

*Perspective, opinion and commentary*

# Destiny during repression. Case study: Nicolae Rădulescu

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**Abstract:** The article discusses the case of the student Nicolae Rădulescu, one of the five young people who were included in the Burning Bush (Rugul Aprins) group and arrested in 1958 and seeks to reconstruct the facts by gathering the data from the documents of the former Secret Police and the testimony of the victim, the only current survivor of the group. The reading of the interrogation minutes and the numerous informative notes that can be found in the files drawn up in his name from the Informative and Criminal Fund, constitutes, from a witness' perspective, eloquent evidence of the tragedy of the situation, of the mystification and distortion of reality, of the fabrication of a profile in line with the purposes of the Secret Police. Thus, the analysis of the documents in the CNSAS Archive related to the arrest, investigation and trial provides an idea of the specific mechanisms of an oppressive regime in its struggle to annihilate any form of opposition or resistance. The efforts of student Nicolae Rădulescu to preserve dignity will inevitably bring to our attention the concept of the value of the human being in the context of a totalitarian regime. Another direction of the present article is the pursuit of the legitimacy of the fight waged by Nicolae Rădulescu in the name of preserving the Christian identity in a state that guaranteed religious freedom through the Constitution.

**Keywords:** "Teodorescu Alex. and others" Lot; The Burning Bush; Father Daniil Sandu Tudor; Totalitarian communist regime, Nicolae Rădulescu;

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## THE UNHEALTHY ORIGINS OF THE STUDENT NICOLAE RĂDULESCU

### INTRODUCTION

If many volumes, studies, and articles (Ciornea, 2015; Ciornea, 2020; Ciornea, 2021; Ciornea, Oprea and Bordașiu, 2018) have been written about the Burning Bush (*Rugul Aprins*) spiritual movement, about the five young people who were included in the "*Teodorescu Alex. and others*" (also known as the Burning Bush group) research efforts were limited from a numerical perspective (Mitric-Ciupe, 2013; Mitric-Ciupe, 2016, Diaconescu 2014). To understand what the reasons of the Secret Police were when they constituted this lot in 1958, it is necessary to understand the context. Since 1958 the fight for the submission of the Romanian Orthodox Church began, laying the foundation for Decree 410 from 1959, resulting in the closure of many monasteries, this being, in fact, the year in which the communist regime's atheist offensive reached paroxysmal heights.

An eloquent proof is the throwing behind bars of eight of the monks and priests linked to the Burning Bush, under the pretext of some of the most fanciful accusations, fabricated by the imagination of the Secret Police, determined to protect society from the disease of mysticism. The danger was represented by Father Daniil Sandu Tudor (in the documents he was Alexandru Teodorescu, hence the name of the lot given by the Secret Police) as he managed to animate laymen intellectuals and clerics by credibly pleading (hence the popularity) for another doctrine than the accepted one (i.e. communist ideology).

Why were young people also arrested in this lot? Why was Nicolae Rădulescu included among them? Under what conditions did our subject's arrest, investigation and trial take place? What were the charges? What were the answers that Nicolae Rădulescu found then but also, later, decades away? These are the questions the article sets out to answer based on the research of unpublished documents from the Archive of The National Council for the Study of Secret Police (C.N.S.A.S.), information circumspcctly analysed as to overcome the danger of slipping into the logic of Secret Police. In fact, the confrontation of the data provided through the research of the Archives of the former Secret Police with the testimony given by Nicolae Rădulescu in his interviews had the same purpose: to reconstruct in the light of intellectual honesty this stage of the development of our subject.

In the case of the student Nicolae Rădulescu, the unhealthy social origin was justified by the label of petty bourgeois, petty kulak, on the paternal line, that the Secret Police documents highlighting his father's activity into the category of an exploitative merchant.

According to his own testimony, the young man was in a conscious search for moral-intellectual benchmarks, ever since high school (Ciornea, 2015, pg. 26-30), when, automatically accepted into Communist Youth Union (U.T.C.)<sup>i</sup>, he was disgusted by the contortions that society had suffered after the establishment of totalitarianism regime "*The atmosphere in the school was miserable. We were during the Stalinist period. Endless meetings, with standing chants and clapping: "Glory to Stalin!", every time one of them woke up shouting: "Long live Comrade Iosif Vissarionovich Stalin!". Russian language, political education, double meanings, zealous activists, terror as the order of the day, disoriented teachers, others too well oriented, led me, when the opportunity presented itself, to abandon day classes and finish my education as distance learning. After three years of high school, I was employed as a draftsman at an engineering institute. I gave my baccalaureate together with my former colleagues. During high school I felt, more than ever, the lack of a mentor*" (Ciornea, 2015, pg. 29).

The education reform of 1948, the so-called democratization, had catastrophic consequences, as implied by the testimony above. Sacrificing quality in the name of quantity, with the stated aim of eradicating illiteracy, proved to be a farce. The purges from secondary and university education, the persecutions, discriminations, and even savage repressions to which the cultural and scientific elites were subjected, caused a real cultural genocide. No wonder the desolation experienced by high school student Nicolae Rădulescu on the school benches, his urgent need for moral guidelines.

Returning to the problem of improper social origin, the kulaks (even the less well-off kulaks) were considered hostile elements and therefore, based on this simple biographical detail, they suffered a whole series of prejudices: social exclusion, professional marginalization and even the initiation of an investigation.

It should also be noted that the status of the students, after the revolution in Hungary in 1956, was a special one, considering they were regarded with reservations by the communists from the beginning. Moreover, the students had been one of the

important targets of the communist repression in the years 1945-1946, numerous anti-communist demonstrations having them in the front lines.

### THE AREST

The arrest of Nicolae Rădulescu had been, to some extent, anticipated by several previous events. First, the arrest of his colleague, George Văsii, which had taken place right before his eyes, the two of them being together at the Moldovița Monastery where they were working on the survey of the exterior painting of the place of worship. Returning to Bucharest, Nicolae Rădulescu found out that another student from the Faculty of Architecture had been arrested, whose name was also...Rădulescu. As a simple coincidence was out of the question, especially since he had witnessed the arrest of George Văsii and the arrested colleague was not part of their group, the student immediately understood that only the name confusion was the cause of him not already being thrown behind bars<sup>ii</sup> (C.N.S.A.S., file no. 211015, vol. 3, f. 12). In fact, the colleague a year younger from Architecture, who had the same name, more precisely, Rădulescu Gabriel, was released in a short time, as soon as the Secret Police clarified that he had nothing to do with the Burning Bush group (C.N.S.A.S., file no. 211015, vol. 3, f. 12). It was clear they had arrested the wrong man. It is true that the Secret Police was looking for wrongdoings even for those arrested by mistake, as should they find something, once a person was arrested, they would stay. This time, however, fortunately, the name confusion had no repercussions. Most likely, the error was identified fast, especially since it was enough to consider the age criterion and the glaring mistake became obvious.

After the arrest of George Văsii, Nicolae Rădulescu had gone to the city of Roman for a month-long military service. His arrest took place on July 29, 1958, the last day in the army, before receiving the rank of second lieutenant in the reserve and participating in the festive meal: *"In military clothes, under guard, by train, I arrived in Bucharest at night. At the North Railway Station, a car was waiting for us, I, with my head resting on my knees, so as not to see where it was taking me, arrived at a military police headquarters. In the morning, the people from the Secret Police from Uranus Street came and took me. I don't remember what was going through my mind and what I felt, I think I was resigned as a voiceless lamb before his shearer"* (Ciornea, 2015, pg. 33-34).

### THE INVESTIGATION

The testimony of Mr. Nicolae Rădulescu regarding the way in which the investigation was conducted shows a similar same route. Forced to declare the hostile activity he carried out against the State, he, obviously, being convinced that he had done nothing in this direction, will refuse to sign such a report. As his arrest took place a month and a half apart from George Văsii and Șerban Mironescu, enough time for the investigators to obtain, through violence, formal statements in accordance with the purposes of the Secret Police, he was also subjected to confrontation<sup>iii</sup> (C.N.S.A.S., file no. 000202, vol. 2, ff. 322-344; Ciornea, 2015, pg. 61-98): *"Confronted with Șerban Mironescu, who, as a result of the ill treatment applied by the investigators, had admitted that I had listened to foreign radio stations and that I had commented favourably on the events in Hungary, since the fall of 1956, I understood that my fate was sealed. Throughout the confrontation they forbade us to look at each other and to speak to each other. The truth was that I had not listened to foreign radio stations, but I had viewed the Hungarian Revolution with sympathy. What else was there to say in this situation? Two more Secret Police people were present along the investigator, one with his sleeves rolled up "to make an impression". The threat of a beating was always present and once he even slapped me when I didn't want to sign an investigation report. The investigator asked questions about facts that could not be considered subversive to which I naturally answered, because I did not consider that there was anything to hide. At the end, when I read the minutes, I was, at least during the first interrogations, dismayed. It was something else, everything took on the determinants of a deformed ideology where truth, naturalness, friendship, faith became "conspired crimes against the popular democratic regime of the R.P.R"<sup>iv</sup>. [the Romanian People's Republic]"* (C.N.S.A.S., file no. 000202, vol. 2, f. 483).

Of the two people who were with him in the cell, one benefited from a special regime: he had the right to lie in bed all day and receive cigarettes, even though he was a non-smoker, enough to raise suspicions even of the novice Nicolae Rădulescu, all the more so as the other man was savagely beaten, being brought back from the investigation "more dead than alive" (Ciornea, 2015, pg. 38).

### THE CONVICTION

The archived document Conclusions of accusation from September 26, 1958, from pages 483-484 of

volume 2 of File no. 000202, Criminal fund, lot "Teodorescu Alexandru and others" (C.N.S.A.S, file no. 0002002) is a sample of the sterile language in which the obsessive repetitions of template forms encode the communist doctrine: *"Rădulescu Nicolae, was arrested on July 29, 1958, based on the arrest warrant No. 22/R/1958. The aforementioned, as the son of a merchant, came into contact since 1956, when he was a third-year student at the Institute of Architecture, with the aforementioned Văsii Gheorghe, also the son of a merchant, who, in turn, put him in touch with the monk Teodorescu Alexandru and they go together to the Rarău hermitage in August 1956. During the 10 days they stayed there, where both Mironescu Șerban and Mihăilescu Emanoil were also present, they were spoken to by Teodorescu Alexandru [sic! - note C.C.] in a hostile way to the democratic-people's regime in the P.R.R. [the Romanian People's Republic], in the sense that this regime would lack freedoms. Also, during the discussions, Teodorescu Alexandru interpreted various issues of a mystical nature in a hostile manner, proposing that they meet and continue such discussions even after they return to Bucharest. Thus, once back in Bucharest, Rădulescu Nicolae reconnects with Văsii Gheorghe, Mironescu Șerban and Mihăilescu Emanoil, meeting in an organized manner at the home of Văsii Gheorghe, where he continues to discuss problems of a hostile nature to the democratic-popular regime in the P.R.R. In the fall of 1956, they commented on the events in P.R. Hungary, praising the criminal actions committed by the counter-revolutionary elements, these discussions taking place during the meetings they had at Văsii Gheorghe's home. From December 1956 and until March 1957, they held several subversive meetings with the legionnaire Ghiuș Benedict at his home, where the following participated: Văsii Gh., Mironescu Șerban and Mihăilescu Emanoil, where they also held discussions hostile to the democratic-popular regime in the P.R.R., commenting unfavorably on the news broadcast by imperialist radio stations. Rădulescu Nicolae attended several meetings, where Teodorescu Alexandru was present, including the meeting that took place at Mironescu Alexandru's residence, from January 1957, where Teodorescu Alexandru slandered the new intellectuality, which was part of social life and state, urging the students present not to take part in the political activity in the faculty and to keep in touch with each other, in order to continue hostile activity against the democratic-people's regime in the P.R.R. Students took part in that meeting: Văsii Gheorghe, Mironescu Șerban and Mihăilescu Emanoil»* (C.N.S.A.S, file 000202, vol.2, ff. 483-484).

All this rhetoric of the class enemy had extremely precise goals because it allowed the punitive essence of the regime. The basis of action of the political police consisted in identifying and annihilating the enemy, the scum of society, according to the principle *who is not with me is against me*, which all extremist ideologies used (Todorov, 1996, pg. 122). One of the Leninist teachings was that the dictatorship of the proletariat can have a "power unrestricted by any law or regulation and based on the use of force". Therefore, at the basis of the punitive legislation of the democracy of the people in Romania (as, for that matter, in all communist states in Eastern Europe) was Lenin's doctrine, considerably reshuffled by the regime of terror instituted by Stalin for two decades and by the adaptation of the Soviet Penal Code, so that the judicial power is substituted for the class interests of the communist totalitarian regime.

The new provisions of the Penal Code (Codul Penal, 1984) were ideologically enslaved, being dictated by the needs established by the oppressive system. Moreover, many of these legislative changes represented violations of some fundamental principles of law<sup>v</sup>. In fact, the legislation in communist Romania was a simple working tool, used at discretion by the political police, in the name of a so-called "class justice", whose essence corresponded to the open struggle, declared against all categories of opponents of the regime. The Penal Code of the R.P.R. between 1948-1964 it included since Title I, *Crimes and offenses against the state* from Book II, *Crimes and offenses in particular*, the main criminal provisions of a repressive nature<sup>vi</sup> (Penal Code, 1958). In the first two decades of the communist regime, the changes concerned either the extent of certain punishments, or the broadening of the spectrum of crimes, these keeping, broadly speaking, their content.

However, the year 1958 brings a significant change, in the sense of making the laws drastically harsher. There was an exponential increase in the number of accusations/ arrests and, implicitly, in the prosecution possibilities available to the criminal investigation bodies of the Secret Police, by virtue of Decree no. 318/1958. How exactly is this new strategy justified? What had happened? The year 1958 marks the moment of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Romania and the exemplary punishment of class enemies with heavy sentences had its degree of spectacularity. The resumption of the repression campaign by Gheorghiu-Dej at this point represented a demonstration exercise both for the political power in Moscow and for any potential enemy of the regime in the P.R.R [i.e. the Romanian People's Republic].

Researching the documents from the file "Teodorescu Alex. and others" proves the fact that all members of the Burning Bush group, as the Secret Police referred to it in 1958, were included in art. 209., to different paragraphs, adding to this the crime p.p. of art. 193/1 paragraph 1 or 3 in the case of priests Daniil Sandu Tudor, Adrian Făgețeanu and Arsenie Papacioc. However, this article 209, which punished "secretly conspiring against the social order" underwent most changes, the complex of crimes giving the Secret Police investigators the opportunity to throw behind bars all those who represented a potential resistance. This is how the so frequent appeal of the investigators to this article is explained in formulating the incriminating conclusions.

If in 1948, in the first Penal Code of the P.R.M. [Romanian Workers' Party], conspiracy was only considered a misdemeanor, and those who were accused of crimes that fell into the category of crimes of conspiracy against social order received sentences such as correctional prison (a lighter form of detention) and correctional prohibition, for a period that varied depending on the seriousness of the crime. Since 1957, by Decree no. 469, the classification of conspiracy as a misdemeanor was abandoned, it being considered a crime in the new text, and the penalties were substantially increased. More precisely, the initiation, establishment, or participation in the meetings of an association or organization that was suspected of aiming at "changing the existing social order in the state or the democratic form of government" was sanctioned with hard labor from 15 to 25 years and civic degradation for a duration of five to ten years. Propaganda in favor of such an organization or support of any kind granted to its members was punishable, according to paragraph 2, with correctional imprisonment between three and ten years, followed by a correctional ban of three to five years. Moreover, the work of the investigators was made much easier by the fact that the attempt was punished as if the consummated deed.

The efficiency of this powerful weapons against those who vilified, more or less openly, the communist totalitarian regime, is increased again, by Decree no. 318 /1958, when a new paragraph was introduced at this point, by which they were punished with forced labor between five and 25 years, followed by civic degradation for ten years "forms of agitation that had or could have had particularly serious consequences", framing that was found in the indictment conclusions of each member of the Burning Bush group.

In the case of Nicolae Rădulescu, the sentence was "7 (seven) years of hard labor and 6 (six) years of

*civil degradation for the crime of p.p. of art. 209 point 2 letter b. PC [i.e. Penal Code] last paragraph, by changing qualifications according to art. 292 c.j.m. from art. 209 point 1 PC."* At the same time, the total confiscation of personal property and the payment of court costs in the amount of 300 lei were ordered.

On November 11, 1958, like all those convicted in the Burning Bush group, Nicolae Rădulescu appealed (C.N.S.A.S, file 000202, vol. 4, ff. 266-270), stating in his reasoning that "*the punishment is excessively high compared to the gravity of the facts. I note that I never had even the intention of harming the security of the state. The hearing of a foreign radio station was accidental, being in the house of co-defendant Văsii George on the occasion of his change of residence (I helped him move). The discussions we had did not concern the security of the state. The whole political aspect that some of the facts took on was completely unknown to me*" (C.N.S.A.S, file 000202, vol. 4, ff. 271).

The last quoted phrase connotes the tragedy of the situation of the young student who realizes with dismay that the investigators fabricated a political profile for him that had no connection with reality, his closeness to Father Daniil Sandu Tudor being dictated by the need to discover a constructive, spiritual meaning: "*What made me move near the co-defendant Sandu Tudor was a state of disorientation, of morbidity that can be attested by the medical record of the undersigned at the office of the Institute of Architecture where an anxiety neurosis is diagnosed*"<sup>iii</sup> (C.N.S.A.S, file 000202, vol. 5, f. 33). *The approach to Sandu Tudor had a personal, intimate character. I had no political ambitions*" (C.N.S.A.S, file 000202, vol. 4, f. 271v). The ex officio lawyer, Dumitrescu C., pleads for the change of classification, in order to substantially reduce the extent of the punishment, emphasizing the subjective interpretation of art. 209 point 2, letter b, penultimate paragraph, P.C. and the groundlessness of the sentence, all the more so since Nicolae Rădulescu had no conviction and no political activity against the regime had been reported in his past (C.N.S.A.S, file 000202, vol. 5, ff. 35-36).

Predictably, their appeal was rejected on January 21, 1959, by Decision no. 42 (C.N.S.A.S, file 000202, vol. 5, f. 78), about Nicolae Rădulescu being noted the following: "*The defendants Rădulescu Nicolae and Voiculescu Vasile, through a common reason for cancellation, claim that in the case the provisions of art. 209 point 2 last paragraph, penal code since the acts were committed before the appearance of Decree no. 318/1958 and the respective provisions, introduced in the penal code*

by the cited decree, have an innovative character and as a result are not covered by the provisions of art. III of Decree 318/1958 which refers only to the modifying provisions, so that the correct inclusion had to be made in the provisions of art. 209 point 2 letter of the criminal code. (...) Consequently, art. 209 penal code, being amended by Decree no. 318/1958 and being part of art. I of the respective Decree, was applicable to the defendants based on the provisions contained in art. III of this decree, so the reason for appeal is unfounded" (C.N.S.A.S, file 000202, vol. 5, ff. 96-97).

### CONCLUSIONS

Therefore, the moment of the arrest of the Burning Bush group corresponded, as shown above, to specific purposes. With the year 1958, there is a vertiginous harshen quantified in an exponential increase in accusations and, implicitly, in the prosecution possibilities available to the criminal investigation bodies of the Secret Police, which obviously led to the concentration spaces being filled to the brim in our country [i.e. Romania]. All this deployment of forces took place against the background of the recent withdrawal of Soviet troops from Romania, or the repression campaign orchestrated by Gheorghiu-Dej was intended to prove the ability to eliminate any form of threat from the totalitarian communist regime both externally, vis-à-vis political power in Moscow, as well as domestically, for any potential enemy of the regime in the R. P.R. [i.e. the Romanian People's Republic]. In our case, the scenario of the Secret Police is easy to reconstruct: the senior legionnaires in the monasteries tried, under the pretext of transmitting Christian teachings, to form new legionary cadres to attack the regime at the right moment. This is why young people were also arrested in this lot. The need of the student Nicolae Rădulescu to find answers to his fundamental existential questions based on the Orthodox faith, to attend the services and to look for clergymen to guide him in these spiritual searches were interpreted by the Secret Police as forms of subversive activities, and the class enemy received a seven-year prison sentence. And in his case, as in the other 15 cases, the scenario was not supported by eloquent evidence, but it will lead to the accusation and conviction of all 16 people whom the Secret Police, with much zeal and exaggerated imagination, integrated into this lot in 1958. In fact, the legislation in communist Romania functioned as a simple working tool, used at discretion by the political police, in the name of a so-called "class justice", whose essence corresponded to the open struggle,

declared against all categories of opponents of atheist communist regime.

This exercise of force - investigations in which the defendants, subjected to hellish pressure, ended up signing interrogation minutes aimed at justifying the accusations and the amount of pre-determined punishments, the detailed orchestration of court processes - served the Secret Police and the Romanian Communist Party to close many monasteries and lynch numerous leading intellectuals. Some of those imprisoned, including Father Daniil - Sandu Tudor, died in detention, others shortly after the general amnesty of 1964.

It is impressive that Nicolae Rădulescu, even after going through this convulsive time with all the waves and types of repression of communist Romania, did not change his options, his existential vision. For him, a life devoid of faith, of living in Christ, a life outside the values of spirituality and theological virtues was then and remains today a meaningless one.

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## End Notes

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<sup>i</sup> The Union of Communist Youth (also known by the acronym U.T.C.) was the youth organization of the Romanian Communist Party, known during the Romanian People's Republic, under the name of the Union of Youth Workers (acronym U.T.M.). Starting from August 3, 1948, the educational reform was started, through which the communist ideological values, the Marxist-Leninist principles were implemented to young Romanians, according to the Soviet model. Most of the time, the removal of a member of the U.T.M. amounted to his exclusion from social and professional life, followed most of the time by a trial and a severe punishment. On the other hand, accessing U.T.M. gave a person the necessary tools to climb the social hierarchy, opening doors to various positions in administration, education, army, police, etc. In this context, the number of young people enrolled in U.T.M. gradually increased, from 20% in 1950, to the great majority in the 1980s. For a comprehensive treatment of the subject, see the following: Adrian Cioflânca, Landmarks for a history of the Union of Communist Youth, in the "Yearbook of the History Institute "A.D. Xenopol", vol. XLIIIXLIV, 2006-2007, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Iasi, 2008, pp.527-548; Presidential Commission for the Analysis of Communist Dictatorship (editors Vladimir Tismăneanu, Dorin Dobrințu, Cristian Vasile), Final Report, Bucharest, December 18, 2006 (in particular, chapter I.§5. Mass organizations. Communist Youth Union, pp.109-130) , in [www.presidency.ro](http://www.presidency.ro) or in volume, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007, pp.176-198; Mircea STĂNESCU, Romanian political bodies (1948-1965). Documents regarding institutions and practices, Vremea Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003; Florian Banu, Theodor Bărbulesu, Camelia Ivan Duică, Liviu Țăranu, Florica Dobre (coord.), Securitatea. Framework structures, objectives and methods, volumes I and II, Enciclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006.

<sup>ii</sup> The proposal for the arrest of Nicole Rădulescu contains the same confusion of first name and address: "Rădulescu Gabriel, domiciled in Bucharest, Bd. 1 Mai, no. 134, fourth year student, at the Faculty of Architecture. He is part of the above group [Văsii Gheorghe, Mironescu Alexandru, Pistol Grigore Dan] and took part in all the meetings». (C.N.S.A.S. Archive, Informative fund, file no. 211015, vol. 3, f. 12) [subl. C.C.].

<sup>iii</sup> See the transcript of the five interrogation minutes of Nicolae Rădulescu, which is at C.N.S.A.S. Archive Criminal case, file no. 000202, vol. 2, ff. 322-344 or in Carmen Ciornea, Chipul Rugului..., pp. 61-98, intended to reveal these aspects of the fabrication of incriminating evidence by the investigators, the demystification process being directed by their signatory himself.

<sup>iv</sup> In the document "Indictment Conclusions"/September 29, 1958 signed by the criminal investigators of the Secret Police, Lt. Major Moldovan Iosif and Lt. Major Blidaru Gheorghe, located at C.N.S.A.S. Archive, Penal Fund, File no. 000202, vol. 2, f. 467-495, in which the criminal acts of the 16 accused are formulated, the prosecution of the student Nicolae Rădulescu had the following justification: "[...] The above facts result from the admissions of the accused RĂDULESCU NICOLAE (file f.326-348), corroborated with the statements of the co-accused: MIRONESCU ȘERBAN (file f. 245-313), VĂȘII GHEORGHE (file f.187-234), GHIUȘ BENEDICT (file f.87-234)» (C.N.S.A.S. Archive, Criminal background, File no. 000202, vol. 2, f. 483) [subl. C.C.].

<sup>v</sup> See Decree no. 187 of April 30, 1949, which violated Article 1 of the General Provisions of the Penal Code in its 1948 version, which in paragraph 1 provided that "*no one can be punished for an act that, at the time it was committed, was not provided for by law nor sentenced to other punishments or subject to other security measures*". The forces of the Secrete Police were able to make massive arrests based on this retroactive application of a law that concerned the commission of acts that occurred before its enactment.

<sup>vi</sup> Penal Code. Official text with ammendments until the *1 June 1958, followed by an annex of criminal special laws*, Editura Științifică, București, 1958

<sup>vii</sup> The physician M.N. Gherghiceanu will issue a certificate certifying the diagnosis of nervous asthenia, a disease with which the student Nicolae Rădulescu appeared in the years 1956-1957, according to the medical file no. 7430 (C.N.S.A.S. Archive, Criminal fund, file no. 000202, vol. 5, f. 33).