## From the Black March of 1990 to the March of Love in 2010

In Romania, after the Liberating Christmas of 1989, in the enthusiastic atmosphere of the people's revolt and the regime change, citizens liberated from the communist dictatorship dreamed about their common future. The National Salvation Front (NSF), a political movement created to ensure the transition from dictatorship to democracy, stated its guiding principle in its 5 January 1990 Declaration: "The National Salvation Front firmly condemns the former dictatorial regime's policy towards ethnic minorities and solemnly declares that it will attain and guarantee individual and collective ethnic rights and rights to freedom."

The Romanian, Hungarian, and other ethnic communities were called to action. The price of freedom was paid with the bloody sacrifices of martyrs and victims. The price of freedom demanded a spiritual stand: good vs. evil. The price of freedom ignited a spirit of collaboration and solidarity, among the nation. The flames of the Timisoara Revolution burned in the belief that democracy and its values would prevail in Romania, ending the communist dictatorship.

The communist dictatorship oppressed the nation, through fear, intimidation, and power, against the unarmed, unconnected, and unheard masses. The unprincipled and unbelieving communist party adherents and members continue to pursue their own self-interests. Along with the former communist nomenclature, they desire to retain their reign of interrupted dominion, since post World War II, even after the so-called "fall of communism".

Further, the notorious communist party state secret service, the Securitate —"servers of violence"— remain a constant, controlling, and coercing "invisible hand" that sweeps through society, with unscrupulous and unprecedented guile and greed.

The NSF's seemingly "overnight" evolution was not truly organic or natural in any way. Clearly, in hindsight, it was a rehearsed script written for the counter-revolution. Ion Iliescu, who took over the reins from executed dictator Ceausescu, masked former communism with a pseudo, "window dressing" democracy. In January 1990, Iliescu's propaganda easily manipulated the crowds, by rousing them into a blind nationalism. By enflaming the nation with fervent declarations of "separatism" by the Transylvanian counties, Iliescu set the stage for a violent ethnic confrontation. His simple psychological ploy worked.

In Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely), with the quiet assistance of the police, Romanian striplings were coaxed and teased into beating ethnic Hungarians. Turning a "blind eye," Iliescu's "new administration" did not denounce or detest the atrocity. In fact, the "new administration" acted exactly like the "old executed dictator." The perpetrators were not even detained or charged with their crimes. Thus, Iliescu's regime de facto approved of ethnic abuse.

Consequently, the "new administration" conveniently overlooked the atrocity and no doubt enjoyed their childish trick; playing a simplistic "school-yard" game of "divide and conquer" that set Romanians against the ethnic Hungarians. In Târgu Mureş, the anti-Hungarian organization, Vatra Românească (Vatra) was organized as an extreme right-wing political group.

A candle-lit demonstration, calling for the re-opening of formerly closed independent Hungarian-language schools, was planned for 10 February 1990.

On 11 March 1990, the 8th point of the Timisoara Proclamation required the formulation of a specific legislative request: Romanian elections should prohibit former communist activists and former state commission officers from becoming candidates in three consecutive election cycles.

On 15 March 1990, the local activists of Vatra Românească interrupted the commemorative events of the 1848-1849 anti-Habsburg freedom fight of Hungarians. After nearly 50 years of communism, the first "free" Hungarian national celebration was organized, throughout Transylvania. However, in certain locations these "protests" degenerated into physical violence, actions instigated by the Vatra Românească activists.

In Târgu Mureş, on 16 March 1990, Hungarian people were beaten outside a pharmacy, because they posted a bilingual (Romanian-Hungarian) notice on the exterior pharmacy wall. In Târgu Mureş, on 17 March 1990, a fascistic series of anti-Hungarian actions were systematically instituted, with the "assistance" of the local police.

On 19 March 1990, the Vatra Românească transported 13 busloads of "demonstrators" into Târgu Mureș, from the nearby villages. The majority of these "demonstrators" were drunk. Initially, they first tore down all the Hungarian language notices. After which, these enraged "demonstrators" became a malicious mob, attacking ethnic Hungarians and the headquarters of the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (DAHR). The Vatra Românească thugs stormed the DAHR headquarters with axes and clubs.

General Ion Judea promised save passage to the ethnic Hungarians trapped in a building. Upon their exit, they were beaten by the same thugs with clubs and chains. Transylvanian Hungarian writer, András Sütő, was so badly beaten that his left arm was bruised, several ribs were broken, and he literally lost one of his eyes. These savage attacks occurred, while the army watched without intervening.

Unequivocally, the "new administration" initiated this pogrom, which symbolizes the pseudo, "window dressing" democracy of the Ion Iliescu regime. Instantly, the indigenous people of Romania knew that the Christmas Revolution had changed nothing.

On 20 March 1990, once again, the Vatra Românească transported busloads of Romanian peasants into Târgu Mureş. Armed with scythes, axes, and pitch-forks, they attacked the peaceful ethnic Hungarian demonstrators, who demanded justice, for the prior attacks. All the while, the army and its armoured tanks stood silent, as the bloody conflict ensued. The "new administration" led by Ion Iliescu instigated a second pogrom, in as many days.

After two decades, nobody expected that the perpetrators, of these atrocities, would remain scot-free and evade the Romanian court system. But in Romania, the national leadership does not enforce its own constitution, so the guilty criminals remain on the loose. Meanwhile, the ethnic Hungarian, Pál Cseresnyés, was convicted for his participation in the melee and has been tortured in prison.

The Christmas 1989 Romanian regime change has been detoured by these pogroms.

The counter-revolution script, written by the founding voice of Ion Iliescu, still echoes the guilty conviction of executed dictator Ceausescu. At the beginning of 1990, the former communist nomenclature and the former Securitate, which was left intact, did everything possible to delay and even 'hijack' the change of regime, to serve their own interests.

On the 19-20 March 2010, the Hungarian National Council of Transylvania commemorated the Black March of Târgu Mureş 1990, so that the common remembrance based on truth shall lead us from the Black March of our stolen revolution to the March of Love that promises to bring about a desired better future.

## Common Past - Common Future

In Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş), on 19 March 2010, Friday evening, about fifteen hundred people gathered in front of the Cultural House. They participated in the Torch Light March of Truth, which commemorated Marosvásárhely's Black March of 20 years ago. The event was organized by the Hungarian National Council of Transylvania (HNCT) and the Pro Europa League (PEL).

The mobilization of civilians against ethnic minorities is tantamount to "treason" and "hate crimes" and "conspiracy" - all of which - are grounds for prison in democratic nations. Without any disclosure and prosecution, Romania de facto brands itself as a "lawless" nation, where "vigilantes" rule at will, and "hoodlums" escape arrest, prosecution, and sentencing.



A public summons was addressed to Romanian President, Traian Băsescu, Romanian Prime Minister, Emil Boc, and Romanian Public Prosecutor, Laura Codruța Kövesi.

It was read aloud, in Hungarian, by attorney Előd Kincses, a former dignitary from Marosvásárhely. Associate President of the PEL, Smaranda Enache read the summons aloud in Romanian. The supporters of the public summons request the identification of the persons, who initiated, organized, and implemented the transportation of the armed Romanian peasants to Marosvásárhely.

On the second day of the commemorations, a conference was held under the theme "Common Past, Common Future - At Home in Europe."

Conference organizer László Tőkés, President of HNCT, voiced his hope that "Our commemoration will transform the past into peace." In his speech, he affirmed: "This event serves reconciliation. At the same time, we cannot keep quiet about those manifestations that are initiated by Romanian extremist circles and try to find self-confirmation, through once again, playing out the card of the Hungarian threat."

This statement refers to the Romanian rally planned near Marosvásárhely, for 20 March, on the exact anniversary day of the 1990 anti-Hungarian pogroms. Further, László Tőkés stated, "Extremists have picked up the accusation of separatism again, in order to undermine the plan of the autonomous Szekler Land region." MEP Tőkés emphasized that we should not talk about inter-ethnic conflict, since there was no symmetrical relationship. Rather, we should talk about aggressors and victims.



"Szekler Land does not exist!" concluded the anti-Hungarian rally at Maroshévíz (Toplita), near Marosvásárhely (Targu Mures), in the Szekler Land area, on 20 March 2010.

In her welcome, Smaranda Enache, Associate President of the Pro Europa League (PEL), called attention to the common fate that she and Előd Kincses shared after the March 1990 Marosvásárhely pogrom. Both of them were denounced as public enemies of the Romanian State. Enache was driven from her job and Kincses was driven into exile. In addition, both were hindered from entering the inaugural parliamentary elections.

Enache also noted the importance of the civil sphere's contribution to unveiling the past, which is why the Torch Light March was organized. It is also crucial for Romania and Jewish historians to participate in the conference, besides Hungarian historians.

Pointing out the rights of ethnic minorities, the human rights fighter, Enache, called special attention to the rights of the minority Hungarian community. Transylvanian Hungarians are entitled to these rights via their historical past. And these rights must be sustained - even if other minorities also claim these rights.

A Bucharest human rights fighter, Gabriel Andreescu drew attention to points that have escaped the national discussion. Beyond the tragedy, Romanian intellectuals remain lost in a myopic maze of narrow-minded and homogenized state-perspective. As such, the minority issue is avoided and shunted aside, without any positive perspective. With their own culture and heritage, the ethnic Hungarian minority contributes creatively to the diversity throughout Romania's modern society.

At the conference, there was participation by distinguished Romanians, including militant anticommunist historian Marius Oprea, journalist Mircea Toma, and MEP Monica Macovei, former Romanian Minister of Justice. Together, they drew a uniform set of conclusions, which followed the orchestrations of a well-scripted event known as Black March 1990.



On 20 March 2010, the finale event, the Second Carpathian-Basin Ecumenical Commemoration took place at the Castle Church. In August 2009, representatives gathered at the Szeged Cathedral and raised their voices in defense of the Hungarians from Slovakia. The 2009 event united the historic Hungarian churches from the Carpathian Basin. In 2010, they commemorated the victims of Marosvásárhely's Black March and prayed for reconciliation. Ioan Fărcaş, Romanian Greco-Catholic primate dignitary from Balázsfalva (Blaj), emphasized the importance of dialogue, openness, and listening to each other.