

The 3-Months and 6-Months Party Schools in the First Years of the Proletarian Dictatorship

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Abstract

In the first decade of the proletarian dictatorship, there was an intense concern of the party for the training and improvement of the cadres who served the schools of local ideological education. Based on unpublished archival documents, the study investigates information about the training of cadres from the 3-months and 6-months party schools in the early 1950s and biographical information about the leaders of these schools, which operated in Pitești, Râmnicu Vâlcea and Câmpulung-Mușcel during 1952 -1953. The main objective is to highlight the level of training and improvement of the management teams of these schools and to highlight those common features that made it possible to access positions of responsibility controlled by the nomenclature system.

Keywords: Central Committee, Regional Committees, Romanian Workers' Party

Introduction

The party education played a key role in the political-ideological training of the cadres. In Romania, the party education was organized according to the Soviet model.¹ The Romanian party education took shape in a network of party schools organized at various levels. In 1950, the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party established the central objectives of the party education. These were the training of the party leaders capable of leading party organizations, the training of the propagandists and the agitators capable of successfully leading the party's struggle on the ideological front, and the training of the personnel to work in the state apparatus.² In the context of the new tasks that the party claims, "during the

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¹ Mihai Dinu Gheorghiu, *Intellectualii în cîmpul puterii. Morfologii și traiectorii sociale* (Iași: Polirom, 2007), 83; Sorin Radu, *Învățământul de partid și școlile de cadre în România comunistă. Context național și regional*, postfață de Mihai Dinu Gheorghiu (Iași: Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2014); Sorin Radu, "Party Education in Communist Romania. Case Study: the Establishment and Organization of the Ploughmen's Front's Schools of Cadres (1948)," *Slovanský přehled / Slavonic Review – review for the History of Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe*, Praga, no. 1-2, 98 (2012), 65-79; Sorin Radu, "Der Aufbau des Sozialismus. Kaderschulen und Parteibürokratie in Rumänien – die regionale Parteischule in Timișoara 1948 bis 1973," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, München, 69/1 (2021), 55-83.

² *Rezoluții și hotărâri ale Comitetului Central al Partidului Muncitoresc Român (1948-1950)*, vol I (București: Editura PMR, 1951), 260.

period of transition from capitalism to socialism”, in 1953, the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party established that the party education system targeted not only party and state leaders but all party members. Thus, it determined that party education should arm party members with a deep knowledge of the tasks of the party and the state in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, with knowledge of the concrete problems of the national economy, especially with regard to socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture.³ The central objectives of party education suggest the role that political-ideological training plays in materializing a career within the party and how the party has been able to control key institutions and strategic sectors of the country.

The schools and tuition courses attached to the Regional Party Committees

Under the rule of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party organized the higher forms of the party education, while the elementary and medium forms were the responsibility of the regional, the district and the city party committees.⁴

The different courses materialized elementary forms of the party education. They comprised the circles of current politics organized next to the basic organizations of the party, the evening courses organized in enterprises and institutions, the evening courses in the villages, the courses for the active members of the party in the villages, the circles for studying of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Secondary party education included circles for studying the history of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Soviet Union, 3-months party courses, 6-months, one-year and two-year party schools.⁵

A document⁶ from the archive of the Vâlcea County Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party shows that for the 1951-1952 school year the 30-days training courses for the secretaries of the basic village organizations were organized pertaining to the Vâlcea Regional Committee. The same document indicates that for the training of the members of the bureau of the basic organizations 10-days courses were organized. These courses attached to the district committees.

From the Vâlcea Region and subordinate districts, a number of 1,358 party officials and leaders from mass organizations trained at the party schools and at the schooling and training course organized attached to the Argeş and Vâlcea Regional Party Committees. Thus, over seventy regional and district party officials and managers of the mass organizations at the level of the Vâlcea Region and

³ *Rezoluții și hotărâri ale Comitetului Central al Partidului Muncitoresc Român (1953-1954)*, vol II (București: Editura pentru literatura politică, 1954), 442-443.

⁴ Nicoleta Ionescu-Gură, *Nomenclatura Comitetului Central al Partidului Muncitoresc Român* (București: Humanitas, 2006), 102.

⁵ Nicoleta Ionescu-Gură, *Nomenclatura Comitetului Central al Partidului Muncitoresc Român* (București: Humanitas, 2006), 103-112.

⁶ Serviciul Județean Vâlcea al Arhivelor Naționale ale României, Fond *Partidul Comunist Român – Comitetul Județean Vâlcea 1944-1987* [SJVANR], dos. 12/1951, f. 28-29.

subordinate districts were attending the 6-month party school organized bound to the Argeş Regional Party Committee.

At party courses and schools a considerable number of party secretaries had been trained ideologically and politically. Thus, sixty secretaries of the basic organizations from enterprises and institutions and sixty secretaries of the basic organizations in the socialist sector of agriculture and from the villages with agricultural cooperation perspectives trained at the 3-months party school attached to the Vâlcea Regional Party Committee. Training courses had been established bound to the Regional Party Committee for the secretaries of the villages' party basic organizations. In addition to the Vâlcea Regional Party Committee almost three hundred secretaries of the party basic organizations from the villages trained at the 30-days training courses. Also, in addition to the district party committees seminars for members of the bureau of the party basic organizations had been organized. More than eight hundred people had been trained at the 10-days seminar at the district party committees Drăgăşani, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Lădeşti, Horezu, Loviştea, and Balceşti.

A detailed analysis regarding the typology of the students related to the types of courses allows several conclusions. The students of the 10-days seminar courses organized attached to the district party committees were lower-ranking activists, members of the bureau of basic organizations. This kind of courses had the role of raising the ideological level of the student and in no way to train management cadres. The one-month training courses organized bound to the regional party committee were dedicated to the secretaries of basic party organizations from villages, while the courses of the 3-months party school had as trainees secretaries of large basic organizations from enterprises and institutions, from the socialist sector of agriculture and from villages with agricultural cooperation perspectives. For the party functionaries and the leaders of mass organizations from the regional and district level with great possibilities for affirmation after completing the courses 6-months party school courses were attended.

The students of 3-months and 6-months party schools

In the school year 1950-1951, a number of regional committees had a high number of activists without party school or with insufficient training for the position held. A telegram⁷ of Central Committee in May 1951 addressed to the regional party committees shows that the regional committees had not fulfilled their recruitment plans for the 3-months and 6-months party schools, neither in terms of the number of students nor in terms of meeting the recruitment criteria.

For the preparation of the new year of the party education, and the elaboration of some recruitment plans, the bureau of the regional party committees were to make proposals regarding the number of students who were to graduate from the two

⁷ SJVANR, Fond Partidul Comunist Român – Comitetul Judeţean Vâlcea 1944-1987, dos. 11/1951, f. 47.

series of 6-months party schools and the four series of 3-months party schools. In 1951-1952, the recruitment plans drawn up “on the basis of a thorough analysis of the schooling of the active party and taking into account the needs of raising and increasing cadres”.

At the same time, the bureau of the regional committees could propose the Governing Bodies of the Party, the Trade Union and the Union of Working Youth Section of the Central Committee the opening of new 3-months or 6-months party schools in the region. In addition, the bureau could propose the transformation of 3-month party schools into 6-month party schools also indicating to what extent it had the necessary management personnel and the premises in question.

On September 15, 1950, according to a document from the archives of the Argeş Regional Committee,⁸ the 3-months party school opened, under the auspices of the Argeş Regional Committee. The school operated in a building in Piteşti, located in 1 Mai street no. 45, the management ensured by a director and three assistants. The same document states that an assistant position was vacant at the school’s opening date because the occupant it was requested by Central Committee of Romanian Workers’ Party and enrolled as a student of the “Ştefan Gheorghiu University”.⁹

The documents from the archive of the Argeş Regional Committee¹⁰ provide us with interesting data regarding the situation of the students at the time of entering the school and of the graduates: the regions of origin, social origin, basic professions, the occupation they hold at the time of entering the school, the distribution at the end of the school.

The analysis of the data provides some interesting conclusions. The students of the 3-months party school came from various regions: Argeş, Teleorman and Dolj, a fact that proves that party ideological education was a link in the party's policy of the cadre mobility in the territory. Although the party demanded that the number of women in party schools increased,¹¹ it is easy to see that the number of female students was far lower than that of male students. The students had been recruited from among those with a worker and peasant origin and in a small proportion from the “petite bourgeois” category. The party had decided that in the recruitment work the special attention must be given to workers in large enterprises, ensuring that the majority of those who study in the party universities, party schools and party courses are workers. Thus, the students at the school were predominantly workers by profession.

The archival documents do not indicate the level of schooling, but we can suspect that most had a poor education, also confirmed by the basic professions (skilled and

⁸ Serviciul Judeţean Argeş al Arhivelor Naţionale ale României [SJAANR], *Fond Comitetul Regional Argeş al Partidului Comunist Român* 1950-1968, dos. 38/1951, f. 7-9.

⁹ SJAANR, *Fond Comitetul Regional Argeş al Partidului Comunist Român* 1950-1968, dos. 38/1951, f. 7.

¹⁰ SJAANR, *Fond Comitetul Regional Argeş al Partidului Comunist Român* 1950-1968, dos. 38/1951, f. 7-9; dos. 38/1951, f. 10-12; dos. 38/1951, f. 19-20; dos. 38/1951, f. 30-35.

¹¹ *Rezoluţi şi hotărâri ale Comitetului Central al Partidului Muncitoresc Român (1948-1950)*, vol I, 264.

unskilled workers, ploughmen). We also do not have data on the level of the ideological and political training, but we can speculate that as long as they held positions of responsibility in the party and mass organizations when they entered a school, a good number of them had completed at least one party course. The recruited students were the district secretaries, the regional and the district instructors, the section and the sector heads at district committees, the activists in the sections of the regional and the district committees, the party organizers in the collective agricultural households. They were also the activists in mass organizations, the members in the bureau of the mass organizations, the secretaries of the basic organizations, respectively the members in the bureau of the basic organizations.

The difference between the number of students and the number of graduates, according to the same document,¹² was because those recruited for the school had not been thoroughly checked medically and regarding their attachment to the party, a fact that had led to their removal from the school. The reasons that led to a lower graduation rate in relation to the number of recruited students concern various circumstances such as: dropping out of school, cases of severe illness and, not infrequently, deviations from the proletarian morality or the committing of crimes. Here is, for example, the case of a student removed from school and expelled from the party by the school's basic organization for deviations from proletarian morals, lying, drunkenness, manifestations hostile to the party, dissatisfaction with the salary and food received as a student, insults to the assistants of the school, the kitchen staff and the cashier.¹³ The mentioned case, however, reveals interesting information regarding the status of students in party schools. It seems that they had been taken out of production during the schooling period and the party paid them.

In the case of the 6-months party school, the students came from two regions: Argeş and Vâlcea. The share of female students was 14% of the total number of recruited students. The students had been recruited from among those with worker and peasant origins and in a small proportion from the "officials" category. Archival documents do not indicate the level of schooling, but we can suspect that most had a poor education, also confirmed by the basic professions, the vast majority of them being labourers and farmers. Two-thirds were graduates of party courses and schools. The students recruited held positions of responsibility in the party and mass organizations. They were the section heads from the regional committee, the first secretaries of the district party committees, the secretaries of the district party committees, the members of the party college, the heads of sectors at the regional and district party committees, the activists of the regional and district party committees, the local newspaper editors.

¹² SJAANR, Fond *Comitetul Regional Argeş al Partidului Comunist Român* 1950-1968, dos. 38/1951, f. 44-46.

¹³ SJAANR, Fond *Comitetul Regional Argeş al Partidului Comunist Român* 1950-1968, dos. 38/1951, f. 44-46.

The distribution of the graduates of 3-months and 6-months party schools

Regarding the distribution of the graduates of the 3-months and 6-months party schools a document from the archive of the Argeş Regional Committee¹⁴ shows that after graduating from the party schools a large part of the students were promoted and received positions of responsibility in the party structures controlled by the nomenclature system. The graduates of the 6-months party school - series I/1951-1952 and of 3-months party school - series I and II/1951-1952 from the Argeş Region came from the regional party apparatus (20), from the district Party apparatus (32), from mass organizations (4) and from production (1). At the end of the schools, the graduates were assigned to the party apparatus (56) and mass organizations (1).

Another document from the archive of the Argeş Regional Committee¹⁵ is eloquent for the way in which the students at the party schools assigned after graduation. The document indicates the number of students who attended the 3-months Party school, the jobs they had before entering the school, and the places where they were assigned after graduating from school.

The students came from the Argeş Region and Dolj Region and were part of a series of the 1950-1951 school year. From the Argeş Region, students attended the 3-month party school (41) recruited from the regional party apparatus (7), from the district party apparatus (27), from mass organizations (6) and from production (1). At the end of the school, the graduates were assigned to the party apparatus (39), in mass organizations (1). The only student from production was also assigned to production because, according to the document, he was “drunk, womanly, didn't pay attention to school”. We conclude that, once selected in the party education system, it remained in the power of the student to prove that he deserved being promoted in the party structures. From the Dolj Region, the school was attended by (26) students recruited from: the district party apparatus (20), from mass organizations (1) and from production (5). All the students upon graduation from the school were assigned to the district party apparatus.

The analysis of archival documents provides information about how somebody could be promoted in the party structure controlled by the nomenclature system. For the recruitment of students in the 3-months and 6-months party schools, healthy social origin and belonging to the working class were taken into an account. The selection for the occupation of positions of responsibility imposed by the necessity of graduating from a party school in which the student had demonstrated certain qualities and abilities that mirrored in the results obtained. The 3-months and 6-months party schools intended to train leading cadres from the party, mass organizations and from the economy, and the students came from the regional and district party apparatus, from mass organizations and from production. These

¹⁴ SJAANR, Fond *Comitetul Regional Argeş al Partidului Comunist Român* 1950-1968, dos. 38/1951, f. 48.

¹⁵ SJAANR, Fond *Comitetul Regional Argeş al Partidului Comunist Român* 1950-1968, dos. 38/1951, f. 39.

schools were actual nurseries of management cadres at a regional and a district level, which were included in the nomenclature.

Training of the management teams from the 3-months and the 6-months party schools

The investigation of some documents from the archive of the Vâlcea County Party Committee offers us interesting information about the composition and the level of training and improvement of the cadres of the management teams of the 3-months and 6-months party schools, which operated in Pitești, Râmnicu Vâlcea and Câmpulung-Mușcel in the early 1950s. In addition, the documents from the archive of the Argeș Regional Party Committee provide us information about the students, the content of the education and the distribution of the graduates of these party schools during the first decade of the proletarian dictatorship.

In 1950, the party estimated that the quality of party education was still at a low level, and the ideological and theoretical training of teachers, seminar leaders and especially propagandists was unsatisfactory.¹⁶ As the 3-months and the 6-months party schools were considered higher-level schools of the local ideological education,¹⁷ the archive documents of the Vâlcea Regional Party Committee indicate an intense concern of the party's central bodies for the training and improvement of the cadres who served the party schools.

A telegram¹⁸ from 1951 addressed to the regional party committees by the Central Committee mentioned the establishment attached to the “Ștefan Gheorghiu” University of the training course for cadres who served the party school. The training course had a duration of two and a half months, and the aim was to complete the collectives of the existing party schools or the collectives of the new party schools opened in the region where they came from.

Because “deficiencies” had been found during the selection of students in the first series, in the same telegram, it was required that those proposed meet the following conditions: preferably they should be workers, have a verified political background, be over 25 years, have experience of party work, have skills for party education and a high political level, and be healthy. We are witnessing a tightening of the selection of cadres who were to work in party schools. The proposals made by the bureau of the regional party committees, after a careful check by the Cadres Section, were approved by the Governing Bodies of the Party, the Trade Unions, and the Union of Working Youth Section, and the Cadres Records Sector of the Central Committee.

¹⁶ *Rezoluții și hotărâri ale Comitetului Central al Partidului Muncitoresc Român (1948-1950)*, vol I, 258.

¹⁷ Bogdan Ivașcu, „Tipuri de școli de cadre în învățământul de partid din anii '50 la nivel local în Transilvania”, în *Învățământul de partid și școlile de cadre în România comunistă. Context național și regional*, ed. Sorin Radu (Iași: Editura Universității Al. I. Cuza, 2014), 98.

¹⁸ SJVANR, Fond *Partidul Comunist Român – Comitetul Județean Vâlcea 1944-1987*, dos. 11/1951, f. 10.

An important landmark in the evolution of the improvement of leaders and teachers at party schools at the local level is the Decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of Romanian Workers' Party regarding the transformation of the School of Lecturers "A. A. Zhdanov" in a Higher School of Social Sciences lasting 2 years, on July 1949. The document established that the ancient School of Lecturers "A. A. Jdanov" with a duration of 6 months was to be transformed in the Higher School of Social Sciences "A. A. Zhdanov" with a duration of 2 years, which operated with two sections: propaganda and press. The students had been recruited from among party activists with ideological and cultural training, preferably graduates of party schools.¹⁹

From a telegram of the Central Committee from October 1951,²⁰ addressed to the regional committees, it appears that, in 1951, attached to the Higher School of Social Sciences "A. A. Zhdanov" a correspondence course was organized for the leaders and teachers at party schools. In order to raise the political and ideological level of the collectives of the party schools, according to the model of the Higher School of Social Sciences "A.A. Jdanov", a correspondence course was also organized at the "Ștefan Gheorghiu" Party Higher School. The 3-years course was equivalent to the 2-years course of the "Ștefan Gheorghiu" Higher Party School and aimed at those who worked in the 3-months, 6-months and one-year party schools, and which preferably graduated the 6-months central party schools, the 6-months regional schools and evening party universities. Those who wanted to take the course by correspondence registered at the Governing Bodies of the Party, the Trade Unions and the Union of Working Youth Section of the regional committee. A central commission that travelled around the territory examined the proposals. In order to prepare for the exam, the students were to receive a 3 weeks leave. For study, the students received the transcripts of the lessons held at the "Ștefan Gheorghiu" Higher Party School, the necessary bibliographic references, individual consultations organized by correspondence, and written instructions given in connection with the individual study. The party organizations had to ensure that they could fulfil their educational obligations and meet the deadlines in order to attend colloquiums and exams.

In the 1952-1953 school year, one 6-months party school operated in Pitești Region and further three 3-months party schools operated in Pitești, Râmnicu Vâlcea and Câmpulung-Muşcel districts. The documents from the archives of the Argeș Regional Committee²¹ provide us with solid data regarding the cadres from the management collectives of the 3-months and 6-months party schools that operated in the Pitești Region in the 1952-1953 school year. The data refer to social

¹⁹ *Rezoluții și hotărâri ale Comitetului Central al Partidului Muncitoresc Român (1948-1950)*, vol I, 124-125.

²⁰ SJVANR, Fond *Partidul Comunist Român – Comitetul Județean Vâlcea 1944-1987*, dos. 11/1951, f. 69.

²¹ SJAANR, Fond *Comitetul Regional Argeș al Partidului Comunist Român 1950-1968*, dos. 30/1954, f. 22-23.

origin, basic profession, seniority in production, and entry into the party, courses and party schools attended, material condition, period of internship as party activists and the last workplace.

The director, the director of studies and eight assistants formed the management staff of the 6-months party school that operated in Pitești Region. In equal proportion, they were of working-class and poor peasant origin. They were members of the party from 1945-1946, which in 1952 means a seniority in the party of 6-7 years, with internship as party activists between 1 and 3 years in similar positions to those held in 1952. The basic professions of the ten cadres that made up the school's management team, as it appears from the archive document,²² were heterogeneous: mechanical electrician (1), mechanical locksmith (2), helper (1), blacksmith (1), baker (1), tailor (1), carpenter (1), mechanical adjuster (1), unskilled labourer (1). If we take as a reference the occupation they held in 1952, we could say that entering the party was the chance to promote to positions to which they would normally not have had access, if we consider the basic profession and the level of training. Instead, they enjoyed adequate political and ideological training, being graduates of higher party schools, and some of them had attended advanced training courses. The director of the school had graduated from a 6-months party school in 1951 and attended a 6-months training course at the "Ștefan Gheorghiu" Party University in 1952. He promoted from the position of director of the 1-month party school with the secretaries of the basic organizations in that of director of the 6-months party school, a fact that ensured his entry into the nomenclature of the regional committee.

The director of studies graduated from the Central School of Lecturers "A. A. Jdanov" with a duration of 6-months, and the assistants of the school were graduates of the 6-months party schools or the one-year course of the "Ștefan Gheorghiu" Party University. One of the school's assistants had attended the 3-months training course at the "Ștefan Gheorghiu" Party University.

The director of the 3-months party school in Pitești, according to the same archive document, had a working-class social origin, was a locomotive engineer by profession, with 16 years of experience in production, a party member since 1946 and a party activist since 1950. He had been promoted from the position of assistant to the position of director at the same Party school, probably after graduating from the 6-months training course at the "Ștefan Gheorghiu" Party University. The school assistants were of poor peasant origin, and the heterogeneous basic professions had nothing in common with the occupations: unskilled labourer (1), tailor (2), mechanic driver (1), typographer (1), with years in production between 5 and 10 years. They were party members from 1946-1947, with stints as party activists between 0 and 3 years. Fresh party activists, three graduates of the 3-months party school in Pitești promoted upon completion of the courses to the

²² SJAANR, Fond *Comitetul Regional Argeș al Partidului Comunist Român* 1950-1968, dos. 30/1954, f. 22-23.

position of assistant within the same school. Another assistant was a graduate of the 3-months training course at the “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Party University, and another graduate of the 6-months party school in Pitesti Region. The last of them had a working-class background, being an unqualified worker, and a party member since 1947, with a 3-year stint as a party activist. He demoted from the post of director of 3-months party school to that of an assistant of the same school.

At the 3-months party school in Râmnicu Vâlcea district, we find six cadres in the management team: a director and five assistants. The director of the school had a working-class background; he was a carpenter by trade, with 12 years of experience in production, a party member since 1946, a party activist since 1947, his last responsible job being director of studies at the 6-months party school in Vâlcea Region. He graduated from the 3-months party school and attended the 3-months advanced training course at the “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Party University. The school assistants were of poor peasant origin, of various professions: smelter (1), mosaic maker (1), tanner (1), qualified shoemaker (1) and blacksmith (1). They had a seniority in production between 14 and 7 years. They were members of the party from the period 1945-1946, and they had internships as party activists for 2 years. Beyond that, they had different responsibilities: assistant at the 6-months party school for in Vâlcea Region (2), activist at the Verifications Sector (1), member in the collective of the Agitation Sector (1) and activist in the Governing Bodies of the Party Section. Furthermore, they were graduates of the 6-months Party school (3), the 3-months party school (1) and the “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Party University (1). One had attended the 6-months advanced training course at the “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Party University.

From the same archive document, we learn that the 3-months party school in Câmpulung-Mușcel district operated with eight management personnel: a director and seven assistants. The school director, a baker by profession, had 11 years of experience in production, was a Party member since 1946, and had a 3-years stint as a party activist, with his last responsible job as a director of 3-months party school. With a poor peasant social origin, he had graduated from the 6-months party school. The school assistants were from various professions: mine mechanic (1), carpenter (1), unskilled worker (1), mining worker (3), distiller (1) with production experience between 5 and 20 years. They had a sound social origin: worker (1) and poor peasant (6), they were members of the party from 1945-1947 and had internships as party activists between 0 and 3 years. In addition, they had different responsibilities: school assistant for 3-months (1), head of the Training and Improvement Sector (1), director of party cabinet (1), secretary of the basic organization (1), and instructor of district (3). Furthermore, they were graduates of 6-months (2) or 3-months (5) party schools.

Conclusion

Analysed in detail, these archival data lead to a series of conclusions regarding the level of training and improvement of cadres from higher-level party schools of local ideological education in the first decade of proletarian dictatorship, but also

the mechanism of promotion in positions of responsibility in such a bureaucratic structure. Of poor worker and peasant origin, they recruited exclusively from among the party members. Regarding the timing of the cadres' entry into the party, without exception they joined the party after 1945, which leaves room for speculation as to the reasons for membership after the party came to power. The majority social belonging to the working class confirms the role that the party entrusts this class. Schooled in the same types of schools of the local higher ideological education, some were also graduates of the advanced training courses of the "Ștefan Gheorghiu" Party University. Although the chain of promotion in positions of responsibility is represented by recruitment from among lower-ranking party activists, it is observed that some cadres who did not have seniority as activists in the party, had been assigned and promoted to positions of responsibility immediately after having finished the party school. This confirms that in the first decade of the proletarian dictatorship the party lacked politically and ideologically trained cadres.