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### Striking with tied hands: Strategies of labor interest representation in post-communist Romania and Ukraine

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## Appendix of Interview Respondents, Romania and Ukraine, September 2007 – July 2009

List of interviews carried out and the form of citation.

### Romania

No.	Unit/Town (initial)	Position	Name	Form of citation	Observations
1	COS Targoviste (T)	Union leader	Mihai Toma	T1 2008a (April 2008) T1 2008b (September 2008) T1 2009	History of management-union relations; strategy
2	COS Targoviste (T)	Union vice-leader	Nicolae Badea	T2 2008a (January 2008) T2 2008b (September 2008)	History of management-union relations; strategy
3	COS Targoviste (T)	Union vice-leader	Aurica Vlasceanu	T3 2008a (January 2008) T3 2008b (September 2008)	History of management-union relations; strategy
4	COS Targoviste (T)	Shop steward (OE2)	Sorin Dumbrava	T4 2008 (January 2008)	Explosion at the electrical oven shop; criticizes management for low pay
5	COS Targoviste (T)	Shop steward (LDS)	Sorin Anghelescu	T5 2008 (September 2008)	Pushes for a strike and for higher demands; criticizes line managers for corruption/incompetence
6	COS Targoviste (T)	Worker	Dan	T6 2008 (April 2008)	Criticizes union; supports strikes; undermines management's attempts to fool inspections
7	Targoviste Townhall (T)	Driver	Withheld	T7 January 2008	Talks about rumors in town about imminent Mechel layoffs (Jan. 10)
8	Targoviste Townhall (T)	Consultant	Withheld	T8 January 2008	Talks about the connections between Social-Democrats and Mechel

9	Metarom (Cartel Alfa) – Bucharest (B)	General secretary (former COS union leader)	Nicolae Coman	B12007 (November 2007) B1 2008a (January 2008) B1 2008b (April 2008) B1 2008c (September 2008) B1 2009	History of management-union relations; strategy at COS and at many other Metarom unions; failure of 2008 branch-level talks (Sept. 2008) 2009 – complains about COS current leaders being too uncompromising
10	Cartel Alfa President, Bucharest	Union president	Bogdan Hossu	B2 2009	Extensive information about the establishment of Cartel Alfa; CSR and OR contention episodes
11	Cartel Alfa) – Bucharest (B)	Cartel vice president; former Siderurgistul, involved in Reșița	Petru Dandea	B2 2008	CSR and OR comparison; what is success for Cartel Alfa
12	Metarom (Cartel Alfa) – Bucharest (B)	Vice-president, former Petrotub union leader	Marius Cornenco	B4 2007	Tepro Iasi threats of blowing up the plant, secret services involvement, the story of Petrotub in Roman
13	Solidaritatea Metal (Cartel Alfa) – Bucharest (B)	Cartel Vice-president	Liviu Apostoiu	B5 2007 B5 2009	Establishment of Cartel union in Campina in 1990
14	Cartel Alfa) – Bucharest (B)	Cartel Vice-president, miners' unions	Romulus Nita	B6 2009	Establishment of Cartel unions among miners, relations to the League of Jiu Valley Miners

15	Siderurgica Hunedoara (H)	Union leader	Petru Vaidos	H1 2007 H1 2008 H1 2009	History of management-union relations; strategy; calls Targoviste union leaders too uncompromising; complains about discriminatory prioritization of Western over Eastern union interest in ArcelorMittal EWC
16	Siderurgica Hunedoara (H)	Union vice-leader	Mircea Bodrean	H2 2007	Conflicts with the BNS-union; thinking in terms of economic rationale when asking for a wage raise
17	Siderurgica Hunedoara (H)	Union vice-leader	Dorin Redinciuc	H3 2007	Threatening the government; crime at the plant
18	Siderurgica Hunedoara (H)	Worker; union founding member	Florin Antochi	H4 2007	How they established the union in 1990; influence of Western unions and more “advanced” Romanian oil industry unions
19	Cartel Alfa Hunedoara (H)	Former Calan union leader, now runs a union re-training center	Vasile Bujor	H5 2007	How union <i>Siderurgistul</i> set up a workforce re-training center and with what results
20	Siderurgica Hunedoara (H)	Former worker, now cab driver	Withheld	H6 2007	Thinks that the old union is corrupt; supports the BNS splinter-group
21	Siderurgica Hunedoara (H)	Solidaritatea (BNS) union leader	Marin Mititelu	H7 2007	Accuses the old union of working together with management; claims that management wants to asset-strip the plant
22	Roman SA Brasov (BV)	Metal union leader	Fanica Gabor	Bv1 2007 Bv1 2008	Trade union strategy and connections; influence in privatization
23	Roman SA Brasov (BV)	Mgmt (Head of Administration Council)	Gigi Fulga	Bv2 2007	Production at the plant going to US military; union-management relations

24	Tractorul Brasov (Bv)	Union leader (ally of Metal)	Laszlo Toader	Bv3 2007	Fighting off privatization attempt to Roman owner; "reign of terror"-story about Roman; first to mention the June 2007 incident as union-owner exchange; dire working conditions
25	Roman SA Brasov (BV)	Former leader of Communist Youth Union (until 1987)	Nicolae Buzdugan	Bv4 2008	Criminal world in and around Roman; union-owner relations; says plant sells 1,000 trucks/year maximum; Pesaka used to fool unions
26	Roman SA Brasov (BV), labor control	Director	Florin Costin	Bv5 2008	Owner pressed by competition to sign a collective agreement; questions owner intentions for the plant; says plant sells no more than 100 trucks/year; claims June 2007 incident was genuinely worker-led; Pesaka used to fool EU and IMF; no privatization without the union; union leaders lack accountability to members
27	Roman SA Brasov (BV)	Worker, union member	Miss C.	Bv6 2008	Reign-of-terror story; collective-agreement fee; system of unmotivated "sanctions"
28	Roman SA Brasov (BV)	Worker, union member	Vasile	Bv7 2008	Importance of unions at the plant only rose in the eyes of the employer after the June 2007 incident; workers coerced to take part in June 2007; production standards are falling; union democracy is inexistent (stewards are no longer elected)

29	Roman SA Brasov (BV)	Foreman, former union member (when still a worker)	Mihai	Bv8 2008	Wages and working conditions at Roman as compared to other plants; symbolic role of unions: there for “legal” reasons, to give the employer legitimacy; people did not sign up again as union members after privatization
30	Roman SA Brasov (BV)	Worker, union member	Pif	Bv9 2008	Positive about the union; retired; story of how management got rid of stewards
31	Resita Steel Plant (R)	Trade union leader	Iancu Muhu	R1 2007	History of the management-union conflict; strategy
32	Resita Steel Plant (R)	Union vice-leader	Iosif Ciuciuc	R2 2007	Hunger strikes; NV trying to set up a parallel union at Resita
33	Resita Steel Plant (R)	Cartel regional officer	Marius Apostol	R3 2007	Union strategy against Noble Ventures and government; Resita-Otelu Rosu comparison
34	Resita Steel Plant (R)	Former trade union leader	Matei Mircioane	R4 2007	Definition of situation at CSR; parallel union
35	Radio Resita	Radio station director	Doru Dinu Glavan	R5 2007	NV supporter, helped out the investors with logistics when workers took over the plant
36	Sicomet Otelu Rosu (OR)	Trade union leader	Arthur Cerna	OR1 2007	History of privatization, management-union relations
37	Sicomet Otelu Rosu (OR)	Worker	Victor Sabau	OR2 2007	Current working conditions and worker representation
38	Sicomet Otelu Rosu (OR)	Worker	Serafim	OR3 2007	Current working conditions and worker representation

Ukraine

No.	Unit/Town (initial)	Position (initials)	Name	Form of reference	Observations
1	ZAZ in Zaporizhia (Z)	Trade union leader	Nikolai Palyenko	Z1 2007	Union-management relations
2	ZAZ in Zaporizhia (Z)	ASMU regional leader	Nikolai Starygin	Z2 2007 Z2 2008	The ZAZ union's scarce accomplishments
3	ZAZ in Zaporizhia (Z)	Trade union vice-leader	Viktor Sadovoy	Z3 2007 Z3 2008	Union-management relations
4	ZAZ in Zaporizhia (Z)	ASMU regional organizational expert	Aleksandr Ezva	Z4 2007	ZAZ union democratic, regularly consulting members on collective agreement issues
5	ZAZ in Zaporizhia (Z)	Worker	ID withheld	Z5 2007	Political party presence at the plant; union paid by management; shop elections not rigged
6	ZAZ in Zaporizhia (Z)	Worker	ID withheld	Z6 2007	Union achieves little; union disregards worker's opinions
7	ZAZ in Zaporizhia (Z)	Worker	ID withheld	Z7 2007	Union takes only "10-20%" of worker recommendations seriously in ITR <sup>170</sup> sections; in production sections, workers have more influence, as they are "working class"
8	ZAZ in Zaporizhia (Z)	Worker, Rapid-union founder	Aleksandr Popov	Z8 2008	Management theft schemes at ZAZ and attempts to make workers pay for the losses caused by them; the unsatisfactory approach of the ASMU union towards solving the

<sup>170</sup> ITR stands for *Inzhinerno-tehnicheskie robotniki* (in Russian), engineering-technical personnel, a category of employees usually distinguished from production workers.

		and leader			workers demands
9	ZAZ in Zaporizhia (Z)	Worker	Lena	Z9 2008	Angry with the union, speaks “from [a] working class perspective”, interested in the/stays in the union because of the social benefits, but says that young workers are not interested in them; does not expect protection from union; union is part of management
10	ASMU national	Leader	Vasyl’ Dudnyk	A1 2007 A1 2008	Public access to ASMU materials; says that high wages at ZAZ are a merit of the union, something that disconfirmed even the ZAZ union leaders
11	ASMU national	Vice-leader	Vladimir Kharchenko	A2 2008	Data on ASMU’s post-1991 history
12	ASMU national	Former leader	Vladimir Zlenko	A3 2007 A3 2009	The situation of management’s union membership at ZAZ 2009 - crisis year developments in ASMU membership
13	ASMU national	Juridical expert	Dmitro Stepanyuk	A4 2007 A4 2009	Critical of the KrAZ union leader that instead of protecting the union members runs the union in old-fashioned Soviet style, focusing on offering all kinds of services to members – from holiday tickets to membership in the plant’s football club; “horrified” by the way how management got rid of the former union team 2009 - details of the HTZ illegal closure, laying off 5,000 people without the union’s consent
14	KrAZ in Kremenchuk (K)	Trade union leader	Alla Blinova	K1 2007	Past management-union conflicts were personal; current management-union relations
15	KrAZ in Kremenchuk (K)	Worker; union	Lyubov’ Borisovna	K2 2007	Know-how exchange with Western unions (TIE) made her look for legal arguments



		leader			when negotiating with foremen; workers take part in union council meetings only for disciplinary reasons
16	KrAZ in Kremenchuk (K)	Worker; union leader	Sergey Mikhailovich	K3 2007	Satisfied with the wage increases his union is getting (branch minimum); “Our way is to live [at the plant] like in a family”
17	KrAZ in Kremenchuk (K)	Worker	Alla Zinovevna	K4 2008	TIE seminars have taught her that the union needs to work more on disseminating info on what it achieved for the workers, not on being more militant
18	Communist Party Kremenchuk (K)	General secretary ; former KrAZ shop foreman	Vladimir Shapran	K5 2008	Management bought off current KrAZ union leaders; says that union depends on management since it has no own funds or property anymore; workers thus, too, depend on management and not on the union for medical assistance; “management ate former union leaders alive”
19	KrAZ in Kremenchuk (K)	Former trade union leader	Vasil’ Popov	K6 2008	Protests at the end of 2003 and what pushed the union towards representing workers; knew that there would be a backlash; claims that successful unions are those that do not let things go that far as at KrAZ; Elections in 2005: “no team” cause of failure
20	KrAZ in Kremenchuk (K)	Former regional ASMU leader	V. Krivenko	K7 2008	Says that “we felt like winners” and “we knew that in a head-to-head confrontation we would have won”; union leaders’ decision to accept a change in leaders in order to lower the conflict potential; union decided “to sacrifice our chairman [Popov]”; admits that there are costs to such studying-in-depth actions, as workers do not see their workings – and get suspicious
21	KrKZ in Kremenchuk (K)	KrKZ union president	Svetlana Usenko	K8 2007	Peculiarities of the KrKZ privatization, with no shareholder reaching majority; reasons for having managers that hold trade union

					membership (they can be summoned)
22	HK in Kherson (H)	Union leader	Sergey Rusnak	H1 2007 H1 2008	History of management-union relations; strategy; deems connections to have been crucial in solving the workers problems; why in Kherson foremen are not union members
23	HK in Kherson (H)	Union vice-leader	Leonid Polishuk	H2 2007 H2 2008	History of management-union relations; strategy; deems connections to have been crucial in solving the workers problems
24	HK in Kherson (H)	Worker, shop steward	Vladimir Golub	H3 2007 H3 2008	One of the radicals; the story of worker mobilization at the plant; wants a “workers’ union” (i.e. not one dominated by ITR staff); criticizes union leader for being too conciliatory, i.e. a “kabinetchik”; crises of wage arrears makes mobilizing easy: “you don’t have to do a lot of explaining”
25	HK in Kherson (H)	Regional ASMU leader	Alexander Kolos	H4 2008	Deems protests to have been crucial in solving the workers problems
26	HK in Kherson (H)	Worker, shop steward	Leonid Nemchionok	H5 2008	One of the radicals; claims that union leaders work together with management to put radicals like him under pressure; stories about worker rights violations and low labor representation; people leave the union and the plant; compromises discredit the workers’ movement – “people stop believing in the union”
27	HK in Kherson (H)	ITR, shop steward	Tatyana Boga	H6 2007 H6 2009	Protests layoffs, call them a humiliation
28	HK in Kherson (H)	Worker shop steward	Tamara	H7 2009	Radical worker and organizer of the occupation, pickets, road-blocks; reminded workers during picket I attended of Timoshenko’s famous “Ne dai Bog!”
29	HK in Kherson	Worker	Igor’	H8 2009	Not a union member; participated in all

	(H)				protests
30	HK in Kherson (H)	Communist activist	Vadim	H9 2009	Heavily involved in guiding the roadblock on July 2, 2009; vows to support HK/HMZ workers until the bitter end
31	HK in Kherson (H)	ITR	Isaakov	H10 2009	Representative of the laid-off HK workers, fights for return of wage arrears, nationalization of dormitories, gives details about union involvement in 1990s privatization
32	HK in Kherson (H)	Worker; radical group	Grisha	H11 2009	Motivates not using any banners during roadblocks as a sign of workers not being linked to any political forces
33	HK in Kherson (H)	Worker; radical group	Lenochka	H12 2009	Worker still working at HMZ, gives details about employment conditions at the plant
34	HK in Kherson (H)	Former HK worker;	Igor' Cheripakha	H13 2009	Protest organizer although not working anymore at HK; activist of a far-left Stalinist splintergroup of the Communist Party of Ukraine
35	HK in Kherson (H)	Worker	Yura	H14 2009	Author of December 2007 pamphlet, disillusioned occupation participant
36	TKZ in Ternopil' (Te)	Trade union leader	Volodimir Solilyuk	Te1 2007 Te1 2008	History of management-union relations; strategy; no collective agreement at the plant in 2008
37	TKZ in Ternopil' (Te)	Trade union vice- leader	Miron Terletzki	Te2 2007	Thinks that management is interested in production; wonders whether it is fair that one shop feeds the entire plant
38	TKZ in Ternopil' (Te)	General manager	Volodimir Tkachuk	Te3 2007	Intends to fire more people
39	TKZ in Ternopil' (Te)	Local FPU head	Andrei Prisyazhnii	Te4 2007 Te4 2008	History of management-union relations; story of mobilizing local and national-level politicians in support of the TKZ workers; intricacies of the dormitory problem; details on the failed strike; current owner strategy

					of making people leave by worsening work conditions; the union's biggest problem: lack of unity
40	TKZ in Ternopil' (Te)	Local FPU work conflict expert	Mikhailo Marchiuk	Te5 2007	Time-line of the TKZ conflict
41	TKZ in Ternopil' (Te)	ITR worker	Zenovia Bondar	Te6 2007	Participated in conflicts as a member of a workers' initiative group; most actions were spontaneous worker unrest and union did not coordinate them; story of how workers convinced prosecutors to interfere; knew of the UAM-Our Ukraine link; current owner strategy of making people leave by worsening work conditions
42	TKZ in Ternopil' (Te)	ITR worker	Vera Kostyshin	Te7 2007	Participated in conflicts as a member of a workers' initiative group
43	TKZ in Ternopil' (Te)	ITR worker	Anja Feodorovna	Te8 2007	Participated in conflicts as a member of a workers' initiative group
44	TKZ in Ternopil' (Te)	Worker	Leonid Makhnach	Te9 2007	Claims that the union does not protect members from being fired and signs management layoff requests
45	TKZ in Ternopil' (Te)	Engineer	Vasil' Shul'hai	Te10 2007	Participated in conflicts as a member of a workers' initiative group; fired from the plant for being one of the strike initiators; tells the story of how elections are rigged at the plant; current owner strategy of making people leave by worsening work conditions
46	VPZ in Vinnitsa (V)	Union leader	Petro Tyutyunov	V1 2007 V12008	History of management-union relations; strategy
47	VPZ in Vinnitsa (V)	ASMU regional leader	Mikola Mikolov	V2 2007 V2 2008 V2 2009	History of management-union relations; strategy; discussion on crisis decimating ASMU; union organizing at greenfield sites in the

					L'viv region
48	VPZ in Vinnitsa (V)	Shop steward	Aleksandr Zel	V3 2007	Owner intentions and how workers support the idea that the owner is not interested in production
49	VPZ in Vinnitsa (V)	Political Science professor, trained VPZ union	David Mandel	V4 2008	On the very few ASMU efforts to mobilize other plants' workers in support of their colleagues at VPZ
50	ZEA in Sutisky (S)	Former union leader	Sergey Mishkin	S1 2008	Owner-union relations.
51	All-Ukrainian Union of Workers (VSR), Kyiv	VSR president	Bondarchyuk	Ky1 2009	Accused HMZ workers of being too uncompromising vis-à-vis plant owner and to not support his lobby-efforts
52	European Trade Union Confederation	Officer	Identity withheld	ETUC 1 2008	Written correspondence; when confronted with request to express solidarity with beleaguered VPZ workers, explained that the ETUC cannot bypass official trade union hierarchies and will express solidarity only if contacted by the FPU, and not by its plant-level organizations