

29 SEPTEMBER 1960

RFE EVALUATION AND ANALYSIS DEPARTMENT

Background Report
(Rumanian Unit)

PREVIEW OF FOURTH TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Radio Bucharest announced on 12 September 1960 that the enlarged plenum of the Central Council of Trade Unions held on the same day had decided to convoke the Fourth Trade Union Congress for 26 October 1960.

The agenda will include: 1) the report of the Central Council of Trade Union (CCS) on the activity of the trade unions since the Third Congress and the tasks deriving from the directives of the Third Party Congress (June 1960); 2) the report of the Central Commission of Revisions (auditing commission); 3) the approval of the new trade union statutes; and 4) the election of the Central Council of Trade Unions (CCS) and the Central Commission of Revision.

According to the old statutes, the general congress of the trade unions has to convene at four-year intervals. Despite these provisions (art. 23 also stipulates that the congress has to be announced at least two months in advance), the Fourth Trade Union Congress will take place seven years and nine months after the Third Congress held from 26 to 30 January 1953. The Second Congress took place from 11 to 13 November 1947; the First Congress from 4 to 7 February 1945. (The repeated postponements of the Fourth Congress found a parallel in the numerous adjournments of the Third Party Congress.)

Thus "Scinteia" of 25 December 1957 announced that the plenum of the CCS held in December 1957 had decided to convene the Fourth TU Congress in the second half of April 1958. The April 1958 plenum of the CCS did not mention the subject at all (publicly). Radio Bucharest announced then on 14 August 1958 that a plenum of the CCS had decided to postpone the congress sine die. The enlarged plenum of the CCS held on 25/26 January 1960 ("Scinteia" of 31 January 1960) decided that the Fourth Congress should take place in the second half of 1960.

The main purpose of the Fourth Congress will obviously consist in outlining the tasks of the TUs deriving from the new Six-Year Plan (1960-1965). The new statutes (involving organizational changes) are another important point.

As to leading personalities a change involving Chairman Gheorghe Apostol or Vice-Chairman Anton Moisescu would of course have great significance. In contrast to the Second Party Congress, the speeches made at the Third Party Congress held in June 1960 revealed practically no criticism at the address of the trade unions. On the other side students of Rumanian affairs, among them a defected leading official of the trade unions considered the transfer of Anton Moisescu first to the post of secretary and then to the position of vice-chairman of the CCS not only as a replacement for the all-influential Liuba Chisinevski (particularly after the downfall of Iosif Chisinevski) but also as the grooming of a potential successor of Gheorghe Apostol as President of the CCS, in case the latter would be given other duties. The experience of Moisescu in the diplomatic service appears to qualify him in the field of international trade union relations.

Some sources think that there is friction between Apostol and Moisescu, the latter being Gheorghiu-Dej's tool in the drive for increased Party control over the trade unions, particularly in the period after the renewed condemnation of the Yugoslav approach to this problem since 1957. (RFE Item No. 3266/58.)

Be it as it may at least in regard to other leading organs the new leading teams have already been elected. The chairmen and secretaries of the regional TU councils were elected as recently as April-May 1960 (significantly, before the Third Party Congress), providing in this field the new Party trustees; the leaders of the Branch TUs were elected as recently as August 1960 (one of them in September 1960.)

As to the Secretariat of the CCS, it may be recalled that Ion Cotot (a Party Central Committee member) was elected as late as August 1960, Gheorghe Palos and Petre Despot in August 1959. Noteworthy is the failure to re-elect in June 1960 as full and alternate members of the Party Central Committee of the CCS, Secretaries Mihai Mujic and Ion Dobre. Mujic was elected CCS Secretary in January 1953; Ion Dobre was elected in January 1953 but was released from the CCS Secretariat and elected again several times in past years. Of the six present CCS secretaries (including also Mihai Marin -- elected in October 1953) only Ion Cotot is a member of the Party Central Committee.

It is believed that the new CCS Presidium will include some of the newly elected leaders of the Regional and Branch TUs.

Organizational Changes

The 13 August 1958 Plenum of the CCS (papers of following day) mentioned a report presented by Vice-Chairman Anton Moisesescu on structural changes aimed at "simultaneous strengthening of democratic centralism and wider attributions of trade union organizations of enterprises and institutes."

Other important points dealt with in the report were the "simplification of the organizational structure of the trade unions through the elimination of intermediary links and closer contacts between the leadership of the trade unions and the TU organizations of enterprises and institutions."

The conclusions of the Plenum were presented by Chairman Gheorghe Apostol.

The formulations used at the Plenum had an affinity with the announcement made in Soviet Russia in the same period to the effect that the "rights" of the trade union organizations in enterprises and production conferences had been reaffirmed. In both cases, concessions regarding "rights of the enterprise trade union organizations and production conferences" appeared to be purely formal and designed for propaganda purposes, were it not for increased responsibilities regarding the increase of production and the lowering of production costs.

The Yugoslav paper "Politika" reported in its 1 April 1960 issue in a rather benevolent way on the changes in the Rumanian trade unions, saying that "they aimed at the abolition of the overly large TU administrative apparatus which had led to a perceptible internal duplication of work." The paper added that "the significant reform brought about the abolition of district, regional and town committees of professional TU organizations (branch TUs) which acted in the past as special bodies on a certain territory and were subordinated to the central professional association (branch trade unions) whose seat was in Bucharest and which was directly under the leadership of the CCS." The paper reproduced the official Rumanian announcements to the effect that the reform was aimed at direct cooperation between CCS and TU organizations in enterprises and institutes and was designed to promote a "broad and more active participation of the workers in the planning, organization and management of production in state enterprises in industry and agriculture."

In conclusion the Yugoslav paper said that "all these changes point to the fact that something special and new is sought which would introduce a more practical spirit, effectiveness and

liveliness in the TUs." "Politika" ignored the Soviet example and its drive for both tighter control within the TUs and more responsibility given to the TU enterprise organization in the current economic mobilization. (The rather optimistic tone of the Yugoslav article (correspondent Moma Pudar), which reveals a deal of wishful thinking and overlooks the fact that the reduction of the "rights of the branch (professional) trade unions" and the streamlining of the TU apparatus is primarily designed to strengthen the Party control of the unions reminds the reader of another correspondent of "Politika", Branko Bogunovic who had to admit on 8 June 1958 that he had presented a too rosy picture of the real situation in Red China...)

At any rate, the Vice-President of the Yugoslav TU Council, Mika Spiljak complained in an interview with the Yugoslav TU organ "Rad" (CNR 131/132 of 2 May 1960) that the Rumanian trade unions had not accepted Yugoslav "detailed proposals" for this year's cooperation between the two organizations. Speaking about his recent visit to Rumania, Spiljak said that the Rumanians have agreed only to a meeting of delegations of the Central TU Councils of both countries at the end of the year, to an exchange of two experts working in the field of hygienic-technical protection, the exchange of 15 workers on both sides during summer vacations and a visit of a delegation of the Yugoslav Breza Mine to the Rumanian mines of Lonea and Lupeni, to return the visit paid this year to Breza by the miners of the Jiu Valley.

Asked to comment on the development and conditions prevailing in Rumania as well as about the role of the Rumanian TUs, Spiljak stressed that "it would be wrong to consider the Rumanian TU development in the light of Yugoslav experience." Speaking about the role of TUs in Rumanian society, Spiljak said that "their essential task was the mobilization of workers for the fulfillment of the economic plan, for their vocational and ideological education (and in the third place) to promote the workers' living standard."

One of Apostol's most interesting visits abroad was in June 1957 to Belgrade to attend the Congress of Workers' Councils. Here he was at his most friendly with the Yugoslavs. "The common fight of the Rumanian and Yugoslav peoples for socialism," he told his audience, "has placed us on common positions in the action taken... by the peoples for the solution of the most vital problem of contemporary world -- the securing of peace." On 21 June 1958, i.e. after Tito's refusal to sign the Moscow Declaration of November 1957, and after the publication of the Ljubljana Program, Apostol told a joint Rumanian-Hungarian TU conference that "revisionism

was expressed in a concentrated form in the Yugoslav Party program, which aimed to empty Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary content, to promote confusion and dissension, and to undermine the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties."

Apostol also criticized the Yugoslav TUs, saying that "in Yugoslavia, the problem was put long ago not only theoretically, that, as we advance toward socialism, the tasks of the trade unions and their sphere of activity must be reduced. The role of the TUs," he said "had been limited and a series of important contributions such as the collective labor contracts, socialist emulation, the production meetings (substitute for Workers' Councils) had entirely disappeared from the activity of the Yugoslav TUs."

At the CCS Plenum of 25/26 January 1960, Gheorghe Apostol outlined the conclusions of the Presidium of the CCS on the final application of the measures approved at the August 1958 Plenum of the CCS, regarding the "improvement of organizational work in the TUs."

Theoretically, one could argue that the increased authority given by the new TU statutes to the CCS over, say, regional TU Councils could formally pose the question whether the latter would not enjoy a greater autonomy toward the Party at regional level. (The overall control of the trade unions by the Party -- at the top -- is strongly emphasized in the new statutes.) It should be recalled, however, that, although the statutes speak of the "unique" leadership of the CCS within the trade unions, -- meant particularly in regard to over-powerful branch (professional) trade union organizations -- there is no provision specifying that the regional Party committees -- which acquired an increased influence in the economic field since the decentralization started in 1957 -- would have no say in TU matters. On the contrary, recent press articles, show that the Party organizations on the district, regional, and town level and particularly in enterprises are expected not only to "control the management" but also to "guide the trade union organizations of the enterprises." (Radio Bucharest ("Scinteia") 23 September 1960.) In this sense, the Party appears to be the ultimate beneficiary of the streamlining of the trade union leadership.

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Note: See for reference on Regulations for Production Conferences (meetings) "Munca" of 24 July 1958.

THE RUMANIAN TRADE UNIONS AFTER WORLD WAR II

On 1 September 1944 shortly after the occupation by Soviet troops the Communists and the Social Democrats agreed upon a joint control of the trade unions. A Trade Union Organizing Committee of five Communist and five Social Democrat members was established. Its purpose was to institute the United Labor Front and to bring all trade unions and professional associations under the control of this Front.

It was under the auspices of the Soviets that workshop committees of the FUM (United Labor Front) were organized in each factory. The ultimate goal of these FUM factory committees was to assure selection of Communist-supported delegates to the First Trade Union Congress to be held at the beginning of 1945. These committees directed their first attack against factory management. Under the pretext of supervising production and furnishing supplies to the Soviet Army in fulfillment of the Armistice Convention, the committees hired and fired workers and employees in the factories.

As a center of Communist action, FUM successfully competed for power with the official government of the country, which, although a coalition cabinet with four Communist members in it, could not keep the FUM, supported by the occupation army, under control.

On 21 January 1945, a new Law on Professional Trade Unions was enacted. Its purpose was to introduce some order into trade union affairs. It attempted to force the newly-created trade unions to file changes of authorities with the courts, to respect the secret ballot, and to carry out the provisions of the trade union constitutions. However, everything was in vain. The general elections held throughout the country during January 1945 for new boards of officers and delegates to the General Congress of the Federation of Labor were marked with Communist violence.

Neither the law nor the statutes were respected.

The First Congress of the General Federation of Labor

The first postwar congress of the General Federation of Labor (Confederatia Generala a Muncii - GGM) was held in Bucharest, from 4 to 7 February 1945. The delegates claimed to represent almost 600,000 skilled and unskilled workers, intellectuals and public servants. However, the trade union membership itself amounted to only 487,303 members, representing 536 trade unions and twelve unions of trade unions.

The characteristic feature of the First Congress was its almost exclusive concern with political matters. During the proceedings, one of the delegates, a certain Margulius, introduced matters

of professional interest. He was immediately and vehemently rebuked, however, by Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej and accused of trying to deviate the attention of the congress from its main purpose, political action. In spite of the fact that the workers of Rumania were facing serious difficulties in their professional activities, matters regulated by the congress, speeches, reports, and resolutions, were all concerned exclusively with the political conflict in which Rumania was involved.

The vice-president of the Federation, Chivu Stoica described the policy of the General Federation of Labor as a "fight for the destruction of all reactionary elements" and "the elimination of the enemies of the working class all over the world".

The Congress demanded in its resolutions that

- 1) the Law on Collective Labor Conflicts be abolished;
- 2) the Professional Trade Union Law of 21 January 1945, be amended;
- 3) the Employment Offices be administered by the trade unions; and
- 4) the Labor Code be amended.

New bylaws enacted by the Central Committee of the General Federation of Labor on 18 March 1945, introduced the principle of democratic centralism for the first time. The secret ballot was abolished, and the activity of the factory committees was limited to matter transmitted to them by the higher authorities, i.e., by the General Federation of Labor.

Two months later, on 3 June 1945, new regulations were enacted by the supreme trade union authorities strengthening the discipline of the trade union organizations and obtaining direct control over the workers employed in various branches of industry. The new regulations gave the factory committees the right to hire and fire employees. Thus the longstanding practice of personnel matters being handled by the factory committees was now formally recognized. The task of these factory committees was to combat any attempt directed against the trade union unity.

Under these circumstances the membership of the FUM rose sharply. On 9 June 1945, the General Federation of Labor announced it as one million members. Three months later, on 1 September 1945, the membership had reached a figure of 1,300,000.

Consolidation of the Communist Control of the FUM

The year 1946 was distinguished by general elections for the first Rumanian parliament since World War II.

The Second Congress of the General Federation of Labor.

The Second Congress was a turning point in the development of the trade unions after World War II. They were assigned

new duties and their organization was strengthened.

The First Congress had still preserved a façade of concern (with) with professional matters, but the resolutions of the Second Congress clearly defined the role of the General Federation of Labor as purely political. The trade unions from this time on became adherents of the Communist Party and a tool of the People's government.

The tasks of the General Federation of Labor were defined as follows:

- 1) To strengthen and develop the regime of the people's democracy
- 2) to strengthen and develop the trade unions within the framework of the General Federation of Labor in order to reach an organizational and ideological unity of the entire working class and in this way to establish a United Workers Party
- 3) to fight to increase the power of the governing bodies of the trade unions.

Most significant, however, and a portent of the new role which the trade unions were to play in the sovietization of Rumania were the resolutions adopted concerning economic life:

- 1) Fulfillment of production targets.
- 2) Distribution of labor forces.
- 3) Socialist competition.
- 4) Discipline of labor.
- 5) Survey of the wage system.

At the same time the General Federation of Labor was called upon to "increase the Marxist-Leninist ideological level, both theoretically and practically, so that the cadres might be invincible in the class struggle".

The trade unions were exhorted to maintain strictest discipline in the fulfillment of political tasks. "We did not fight the anarchical actions of the reactionary and rightist elements in Transylvania with all our strength," said Gh. Apostol, the president of the General Federation of Labor. "They (certain trade unions) have acted against the directives given to them by the Central Committee of the General Federation of Labor."

Viata Sindicala, No 62 (second series), 13 November 1947, and Viata Sindicala No.64, 15 November 1947. Viata Sindicala, No. 62, gives several names: Lakatos, Mustetiu, Gherman and others. Eftimie Gherman escaped and lives now in Paris, France.

The merger of dissident Social Democrats and Communists in the Rumanian Workers Party increased the regime's control over the unions.

One of the results of the nationalization of industry (11 June 1948) was that the membership of the trade unions at the end of 1948 increased to 1,441,900 members as against 519,000 in January 1945.

Five years after the FUM was established, the president of the General Federation of Labor Gheorghe Apostol stated that the Rumanian trade unions had thoroughly applied the Soviet trade union experience and that they were now a true school of Communism and a first ally of the Communist Party.

We live in a century when all roads lead to Communism. On this road, our (Rumanian) trade unions ought to be inspired by Lenin's teachings. We can build socialism only by following the vanguard of the proletarians, that is the Rumanian Workers' Party.

The number of the trade union activists increased to 414,477 (one activist for each three trade union members.) (An activist is a worker or employee who is totally or partially withdrawn from production and used as a political agent to urge the workers to increase production.) This great number of activists was explained as a necessary one because of the increased supervision in the field of labor required to carry through the State Plan for 1950.

In September 1950 trade union membership reached the figure of two million members.

The Third Congress of the General Federation of Labor

The main task of the Third Congress was to adopt new statutes prepared by the Central Committee of the General Federation of Labor; these were passed unanimously without discussions.

At this congress 732 delegates were present, representing 2,300,000 members. Of these delegates 543 were toilers (74 per cent), 55 of them were stakhanovites. One hundred and twenty-seven of the delegates were women. Thirty-six of the delegates were deputies to the Grand National Assembly.

It was reported that since the Second Congress in 1947 900,000 members had joined the trade unions and that the trade union membership had reached 92 per cent of all the workers and employees in Rumania. There were complaints, however, that in certain industries the percentage of trade union members was lower. In the timber and forestry industry, for instance, only 67.90 per cent of the workers had so far joined the trade unions. Similar facts were reported in the field of the agricultural trade unions. In the region of Bucharest the membership of government agency trade unions was only 86.1 per cent of the total number of employees. The situation was even worse among workers, employees, engineers and technicians working on the building projects in Bucharest; only 22 per cent of these have joined the trade unions.

At the Third Congress it was also reported that the number of activists had increased up to 600,000. This meant that 25 per cent of the trade unionists were activists; at the Second Congress of 1947, it had been reported that only 2.6 per cent were activists.

In the economic field the emphasis of the congressional proceedings was on the importance of the authority of management in industry, trade and agriculture. Single management was advocated as essential in accomplishing the State Plan. On the other hand, the trade unions were urged to stir up socialist competition under the leadership of the Party. However, the appraisal of the results and achievement of such competition was the right of management, which, of course, strengthened the hand of the factory director considerably.

This Congress also passed a resolution concerning collectivization of agriculture.

The final resolution of the Congress, published two months later, criticized among other things the cavalier methods followed in dismissing duly-elected officers of the trade unions. However, it was not disclosed who had dared to undertake such obviously illegal actions.

The opening speech delivered by the then Vice-Premier Chivu Stoica showed that after the nationalization of industry in 1948, which became "common property" the role of the trade unions gained in importance since their main efforts were to concentrate on the increase of production and the fulfillment of economic plans. Their mission was to become a "transmission belt between the Party and the broad masses of the working people" and to continue to be a "school of Communism". They were to mobilize the workers for the fulfillment of the First Five-Year Plan (1951-1955) in four years.

Chivu Stoica also spoke about the role of the Third TU Congress regarding the "organizational strengthening" of the unions, about the need for raising the political and ideological level and "sharpening of revolutionary vigilance", and for liquidation of indifference toward the penetration of TU organs by fiendish elements.

A long report was presented by Stelian Moraru, the then President of the trade unions containing some self-criticism of the then Central Committee of the General Confederation of Labor regarding poor achievements in favor of workers.

Moraru stated that "recently the Central Committee of the General Confederation of Labor has not acted as an effective leading organ. The Bureau of the Central Committee proceeded on the way of uselessly admonishing the unions thus putting a brake to their initiative". Some students of Rumanian affairs believed that this criticism was indirectly addressed to the previous leadership of the TUs (Gheorghe Apostol).

The most important part of the Third Congress was the approval of new statutes. The report on this subject was made by Liuba Chisinevski.

She justified the necessity of new statutes by the requirements of the post-nationalization period (industry). She spoke about the leadership of the Party over the TUs motivating this strange "conquest of the workers" by the "necessity to liquidate the nefarious consequences for the people of the counter-revolutionary and anti-state activities of Vasile Luca who was aided by Ana Pauker and Teohari Georgescu."

The 1953 statutes said that the admission to the unions "was a means for the political education of the new members. "It said that the union has to defend the interests of the workers within the framework of the legislation of the people's democracy." (This statement was dropped in the 1960 statutes.)

According to the 1953 statutes the trade unions were to be organized on the basis of production branches (branch trade unions). The TU Congress elected as leading organ a Central Council of Trade Unions (CCS) instead of the former Central Committee of the General Confederation of Labor. The CCS was to be composed of 105 members and 15 alternate members. Its auxiliary organ was to be the Central Commission of Revision which included seven members and three alternate members. It was said that 90,000 trade union groups existed in January 1953. The main characteristic of the 1953 statutes was their similarity with the Soviet pattern (structure of trade unions.)

Annex No 1

Leading Trade Union Organs (September 1960)

I. Central Council of Trade Unions (Presidium)

Chairman : Gheorghe APOSTOL (Politbureau)

Vice-chairman : Anton MOISESCU (Central Committee)

Secretaries : Mihail MUJIC
 Ion COTOT (Central Committee)
 Ion DOBRE
 Mihai F. MARIN
 Gheorghe PALOS
 Petru DESPOT

Members of Presidium : Tudor CONSTANTIN
 Alexandru VERNESCU
 Alexandru GRECU
 Elena STOIA
 Andrei HORVATH
 Nicolae MORALI
 Virgil BOERLI (?) (not mentioned since 1958)

II. Regional Trade Union Councils (April - May 1960)

<u>Regions</u>	<u>Chairmen</u>	<u>Secretaries</u>
Bucharest	Gheorghe FERICEANU	Gheorghe MIHALACHE
Ploesti	Ion ALEXANDRU	Stefan MITRESCU
Constanta	Ion ILIESCU	Ion VALEANU
Galati	Gheorghe BUNEA	Constantin MARIN
Bacau	Sava TABACARU	Ludovic KURCU
Iasi	Dumitru LEONTE	
Suceava	Constantin RAICU	Ioan VARVAREANU
Baia Mare	Ioan LES	Vasile VULTUR
Cluj	Vasile AVRAM	Ileana CIUCLEA
Oradea	Ludovic SZILAGHI	Dumitru BORDEA
Timisoara	Iosif GHEDEON	Felicia SZABO
Hunedoara	Vichente BALAN	Ioan COPINDEANU
Craiova	Dina STEFAN	Vasile CHITU
Pitesti	Ion FRATILA	Ion DELIU
Brasov (Stalin)	Gheorghe MUNTEANU	Ion CALIN
Hungarian Autonomous Region	Bela CSACAR	Mihai GHEORGHE
City of Bucharest	Gheorghe IONESCU (?) (Sc. 12 Dec.58)	Ion MITRICA (vice-chairman) (m.5.5.59)

III. Branch Trade Unions (Central Committees, Bucharest)
(August-September 1960)

<u>Unions</u>	<u>Chairmen</u>	<u>Secretaries</u>
1. Agricultural Institutes and Enterprises	Anton STOIANOVICI	Ion SERBAN
2. State Administrative Institutions and People's Councils	Constantin TUDOR (or Tudor CONSTANTIN)	Gheorghe POENARU
3. Consumer Goods Industry	Elena STOIA	Larisa MUNTEANU
4. Building Material Industries and Building Enterprises	Andrei HORVATH	Ioan CHIVU
5. Educational and Cultural Institu- tions	Ion NISTOR	Iosif PLISCHI
6. Metallurgical and Electrical Industries	Nicolae MORARU	Nicolae VASU
7. Mining Industries and Geological Committee	Stefan MORARU	Dionisie MUSCA
8. Oil Chemical and Methane Gas Industries	Alexandru VERNESECU	Ion ISTRATE
9. Sanitary Enterprises and Institutions	Ion SANDU	Nicolae MANOLACHE
10. Consumer Goods Cooperation	Ion PREOTEASA	Gheorghe CALIN
11. Transport and Communications	Alexandru GRECU	Dumitru LUCACI (vice-chairman)
12. Enterprises of Forestry Economy	Constantin EFTIMI	Ion HORNEA

Annex No 2

Presidium and Secretariat elected at the Third TU Congress (January 1953)

President of CCS : Stelian MORARU

Secretaries : Liuba CHISINEVSCHI

Mihai MUJIC

Ecaterian BORILA

Mircea GHERMAN

Constantin BUTARU

Ion DEBRE

Members of Presidium : Stelian MORARU

Liuba CHISINEVSCHI

Mihai MUJIC

Ecaterian BORILA

Mircea GHERMAN

Constantin BUTARU

Ion DOBRE

Martin COVACI

Sandru LOGHIN (or Loghin SANDRU)

Maria MORARU

Francisc COVACI

Ludovic TOTKA

Vasile ACATRINEI

Iosif SZABO

Mihai F. MARIN

Andrei CONSTANTINESCU

Vasile DAVID

Eleonora BODEA

Nicolae POPESCU

Ion CLATINICI

Constantin DOBRE

Nicolae ISTRATE

Iulian MUTULESCU

Shortly after the Second Party Congress (December 1955), the TU organ "Munca" announced on 7 February 1956 that the number of the members of the CCS Presidium was to be reduced from 23 to 13.

The new Presidium of the CCS looked as follows:

Gheorghe APOSTOL (President)
Stelian MORARU (Vice-President)
Liuba CHISINEVSCHI (Secretary)
Mihai MUJIC (Secretary)
Mihai F. MARIN (Secretary)
Martin COVACI
Ion DOBRE
Maria MORARU
Nicolae POPESCU
Ion UNDREA
Nicolae PASCU
Elena TEODORESCU
Petre DESPOT

The measure was officially described as "being in the interest of the improvement of the activity of the Presidium of the CCS"; in fact, many of the not re-elected Presidium members had been in charge of sectors which came under fire at the Second Party Congress (see speeches of Gheorghe GHEORGHIU-DEJ and Gheorghe APOSTOL.)

It is interesting to note that Iacob COTOVEANU, elected along with Virgil BOERU as a member of the CCS Presidium at the September 1956 CCS Plenum ("Scinteia" of 20 September 1956), was ousted as alternate Central Committee and Party member at the June 1958 Party Plenum.

Nicolae PASCU was relieved as CCS Secretary and Presidium member at the 12 September 1960 CCS Plenum. A former rector of the "Maxim Gorky" Institute and ex-chairman of the union of workers and employees in the field of education, PASCU who reportedly is a Soviet citizen (RFE Item No. 83/58) was elected Secretary of the CCS on 25 December 1957. He was appointed on 2 October 1958, Vicepresident of the Tourist Association, which might explain at least in part his release from the Secretariat and Presidium of the CCS.

Annex No 3

Biographical data of the CCS President and his deputy

1. Gheorghe APOSTOL

Born in Southern Moldavia about 1912 as son of a railway worker, APOSTOL joined the Rumanian CP in the early 1930's, while employed as a worker in GALATI. Imprisoned in pre-war years, APOSTOL began his long association with the TUs during the Soviet occupation in August 1944. From 1944 to June 1952 POSTOL was Chairman of the General Confederation of Labor. A member of the Party's Politburo since February 1948 APOSTOL became also Vice-President of the Council of Ministers in May 1952 (after the fall of Ana PAUKER), a post he held until 1954. From November 1953 to April 1954 he was Minister of Agriculture.

On 19 April 1954, in the de-stalinization period, APOSTOL was catapulted to the position of First Party Secretary, when GHEORGHIU-DEJ, in defense of the campaign against the personality cult and the principle of separation of Party Secretariat and State positions, gave up this position although retaining the Premiership. In fact DEJ retained the real power in the country and the control over the Party during the period until October 1955 when he took over again the post of First Party Secretary, when Chivu STOICA became Prime Minister and APOSTOL resumed his position of Chairman of the CCS. Still a member of the Politburo, APOSTOL is said to be less unpopular among workers than many of his colleagues in the higher Party echelons.

2. Anton MOISESCU

A former worker, (locksmith) Anton MOISESCU, Vice-Chairman of the CCS, held in 1951 the position of Vice-President of the State Planning Committee and became Deputy Minister of Finance and Governor of the State Bank in April 1952 after the downfall of Minister of Finance Vasile LUCA (member of the Politburo) and his associates. MOISESCU was appointed Minister to Washington in November 1954 and was elected alternate member of the Party Central Committee in December 1955. He was recalled from the US and was appointed Minister to Argentina and to Uruguay in June 1956. Declared persona non grata because of the forced detention in the Legation of the Argentine-born son of the Legation chauffeur, MOISESCU left BUENOS-AIRES in November 1956.

MOISESCU was elected member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CCS in January 1957. He also was elected Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly in March 1957. In December 1957, MOISESCU was promoted to the position of Vice-Chairman

of the CCS. He also was a member of the Party Control Commission from June 1958 to June 1960, when he was elected full member of the Central Committee of the Party. (It is surprising that since his release from the Party Control Commission, no new representative of the TUs has been appointed in that body.)

Gheorghe APOSTOL (President)
 Stelian MORARU (Vice-President)
 Eimbe CHISINEVSCHI (Secretary)
 Mihai MUJIC (Secretary)
 Mihai P. MARIN (Secretary)
 Martin COVACI
 Ion DOBRE
 Maria MORARU
 Nicolae POPESCU
 Ion UNDEA
 Nicolae PASCU
 Elena TEODORESCU
 Petre DESPOT

The measure was officially described as "being in the interest of the improvement of the activity of the Presidium of the CCS"; in fact, many of the not re-elected Presidium members had been in charge of sectors which came under fire at the Second Party Congress (see speeches of Gheorghe GHEORGHIU-DEJ and Gheorghe APOSTOL.)

It is interesting to note that Jacob COTOVEANU, elected along with Virgil BOERU as a member of the CCS Presidium at the September 1956 CCS Plenum ("Scinteia" of 20 September 1956), was elected as alternate Central Committee and Party member at the June 1958 Party Plenum.

Nicolae PASCU was relieved as CCS Secretary and Presidium member at the 12 September 1960 CCS Plenum. A former rector of the Maxim Gorky Institute and ex-chairman of the union of workers and employees in the field of education, PASCU who reportedly is a Soviet citizen (REF Item No. 83/58) was elected Secretary of the CCS on 23 December 1957. He was appointed on 2 October 1958, Vicepresident of the Tourist Association, which might explain at least in part his release from the Secretariat and Presidium of the CCS.

TU St-up (1953 Statutes)

Annex No. 4a

TU (General) Congress (4 years)

Central Commission of Revision

TU Central Council (plenary sessions: "regularly")

(Presidium, Secretariat)

TU paper "Munca"

Congresses of Branch (2 years)
Professional) TUs
(elected delegates to TU
General Congress)

Regional Commissions of Revision
Regional TU Councils
Presidium, Secretariat

Conferences

Regional Branch Commissions of Revision

Regional Branch Committees

Conferences
District Branch Commissions of Revision

District Branch Committees

Conferences
Town Branch Commissions of Revision

Town Branch Committees

Commission of Revision

Basic TU Organizations (Enterprises and Institutions)

Committees

Commissions

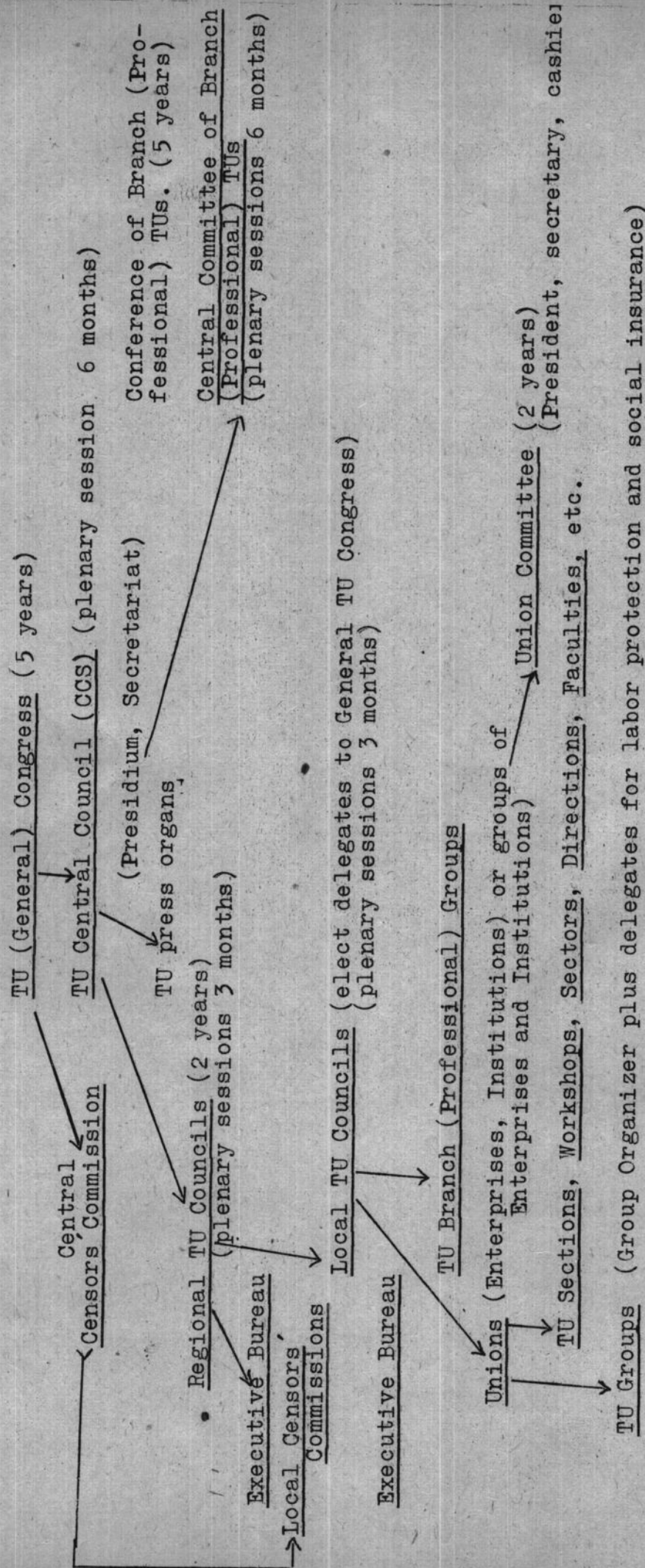
TU Sections (Committees)

TU Groups (Group Organizer)

Chairs of command abolished
by the new statutes

TU Set-up (1960 Statutes)

Annex No. 4b



End