FOR THE SAKE OF ZION AND OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

by László Tökés

Dr. László Tökés is a bishop of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Romania. He spearheaded the resistance of his congregation in Timisoara to harassment by the secret police which led to the outbreak of the "Christmas Revolution" of 1989 toppling the Ceausescu regime in Romania. OPREE has previously carried articles about him and by him. This piece was a statement written by Bishop Tökés prior to undertaking a fast to protest policies of the present regime in Romania which was written on September 2, 1992. The fast lasted from September 2 to September 11, 1992, when Bishop Tökés felt that with the general election some of the conditions were fulfilled toward the democratization of Romania.

In 1989 most of the former satellite states of the Soviet Union underwent great changes mainly without bloodshed. In these countries Communist dictatorships collapsed under their own weight in a relatively peaceful way.

 Romania differed from the neighboring countries. Much blood was shed during the rage of brutal force and violence. In December 1989 still unidentified culprits shot into the crowds of demonstrators. Hundreds of people were tortured, executed, or disappeared under strange circumstances. The number of the identified victims was about fifteen hundred.

 While in the formerly socialist, "friendly states" the doctrinal [Communist] administration of justice became the main theme of fierce political battles and controversies, in Romania no account has been given of the murders and crimes whose victims are ironically called "revolutionaries." More than two years have passed and not even the known perpetrators have been called to account for their deeds.

 The towns Temesvár/Timisoara, Bucharest, Kolozsvár/Cluj, Márosvásárhely/Tîrgu-Mures, Nagyszeben/Sibiu, Brasso/Brasov have all had martyrs, and their blood cries out to heaven. Parents, brothers, sisters, children, widows, and orphans are in deep mourning, and their helpless anger accuses the murderers.

 The League of the Martyr-Towns and the organization, National Anticommunist Alliance for Justice (ANADA), have to face the cynicism of power. The victims' families on the other hand have to put up with the empty, disgraceful provisions of the Act no. 42/1990 regarding compensation.

 The present goes on yet post mortem decorations and memorials are timidly dedicated to the "revolution," while the current administration of justice fails. The government basks in
the light of a false democracy and boasts of the so called "Romanian Revolution" - but it is reluctant to do justice. This new conniving regime which was described wittily as "democratorship," grants anonymity to the murders and even re-admits into public life those who are responsible for the sins of the past.

Colonel Gheorghe Gambra was commanding officer of the Militia of County Máros/Mures in 1989 when his troops tried to repress bloodily the demonstrations in Márosvásárhely/Tirgu Mures. The persons who killed Sándor Bodoni, Lajos Hegyi, Adrian Hidos, Ilie Munteen, Károly Pajka, and Ernő Tamás were called to account since then. Colonel Gambra, however, was to the head of police in County Máros/Mures in March 1990, when the police officers received cordially the groups transported to the town Marosvasarhely/Tirgu Mures from the neighborhood to organize the pogrom. Today Mr. G. Gambra is as brigadier general and head of the national police department.

Where is justice?

Who is going to condemn the instigators of the people from the Gorgeny Valley who were brought to Marosvasarhely to carry out the pogrom?

Who is going to condemn the organizers of the attack against the headquarters of the RMDSz (Democratic Union of the Hungarians from Romania) from Márosvásárhely/Tirgu Mures as part of the pogrom? And who is going to condemn the persons who had made an attempt on András Sütő as well as the initiators of the attack against the peaceful demonstration of the Hungarians of March 20, 1990 which turned into a bloody fight?

Who is going to give an account of the young victims from Temesvár/Timisoara, of those revolutionaries whose corpses were burned at the crematorium of Bucharest, or of the ones tortured to death in the Cemetery of the Poor (cemetery in the neighborhood of Temesvár)? Radu Tipu, major of the Securitate, who had played a major role in the events of Temesvár was released exactly on the day of the anniversary of the revolution, while his accomplice, Vioral Bucur, after having also been released, applied for re-admission to the police as if nothing had happened.

And who is concerned about the members of the revolutionary reformed congregation from Temesvár/Timisoara, Ernő Ujvárossy, Arpád Toszó, and others, who were also killed by the same oppressive power under unknown circumstances? Or who is going to investigate the uncleared circumstances of the death of the Hungarian student of theology from Kolozsvár/Cluj, István Kiss Lukács?

And who is going to condemn the organizers of the repeated miner-campaigns against Bucharest and who dares to demand an explanation from the president who encouraged and awarded the "heroes" of this brutal devastation and violence?

Now that the general elections are drawing near, the failure in the administration of justice and the conniving attitude of the leading power represent a threat of potential
violence in the country and induce an atmosphere of immense mistrust and fear among the people.

And in addition the whole superstructure of a nationalist communist, pseudo-democratic state power and regime has been preserved. Its experts are inducing xenophobia and an anti-Hungarian atmosphere comparable to anti-Semitism. It is necessary that guilty persons should be found and that justice should be done in this country. The enemy-image assigned to the Hungarian minority and the role of the "guilty nation" cast upon the Hungarians in general serve this very purpose. Meanwhile the mass murderer, marshal Ion Antonescu, has been rehabilitated as a national hero.

This explains how it can happen that the Hungarians themselves are accused of the anti-Hungarian pogrom from Márosvásárhely/Tirgu Mureș. The victims of the nationalist provocation peaceful citizens of Márosvásárhely such as Ferenc Szabados and Pál Cseresnyes and those simple peasants from Oroszhegy/Dealu and Zetelaka/Zetea, who foolishly believed that there were democratic changes in Romania, are now imprisoned. This is the real reason for the Report on the Countries Hargita and Kovászna and of the ongoing chauvinistic instigation. The post-communist leaders try to survive and are controlling the displeased massed by means of nationalism which needs victims such as the Hungarians, the Gypsies, the disgraced revolutionaries, the opposition accused of sympathizing the Hungarians, the rebellious youth, and the minority churches.

Witnessing the current show trials, the conniving attitude of the president, social injustice turned into political means, a Romanian writer from Bucharest came to this very short conclusion: "J'accuse". The spirit of the Dreyfus trial is haunting, and it goes beyond the question of administration of social justice. It is our young democracy, the existence of the constitutional state, freedom, human rights, the rights of the ethnic minorities, and last but not least, the coming general elections which are in danger.

As the former pastor of the Reformed congregation in Temesvár/Timisoara I feel obliged to speak up for the stolen revolution, for all the martyrs of Temesvár, and of the events of December 1989, for the imprisoned victims of post-communism and nationalism - for righteousness, for administration of social and political justice.

- There should be justice dispensed to the victims of the revolutions.
- The perpetrators of the mass murders of December 1989 should be called to account.
- The acts of violence from Márosvásárhely and Bucharest should be investigated and there justice should be delivered in each case.
- The people from Márosvásárhely, Oroszhegy and Zetelaka condemned at the anti-Hungarian show-trials should be released.
- The persecution of the members and leaders of the Reformed Congregation from Temesvár should be investigated and the perpetrators should be called to account.
- The circumstances of death of the two leading personalities of the Reformed Congregation from Temesvár, Ernő Ujvárossy and Arpád Toszó should be cleared up, and justice should be done in their case.

In order to sustain my demands - in the revolutionary spirit of Temesvar - today I go on hunger-strike in the building of the Reformed Church from Temesvár for an undetermined period of time.

I ask the Reformed congregation of Temesvár, the people of the town, my own Reformed Church, and the other Churches, the members of the victims' families, the organizations allied for administration of justice, the general public of Romania and from abroad, the free democratic states, the churches of the other countries and the ecumenical organizations to support my protest.

"For Zion's sake I will not keep silent, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not remain quiet, until her righteousness shines out like the dawn, and her salvation like a blazing torch." (Isaiah 62:1)