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HUNGARY

EVOLUTION OF STATE-CHURCH RELATIONS SURVEYED

Budapest VILAGOSSAG in Hungarian No 1, Jan 77 pp 1-5

/Article by Imre Miklos, state secretary and chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs: "New Type Contacts, the Development of State and Church Contacts in Hungary"/

/Text/ It is well known that in our day two world-views exercise the most extensive influence on the broad masses throughout the world--Marxism-Leninism and the various religions. This fact requires an attentive and profound examination of their relations and a realization of the political-practical possibilities deriving therefrom, in the socialist countries as in Western Europe (Italy, France, Portugal, etc.) and even in the area of the third world, with special regard to Latin America.

In the course of an examination of the possible relations between Marxism and Christianity we must see that the fundamental world-view antitheses exclude the possibility of philosophical convergence. The communists will not give up the propagation of their scientific world-view but neither do they desire that the Christians should not practice their religion. On the other hand practical cooperation in urgent vital questions is a commanding necessity which, at the same time, is a complex, many-sided process which takes different forms in different regions in accordance with historical, political and social conditions. There are also differences among socialist countries in the area of adjusting relations between churches and state.

Religion is frequently used as an ideological weapon in the world-wide class struggle. We must face two great dangers in this area. On the one hand we must see that the enemies of socialism and progress try to use religious faith as a political tool. But Marxists and socialists must always be aware that ideological differences and contradictions can never be resolved by administrative and political power tools.

Relations between the state of the Hungarian People's Republic and the churches on its territory are fundamentally regulated by two documents, the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic and the agreements created between the state and the churches in 1948-1950. The Constitution separates the church from the state and guarantees the freedom of conscience of the citizens and the right

to a free practice of religion. The agreements define those principles and frameworks which are suitable for ensuring the ordered nature of relations between the state and the churches.

In addition to these documents other laws also regulate the relations of the state and the churches. Such, for example, are the regulations enunciating the equality of legally recognized religious denominations of those concerning the state consent needed to fill certain church offices.

We must always view concretely and realistically the development of state-church relations in a socialist society. We should not forget that truth of Lenin that: "We cannot begin the building of socialism with an imaginary human material created by us for that purpose but rather with that material which capitalism has willed to us." For this reason our state develops its relations with the churches and the religious workers in a principal way, attentive to the actual conditions and in an atmosphere of patience, responsibility and trust. We should keep in mind that the chief dividing line in the course of the building of socialism is not between believers and non-believers but between those who believe in socialism and those who are its enemies.

After the Second World War favorable conditions were created in Hungary for the realization of those political, social and economic goals for which progressive social forces, with the communists in the van, had struggled in the decades before the war, especially at the time of the 1919 Republic of Councils. The churches, however, in their structure, ideology and social ties were expressers of the old social order in everything and were reckoned as pillars of the feudal-capitalist order. We must note this even if there were clerics worthy of respect, especially in the Protestant churches, who participated in the social movements struggling for the goals of progress and national renewal.

Immediately after World War II the churches, but especially the leadership of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church, opposed the popular democratic transformation and gave unvarnished expression to this in numerous episcopal circulars. Thus at the time of the laying of the foundations of the new society and of the struggle against restoration attempts, political struggle against the church forces defending the old society could not be avoided. In this period state-church relations became sharper as an inseparable part of the political, economic and social struggle, of the class struggle. It is well known that before World War II Hungary was a country of 3 million beggars, of impoverished field workers, and the largest landlord of all was the Roman Catholic Church. This fact alone demonstrates that significant church forces had to be overcome at the time of the realization of land reform. In the course of the revolutionary transformation the worker class and the social forces allied with it, including the believer masses, took over the banks and the large factories, of which the churches too had been owners as share holders. The law which appeared in 1948 nationalizing the schools affected primarily the denominational schools. Up to that time the great majority of elementary and secondary schools in Hungary had been under the supervision of some church, even though there had been a century-long struggle for the introduction of uniform secular instruction.

All these conflicts certainly demonstrate the significance of the agreements signed in 1948-1950 between the state and the churches; these agreements were an expression of the fact that a complex period of political and social struggle had ended. In this struggle the worker class broke politically the rule of the capitalists and landlords and laid the foundations for the socialist social order, while the forces supporting the old system were forced back in the churches too. On the one hand the agreements indicated the deciding of the struggle and on the other hand they provided a framework for the development of correct, loyal and gradually better relations between the socialist state and churches no longer defending the defeated social relationships, in the course of building the new socialist society. The agreements signed between the socialist state and the churches in Hungary have stood the test of time. They legally guarantee the possibility that the churches and the believers actively take their part in the building of socialism which is possible and necessary because the great majority of the religious workers agree with the goals of the socialist society and so the believers and non-believers can effectively cooperate for the good of the community.

Let us briefly review the activity of the state organs playing a role in the practical realization and execution of the agreements and the more important provisions pertaining to the legal situation of the churches.

In the government system of the Hungarian People's Republic the management of matters between the state and the churches belongs to the sphere of tasks of the State Office for Church Affairs set up on the basis of Law I, 1951. The Office operates under the direct supervision of the Government. Its more important tasks are: the execution of agreements and conventions signed with churches and religious denominations, taking care of personal and material matters connected with state support of churches and religious denominations, preparing and ensuring the execution of regulations pertaining to the churches, executing and supervising measures taken by the Council of Ministers in church affairs, taking care of questions connected with freedom of conscience and ensuring the free practice of religion and the undisturbed course of church functions.

In the course of doing all this we strive to develop contacts with the various churches in the spirit of the agreements and in accordance with the interests of both sides. An important and many-sided task in this is the coordination of this work with the activity of the megye, city and town councils which, as the local organs of state power, are in constant contact with the local organs of the churches. In the course of its work the Office maintains contact with various ministries and organs with national authority and cooperates with social organizations. Naturally, the State Office for Church Affairs is primarily responsible for execution of the church policy of the government and for its level and quality.

In accordance with the nature of state administrative work the State Office for Church Affairs also has authoritative powers and it always uses these in accordance with the laws of the socialist state. In contacts with the churches

we do not try to prove at any cost and with all tools that only we can be right. In accordance with the principles of our social practice we respect the position of our partners in harmony with the fact that our state recognizes the churches as partners with full rights and new problems arising between state and church continue to be solved by means of discussion and agreement. This is all the more necessary because the churches enjoy full legal equality in the Hungarian People's Republic. The content of legal equality expresses on the one hand that every church and religious denomination in our state enjoys the same rights and judgment but bears the same responsibility while, on the other hand, the state regards the churches as partners with equal rank in regard to positive law they are legal persons and have the same rights and responsibilities which our legal system recognizes in regard to civil law or natural persons.

The churches and their members also have criminal law protection to guarantee their religious freedom. The Criminal Code of the Hungarian People's Republic, for example, classifies incitement against religious denominations as a crime (Section 127).

Our state takes care of church personnel and employees in several respects; it places state aid, pensions, health insurance and other benefits at their disposal.

The Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic establishes the separation of church and state and as a result our state power organs do not require the practice of the right of patronage, which Hungarian heads of state practiced for centuries and which reached deep into the lives of the churches. But it is not a matter of indifference to the Hungarian People's Republic that the person of church leaders, who hold offices of significance from the social viewpoint as well, corresponds to the fundamental interests of the state and society. For this reason prior state consent is needed to fill certain church offices.

In the more than quarter century which has passed since the signing of the agreements state-church relations have not been and could not be free or problems. Administrative excesses did take place at the time of the personality cult and the erroneous view that the religious world-view could be abolished by administrative means did have an effect. At the same time there were attempts within the churches to initiate anti-socialist and anti-state actions under the guise of religious activity. But these events, even if they caused temporary difficulties, were not defining ones in regard to state-church relations; they disturbed but could not prevent the development of these relations in a positive direction.

The development and strengthening of our socialist society and the consistent policy of our government made possible and aided the churches in finding their place in the Hungarian People's Republic. Conditions were created so that ordered relations could develop between the state and the various churches resting on principled foundations guaranteed over the long run and in accordance with the interests of socialism. The situation today is consolidated

and balanced. Relations between the state and the churches are developing in accordance with the objective interests of socialist construction and in a manner approved of by the churches as well; our church policy principles are being realized in harmony with the requirements of social development. The most important element of this, one which has been officially accepted and publicized by both state and church, is that the maintaining of ordered relations between the socialist state and the churches is necessary and possible with the realization of political-social cooperation between Marxists and believers in the many important questions affecting our society as a whole. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the government enjoy the support of the broad believer masses for the believer masses also participate in the building of socialism without being forced in any way to give up their religious convictions.

Within the framework of the Patriotic People's Front church leaders, clerics and believer individuals have an opportunity for active political and public life activity and debate of social questions. Participation in the work of the Patriotic People's Front involves not only cooperation in the realization of common tasks but also provides an opportunity for the churches and believers to express their own position and, making use of the opportunity for constructive criticism, to contribute to the successes of the struggle being waged for peace and progress and of the efforts being made to raise our people.

The positive development of state-church relations takes place amidst contradictions and in a dialectic unity of political cooperation and ideological debates. In our homeland also there is a constant tendency for a decrease in religiosity with the increasing secularization of social awareness and the spread of the scientific world-view and of the ideals of Marxism-Leninism. This may have played a role in the fact that essential changes have taken place in the internal affairs of the churches too in recent decades. It is obvious that the role of the churches in socialist society is different than it was.

The churches no longer exercise any great influence on the relations of the great social classes to one another but it would be a mistake to say that their ideological influence has completely ended. It would be a mistake to underestimate the role played by religious faith in the private lives of some individuals, in the relationship of people to one another, in the defense of moral norms or in the criticism of other norms. There are many areas in our life where the churches can play a positive role even in the socialist society, such as in the defense of peace, in the nurturing and strengthening of a national unity with socialist content (which especially includes the creation of an atmosphere of trust), in defense of social and personal property, in spreading the ideals of humanism, in love of the people, in encouraging reliability in work, in the struggle against crime and in cultivating the progressive traditions and cultural values of the national past (for example, in protecting monuments, in caring for the scientific collections of churches and in historical research).

The change in international power relationships and the favorable internal development of our society have made it possible for agreements to come into being in various questions between the government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Vatican too. These contacts now have a past of almost 15 years. The contacts between the Vatican and the Hungarian government are not out of the ordinary. Questions of mutual interest naturally arise and representatives of our state periodically discuss there with representatives of the Vatican. As a result of these discussions a partial accord was signed in 1964 whereby we settled on methods for appointing bishops and other leading clerics, gave a correct interpretation to the citizen's oath of priests and transferred to the sphere of authority of the Bench of Hungarian Catholic Bishops the Papal Hungarian Church Institute in Rome according to which it now functions in accordance with its original purpose and aids the further higher level training of Hungarian priests.

Since realism and a readiness to settle questions of mutual interest have gained ground in the Vatican in judging numerous questions it became possible to conduct talks on a basis of equality and to normalize contacts. As a result new Roman Catholic prelates could be named in 1974 and thereafter Pope Paul IV also declared empty according to Church law the chair of the Archbishop of Esztergom, which until then had been filled formally by Jozsef Mindszenty, who went abroad in 1971. The matter of the chair of the Archbishop of Esztergom was settled when Pope Paul VI appointed Dr Laszlo Lekai the new Archbishop of Esztergom in February 1976 and when the May consistorium made him a cardinal. A megye bishop or archbishop heads every Roman Catholic Church diocese in Hungary.

The churches have recognized their unique task in efforts for the relaxation of international tension and for the elimination of the danger of war. The leaders of the churches in Hungary were among the first to emphasize in the international church world organizations at the time of the cold war the possibility and necessity of mutual understanding among peoples and of cooperation between the socialist state and the churches. A sharp criticism of international imperialist attempts and an approval of socialism and humanism are also expressed in their theological and scientific work. The Hungarian Protestant and Catholic churches have assumed a significant role in the creation of the international Christian peace movement also.

The work of the churches in socialist countries won increased significance with the rise of the peoples of the Third World and their active participation in international political life. In those countries where the remnants of colonialism still exist, a new point of orientation was provided by those church efforts which, not bound to imperialism or capitalism, uncovered new possibilities for relations between social progress and Christianity.

An important goal appearing in the international activity of the Hungarian churches is to aid the uniting of progressive forces on an international scale in accordance with the principles and practice of peaceful coexistence and political cooperation and to support the efforts aimed at creating an anti-imperialist united front. Special significance is given to this by the

fact that, since the European security and cooperation conference held in Helsinki, new forms of international meeting and contact have developed. But in addition to the many reassuring and favorable phenomena one must also mention that one can also find interpretations of the basic principles which are aimed at the socialist countries in a cold war spirit and attempts to intervene in our internal affairs have also affected the life of the churches.

The spread of the policy of peaceful coexistence and international detente have created especially favorable conditions, despite ideological differences, for the development of cooperation between Marxists and Christians within the individual countries and in the international area. But since the signing of the Helsinki agreement new life has also been given to the activity of those who try to use the tools of ideological confrontation to discredit socialism among people with a religious world-view.

The question is made difficult by the fact that the definition of religious freedom is not uniform. There is no generally accepted interpretation in this area. Some identify the principle of religious freedom with the free activity of religious communities, while others lay claim to the most varied social demands under this heading. In any case the frequent and superficial comparisons of bourgeois society and socialism in this area led to misleading conclusions. Since socialism is a radical denial of the society which has disappeared the social role of religion and of the churches cannot be identical in socialism and in capitalism.

In general the international activity of the Hungarian churches is aimed at having the churches in all signatory states interpret correctly the Helsinki document and develop their activity accordingly. These positive efforts have found a broad response and interest in the church circles of many countries and have contributed at a high level to a solution of the most important questions affecting mankind.

All these domestic and international experiences prove that a new type of contacts has come into being between the socialist state and the churches. The churches have placed their cooperation on new foundations of principle and this is reflected in two significant achievements, in new theoretical, theological examinations and in their new laws regulating the internal affairs of the churches includes the fact that in the spirit of the separation of state and church it is increasingly the churches themselves which must ensure those material resources necessary for maintaining them. As a result of the separation of state and church the autonomy of the churches has received new meaning especially in this regard, that they accept the form of the joint interpretation of freedom of conscience and the free practice of religion as set down in the Constitution. Earlier, when innumerable bonds tied the churches to the state and to the ruling class, the much advertised autonomy of the churches could only be formal. The various profound, economic, political and ideological ties made autonomy illusory and the obligation, prescribed in law, to belong to some church excluded the full realization of freedom of conscience and ruled out the freedom to break with religion.

Our state considers it natural that the free practice of religion is not limited to participation in liturgical acts. The agreements signed with the churches define among other things those frameworks within which the churches can be active among the youth. Religious instruction takes place in general schools and gymnasiums on an optional basis. In addition, catechisms, scripture lessons, Bible classes and children's services can be held in the churches and those applying for first communion or confirmation or those about to be married can be prepared in study courses. Church press and book publishing, guaranteed theological training and education in church secondary schools bear witness to the many-sided activity of the churches.

The activity of the Hungarian churches has aroused a borad response and interest in the church circles of many countries. If there have been some foreign circles which tried to hold back development, there is an increasing number who study with sympathy and interest relations between the Hungarian state and the Hungarian churches and the achievements thereof. In our opinion the achievements can be consolidated not by merely sticking to them but rather by building on what has been achieved and posting new goals for national and international cooperation which will strengthen what has been achieved thus far and give content for new cooperation.

We see the prospects for state and church cooperation as guaranteed. Neither side need give up its position but there must be an awareness that there are ample tasks in the interest of realizing common goals and there must be a readiness for cooperation. Both our socialist state and the domestic churches agree that there will continue to be a need for the development of good relations.

On the occasion of the quarter century anniversary of the agreements both sides noted that the principles set down in the agreements had proven correct and both the state and the churches had to go further on this road and strive to resolve problems which arise in harmony with the interests of the peaceful life of society and of the development of mankind.

8984
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POLISH PARTY ORGAN LASHES OUT AGAINST 'WORKERS COMMITTEE'

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Jan 77 no page given

[Article: "Polish Warning Against Instigators of Unrest--Party Organ Criticizes Activity of 'Workers Committee'"]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 January--On Tuesday [18 January], the Polish party paper TRYBUNA LUDU accused the "Committee for the Defense of Workers"--not naming it explicitly but clearly indicating it to be the target of its attack--of using the measures against participants in the June events, which it had reported in an adulterated version, as a welcome pretext for antistate activity. The tone of the article, however, differs to some extent from that of the attack by the Czechoslovak party organ RUDE PRAVO against critics of the regime in Czechoslovakia, large parts of which had been reprinted in the Polish paper ZYCIE WARSZAWY the previous day. The combination of both, combined with the news--also published in Poland--of the arrests in Czechoslovakia, has the effect of a warning to the Polish critics of the regime that they should realize that they are being treated with quite a bit of restraint, in word and in deed, but that they also might be handled quite differently.

TRYBUNA LUDU recalls the statement by the attorney general that the charges that the police had applied impermissible methods in connection with the disturbances of public order at Ursus and Radom on 25 June were unfounded and mendacious. Such information of an explicitly diversionary nature, furnished with ample anti-Polish and antisocialist comment, had, however, been circulated for some time by "political enemies" of the country, and particularly had been spread abroad. The police action on 25 June, the paper states, was unavoidable in light of the threat to the security of the inhabitants, the looting and destruction of public and private property. The militia had used no firearms but had been attacked with stones. In light of the looting and vandalism, arrests had been justified. First offenders in good repute, on the basis of a recommendation by the Council of State, had been given particularly lenient punishment. Information of the Office of the Attorney General showed that of 173 persons originally held for questioning, 44 never worked and 129 had records of previous convictions. At present, 58 persons were serving sentences.

Thus, strictly speaking, the charges which are supposed to be refuted here have not been refuted, for they concern not so much the police action against protest demonstrations and excesses as, above all, the treatment of those arrested after their arrest. Only in one specifically cited case, the charge of maltreatment during questioning is being countered explicitly. It is the case of a person who participated in the protest demonstrations at Ursus (according to TRYBUNA LUDU, he had procured some welding equipment for the disrupting of rails) which has not yet come up for trial because of incapacity to stand trial. According to the paper, tendentious propaganda, by twisting the facts, alleges that he was beaten during questioning, whereas in reality he had incurred his injuries much earlier, in the course of the rail collisions.

The cited facts, in the opinion of TRYBUNA LUDU, speak for themselves. But there was a group of people who--for various reasons, incidentally--for some time now had been attempting an "active political struggle against our state and our system" and, without any relation to the facts, regarded the whole matter as an easy excuse for continued political, antistate, action.

In the final analysis, the main aim of the organizers of this action was to cause unrest, to disturb the constructive climate of civic debate, to cause disintegration and internal conflicts, and to do so in a situation in which the unity of the nation was of particular importance.

8790
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POLISH AUTHORITIES INTENT ON SHOWING JUNE EXCESSES AS ATYPICAL

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Jan 77 no page given

[Article by Erik Michael Bader: "The 'Misfits' of Radom--Why the Polish Judgments Against Participants in the June Unrest Have Turned Out So Harsh"]

[Text] Warsaw, January--"For what? For what, in heaven's name?" cried a middle-aged woman outside the court, sobbing. Was she unable to comprehend the verdict of the Supreme Court condemning her husband or son to several years' imprisonment only because kinship was clouding her judgment? Or could the innate sense of justice of a woman of the people no longer go along with the sophistic juridical constructions, based more on considerations of state purposes? In a further appeal against the judgments passed against six inhabitants of Radom charged with having participated in the excesses of 25 June, the Polish Supreme Court had fully confirmed the two harshest sentences of 9 and 8 years' imprisonment and had merely shortened the four other sentences of originally 5, and in one case 3, years' imprisonment, although it had been more lenient previously in the case of workers of Ursus. Unless one took into account that political considerations had played a part, it was hard to understand the result of the appeal against the Radom verdicts.

In the case of the two defendants whose verdict of 9 and 8 years' imprisonment had now been confirmed, there were concrete grounds: the first was said to have looted stores, the second was said to have been seen breaking down a door. Besides, they had been particularly noticeable among the crowd which invaded the premises of the voivodship party headquarters and demolished the furniture there and had quite a record of previous sentences--one of them, among other things, for having engaged in acts of violence against members of his family. But one cannot dismiss the surmise that their sentences might have been somewhat less harsh if they had been caught some other day in an "ordinary" burglary, for in the case of the others, who had less of a record or no record at all and in fact received lower sentences--which then were lowered further in the appeal--but nevertheless must go to prison for several years, there actually was no concrete charge which could be proved except that they happened to be there when it all happened.

The sentences are based on Article 275 of the Polish Penal Code, in conjunction with Article 59. Article 275 deals with participation in an assembly of people "whose participants combine in a forcible attack on people or property," making this punishable with imprisonment of up to 5 years, and up to 10 years if injuries or damage to property are heavy. Article 59 lays down that the latter, heavier, category of penalties applies in the case of "hooliganism."

In the case of some of the defendants, one could gain the clear impression that all that was needed to be condemned was to be seen among a crowd of people who--possibly at another moment--committed excesses; it sufficed that one was expected to foresee such results and failed to engage in active preventive action; then, according to Article 275, one is an accessory to the event even if he has done nothing himself, and can be found guilty in accordance with the other, exacerbating, article if the damage--which he has not caused--is heavy.

In combination, two such "rubber articles" provide an almost unlimited latitude of judgment. But the wording of these articles of the Polish Penal Code permits the kind of daring interpretation which cannot be reconciled with a sense of justice requiring a verdict of guilty to be based on concrete action. And there is another thing to be considered. Without an article like Article 275, the prosecuting authority after a demonstration disturbing the peace would be in a virtually hopeless position as regards proof, and this might result in anonymously collective actions by the crowd going unpunished because nothing can be proved against any participant. This is a problem which has also cropped up in the Western countries. With this article, however, it is possible to arrive at verdicts in which individuals, without any concrete action being attributed to them, are held responsible for the total event and its consequences.

Thus the defense was in the not very promising position of having its arguments aim at showing valid law to be leading to unjust results. In one case, however, the court yielded this time, passing a much reduced, judgment against one of the defendants, who had been present during only a limited part of the "events," at a place where, it could be shown, no heavy damage had occurred.

Beyond that, the defense came up with quite a number of arguments against the trial and the verdicts of the court of the first instance which, with some restrictions, could also be applied to the judgment of the Supreme Court. It pilloried the lack of substance and the contradictions in testimony for the prosecution, mostly by members of the police, who remembered only some time after the arrests that they had seen the defendants in the crowd, and then during the trial had again forgotten all that was contained in their pretrial statements and had to have the statements read out to them to help their memories. It became noticeable that, for some peculiar reason, in the various trials the same circle of police witnesses invariably claimed to have recognized the respective main defendant as the one who was the first to break into the party premises, and the

first to start demolishing things. On this occasion, the defense gave voice to the impression that things had been staged, inquiring polemically whether there happened to be just the right number of telephones on the party premises for each defendant to have been observed by a member of the police as he was throwing out a telephone. There were objections to the voivodship court describing the police as "personages enjoying public trust," thus--contrary to the code of criminal procedure--creating a special class of witnesses. Attention was drawn to the disproportion between the mild appeal judgments against the Ursus workers, who after all had interrupted an international railroad line, and the judgments against the people from Radom. Mention was made of the fact that one of the defendants described as "antisocial and completely lacking in morality" had driven a party headquarters employee who had been hurt jumping out of a window to a hospital and then even had brought back the car he had used for that purpose. And specialist literature was read out about flaws in judgment and reduced self-control under conditions of mass hysteria, with the comment that this argument had been taken into consideration in the trials following the unrest in Poznan in 1956.

But a basically political charge carried more weight, and the more Radom trials one looks at, the more substantial this charge becomes; it is the charge that the selection of the defendants was purposely intended to cultivate the impression that what happened at Radom that day was the work of a handful of social misfits, a horde of drunken rowdies with prison records, and by no means a collective eruption of wrath of the workers of Radom. The judgments are therefore apparently intended as an alibi. The detailed statements by the defense in the Radom appeal trials that have taken place so far--statements which, by and large, were not opposed--yield the following picture of what apparently happened at Radom: After, the night of 25 June, the police had more or less gotten the situation under control, wholesale arrests were made; then predominantly those with a record or who had no job at the time remained in detention; then people looked for and found police officers who made statements to the effect that they had seen the detainees in the crowd that day; and then came the indictments and the judgments, with the degree of the penalty at times apparently depending more on the previous type of existence of the defendants than on what they could be shown to have done on 25 June. The defense then also thought that it was able to discern an attempt at whitewashing the workers of Radom by blaming the events on some wretched creatures who had been noticed as participants. In the process, the defense believes, some people are being sacrificed to a fiction, namely, that the real Radom has nothing to do with what happened there on 25 June. The contention that the excesses at Radom to a large extent were the work of social misfits is probably no invention, but evidently they were excesses of a much more broadly based movement. One thing is apparent, however: the impression is to be prevented at all costs that on 25 June there might perhaps have occurred a split between substantial parts of the workers and the government of the workers.

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PROCEEDINGS OF TEACHERS' UNION CONGRESS PUBLISHED

Congress Report

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 31 Oct 76 pp 1, 4-5

[Text] The 12th National Congress of Delegates decided on a program of activity of ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union] for 1976-1980 and obligated the Main Administration to work out a plan for ZNP work for the next term on the basis of this program and also on the basis of the suggestions made in discussions before and after the Congress.

What are the main directions of ZNP activity decided on by the Congress?

These embrace problems resulting from the functions of the Union, as a joint manager of education and science, representative and spokesman of the interests of the workers and of the schools forming their civic attitudes of involvement. At the head of the ZNP tasks, as a joint manager of education and training, appear tasks resulting from party resolutions, particularly those of the Seventh PZPR Congress.

In the current 5-year period the introduction of the school reform will be begun. In this connection the ZNP takes an active part in the final elaboration of the tasks of the new school system, of the content of its programs and of conditions necessary for enacting them.

The second direction of work indicated by the Resolution of the Seventh PZPR Congress is improvement in the work of schools and educational institutions.

In this area the ZNP will cooperate closely with educational authorities. The ZNP cells have a special role to play here, the creation of conditions favoring a wide exchange of views and experience, the spread of pedagogical initiative on the part of teachers and the formation of a climate for good, dependable work of a didactic, training and protective nature.

The ZNP cells will participate in carrying out the tasks of cooperation between schools and plants, tightening collaboration between teachers and families, and between the profession and social institutions, and will aim at the formation of patriotic attitudes in youth, training them through work, and the development of independent activities on the part of youth organizations.

The ZNP cells will be assigned a special role in the formation, improvement and perfection of teachers.

This is both a result of the nature of the Union as a professional teachers' organization and of the best traditions dating back to the beginnings of the creation of a professional teachers' movement.

In the area of educating candidates to become teachers, the 12th Congress of ZNP Delegates outlined two main tasks for ZNP cells:

Improvement in recruiting candidates for pedagogical studies, and

Intensification of the idealism-producing work in schools educating teachers, and better practical and methodological preparation of them for the profession.

The most important points in the area of improving working teachers are:

Improvement in conditions of study, and of the accommodation and social base, assurance of necessary textbooks and lecture notes, and improvement in the activity of counseling centers and remedial courses;

The creation of an atmosphere of friendliness and of aid to students in schools, a guarantee of proper organization of the process of education, the formation of modern didactic devices and maintenance of a high level and efficiency of study;

Preparation of older teachers for qualifying examinations; and

The organization in maternal schools of aid to teachers studying for and increasing their professional qualifications, and the formation around them of a climate of friendship, encouragement and comradely cooperation.

In the area of improving teachers are to be found:

Further improvement in idealism-producing work carried out by the ZNP cells with the aid of party channels; and

Joint participation in the publication, organization and improvement of various forms of betterment carried out by the Institute for Teacher Training.

In its scope of activities the ZNP also includes higher schools and scientific posts, including PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences]. A considerable percentage of scientific workers are found in the Union ranks. This is why the ZNP program of activity devotes a special division to the role of the ZNP cells in the development of higher education and science. Here is the content of this division:

The program of building a developed socialist society places before science and higher education the task of increasing the quality of the results of education and of developing scientific research and innovative work. Therefore a tightening of the bonds of scientific posts and higher education with socioeconomic practise is indispensable for the purpose of the further development of technological and economic progress, the formation of highly qualified cadres for the needs of economy and culture and intensification of production.

It is necessary for scientific research work to take on and solve problems resulting from current and future needs of the country, to eliminate activities pretending to be scientific work, to finish research topics on time and to concentrate resources and cadres on priority problems for the development of the national economy. To an even greater degree institutional councils will see to the formation of the best possible conditions for creative and effective work on the part of scientific posts and advanced schools.

An essential task for scientific workers, particularly academic teachers, will be to improve the level of ideology instruction and didactic work in advanced schools, and the formation of attitudes of involvement and creative personalities in students.

The ZNP institutional councils of all advanced schools will support all initiatives toward updating didactic and training work, the development of innovation and inventiveness in workers and students, improvement in forms of cooperation between scientific posts and factories and improvement in the organization of research, productive practise, internships, and the material and technological background of advanced schools and institutes. It is necessary to continue all forms of cooperation to form a socialist culture of work and coexistence between scientific teams, to inculcate ideas of leadership and model performance of everyday obligations, and to popularize innovative forms of didactic and training activities.

Activity will be undertaken to develop young teaching cadres, to use their abilities, talents and creative opportunities effectively, to raise the quality of research and scientific publications, to maintain fair scientific criticism and to increase the effectiveness of doctoral studies.

The ZNP cells will devote special care to the cadres beginning work in advanced schools and scientific posts, and will analyze the conditions of

their professional beginnings and scientific development and the conditions of their work and lives. Of particular importance here will be assurance of scientific information from every side, improvement in the knowledge of foreign languages, assistance in the organization of scientific and didactic laboratories, exchange of experience and comradely aid.

There must be further active participation of workers in the social and humanitarian sciences and of the advanced schools in the development and introduction of theoretical bases into the national system of education, in good professional, ideological and political preparation of future teaching cadres, and in systematic improvement in the conditions and effectiveness of studies for working teachers.

In their work the cells associated with higher education and scientific research posts will be guided by the Resolution of the Seventh National Conference of the Scientific Session of the ZNP Main Administration. The Union does not only fulfill the function of the school in the development of an awareness of ideological, social and moral attitudes in their members and their involvement in accomplishing the tasks outlined by the party, through its ideological and pedagogical activity, but also through socio-cultural, tourist and sight-seeing, and sport activities. In this field the ZNP cells can be proud of fine accomplishments. These accomplishments will be multiplied in the coming term and all of the directions of activity up to now will be developed and enriched.

The living and working conditions of ZNP members are among the basic segments of the work of the Union, as the representative and spokesman for the interests of educational and scientific workers.

Among others, the following tasks have been outlined for the program of activity for 1976-1980:

"The Polish Teachers' Union will cooperate with state authorities and school administrations in carrying out the Resolution of the Seventh PZPR Congress, which requires that special care and protection be given to the teaching profession, with attentiveness to improvement in living and working conditions, raising the professional, ideological and moral qualifications, forming an atmosphere of friendliness, trust and aid on the part of society around the school and teachers, and raising the social status of the teaching profession. With thorough conviction the ZNP will participate in other efforts of the party and state to improve the material situation of teachers and academicians, a consistent continuation of the policy thus far in this field.

"The ZNP will cooperate in further improving the pay systems of special working groups and remuneration for other work, in conformity with the principle of the quantity and quality of results obtained. We shall continue to make efforts aimed at accelerating the initiation of an

institutional fund for awards, for anniversary awards and for supplements to the groups of workers not covered by other benefits."

Investigations will also be developed on the working time schedule of teachers and academicians.

Improvement in the housing conditions of educational and scientific workers, particularly teachers working in the country and young teaching cadres, is one of the most important tasks.

The ZNP cells will participate with organs of the school administration and local authorities in developing multiyear programs of improvement in housing conditions and their consistent realization through the joint efforts of state and society.

These programs should consider:

The construction of apartments for teachers for recently erected and expanded schools in the country and in cities, particularly gmina collective schools, by using state funds and the social activity of the population for this purpose;

Increasing the allotments for apartments from local reserves in community, social and institutional construction for the needs of workers in education and science;

Wider use in the allocation of apartments of a principle recognizing teachers, academicians and scientific research workers as specialists indispensable for the needs of the national economy in a given area, recognizing at the same time that an apartment is an integral part of their place of work;

Continuation of various forms of aid in finding apartments and the construction of single family houses; and

Development of the construction of hotels for assistants and of rotating housing for teachers, academicians and scientific workers.

The formation of an institutional social fund has had an outstanding effect on expanding the area of services and benefits in the field of vacations, tourism, weekends and recreation for the children of Union members. In this area the system of managing the social fund will be improved, particularly from the point of view of its proper and reasonable use and of further improvements in social services.

The ZNP cells will continue to work in favor of the further development of various forms of recreation, including expansion of the recreational base and better equipment for it, the development of family vacations, the

organization of attractive forms of recreation after work, the development of tourism and sports, and attempts to allocate workers' allotment gardens and recreational places. In cooperation with educational authorities, they will develop various forms of common feeding of educational and scientific workers, of their families and of pensioners and annuitants.

Along with the management of factories, the ZNP cells will continue to expand the range of social and living benefits in favor of pensioners and annuitants. At the same time endeavors will be continued to construct homes for pensioned educational and scientific workers, along with action for the purpose of distinguishing, properly recognizing and satisfying deserving teachers and academicians, particularly because of secret teaching. Research will also be carried out on the history of the teachers' union movement, and particularly secret education and science, and the martyrology of teachers and scientific workers during the occupation under Hitler.

Assurance of aid to teachers' children in admission to schools of every kind and to care and training centers, as well as to summer and other camps, demands the constant interest of ZNP cells.

The health and recreation of ZNP members should be an object of concern to the teaching authorities and to the Union cells.

In particular this requires:

Systematic analysis and verification of the rights guaranteed by the "Charter" and by executive regulations, particularly in the area of using the health fund, days for sick leave, the granting by day schools and academies of time to teachers and academicians for prophylaxis and treatment, plus granting them first and foremost auxiliary resources, orthopedic equipment and technical treatment methods necessary for the performance of the duties of their profession; and

The formation in voivodship teams of specialized clinics and information agencies for teachers, and periodic research.

Periodic examination of the state of health of teachers and academicians will be carried out from the point of view of critical analysis, in collaboration with the school administrations, of the program for improving medical care and working conditions.

There should be further growth in the number of hospital admissions for health treatment by extending the health base proper, particularly by accelerating the construction of new buildings in Busko Zdroju and Krynica Zdroju, the expansion of the sanatoria in Ciechocinek and

Naleczowa, changing the profile of the sanatorium in Zakopane, leasing private quarters, and introducing seasonal prophylaxis and treatment stations in schools and educational and training institutions.

Greater initiative on the part of the educational and academic authorities and Union cells is needed in the construction and organization of our own vacation centers, located in particularly attractive regions and intended for workers and their families, pensioners and annuitants. For this purpose a program is being worked out to locate recreational and treatment centers in buildings within the investment plans of the Ministry of Education and Training, the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, and the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Activity will be undertaken for the purpose of increasing safety and hygienic conditions of work in schools, educational and training centers, advanced schools, teaching and research institutes and auxiliary annexes. For this purpose it is necessary to work out a program to insure suitable working conditions in every center for 1976-1980.

In the area of financial and investment economy, improvement will continue to be made in the management of Union funds and principles for dividing contributions, and the costs of maintaining ZNP cells will be restricted for the purpose of using funds which have been saved to finance activities directly serving Union members. The network of branches of the Center for Pedagogical and Social Services also requires improvement, particularly its internal organizational structure, its range and the forms of services rendered to the ZNP cells and members.

Attempts will be made to develop the social investments of the Union, especially in such areas as sanatoria and prophylactic treatment, recreation after work, sports and tourism, and cultural and educational activities. For this purpose the share of investment up to now in the division of member contributions will be maintained, and a long-term plan of construction and repair of Union property will be worked out. A system of managing the resources of the relief and loan funds will be improved from the point of view of primary consideration of member needs, particularly those earning less (families with many children, young couples and persons beginning their professional work).

Organizational Activity and International Cooperation

A change in the ZNP structure, its simplification and streamlining serves to further the consolidation of the basic organizational cell, the local Union organization, to increase the participation of the active members in the Union work, and to intensify democracy within the organization.

Further improvement here is necessary through increasing the role and independence of the institutional councils, intensification of the social

nature of Union activity, increasing the authority of the permanent consultative and advising commissions in the sections of the ZNP Main Administration and improvement in the activity of the Union sections.

Effective realization of the programs of activity of various ZNP cells, adopted during the electoral accounting campaign, requires further social, political and professional activation of educational and scientific workers, improvement in the forms and methods of Union work, an increase in organizational functioning and efficiency, and systematic control and achievement of the members' demands and resolutions passed.

Forms of social consultation will be improved and used to a greater extent in making decisions on basic matters of teaching and educational policy, and on working and Union matters. Internal Union communication will also be improved, since this is an important factor fostering better acquaintance with the matters and problems confronting the working community, and also fostering the direction and inspiration of ZNP cell work.

Agreements on cooperation concluded between the ZNP Main Administration and the Ministry of Education and Training and the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology will play an important role in improving the activity of Union channels and cells. The Union cells, the educational authorities and the authorities of higher education will continue to strive to improve the content, principles and forms of cooperation for the further development of education, science and the teaching profession.

The proper formation of a culture of a common life and cooperation in teaching teams, intensification of social discipline, responsibility for the results of work, involvement, strengthening the sense of pride and professional solidarity, the formation of an atmosphere of unity in rights and obligations and of social disapproval for incidents harmful to education, all of these will take on particular importance.

The cooperation of the ZNP with the International Federation of Professional Teachers' Unions, the World Federation of Scientific Workers, teaching unions in socialist countries and progressive teaching organizations in capitalist countries will be continued and expanded for the purpose of better recognition of problems in education, science and the teaching profession and in order to broaden cooperation in the spirit of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

In particular initiatives will be adopted for the purpose of organizing an exchange of experiences, exchanging materials and publications, organizing international symposia and conferences, concluding bilateral agreements and contacts on cooperation, organizing the free exchange of union groups and assuring the participation of the children of Union members in international youth and other camps.

The ZNP activity in the international arena will be used to publicize the achievements of Polish education and science and to broaden cooperation and the professional solidarity of teachers and scientific workers. We have presented the main directions of ZNP activity in the period of the coming term and the fundamental content of the program adopted by the 12th Congress. This is an indisputably rich program containing all fields of ZNP activity, a difficult and ambitious program.

Is it realistic?

We would like to answer this question by evaluating the performance of the program of activity contained in the Resolution of the previous Congress, a program no less difficult and ambitious. It was completely carried out. This was the result of the tremendous importance of education and science and the role of teachers in party and government policy, and of the aid extended to Union and educational authorities in the development of all important and difficult matters. It was also the result of the honest work of all cells of the educational system, the initiative of the ZNP cells, and the involvement and feeling of responsibility of all members of our organization.

Such an attitude is a basic condition for achieving the tasks outlined by the 12th ZNP Congress.

"The Poland of our desires and ambitions will not come into being by itself," said Comrade Edward Gierek at the Seventh Plenary Assembly of the PZPR Central Committee. "Whether and when we achieve what has been outlined in the program for the development of the country depends on all of us. Whether we achieve more or less depends on us."

Dissatisfactions Voiced

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 24 Oct 76 pp 5-6

[Text] On 14 October of this year Minister Jerzy Kuberski welcomed 79 delegates to the Congress in the Ministry of Education and Training building. Also present were the vice president of the ZNP Main Administration, Tadeusz Toczek, the director of the ZNP Main Administration Legal and Social Division, Florian Jaworski, and the director of the Department of Cadres and Social Affairs of the Ministry, Jerzy Kolodziejczyk.

The meeting was held on Teachers' Day, and therefore there was no lack of mutual, hearty compliments and congratulations, but the main impression was of pre-Congress working discussions. Viewpoints and opinions were exchanged in a very friendly atmosphere and in cordial discussions on the subject of the matters most affecting the teaching community at present,

matters which were to be pointed out in discussions at the Congress with solutions to be adopted in everyday work by both school administrations and Union channels.

They spoke of fundamental and trivial matters, details which render teaching difficult, disturbing or frustrating a good atmosphere in pedagogical circles circles. In this short report there is no way of recording all of the problems touched upon, of which there were very many, and so we shall deal only with the most essential, the ones broached most often.

One was the problem of raising the qualifications and the training level of teachers. It was stressed that one of our greatest successes in recent years has been the possibility for teachers to complete and better their training in such a broad area. This is of tremendous importance for the good of the schools, and is a most essential condition for the favorable achievement of the educational reform assumptions.

However, sometimes the quality of teacher training arouses doubt. We must train pedagogues for our times and for the needs of the reform. Therefore in our work in advanced schools we must use the most modern methods so as to set an example for students. Unfortunately this is not always the case. Too often teachers in higher institutions give an object lesson in what should not be done in modern schools. On this occasion the matter of frequent and unjust compensation for the costs of trips to meetings, traveling allowances, a reduction in hours and so forth were brought up. Favorable achievement of the reform also depends on the material base and on school equipment. This is still very heterogeneous. There are schools which are truly rich and others in which, in regard to teaching assistants, time stopped several years ago. All efforts must be made to equalize the striking disproportions and to multiply the resources of indigent schools.

The next question is housing for teachers, a need which is still very great. The lack of housing is one of the reasons why new and highly qualified teachers do not flock to the profession, and therefore does not help to attain stability in this profession. The percentage of teachers taking jobs in some localities is alarming. Under these conditions how can we achieve a program of work for open regional schools? Strong efforts and initiatives must be adopted to satisfy the need in this area.

There was also talk of the need for counteraction, for making proper efforts to prevent the flow of valuable, qualified teachers from the teaching profession.

The wider and wider share of student teachers in working out school programs was recognized and emphasized. The beneficial effects of this, particularly in trade schools, has had a considerable impact.

The opinion was expressed that the current system of teaching work is inadequate and demands were made that essential modifications be made in it. Also necessary is improvement in school visitations so that they provide real aid for the teacher, and so that the inspectors leave something behind in the form of real improvement in the work of the teachers, principals and schools.

A great deal was said about the need for cooperation between educational authorities and Union channels in the area of establishing real interpersonal relations in pedagogical circles, in the competent choice of people for principalships, the creation of an atmosphere of mutual friendliness and compliance with the canons of fairness.

In particular a great deal was said about cooperation between the school administration and the Union cells, which is understandable. The judgment was that the results of mutual activity are getting better and better. Unfortunately, this is not always true at the level of the gmina center principal.

Minister Jerzy Kuberski emphasized that he places a high value on the activity of the Polish Teachers' Union and stated that the teaching community would be considerably poorer, in the broad meaning of this word, were it not for the activity of the Union organization. Therefore it is important for all school principals to thoroughly understand that their own work and that of their schools can be considerably enriched through cooperation with Union cells.

Both the delegates and Minister Jerzy Kuberski expressed the opinion that the kind of exchange of viewpoints and opinions, which took place during the meeting reported on here, is very constructive and that it is a very concrete form of spreading and supplementing the materials brought up by discussions at the Congress.

Meeting With Higher Education Minister

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 24 Oct 76 p 6

[Text] On the day before the 12th National Congress, a large group of delegates representing the scientific community from all areas of the country, the vice president of the ZNP Main Administration, Docent Dr Zofia Sztetyllo and the chairman of the Scientific Section, Docent Dr Wieslaw Jasiobedzki, took part in a meeting with the director of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology. Vice Minister Janusz Gorski and the director of the Department of Cadres, Jacek Kornacki, welcomed the delegates in the name of the head of the Ministry.

Despite the fact that the meeting had the nature of a private and comradely conversation with glasses of wine and cups of coffee, as is normal

among people who have a lively interest in the same problems, it rapidly changed into a discussion on the subject of the perspectives beginning to face science and higher education during the next 5-year period, on the subject of the road which should be followed, and on what still impedes work and renders the life of scientific workers difficult.

The point of departure for such a really comradely exchange of opinions was the statement of Vice Minister Janusz Gorski, who carefully informed the guests of the situation in science and higher education today, of what had been accomplished during the last 5 years and of what the general directions of work will be in the future.

It must be stated that the contributions of the last period, which Vice Minister Janusz Gorski defined as "5 years of qualitative development," is considerable. During this time the number of intramural students increased from 310,000 in 1970 to nearly 500,000 in the current year, thus by nearly 40 percent, the number of scientific personnel increased by 70 percent, and the cubic area base increased from 11.7 m^3 to 11.9 m^3 per student. Furniture and scientific apparatus has been considerably improved and the production of textbooks and lecture notes has been augmented.

These are undoubtedly changes for the better, making work a little easier and more effective, although certainly still far from reaching a satisfactory state. This is all the more true because, along with these positive phenomena, negative ones must also be noted, the most unsettling of which has to be the increased disproportion between the application of students for places in dormitories and messhalls, and the possibilities of satisfying these needs. In short the social background did not increase to an extent equal to the enormous growth in the number of students, which could not help producing negative effects. Actually there are perspectives now for improving the situation, in view of the fact that even in the current school year we shall get 27 more buildings with 14,000 places, while in the next 5-year period a large part of investment funds will have to assigned to the construction of dormitories and messhalls.

In regard to the coming 5-year period, this will again be a "5-year period of quality," according to the definition of Vice Minister J. Gorski. This is because there is no anticipation of any quantitative increase in higher education, while on the contrary complete attention will have to be focussed on improving didactic and educational work in our advanced schools. In regard to science, there will be an intensification and increase in the effectiveness of research work.

As is well known, a comprehensive system of directing research work went into effect in January of this year. Seven basic sets of research problems of priority importance were selected, for which the government is allotting considerable financial outlays. In addition there are more than 60 critical problems and 40 problems in the field of basic research.

Despite this, it will be necessary to carry out research of an innovative nature, as well as to solve current research and innovative problems proposed by ministries.

In the discussion which developed from the background of information presented by the Ministry director, there was common reflection on how to cope with the work facing the world of science, on what could interfere with its accomplishment and on what could upset the scientific community.

One of such weak points is certainly the excessive formalization and bureaucratization of research programs. Science, like every creative activity, is difficult to "fence in" within the framework of paragraphs and narrowly defined regulations. The more necessary it is today to thoroughly plan and program research, both from the point of view of the hierarchy of state needs in this field and from the point of view of the large financial outlays associated with the performance of research work, the less it is possible to "drown" scientific problems in a sea of blank forms, bits of paper and reports. Unfortunately such a situation is beginning to evolve, as a result of which the leaders of research teams have been devoting a significant part of their time and energy to dealing with all of this paperwork and budgeting procedure. Programmed assumptions need not be looked at in such a way, and this paradoxical situation must not be allowed to proliferate.

Significant difficulties are also found, and not just starting with today, in recruiting good young scientific cadres. Here we cannot complain about the number of those desiring this type of work, but about their quality. One of the obstacles to obtaining the best candidates is the lack of housing. Economic institutions are considerably more fortunate than scientific laboratories in being able to use a "housing" trump to involve the most capable graduates in their work.

In the free conversation, lasting almost 3 hours, such subjects were broached as the lack of exact criteria for evaluating didactic and educational work, the unsatisfactory phenomena occurring in the area of postgraduate and doctoral studies, the causes of teaching difficulties, and finally a complete gamut of so-called social and living matters, which were certainly not being pointed out for the first time.

In the opinion of Vice Minister Gorski the Ministry will have to consider all of these problems carefully and work responsibly on a solution for the many justified demands.

At the conclusion of this pleasant and interesting visit, the hosts and guests raised a toast "to the success and flowering of Polish science and education, to the prosperity of the Polish teaching profession and to the success of the 12th National ZNP Congress to begin on the following day."

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