled with events in which the interest of the population was generally limited for adhering to the communist ideology.

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### **II. From the socialist trend to the communist trend (1918-1921)**

Although the contemporaries were continuing to minimize the communist danger, the ideas that after the Great Union, in Transylvania, Banat, Bukovina, for example, there were a lot of workers that the war had left without a job, and that the Romanian government could not employ anymore, not having enough money for restoring the factories destroyed in the war, or by the retreating Austro-Hungarian troops. An important share of the workers were Magyars, Jews, Ukrainian, Saxons, Swabian, and many of them could be sensible to communist agitations that would promise them a “working-class state”.

In November 1920, the communists had tried to detonate a bomb in the ministerial coach of the train that was transporting the Ministry of the Internal Affairs, Constantin Argetoianu. The bomb, placed under the floor of the coach did not injure Argetoianu, who, at the moment of the explosion, was on the opposite side of the coach, and the bomb did not have the necessary power to destroy the coach and determine the running off the rails.

The radical communist actions continued in 1920, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of December, the Senate of Romania being shaken by a bomb, made and primed by the communist activists, as Max Goldstein, Leon Lichtblau and Saul Osias. The bomb attack ended with people dying and being injured, among the Romanian politicians, and the authorities were quite feeble in both preventing the attack and controlling the communist movement, which had been rather minimalised so far.

The Romanian authorities, owing to the diplomatic relations with the Soviet Russia, and the presumed Bolshevik victory in the Civil War, started to think seriously on the idea that the Soviet Russia would not accept easily the loss of Bessarabia. Moreover, at the Peace Conference from Paris, the question of the Romanian-Soviet borders had been left to Romania and the Soviet Russia, when they would consider the moment appropriate.

It can be noticed that, a part of the former socialists from Romania ended up being communists entirely, devoted to the Soviet ideology. Such an example is represented by Alexandru Dobrogeanu-Gherea, son of Constantin Dobrogeanu Gherea, and Ecaterina Arbore, daughter of Zamfir Arbore.

Later on, in Bessarabia, there would stand communist activists and agitators, recruited by the Soviet secret services, who would travel freely in Romania, sheltered by the Romanian citizenship, during the inter-war period. For the fact that, at Moscow, Lenin had decided that, in the Third Communist International, there were to be admitted parties that adopt the 21 points enounced by the Soviet leadership (among which the fight against the bourgeoisie states, dungeons for their people, as Romania was called), the Romanians did not intend to unleash anti-national and anti-state feelings. Romanian was preparing, in 1921, for an ample land reform, and the peasants wanted to represent an economic force in the Romanian state, they had the right to vote, which did not stimulate them to fight against the state, ending up imprisoned or executed for espionage.

Thus, the construction of a communist political force in Romania had, since the beginning, an accent on the Magyar, Polish, Ukrainian or Jew activists.

### III. The directions of the Romanian communists' platform (1921-1924)

Thus, in 1920, at Moscow, it took place a meeting under the aegis of the Communist International – the Comintern, led and coordinated by Vladimir Ilici Lenin. This meeting reunited the communist, socialist and worker parties from the entire world, who wanted to affiliate to the Third International. The Socialist Party from Romania, as much as the other participating parties had to meet all the 21 points, in order to adhere to the Communist International - the Comintern. The most important one, the 12<sup>th</sup>, provisioned that the member parties had to carry out actions that would serve exclusively the purposes established by the leadership from Moscow (Cioroianu, 2007:20).

Basically, it represented the moment when a group of socialists decided to assume their communist orientation directly, including the 12<sup>th</sup> point from the conditions imposed for adhering to Comintern, that is, actions against the Romanian state and its interests (Scurtu, 2013: 312).

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of May 1921, the Congress that would lead to the founding of the Communist Party of Romania (PCdR) began, in the hall from no. 12, Sf. Ionică Street, from Bucharest.

The Minister of the Internal Affairs, Constantin Argetoianu, was notified by Gheorghe Cristescu-Plăpumarul, who even asked for the prolonging of the congress. He obtained this extension until the 12<sup>th</sup> of May 1921, 3.00 PM because not all the delegates, especially those from Valea Jiului and Banat, could be present. In his *Memoires*, Constantin Argetoianu was affirming that he accepted the congress under the pretext that the communists would be arrested, on grounds of not observing the Romanian Constitution. He had already known that the communist faction was controlling the newspaper of the Socialist Party, while the moderates had their headquarters where the club was registered.

Essentially, the congress had to vote, from the total of 12 theoretical points, only the ones referring to the assuming of the communist doctrine, and that dedicated to the affiliation to the Comintern, thus, it implied the entire assuming of the orders that came from Moscow. Constantin Argetoianu managed to mislead the communists, making them believe that they he was ricked into admitting the lack of the 2 points of the agenda from the formal order.

The communists had as task from Moscow that those two points to be assumed by a wide majority of the delegates. The minister of the Internal Affairs wished that, at the end of the Congress, the communists would be arrested, needing the presence of many of the influent in the territorial leadership of the future communist party.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of May 1921, after 3 p.m., the authorities arrested the participants that had voted the adopting of the communist doctrine and the affiliation to the Comintern, being later released only the socialists.

In his *Memoires*, Constantin Argetoianu noted: *“The (Council of Ministers A/N) meeting opened at 10 past 3 PM. Averescu made clarifications on the reason for the calling: The communists had to be put to an end, and he explained what I was going to do. Titulescu, who yawned permanently, bored and shivering with cold, stopped opening his mouth, heated up suddenly, became red, wanted to have a say, but Take was faster than him, bitterly voicing: “It can’t be done!” He was as yellow as wax “It can’t be done”, Trancu-Iași and Cudalbu seconded; they were yelling and a disapproving unanimity raised against me... Take explained that the proposition made to the Council was the beginning of the revolution.*

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*After Take, Titulescu also declared himself against some measures that would endanger the state, regardless the result of the operations... Trancu-Iasi stood up to express his opinion "... Communism is...the workers want...Geneve provisions etc. etc."*

*While my friend Grigore was babbling, my eyes were following the hands of the clock; it was half past three and the phone was still not ringing.*

*At quarter to four I got the call. I returned to the green table. Until then I had not said a word.*

*– Gentlemen – and I looked smilingly at Averescu – gentlemen, your discussions are futile, everything is over. All the communist leaders and the terrorists are at Văcărești or at Jilava! They complied as the little lambs! No drop of blood was shed! I can give you all the assurances that communism in Romania is over!" (Argetoianu, 1996: 123-124)*

Basically, the authorities from Romania believed that because they did not take any measures starting with the first congress, the communists would not make an action anymore. Until the effective outlawing, in April 1924, the communists from Romania would meet again at a congress, at Ploiești, in 1922 (Bold&Locovei, 2008: 93).

The first leading body of PCdR was the Central Committee, elected within the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress, which took place on the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> of October 1922, at Ploiești. Then, there were elected, as members of the Central Committee, the communists Gheorghe Cristescu-Plăpumarul, Alexandru Dobrogeanu-Gherea (son of Constantin Dobrogeanu Gherea, the father of Alexandru being a Ukrainian Jew, naturalised in Romania, Marcel Pauker (the son of a rich Romanian Jew family from Bucharest), Ana Pauker (Hanah Rabinsohn, later married to Marcel Pauker, a Jew origin Romanian), Petre Borilă (Jordan Dragan Rusev, a Bulgarian activist), Elek Köblös (a Magyar activist).

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress also adopted the name of the Communist Party of Romania, a section of the Communist International. Moreover, it was decided the organisation of a structure that would act in conspiracy, due to the incompatibility between the assumed doctrine and the Romanian constitutional system.

The authorities begin ample operations for monitoring many of the founding members of PCdR: Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu (one of the few Romanian members, a radical left opinions intellectual, from a family of intellectuals and landowners), Elena Filipovici, Alexandru Dobrogeanu Gherea, Ana Pauker, Marcel Pauker, David Fabian, Boris Stefanov.

In April 1924, PCdR finalised the plan for entering in conspiracy. It is created the Directory, a back-up of the Central Committee, having its headquarters at Brașov. Gradually, the role of Gheorghe Cristescu-Plăpumarul is reduced, until he becomes anonymous. Later, he is imprisoned and he has to work at the Canal, after he tried to ally with the social-democrat Constantin Titel Petrescu, participating, on the lists of this party, to the elections from 1946, and not on the lists of the communists, whose party he founded and led, as one its first general secretaries. He then moves to Călimănești where he lives a relatively peaceful life, affected by the premature death of his daughter. Gheorghe Cristescu dies in 1973. He was amongst the few PCdR leaders, before 1944, who did not end up executed in the USSR.

Concomitantly to the adhering of quite a lot of people from Transylvania to PCdR, Elek Köblös became even more active, being appointed provisional general-secretary. The conspiracy implied that the future communists to lead a life full of dangers, to basically become spies, saboteurs, to have conspirative names, even other identities, to become isolated from their families. The one who had not been married yet

were preferred. Sometimes, they were allowed to get married to women who had entered the party, their connections being based on the ideological affinity. Many of these couples, joined in illegality, managed to be part, after 1947, of the leadership of the state institutions of the communist Romania.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of June 1924, PCdR was transmitting a message in which they were assuming the fight in illegality. Furthermore, it was decided that, at Wien, 12 communists would travel for completing the election of the new leadership of PCdR, and the new structures.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> PCdR Congress (August-September 1924) was organised at Wien. PCdR had already been outlawed on the 5<sup>th</sup> of April 1924, after the anti-Romanian agitations from Bessarabia, Tatar Bunar, stopped by the military intervention of the Romanian troops.

According to the theses enounced by Bukharin, which became decisions of the Congress, Romania was a state made of “nationalities”, and Bessarabia had to be reunited with USSR fast, the new Soviet state founded officially in 1922.

Elek Köblös was elected unanimously as a general-secretary, leading the party until 1927. He then left in USSR, after great dissensions with Marcel Pauker. In 1928, he is accused of siding with the Trotsky adepts, Stalin wishing to isolate Trotsky and his adepts. Imprisoned, Elek Köblös regains his liberty and activates until 1937, when he is arrested, and then executed, in 1938, from Stalin’s order, for complotting and espionage against the Soviet Union. A lot of the activists from Romania, and also other states, refuged in USSR would have the same faith, including Alexandru Dobrogeanu Gherea, Marcel Pauker, Ecaterina Arbore, Bela Kun, Cristian Rakowski etc. (Tismăneanu, 2005: 73)

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of December 1924, along the Balkan Communist Federation and the Cominterns. PCdR publishes another manifesto in which there are resumed the theses from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress: the self-determination of the people that live in Romania, the destruction of the Romanian state, the fact that Romania annexed territories that did not belong to it, by means of force etc.

The founding of PCdR in Romania was supposed to create supplementary difficulties to the fact that between the Soviet Russia (USSR from 1922) and Romania, there had not been diplomatic relations since 1918. In 1919-1924, there had been some attempts, but the destabilising actions of the Soviet secret services in Bessarabia, which culminated with the acts of violence from Tatar Bunar, had destroyed any attempt. Romania wished to remake the relations with USSR, especially that USSR and Germany were signing a treaty at Rapallo in 1922, a fact that ended the diplomatic isolation of the USSR in Europe and in the world. Moreover, the Soviets wished to found commercial agencies in Romania, which would have meant the creation of covering centres for their diplomatic cover spies, along with the agitators that were acting in consistency. Furthermore, there was the propaganda that they could make, which, in conditions of crisis would have increased the number of adepts of the communism (Barber, 1993: 345-346). What is more, the Soviets did not acknowledge the Romanian state borders, that is, the union with Bessarabia from the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1918.

In 1924, at Wien, the Soviets requested the organisation of a plebiscite in Bessarabia, on addressing the joining to Romania. While Cicerin had instructed his diplomats to use the plebiscite as a first stage, Ionel Brătianu had ordered the Romanian diplomats to reject the idea, because it meant that the Romanians did not acknowledge the protocol of Bessarabia from 1920, thus the acknowledging of the Union with



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Bessarabia internationally, and the plebiscitary character of the Union from the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1918. Moreover, there would have been reactivated the old rivalries between the Romanians and the minorities that were already subjected to the Soviet secret service propaganda (Pădureac, 1993: 21).

Therefore, PCdR was starting its activity on the political stage in an unfavourable context, from the theoretical point of view. The fact that the authorities and the press minimalised the danger exercised by this political force that was under the direct coordination of Moscow, determined an increase in the communist actions, in the adhesion of many citizens dissatisfied with the hard living and the corruption from the economic life of the inter-war Romania. Yet, in a certain context, the Romanian intellectuals adhered rather to the right extreme, represented by the Iron-Guard Movement, due to the fact that it was militating for a reborn under the auspices of a radical Romanian orthodoxism, as opposed to the so-called “danger” represented by the Jews. In 1919, all the residents of other origin but the Romanian one, still remained in Romania and who had opted for citizenship in another state, would become Romanian citizens. The Jews, not having a state of their own, became Romanian citizens, along them other Jews from the Old Kingdom becoming citizens, who before had been subjected to the individual “naturalisation”.

Their predisposition for economic, intellectual, medical activities determined the Jews to be seen as a menace by those who believed they were “defenders of the national orthodoxy”.

The fact that many Romanians of other ethnicities adhered to communism made the right extreme take upon itself a so-called anti-communist “crusade” task.

It is also a question that basically contributed to the changing of the perception on PCdR. Most of its leaders, until 1944, ended up executed in USSR, as enemies of the people and of the communism. Obviously, their repudiation by Moscow could mean a denial of their actions, although we ought not to delusion with the idea that the Soviets had stopped thinking of the dismembering of Romania. The solving of the internal political dispute, by Stalin, in his favour, after the death, in 1924, of Lenin, made the idea of the revolution export, claimed and assumed by Trotsky, be replaced by the communism in one country, and its implementation under the circumstances of a future military expansion, as Stalin had wanted. Thus, many of the ideological point put forwards in 1921 were not actual anymore, two decades later. USSR did not want to incorporate states in itself, but to create satellite states, with a formal independence, punishing, as it would be seen later, any attempt of secession.

Thus, the first 4 years from the total of 68 of the Romanian Communist political formations, were important for the entire history of the party.

In the end, almost all the communists that founded PCdR, in 1921, were lost in the turmoil of the events, some reaching after 1944 on the summit of power, while others ending up in prisons or executed.

### IV. Conclusions

The interval 1921-1924 was chosen because it represents the moment when, in Romania, the communist movement appeared entirely as a party, one ideologically, but not exclusively, on the USSR and the power structure from there. Moreover, the Romanian-Soviet negotiations started, for resuming the diplomat relations, but the Soviets imposed such harsh conditions that the Romanians could not accept because they were profoundly disadvantageous. The founding of PCdR in 1921 was a factor of

pression, showing that USSR wished only to become ideologically visible in Romania. The emerging of PCdR on the Romanian political stage was superposing on the beginning of the reforms and the political actions for the integration of the United Romanian territories, in 1918. It was a need for laws that would act unitarily, in regions that had been under the Russian or Austro-Hungarian legislation. By then, Romanian would have had only the experience with the integration of Dobruja and Quadrilateral, but there the majority factor had retreated before the actions made by the government that had been encouraging the Romanian displaced people from the Old Kingdom. In the territories united in 1918, the Romanians became transformed from the tolerated people into the majority nation, but the minorities would keep their own economic channels, and not only, with the states that appeared on the Austro-Hungarian and Russian states.

Moreover, a certain conflictual circumstance between the politicians from Bucharest and the new-arrived ones, would make the reforms advance with more difficulty. At least in Bessarabia, the penetration done by the Soviet secret services was permanent and difficult to hinder, specifically because the Romanian secret services were not fully organised. It cannot be said the same for the Soviet services that had kept their old connections in Bessarabia, reactivating them after the full instauration of the Soviet power.

Unfortunately, even though the Romanians did not adhere massively to the communist ideology, of the left extreme, as the economic, social and international situation was degrading, due to the crisis, the number of the communists in Romanian increased, and it happened not only amongst the workers or the peasants, but also of some intellectuals that disapproved the external orientation of Romania after 1941.

In time, there would be founded, in PCdR, two wings, one of the communists in Romania, which would populate the prisons and a wing of the communists from Moscow. The 20 years of illegality showed that PCdR evolved, after 1940 (the loss of Bessarabia, North Bukovina, Hertza, Quadrilateral and the North-West Transylvania) towards a national direction as well, in order to avoid the total subordination of Romania by USSR, as the group from Moscow would expect. Within PCdR, for two decades until 1944, and also after, the changes in leadership would be numerous, some of them did not lack the violence of the score settlements, political trials, similarly to what was happening in the mother-organisation from Moscow.

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### Article Info

*Received:* August 31 2021

*Accepted:* September 05 2021

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