

PUBLISHED BY THE WASHINGTON LEGATION OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLES' REPUBLIC

*THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN
CHURCH AND STATE
IN THE
HUNGARIAN
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC*

CONTENTS

	<i>Page No.</i>
Religious Discrimination a Punishable Crime.....	1
The Blessings of Land Reform.....	2
Machinations of Cardinal Mindszenty.....	3
Church Enjoys Exemptions from Nationalization.....	3
Subsidies Constitutionally Guaranteed.....	4
Church Supports Peace Appeal.....	5
Solidarity with the Masses.....	6
Some Dignitaries are Isolated from the People.....	7
Agreement Between Church and State Widely Hailed.....	8
Yearning for Peace, Progress and Social Justice.....	9
Lowly Priests Aspire to be Nation-Builders.....	10
Futility of Vatican-Inspired Opposition.....	11

Annexes

1 Agreement Between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Reformed Church.....	12
2 A Movement of Priests Loyal to the People.....	17
<i>Address by Dr. Richard Horváth</i>	
We Must Disavow the Politics Once Pursued by the Church.....	29
<i>Address by Rev. Dr. Richard Balogh</i>	
Our People Will Protect Those Loyal to Them.....	35
<i>Address by József Darvas, Minister of Religion and Public Education</i>	
3 Resolution Adopted by the National Conference of Catholic Priests (including list of participants).....	41
4 Agreement Between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Roman Catholic Episcopate.....	43
5 The Peaceful Co-Existence of State and Church.....	45
<i>By György Parragi</i>	
6 Statement by the National Committee of Catholic Priests.....	46
7 Appeal of the National Peace Committee of Catholic Priests to the Catholic Priests and their Congregants.....	48

*Published by the Washington Legation of the Hungarian People's Republic
2118 Leroy Place, N.W., Washington, D. C.*

Additional copies will be mailed upon request.

The Relationship Between Church and State in the Hungarian People's Republic

ONE of the cardinal points in the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic prescribes the guarantee of freedom of conscience and of religion. Article 54., clause 1. of Law XX/1949, creating the Constitution of the Republic, declares: "The Hungarian People's Republic guarantees the freedom of conscience of its citizens and the right to exercise free religious worship." Clause 2. of the same Article sets forth: "In order to safeguard the citizens' freedom of conscience, the Hungarian People's Republic separates the Church from the State."

Religious Discrimination a Punishable Crime

Freedom of conscience and freedom of religious worship are further confirmed in clause 2. of Article 49 of the Constitution which states: "Discrimination of any kind on grounds of sex, religion or nationality, detrimental to any citizen, is severely punishable by law." These clauses of the Constitution and the practical policies of the people's democratic state, consistently pursued ever since the Liberation, insure the free functioning of the churches and the free religious practices of the believers. This is what Mátyás Rákosi, vice-president of the Council of Ministers, referred to during the parliamentary debate in his presentment of the Constitution of the People's Republic: "What the draft constitution proposes to embody in the constitution, concerning the right of free religious worship, seeks only to render permanent a condition already in force. In the Hungarian democracy no one has ever been persecuted for his religious convictions or for the practice of his religion. This is how it was in the past and this is how it must be in the future." Indeed, the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic has but stabilized actual conditions which the democratic Hungarian Government had created by insuring the freedom of religious worship from the very first days following the Liberation.

When in the autumn of 1944, the Soviet Army liberated Szeged, second largest city of the country, the anti-fascist democratic parties formed a National Committee and elected, as its president, István Balogh, D.D., a Roman Catholic priest. Thus, from the very outset the new democratic regime has endeavoured to create an atmosphere of peaceful cooperation with the churches. It found expression in the program of the Hungarian National Independence Front, formed at Szeged on December 3, 1944, in these words: "Absolute freedom of religious worship and the material requisites thereof shall be guaranteed."

In the course of those initial months a favorable atmosphere evolved

between the Roman Catholic Church and the democratic regime. The first pastoral letter issued by the Catholic Episcopate at the beginning of July, 1945, contained, among others, the following: "Although the government, as implied in its name, is provisional, it is nevertheless the sole representative of the nation toward the outside world, and of law and order toward the home front. Therefore it has the legal right to demand the respect and obedience for itself in all matters not contrary to the commandments of God."

The Blessings of Land Reform

The land reform, which had long been overdue in Hungary, naturally expropriated also the latifundia (large landed estates). The progressive members of the clergy have long regarded the situation prior to 1945 as anachronistic and detrimental to the Church in discharging its duties. In 1940, the Catholic Church in Hungary owned 877,204 hectares of land while at the same time three million village farm hands were wholly landless and one and a half million peasants, drudging on one-half to 2 hectares, lived in penury. The socially conscious clergy felt that the liquidation of Church properties released the Church from heavy burdens. Even the above-mentioned first pastoral letter offered a prayer in connection with land reform, beseeching God to permit the prosperity of the new landholders to comfort the Church for its losses.

Land reform did not affect the Church as a spiritual community of believers but rather as an accessory to the propertied class of feudal large estates, whose rule was ripe for dissolution by democracy in Hungary, just as it had been ended everywhere else.

The government has remained true to the Szeged program of the Hungarian National Independence Front and provided the material means to safeguard the functioning of the churches. Thus it left the Catholic Church in possession of a total of 104,310 hectares of land, most of which belongs to the parishes. The government provided not only for maintenance of the already existing parishes but made possible the establishment of new parishes by giving them land and parsonages. In the spirit of a resolution adopted by the Council of Ministers on December 29, 1945, the state pays the salaries even of those clerical functionaries who, in the past, were not paid by the state. According to this resolution, the Prince Primate belongs to the first salary grade and receives twice as much as the President of the Council. The two archbishops belong to the second salary grade and receive one and a half times the salary of a minister, and nine diocesan bishops and the Abbot of Pannonhalma belong also to the second salary grade. The state pays the vicars general, the apostolic governors, vicars of the chapters, canons, generals of the orders, episcopal office directors and, in general, the entire staff of episcopal administration.

Machinations of Cardinal Mindszenty

The state also provided for the maintenance of the parochial schools and paid the salaries of the monks and nuns teaching in them up to June 16, 1948, when the Hungarian Legislature passed a law nationalizing the denominational schools. The Ministry of Religion and Public Education has spent and continues to spend a large percentage of its budget to support the churches, church institutions and church schools.

The Hungarian Roman Catholic Episcopate had acknowledged this, as is evident in the pastoral letter cited above, yet the relationship between the Catholic Church and the democratic Hungarian State took an unfavorable turn already in the autumn of 1945. Contrary to the suggestions of the Hungarian government, the Vatican named József Mindszenty as Archbishop of Esztergom and Prince Primate of the country. József Mindszenty refused to take cognizance of the political and social changes which had occurred, within legal bounds, in Hungary since the Liberation; he refused to recognize the new legal order. József Mindszenty attempted primarily to restore Catholicism to its erstwhile role in public law, which had created a state within the state. In feudal fashion, he called himself "the first banneret" of the country—that is, he assumed an entirely obsolete and invalidated title in public law, and on the basis of this title he arrogated to himself the right to interfere in questions affecting the political and economic life of the nation.

With the restoration of this political catholicism, he intended to pave the way for reinstatement of the old conditions of land ownership, the restitution of church property, and finally the revival of the defunct reactionary political system. He gave first expression to these purely political ambitions, which had no relevance whatsoever to religion, on October 18, 1945, in a circular letter issued by the Catholic Episcopate which he signed in the name of the Catholic Episcopate. In this letter he openly denounced democracy and land reform in such flagrant terms that all democratic parties were compelled to condemn the circular in a joint declaration. This date marks the beginning of the steady deterioration of the relationship between Church and State in Hungary.

Exemptions from Nationalization

The government, however, continued unalterably its policy of tolerance and conciliation towards the Catholic Church. This sentiment manifested itself not only in the budget of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education, in which the funds spent for church purposes grew from year to year, but became particularly evident in June, 1948, when the nationalization of parochial schools was put on the agenda. In recognition of the historical merits of certain Catholic educational orders, the government was disposed

to exempt from nationalization some Catholic schools, in proportion to their numerical strength, possessing historical traditions—as had been done in the case of Reformed and Lutheran churches on the basis of agreement with the State—and to leave them in possession of the Catholic Church. At the same time the state offered to allow monks and nuns to continue teaching in the nationalized schools. The government also informed the Catholic Episcopate that it had no intention of changing personnel in the former denominational schools. This generous offer was rejected and, upon orders of József Mindszenty, the Catholic Episcopate issued instructions prohibiting the teaching in nationalized schools by members of the various orders. Cardinal Mindszenty thus forbade 4,500 monks and nuns to pursue their professions as teachers. These monks and nuns were thereby barred from the work of building the country, were sundered from their professions and from the Hungarian working people.

In February, 1949, light was shed upon the background of Cardinal Mindszenty's attitude toward the democratic government. The Mindszenty trial, attended by many representatives of the international press, revealed to the believers and to world public opinion that Prince Primate Mindszenty had placed himself in opposition to the Hungarian state not for religious reasons but because of his own political ambitions; that he had organized a conspiracy against the state, aiming at the restoration of Otto of Hapsburg and the overthrow of the democratic government; that he had engaged in espionage activities and committed foreign currency violations.

On March 15, 1949, Hungarian political life reached a new evolutionary stage. This day marked the first Congress of the Hungarian People's Independence Front (a political and social organization embracing all democratic parties and mass organizations). At this Congress, Mátyás Rákosi, President of the People's Front, declared: "The formation of the People's Independence Front entailed an increase in the number of civil rights." "Among these," he said, "we wish to stress the rights to democratic constructive criticism and to free religious worship."

The guarantee of free religious worship received vigorous emphasis also in the program of the parliamentary elections held on May 15, 1949. Therefore the overwhelming majority of the lower clergy declared itself in favor of the program of the People's independence Front.

Church Subsidies Constitutionally Guaranteed

On August 18, 1949, Parliament adopted the Constitution of the People's Republic which was enacted into Law XX:1949. In our introduction we cited those passages of the Constitution which relate to the insuring of the freedom of religion. The state budget of the Hungarian People's Republic has continued to provide generously for the support of churches.

In the agreements signed with the Protestant (Reformed), Lutheran, Unitarian and Jewish religious communities—which at the same time it offered to the Catholic Church—the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic undertook to subsidize the churches. (*For the text of the agreement concluded with the Protestant Churches, see Annex No. 1, page 12.*)

The text of these agreements shows clearly and unequivocally, on the one hand, the absolute freedom enjoyed by the churches in the Hungarian People's Republic, on the other hand the subsidies accorded them by the Government of the People's Republic. The relationship between Church and State is characterized, in the first place, by the separation of Church and State, in the second place by the peaceful collaboration between the state and the various churches, exemplifying the principle of "a free Church in a free State."

With the utmost consideration for the laws and prescriptions of the religious community—Protestant, Lutheran and Jewish—Church and Synagogue have declared themselves to be on the side of the Hungarian People's Democracy. The conditions laid down in the agreements have been observed alike by the state and the churches; possessing complete freedom of religion, the churches have continued to enjoy subsidies guaranteed by the state. At international conferences, in press and pulpit, spokesmen of the Protestant and Lutheran churches have come to the defense of the Hungarian people and its government, and unanimously they have endorsed the Stockholm peace resolution.

Church Supports Peace Plan

Within the Catholic Church there is an increasingly potent endeavour, in the ranks of the faithful and among the lower clergy, to reach an agreement with the state and to liquidate all subversive manifestations in clerical guise. In addition to the millions of Catholic believers, numerous members of the lower clergy signed the Stockholm appeal and participated actively in the efforts of peace committees. Part of the Catholic Episcopate, however, assumed an antagonistic attitude toward attempts by the state to bring about an agreement. Indeed, a pastoral letter issued by the Catholic Episcopate essentially took a stand against the Stockholm peace appeal.

In the ever-expanding movement within the ranks of the faithful and the lower clergy, the Catholic Episcopate proposed, in the summer of 1950, that negotiations be held between Church and State with a view to settling problems that are still pending. While parleys were proceeding, the National Conference of Catholic Priests assembled on August 1, 1950, to articulate the sentiments of the masses of believers and priests, and to take a stand on the problem of the relationship between Church and State.

Hungarian political circles watched this Conference of the clergy with the attention due all events of extraordinary significance. The Conference

was preceded by an appeal in which 35 Catholic priests invited to a national convention all those of their colleagues who were eager to bring about an agreement between Church and State. The appeal evoked particularly widespread reverberations. Especially enthusiastic and favorable was the response among the pastoral parish priests. The keen interest manifested, the mass participation in the Conference, the opinions expressed, and the final resolution adopted—all indicate that the convocation of the Conference was an expression of the aspirations of a considerable stratum of the Catholic clergy.

The Conference, which opened with a recitation of the *Veni Sancte*, afforded an opportunity to a very important segment of the Catholic priesthood, which is but slightly or not at all represented in the official leadership of the church, to voice opinions upon the status of the church and upon a whole series of important questions relating to Hungarian foreign and domestic political affairs.

Solidarity With the Masses

Essentially the Conference was a resolute manifestation by the Catholic clergy, especially the lower clergy that knows the people intimately and is loyal to the homeland, of solidarity with the people and with the cause of peace. "Our movement," said Dr. Richard Horváth, Cistercian monk, "stems from priests that are of the people, that march abreast of the people, and are devoted to the people . . . and we believe that this movement, striving to serve our church and our country, will reach its goal."

It follows inevitably, from this determined attitude toward the people's cause and the cause of peace, that the conference had to take a firm stand also in support of the achievements of the People's Democracy, for an agreement between Church and State, and unequivocally to espouse the peace movement.

The Catholic priests' participation in the Conference recognized and affirmed that there is and can be no contradiction whatsoever between religious conviction and the upbuilding of socialism, respect for labor, realization of the Five-Year Plan; the new, free and happy life created by the Hungarian people. Accordingly, if the Catholic Church really wants to discharge its spiritual calling, it must come to an agreement with the state of the working people. "Our Conference met," Dr. Richard Horváth said, "to declare: the attitude of the Catholic Church toward our People's Republic must change . . . The essential creed of our movement bids us be loyal and at one with our people, from whom we spring and to whom we belong. . . ."

The Conference agreed and declared that priests loyal to the People's Democracy, who do not hatch criminal plots on the heinous chance of a

third world war, should fight for peace with all their might. "We must participate in the work of peace committees," asserted Dr. Horváth, "we must set up special clerical peace organizations and peace committees, we must condemn war-mongering, terror bombings and imperialist wars."

Dr. István Balogh recalled that "the Polish Catholic Episcopate has assumed obligations which do not affect their loyalty to Rome, do not violate the laws of religion, and the Polish government safeguards, with sympathy, the interests of the church." The speakers underscored the serious damages sustained by the Catholic Church through the policy pursued by its reactionary leaders. They emphasized that a church policy which attempts at any cost to prevent agreement between the People's Democracy and the Church, which seeks to array the faithful against the People's Democracy, and which advocates the concept that "only priests who embrace reactionary principles are of full value"—stands in conflict with the convictions and endeavours of the majority of the clergy.

Some Dignitaries Isolated from the People

The National Conference of Catholic Priests demonstrated clearly that those high priests who hope for an atomic war, hate the People's Democracy, persecute the priests who have signed the Stockholm peace appeal, are isolated not only from the people but also from the priests loyal to the people.

Participants in the Conference expressed their unalterable devotion, in church matters, to the Holy See, but at the same time they stressed the intention to take part loyally in the building of the country. They urged the Catholic Episcopate to reach an agreement with the state within the shortest possible time. The report read at the Conference, the comments exchanged, and the resolution unanimously adopted were like so many contradictions of the slanders disseminated abroad: that they intend to establish a special separatist national church.

József Darvas, Minister of Religion and Public Education, who was present throughout the conference, declared in his closing speech, in the name of his government, that the Hungarian People's Democracy "never demanded and will never demand from any priest or believer of the Catholic or any other church to be untrue to his church and his religious activities." The Minister assured the movement of the government's support and declared that he would fully protect all those priests who because of their democratic attitude might suffer persecution at the hands of their superiors.

(See Annex No. 2 for the addresses of Minister Darvas, p. 35; Richard Horváth D.D., p. 17; and István Balogh D.D., p. 29.)

After numerous addresses, the Conference adopted the resolution, the full text of which you will find under Annex No. 3, page 41.

The preamble to the resolution verifies that: "All Catholic priests

and monks, hailing from all the dioceses of the country, who participated at the Conference declare hereby that they are loyal priests of the Roman Catholic sacred mother church and its head, and faithful citizens of the people's democratic Hungarian state." They deem it their duty, as priests and citizens, to fulfill their calling as pastors, to aid the Hungarian people in this great work of upbuilding of the country, and to participate actively in the struggle launched to insure lasting peace. The five-pronged resolution urged an agreement between Church and State; avows its loyalty to the Hungarian People's Republic; unconditionally supports the Hungarian people's fight for peace; protests against the use of the atom bomb, and finally regards it desirable that the State power facilitate the clergy loyal to the people in the performance of their professional mission.

At the close of the Conference, the National Peace Committee of Catholic Priests was founded. Returning home, the priests acquainted their constituents with the resolutions. Members of the lower clergy joined the movement by the thousands. Catholic congregations and priests alike demanded an agreement between Church and State.

As an outcome of the negotiations between Church and State, the government and the Catholic Episcopate signed an agreement on August 30, 1950. True to an earlier declaration by Mátyás Rákosi, in which he had said that "the People's Democracy is always ready to come to an agreement with the Catholic Church based on mutual concord and conciliation." Both contracting parties assumed certain obligations and equally emphasized that they would not only fulfill them but also make certain that others do likewise. (*Annex No. 4, page 43.*)

Agreement Widely Hailed

The agreement was greeted with undivided enthusiasm by Hungarian public opinion in general, hailed as a significant new victory scored by the policy of the Hungarian People's Democracy. The Peace Committee received an outpouring of letters from priests and believers in all corners of the country, expressing their elation over the agreement. The National Peace Committee of Catholic Priests discussed the agreement at a conference and emphasized that this was not just an adroit tactical move but the precursor of truly serious changes in the relationship between Church and State.

"We shall be on hand everywhere," the Conference declared, "to put out the flames caused by war incendiaries, wherever it may be necessary to raise the voice of Christian conscience in protest against the terrible crimes perpetrated upon humanity." It was pointed out at the Conference that every priest supporting the agreement must join the peace movement of the Hungarian people and participate in the battle for peace. Applauding the agreement, *Szabad Nép* (Free People), central organ of the Hungarian Working People's Party, wrote:

"The government and our party, the guiding force of the People's Democracy, will do their utmost to make the spirit and letter of the agreement come true. . . . Good will is the most important factor in the realization of the provisions of the agreement. And let there be the will to take common action against those who, at home or abroad, opposed and continue to oppose the agreement between Church and State because they are enemies of the Hungarian people's constructive efforts, unity and peace."

Uj Ember (New Man), Catholic weekly, also acclaimed the agreement because it serves the interest "of that Hungarian Catholicism which, although its supreme mission lies in the realm of the transcendental and charitable, never forgets that its adherents are also citizens of the Hungarian State and that believers, clergy and high clergy alike, are at the same time loyal, indeed, loving sons of their own nation, hence desiring its unhindered development, its external and internal peace, and the success of its constructive labors for improved welfare." The Catholic Episcopate, the weekly continues, "participates and encourages priests and lay believers to participate in the work for realization of the Five-Year Plan, the raising of living standards and implementation of the tenets of social justice. The Catholic Episcopate recognizes the moral principle of human solidarity in connection with the producers' cooperatives. The prelate of every diocese, or the leader of its church government, has confirmed this personally by affixing his signature."

Under the title "Peaceful Co-Existence of State and Church," György Parragi, Member of Parliament and an internationally known Catholic publicist, wrote in the daily *Magyar Nemzet* (Hungarian Nation): "At last!—Into these two simple words are crowded all the satisfaction, relief and sincere joy which swept over Hungarian public opinion upon learning that the Roman Catholic Episcopate and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic had signed an agreement. These terse words faithfully mirror the emotions which dominate the soul of the Hungarian people in the wake of the announced agreement. The signing of the treaty between the Roman Catholic Episcopate and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic allays the misgivings, the mounting impatience, indeed, the bitterness which had accumulated in the souls of the lower clergy and the faithful. The spirit of sacred peace and undiluted Easter joy has entered their souls." (See detailed text of the article under Annex No. 5, page 45.)

Yearning for Peace, Progress and Social Justice

The National Peace Committee of Catholic Priests is recipient of scores of letters in which the lower clergy welcomes with joy the pact between the Catholic Episcopate and the government. Andor Vértés, Roman Catholic priest of Balatonföldvár, writes: "The agreement reached between the Hungarian Government and the Roman Catholic Episcopate is celebrated

with deep spontaneous joy by every Catholic priest. The protracted deliberations had exceedingly intensified our yearning for one of the most important safeguards of our domestic peace: the guarantee of mutually complementary endeavor by Church and State.

"Developments during the past five years have demonstrated what the people's state desires: peace, social justice, progress. Who do not desire peace? Only those who gamble on war, who want to profit by mass-murder. Who is it that does not want peace in the people's state? He who fattens his golden calf with the blood of the people and kneels in worship before it! Christ's priests cannot, but be self-sacrificing apostles of Christ's peace. We do not have to depart a single iota from Christ's Gospel to become zealous workers of our country in its advance toward Socialism! Every Hungarian, man and woman, is happy to live, work freely for his own and his country's improvement. He or she may enter with every ounce of energy the ranks of the militant fighters for peace. Should I, the Catholic priest alone, stand aloof? No! Let the world see that I mean *no!* We are grateful that our government, with this agreement, affords us an opportunity to live and work in devotion to our people. The church must rear saints, not politicians. But the saints of today must be loyal citizens of their country and of humanity, loyal servants of world peace and universal freedom. This treaty offers us the hope really to be able to live thus in the future, that there will be no Hungarian Catholic left who would identify the interests of the church with the interests of imperialism and capitalism.

"It is equally gratifying that a peaceful settlement has been reached in the school question; the church will re-possess eight of its schools in which the parochial teaching orders will again be in charge of education. It will be a happy moment, indeed, when for the first time at the end of festive divine service, the words '*Domine salvam fac republicam!* God bless the Republic!' will be heard from the lips of the officiating priest."

Lowly Priests Aspire to Be Nation-Builders

József Patócs, teacher of religion at Mohács, writes: "Everybody in general, but we of the lower clergy in particular, have long been waiting for the chance to build, together with the millions of working people, the land of Socialism. We Catholic priests, who are sons of the people and desire to be in the vanguard with the people as nation-builders, cannot but eagerly clasp the right hand extended to us by the Hungarian People's Republic, bend all our efforts in the defense of peace, and through our active labours set an example for every Hungarian worker. The fostering of social justice, general progress, devotion to the masses, and the defense of peace are the primary and sacred tasks of every priest of Christ."

Alfonz Csikbánfalvi, Roman Catholic priest of District III, Buda-

pest, wrote: "I welcome whole-heartedly the agreement reached between the Roman Catholic Episcopate and the People's Republic. The stabilization and fructification of peace will be a boon to our people. Those who do not want peace, want war. The lovers of war represent the spirit of outrage and carnage; they are unworthy of the cloth. There you have what fills my heart on this day of reconciliation."

Committees, formed on the basis of parity, engaged forthwith in deliberations on how to implement the agreement and, two weeks thereafter, on September 15th, teaching was reinstated in the eight schools returned to the Church by the government, in fulfilment of a promise made back in 1948. Piarist, Benedictine and Franciscan monks, and teaching nuns were again enabled to earn a livelihood, could again pursue their professions. The State facilitates the work of the schools by defraying completely the subsidies provided in the agreement, which the faithful have welcomed with undivided joy.

The agreement has had great repercussions also abroad. Many western newspapers admitted that the agreement represents a victory for the Hungarian People's Republic, as the Hungarian Government has from the outset striven for a settlement of Church problems. It is generally known that the Vatican had constantly supported the dissenting attitude of the Catholic Episcopate and accordingly, upon publication of the agreement, Vatican circles declared that they had no knowledge of the affair and would not in any case recognize such an understanding. Naturally, this attitude does not in any way alter the fact of the agreement nor detract from the validity of its decisions.

Following the Vatican's declaration, numerous western newspapers attempted to counteract effects on world opinion of the victory of the Hungarian government by terming the agreement as invalid and by alleging that it had been reached under coercion and intimidation. This is, of course, sheer fiction. The foregoing historical survey reveals that in July, 1950, negotiations were begun upon the initiative of the Catholic Episcopate and, as the text of the resolution and its reverberations throughout Hungary show, it has served to the mutual advantage of both contracting parties.

Futility of Vatican-Inspired Opposition

Naturally, neither the negative attitude of the Vatican nor the voices of the western press have affected the emergence of the pact and the validity thereof. In enforcement of the agreement, instruction has been resumed in eight monastic and nunnery schools and, in addition, the Catholic Church continues, of course, to maintain its theological high-schools and seminaries. In the course of implementing the agreement, the Hungarian Government by official decree regulated the functions of the monastic orders in Hungary with regard to the returned parochial schools. The Catholic Episcopate dealt

with this decree in a special pastoral letter, read in the churches. This pastoral letter confirms the fact that, during negotiations with the government, the Catholic Episcopate was fully cognizant of the government's intentions concerning the monastic orders and that, when signing the agreement, the bishops took into consideration the government's desires. Therefore, the rumors circulated abroad, claiming that the governmental decree is inconsistent with the letter of the agreement and thus impairs its validity, are entirely unfounded. Actually the decree safeguards the functions of all those orders which provide instruction in the schools returned to the Catholic Church, and to other monastic monks and nuns it assures employment opportunities compatible with their specialized training.

The agreement reached between the Government of the People's Republic and the Catholic Episcopate permits the peaceful co-existence of Church and State, strengthens the constructive labors of the Hungarian people and their struggle for a lasting peace, in which the Catholic clergy too may participate.



Annex No. 1

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND THE REFORMED (PROTESTANT) CHURCH

In order to arrive at a peaceful and proper settlement, mutually desired, of the questions affecting the relationship between Church and State, the Government of the Hungarian Republic and the committee delegated by the Synodal Council of the Hungarian Reformed (Protestant) Church have entered into the following agreement:

1. For the purpose of readjusting the status of the church in the Republic of Hungary, the Government of the Hungarian Republic and the Reformed Church of Hungary will appoint a permanent Joint Commission to prepare a draft resolution envisaging new laws concerning religious matters—including primarily laws governing the religious upbringing of children. Canonical modifications conforming to the new national Act pertaining to religious affairs will be enacted by church legislation.

Full Freedom of Religion

2. The Government of the Hungarian Republic hereby also asserts that it recognizes and safeguards, by all available and requisite means, the full freedom of religious practices. The Hungarian Reformed Church hereby also affirms that the Legislature and Government of the Hungarian Re-

public had heretofore likewise insured, protected and, indeed by Act XXXIII of 1947, markedly broadened the free exercise of religion and, by contributing to the personnel and material budgets of the church, has made possible maintenance of the present frame-work of congregational life.

3. Consistent with prevailing legal regulations, the Government of the Hungarian Republic regards as integral parts of the free functions of religious life: the holding of divine services in churches or in other suitable public structures, in homes and out of doors; the conducting of Bible classes in churches, schools, private homes and in assembly halls; missionary endeavor in denominational periodicals and independent press media; dissemination of Bibles and tractates; congregational and national church conferences, evangelical meetings, compulsory religious instruction in public schools, and the pursuit of charitable activities. To this end, the Government of the Hungarian Republic permits—outside of regular school hours—the free use of class-rooms and other suitable premises of public schools, wherever this may be necessary, upon previous agreement with school authorities and with the understanding that any damages that may arise from such occupancy shall be indemnified, for purposes of divine service, Sunday school classes, Bible hours, choral meetings and other congregational and religious gatherings, until such time as the congregations may be able to provide buildings of their own.

Furthermore, the Government of the Hungarian Republic regards as pertinent to the free exercise of congregational life the autonomous (jurisdictional) activities of the Church within the limits and methods prescribed by church laws, with the approval of the incumbent Head of the State.

Maintenance of Philanthropic Institutions

4. The Government of the Hungarian Republic is aware of, respects and assures respect for, that obligation of the Hungarian Reformed Church which, imposed by Christ's command and by her own creeds, requires her to exhort the believers to acts of charity, especially as regards the care of the poor, the forsaken, the orphans and the aged. Therefore, the Government guarantees, within the bounds of existing legal regulations, the right of maintenance and development of philanthropic institutions and of the solicitation of charitable donations.

Transition to the Free Church System

5. The Government of the Hungarian Republic takes cognizance of the avowed aspiration of the Reformed Church to bring into being a "Free church in a free state."

The Government of the Hungarian Republic affirms its readiness to extend state subsidies for the duration of that transition period which the

Reformed Church may require for the strengthening of her material resources—as follows:

(a) The Hungarian Republic grants state support to staff members, from June 30, 1948, to December 31, 1948, and for five years thereafter, according to the prevailing scale of wages in the civil service. On January 1, 1954, this subsidy to personal salaries will be reduced by 25%, and the government will undertake the payment of the remaining 75% until December 31, 1958. From January 1, 1959, until December 31, 1963, a state subsidy of 50% of the present subvention will be extended; from January 1, 1964, until December 31, 1968, the subsidy will be 25%, and thereafter all state support will be discontinued.

(b) To the extent of 10% of the annual state subsidy for personnel, the government underwrites unforeseeable expenditures.

(c) The Government of the Hungarian Republic, computing the annual average of real state subvention paid, from August 1, 1946, until July 31, 1948, exclusively towards the renovation, equipment and building of church structures of the Reformed Church, will continue to grant annual subsidies solely for the purpose of building, reconstructing, equipping and maintaining church structures: houses of worship, assembly halls and parsonages. Such real subsidy will likewise diminish gradually, in accordance with the foregoing scale, upon expiration of each five-year period, and will cease entirely after December 31, 1968.

(d) All possible state subsidies heretofore granted under whatever title shall be remitted in the declining ratio prescribed in the basic rules.

(e) The State will bear responsibility also for the funds required by the National Reformed Ministers' Retirement Institute, and for the care of the widows and orphans of their members, in the same measure as is applied to civil servants. The state will likewise pay the pensions of those due for retirement prior to December 31, 1953.

Prayer for the State Authority

6. In compliance with explicit commands of the Scriptures, the Hungarian Reformed Church will provide, in her Order of Worship, for supplications in behalf of the Hungarian Republic, the Head of the State, the government, the welfare and peace of the Hungarian people as a whole, as well as provide for divine services on national holidays consistent with the Gospel and the particular confessions of any given religion. The Hungarian Reformed Church further asserts that the new Hymnal, soon to be published, will include hymns appropriate for such occasions.

The Nationalization of Schools

7. The Hungarian Reformed Church notes the decision of the Government of the Hungarian Republic to nationalize, by legislation, the non-state (sec-

tarian) schools and the boarding schools organically associated with them. Enforcement of the nationalization of Reformed schools shall be governed by the following agreement:

(a) The government shall absorb into the civil service, as of July 1, 1948, all members of the teaching and other staffs theretofore employed in the schools and their integral boarding adjuncts taken under state jurisdiction, with due account of the length of service of each such employee.

(b) As of May 15, 1948, title to the buildings of nationalized schools and their boarding units, as well as their glebes, shall pass to the state together with all encumbrances, proven beyond any doubt through entry in the mortgage registry or otherwise, incurred prior to the above date. Disputes that may arise in connection therewith shall be resolved, following consideration by the Joint Commission named in paragraph 1, by the Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education.

(c) The government agrees to permit members of the teaching staff that function as choirmasters to continue, for two years following the date of this agreement, at their present calling at now prevailing terms. The glebes due such teachers as compensation for their services, shall revert to the ownership of the church.

The Remaining Parochial Schools

(d) Nationalization shall not affect institutions that serve religious purposes exclusively, not public education, including theological high schools, seminaries, training institutes for deacons and deaconesses, training schools for missionaries and for all other ecclesiastical work. The legal relationship now existent between the Divinity School of the Debrecen University and the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education shall remain unaltered.

(e) Partly in recognition of the contributions to public education made by the Hungarian Reformed Church and partly to insure the pre-seminary training of the new ministerial generation, the Government of the Hungarian Republic agrees to let the following Reformed Colleges—having the most distinctive historical traditions—continue as parochial schools within bounds no greater than at present:

The Gymnasium, Lyceum and Teachers' Training Institute which belong organically to the Reformed College at *Sárospatak*.

The Gymnasium, Lyceum and Teachers' Trainings Institute, as well as the Dóczy Girls' Gymnasium, the Dóczy Lyceum and Teachers' Training Institute, organically associated with the Reformed College at *Debrecen*.

The Gymnasium of the Reformed College at *Pápa*.

The Lónyai Street Reformed Gymnasium, in District IX, of *Budapest*, and the Baar Madas Reformed Girls' School which is an integral part thereof.

The permanent Joint Commission—constituted in paragraph 1—shall

be qualified to propose to the government, in the years ahead, any broadening of the scope of the parochial school system that may be warranted.

The Government of Hungarian Republic shall insure, within the period of state support, maintenance of the afore-listed parochial colleges, just as it guarantees the staff subsidies specified in paragraph 5-a of the present agreement. Upon expiration of the period of state support, the entire burden of maintenance shall devolve upon the church.

(f) The Government of the Hungarian Republic recognizes and guarantees the right of the Hungarian Reformed Church to the continued enjoyment of wholly free compulsory religious instruction in state schools. With special regard for the constituents of the free churches and for the unaffiliated, the question of religious instruction shall be readjusted, in some form, within the new Act pertaining to religious affairs.*

(g) The government shall take over the active personnel of discontinued parochial schools (high schools, teachers' training institutes for men and women) and, in a manner akin to personnel of state schools, shall reclassify them for suitable civil service.

(h) In the possible event of cessation of the Law Academy at Kecskemét, the faculty members now in service there shall be re-employed by the state in positions commensurate with their present status.

(i) The Government of the Hungarian Republic, upon request by parents, will provide in schools attended by non-Hungarian youth instruction in the mother tongue of the children (Roumanian, Serbian, Ruthenian, Slovak, German). Concurrently the Government of the Hungarian Republic, invoking the principle of reciprocity, will endeavor to obtain the establishment of identical regulations to govern the instruction of Hungarian-speaking youth domiciled in neighboring states.

8. The church will adapt her laws concerning public education to the new state laws.

9. It shall be incumbent upon the Joint Commission, constituted in paragraph 1, of the present agreement, to consider and prepare proposals pertaining to the solution of problems still pending.

Budapest, the 7th day of October, 1948.

For the Government of the Hungarian Republic,
(signed) GYULA ORTUTAY
Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education

For the General Synod of the Hungarian Reformed Church
(signed) DR. JENŐ BALOGH
Lay President of the Synod

(signed) DR. IMRE RÉVÉSZ, Bishop
President of the Synod

* Following the separation of Church and State (1949), compulsory religious teaching in state schools was superseded by facultative religious instruction.

**OURS IS A MOVEMENT OF PRIESTS
LOYAL TO THE PEOPLE**

Address delivered by Richard Horváth, D.D., Cistercian monk, at the first National Conference of Roman Catholic Priests, August 1, 1950.

Our task is to examine, assess, correctly re-formulate and adjust our relationship to the People's Democracy and to the question of peace. Let us first review our relationship to the People's Democracy. Here two conflicting concepts have been at odds from the very outset.

The one concept regards as transitory the situation which has developed since World War II. It will change. Some day it is bound to end. Just when—well, we have heard and continue to hear, day after day, deadline dates and guesses rivalling each other in naiveté. Each according to the temperament and impulse of the forecaster. Let us confess that in the beginning this notion prevailed overwhelmingly among priests and believers and that in this fatal vacillation certain high church dignitaries and their leadership played a vastly significant role.

The second concept holds that ours is an epochal era. We have reached an historical turning point. The past is beyond recall. When the Middle Ages turned into the Renaissance; when the Reformation and counter-Reformation, the French Revolution and capitalism came upon the scene, events of the utmost importance in human history took place. That which now marches on and that which attains realization are even mightier and more fateful. It is to this that we must adjust our attitude.

We must admit, however, that among the priesthood but few had a glimmering of this realization; at first only in the intuition of some, in the feelings of others and later, ever more clearly, in their intellectual perceptions, and finally in the power of their consciousness. Not at the top, in the cool chambers of baroque palaces, but down below, among those who do not stand still in the midst of life but who absorb impressions of this life at close range. This realization struck root first in the souls of plain monks and village priests and in the conviction of a few highly cultured Catholic intellectuals, clerical and lay.

The ratio between the two clashing concepts is constantly shifting; no matter how gradually, adherents of the first viewpoint have diminished and are sobered. Those adhering to the second concept have steadily multiplied and become increasingly self-conscious. They have not lacked in men of courage who have striven to articulate this concept. The high clergy, however, silenced or attempted to silence these brave voices—even in political, social and economic matters—with an altogether adamant and backward outlook which claimed for itself a disastrous infallibility. It was thus with Christianity and it will be so as regards other currents of thought.

Our attitude towards man and life itself cannot be based upon calculating and fallacious tactics, but solely upon the straightforward, consistent and genuine will to serve the spiritual salvation, the heavenly and earthly welfare of mankind.

This is the fundamental attitude of the true Christian toward man and man's destiny. Christ came to all men of all eras. He brought salvation to all men, including the men of our time and of the future. To the individual, but just as surely to the members of the collectives, as well. It is a shockingly pagan and harsh trait in many individuals, professed Christians, that would deprive whole groups of people of salvation.

Followers of the second concept believe that it is not our primary purpose to engage in disputes over principles because that would but lead the Church to where it always found itself in recent centuries: to the heights of the most rigid opposition to every new trend of thought. This is not to say that the Church must accept that which is incompatible with its tenets, but rather that it should perceive and recognize the positive values in such new spiritual trends. The rest may be entrusted to the believers, to mercy, and to God. There need be no argument over the fact that one party believes there is a God while the other denies His existence. Let us leave this to time and, in time, to God. Current questions should not be broached on such a plane but upon life's plane, on a practical level, on the level of the every-day problems of our every-day life.

We must and do live together with people of differing beliefs. Towards them and towards their creeds our tolerance, Christian tolerance, is now not only the part of sobriety, good sense, political wisdom, the choice of the lesser evil, and service in the cause of social concord, but, as explicitly stated in an address Pope Pius XII delivered in 1946: Christian tolerance towards those of other faiths, of other convictions, is likewise our moral obligation.

That is one thing. The other is that we, clergymen and laymen alike, need not go looking for points that divide us and embroil us in passionate controversy with others. Rather we should be seeking common ground—points and things that can bring us together.

We wish to and can be good Catholics and good citizens at the same time. Good men of faith and good patriots.

Thank God, this awareness is now increasingly dawning upon our clergy and upon the faithful; more and more are being stirred to such realization.

Is it not a thought-compelling fact that in France, during the Nazi oppression, Catholics and Communists met and collaborated in the resistance movement? A movement in which approximately 70,000 made the supreme sacrifice. The majority were Communists, but a considerable number of them were practicing Catholics. In their common effort, these men

and women learned to know one another: the integrity, self-sacrifice, unselfishness, kindness, helpfulness, and faith of each other; the devotion to ideals and creeds of each other; they recognized that the people on both sides are not only human but human beings of good will as well; that all are well intentioned, seeking the happiness of the people and a happier future—and this realization made for another, easier and better progress in a great many directions. I have a right to pass judgment upon something only if I really desire to know that something and I cast out of myself all prejudices, if first of all I look for what is good in it and admit it to be that. Truth and justice are the basic virtues of Christians and of Christian life. Our name embodies the fact that we are Catholics, that is universalists. This means that we recognize and embrace that which is good everywhere. And we need not go far afield for it. We can find ever so much of good readily.

Monopoly capitalism has reached its final stage of development: imperialism. Its inherent problems are: loss of markets, unemployment, etc. The rest will be taken care of by the new humanity which, endowed with high moral force and organized powerfully, is moving against it inexorably. It is no great loss. It was inhuman and homicidal. Profit and gold were its gods. Let us not delude ourselves: capitalism, monopoly capitalism, is essentially godless, pharisaic and wicked at its roots. It utilizes God and the finest gospels of Christianity as mere facades, as screens around its selfishness and greedy human exploitation.

Kindred Features of Christianity and Socialism

Thank God for the advent of a new era: the era of Socialism. The path of the future is the path of Socialism. At no time in history has Christianity found a current of thought as akin to its own, as basically alike and intimately inter-linked, as Socialism.

Let me call attention to just a few points of contact, indeed of identity: respect for the toiler; the worker is regarded as a man of equal merit and equal rights, whose concepts and attitudes are important and necessary. Man is the supreme asset. . . . Every man is equal. Hence his value does not begin at scholastic matriculation. . . . The criteria of human evaluation are: character, integrity, humanity, and quality of spirit. . . . Exploitation of man by man has ceased; this is verily an evangelical principle. . . . Day after day we approach ever more closely the magnificent reality of human fellowship and solidarity. From this viewpoint, too, think now for a moment of Korea: a small people, a distant land; why should my heart ache about them?—was the attitude of people only yesterday. But today they think differently. They know the Koreans to be their brothers. And tomorrow this may apply equally to themselves. How comforting is the thought. It has strength and beauty. And this is pure Christian fellowship. Or take the struggle against capitalism; the tremendous cause in the service of peace;

or that labor is a thing of honesty and of glory, that labor is ennobling and purifying, that labor is a Christian virtue; and that the love of labor, of the orderliness and discipline of labor can no longer be attained by threats, with which the capitalist employer used to intimidate workers afraid to lose their jobs, but by etching this discipline into man's consciousness, by carving it into his soul, by shaping it from within—is that not more beautiful and more Christian?

Of course, this requires more patience and a much longer span of time. But the results from it will be far more human. It is like the difference between teaching with a rod and teaching by imbuing the soul. . . . Or consider that the colonial peoples have reached maturity for independence and that the power of the spirit is still greater than material might, that the aspiration for freedom is more potent than the gun, and that the will to independence and self-determination is stronger than the power of bombers and warships. . . . Or think of the many beautiful and humanitarian results of our Five-Year Economic Plan: the roads under construction, bridges, public nurseries, daytime homes for children, kindergartens, schools, factories, hospitals, rest homes, more bread, easier work, more humane labor and greater output resulting from mechanization of industries, etc., etc. . . . These, my dear brethren, are the things we should bear in mind.

Can we, I ask you, repudiate these things? To be sure, there have been mistakes aplenty. But when were there no blunders? Was it when we too were more deeply involved in directing the transformations of life? You cannot create paradise on earth overnight, but just observe how far all things have already progressed and to what extent the great masses have grown aware of things gradually.

The Attitude of Our Church Towards Our People's Republic Must Change.

That is the crux of things, and that is why we have gathered in conference, compelled by no one; thwarted, dissuaded and intimidated by many; encouraged, invited and wanted by but few. That we are nevertheless assembled in such fair numbers demonstrates that

this movement is our own, a spontaneous and autonomous movement of priests that stem from the people, march abreast of the people, share the aims of the people, and are devoted to the people —

in that sense of the word which indicates that time, common sense and God's mercy have ripened the movement within us and now have poured it out of us as a cataract of our will which, we believe, will reach its goal: for the benefit of our Church and our Fatherland.

Our movement welcomes with pleasure the negotiations between the Government and the Bench of Bishops and looks forward to their successful early consummation. Our movement lends its own moral background to

these negotiations and wishes them true success. It is our conviction that this approach should have occurred long ago, when we had not yet blundered into a blind alley. But it is better late than never.

Our conference has been assembled in order to affirm: that the attitude of our Church towards our People's Republic must change if we would escape from the blind alley into which our Catholic Church has been led by certain church dignitaries who, in their bias against progress and in their fatuous desire to recall the old system, have pursued a disastrous policy.

Our movement expects that these negotiations will bring to an end the infelicitous concept and practice which, flouting freedom of conscience, had suppressed, persecuted and punished the clergy for every attitude and expression, particularly that which had taken a positive stand towards democracy—the People's Democracy. The abyss of very many priestly tragedies had long been opened to us, and reach us even now, in the letters we receive, in the personal grievances registered, in their intimate revelations.

There are things that demand unity: the articles of faith and the moral laws. But there are also free things such as, first of all, political attitudes by which each one of us takes a stand in accordance with the dictates of his conscience. And I speak of freedom in vain if I myself crush freedom, day in, day out, within my own province.

Let there be an end to the concept and practise of those who hold that only priests who embrace reactionary political principles are of full value.

These elements look askance upon the priest of democratic ideas and devotion to the welfare of the people, who feels and knows that something momentous and far-reaching has taken place here. Why do they look down upon, why do they prosecute, why do they subject to constant humiliation such priests? We must forever put an end to this concept and practice.

We rejoice to see that the priesthood now has many more of the sober, and sensible and the thoughtful, those that wish to keep abreast of the march of time and would not turn back the wheels of history; they would be crushed in the attempt anyway.

These are the priests who have realized and sensed that in grave periods the voice of a remote guiding will is not enough, that each one of us knows and sees his own problems, difficulties, struggles and opportunities; knows that he must tackle them by means of his own common sense and capabilities. These are the men who know that, in grave times, every one must assume his share of responsibility. They are the men who know that the persistent solitary plea for "unity above all else" but serves to cloak a poverty of ideas. This unity exists in our principles of faith, in our moral laws, in our loyalty to the Church. That it is absent precisely in relation to a backward, reactionary and disastrous political attitude is

downright well and comforting. It demonstrates that in very many of us the sense of ethics, of Christian spirituality is wholesome and fresh.

Our movement will sever that minority group of priests, which refuses to yield its reactionary political myopia, from the large mass of progressive priests who are socially minded and are at one with our people in the building of Socialism.

And thus will come the day free from generalization, when it may not be said that every priest is an American agent, war-monger, a scoffer at all good things, as if they were antiquated—but instead it will be said that this or that priest is thus and so, that alas he is not like the rest of us.

We are and shall Remain Catholics

Ours is not an isolated movement. The same ferment and fresh crystallization is in process among the Catholic clergy in the neighboring people's democracies. No, we are not alone. And it is good to know it is so. Our brethren, the priests of Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Poland are in search of the right road, just as we are. Perhaps our best exemplars along this path are the Polish priests and bishops, who have given already official demonstration that something can be done. Something reasonable and practical.

The trail upon which we have started must be further broken by ourselves. It is neither smooth nor broad, nor well trodden. But some day, at a cost of our sweat and toil, it will be that. Nor is this a new idea, for among our best colleagues there are some that have long represented this point of view. And even in the past history of the Church, there were priests in every significant movement who were in the forefront of progress. This was just as true in György Dózsa's revolution as in the espousal of Christian ideals during the era of Enlightenment, as in the struggle for freedom in 1848, as in the national resistance movements against Fascism, etc.

We know that the greatest obstacle, the worst foe, of our movement is the slanderous whispering campaign. "Beware of it" has long been the whispered slogan of well-organized Fascist reaction, which feels that its last bastions are crumbling. "Beware," whisper the couriers secretly sent far and near. "Beware!" for this is nothing other than an attempt by the Los von-Rom movement to establish a national Church. . . . My Brethren, we are all too sensitive in relation to certain moral implications, but towards other moral relations, as for instance towards hatred and calumny, alas we have no such qualms of conscience. Indeed, we are quite blunted in conscience. In the face of this incitement to a campaign of slander, the vicious, hate-spattering threats, outbursts, letters—of nameless authorship, of course—and machinations which we had felt so intensely and feel to a considerable extent even now, in the face of all this, with clear conscience and quiet dignity, we shout: Don't you believe it! None of it is true. It's nothing but slander, and we would not be here if we could not say so

with such definiteness and firm conviction. . . . No. We are Roman Catholics and we shall continue to be Catholics.

The Vatican and Politics

But we must differentiate between faith and ethics as against politics — between the prestige of the Vatican as teacher and the Vatican's politics, some of its organs, agents, radio and press.

In the realm of politics, we see our situation most clearly and we feel our fate most directly. Just as we are devoted sons of our Church, just so are we loyal citizens of our country. And as citizens, certain rights and duties devolve upon us.

We must give prior consideration to the fate, the interests and general welfare of our own people. These we cannot view through one-sided spectacles. We cannot regard them in accordance with the best interests of Western capitalism and American imperialism.

Certainly we are not duty bound to accept as infallible and be guided by ill-founded news reports and opinions contrary to the truth. In political affairs, the utterances of Vatican personalities, the news reports and viewpoints of the Vatican radio and press are of benefit to us only to the extent that they are in accord with the interests of our people, of our country, and of the truth. And because in an overwhelming number of instances they have not pursued this policy, let us accept them with suspicion and, in specific cases, let us reject them. Let us be emphatic: along political lines, this press and this radio are worth no more than the objective truth which they give us. Unfortunately, Rome still appears very often to be deriving its information almost exclusively from the irresponsible chatter of emigré priests and from the biased propaganda of political reactionaries.

It is deplorable that the Vatican radio and the *Osservatore Romano* serve up a great deal of false news, a lot of chit-chat and gossip fit for women at a *coffee-klatch*, especially as regards the peoples' democracies.

Please read the accounts published in the Western Catholic press concerning the very meeting of Czechoslovak Catholics I referred to previously and you will be shocked how much misunderstanding, misinterpretation and, indeed, often meaningless malice they contain.

Our Place is Beside the People

The Church is not bound by social orders, economic forms, or governmental systems. Christianity, the Church, has been destined for all of these. To be sure, we are human. We find it difficult, in our thinking and in our ways of life, to alter, to readjust, perhaps to discard and substitute new modes for our ingrained forms of life, particularly if time has somewhat passed

us by. This, of course, does not mean that no young spirit can dwell in an aged body, and vice versa. On the contrary. We find many such examples. Yet, in general, this conclusion is valid.

I have been a teacher for fifteen years but, frankly, I would never have believed it possible that those cultural traditions and designs which we have handed on to generations to come might become so inwrought and fixed in their lives and make so rigid their attitude towards all new ideas. . . . We had better be on guard. . . . There is no power that does not emanate from God, say the Gospels. . . . It may be well to recall that when the Kingdom of France fell, the clergy, together with the vanished major social classes, locked itself increasingly within its hurt pride and pique, and thus gradually radiated less and less influence upon life, even after the lapse of many years, and was eventually willing—only under duress and peevishly—upon an appeal by the sage Pope Leo XIII, to recognize the Republic. . . . I ask: why? . . . And why is it that the oldest daughter of the Church, France, permits millions of her children to go unbaptized? Is there not something wrong here? Is there not some connection between these things?

If we should observe that even in official circles—thus in the Vatican itself—there is a disposition to accept the capitalist-imperialist system as the sole source of redemption, that is not binding upon us; it is not the Christian concept and is devoid of even a spark of infallibility. If we were to follow it, we should be headed for disaster. We should then be turning our faces away from the future. Our place is beside the people.

That's where we belong, where and how the people are building their own country, building a happier future for themselves. With hearts mutually at peace and with souls bearing faith, we had expressed it in our call: "*Wholeheartedly and with every ounce of strength we long for an understanding between Church and State—an agreement that would insure mutual respect for the laws of the Church and of the People's Democracy.*" . . . There is no desire here to wrest our faith from us. They only want us to enlist that faith in the creative effort: that we may take God with us into things new and those in the process of construction. . . . The path of the future leads to Socialism. Socialism has very much in common, indeed, is identical with, Evangelical teachings. Socialism is much closer to us than vanishing capitalism. All honor to those men of clear vision, foremost among them to Abbe Boulier, who dare proclaim: Socialism is based on social justice and regards man as of supreme value. Within Socialism human labor is a matter of honor and glory.—Love is the fairest and highest flowering of justice within man and the things surrounding him. The basis of Christian life is justice. The essence of the Evangelical Gospel is love. Christ assayed

man as of the highest worth. Love and respect for Labor are among the Christian virtues.

These, then, are the essentials. And the essentials dovetail.—What vistas this opens before us!—To enlist into the building of the future all the freedom, faith and confident impetus of that Christian humanity which has found fulfilment in love!

In putting an end to misery, in toppling the privileges of the few, in abolishing human selfishness, exploitation and the sources of misery, the new order does precisely that which all of us should do in the spirit of the Gospel.

And because we failed to do so, we have reached our present predicament. But if we resolve to do as we should from now on, our path will be constantly upward. For nothing that is nobly human is beyond our reach. Mercy does not despoil nature. Certainly not the things that are good, positive and creative in nature! Indeed, it serves to ennoble, to uplift, to enrich and to fulfill. . . . There is no contradiction at all between man's earthly happiness, well being and pleasure, and his heavenly bliss. *We too aspire to bring, if possible, a maximum of earthly happiness to increasingly larger masses of human beings.* And our own destiny is linked to this goal. If others are well off, we too shall prosper. If others are in misery, we too shall be destitute. Man does not live by gospels alone, as we know all too well. No one appreciates the human body as well as does Christianity itself. No one regards man with as keen a sense of reality as does the priest of Christ. And such a priest is moved by the conviction, beyond peradventure in his soul, that, far from any contradiction between earthly bread and celestial manna, there is the most wondrous and intrinsic harmony, and the purest concord, between them.

We Must Actively Take a Stand for Peace

There is one other thing we must discuss: the question of peace. We have placed this problem as last on the agenda, not as if it were of minor importance. Actually it is exceedingly important. It is even now the central problem of mankind. Our very fate—as individuals, believers and priests alike, separately and collectively—depends upon our relationship to this problem. Upon our attitude to peace.

Those who believe that this allows for tactical maneuvering are fatally mistaken. We have in mind those who believe that, lurking in the shadows, they can ride out the storm of our day, until the coming of "liberation" from the West and that then "everything will be orderly" again. . . . This notion is quite naive, malicious, false and therefore thoroughly un-Christian. It contains neither common sense nor truth. Therefore we discard and reject it utterly. . . . These people would have us sign an agreement but let things remain as they were; they advocate peace but wish for war,

proclaim that Christ redeemed the world but deep in their hearts they long for the dropping of the atom bomb, for an outbreak of a bloody war, for the galloping across the face of the earth of devastation's horsemen of the apocalypse, for universal destruction, while confident that they and their petty interests will survive and their erstwhile power will be restored because the old world order will return, thus attributing their own salvation to the atom. Oh, my dear brethren, this is but a flouting of Christianity's most sacred ideals, a stupid and fallacious pharisaism. It is the sort of spirit and spirituality which Jesus, the meek, indignantly drove from the temple.

For the priesthood we need not conjure the words of the angel bearing the message of peace from on high, we need not cite the Redeemer's words of so much loving kindness concerning peace—what I give you, what I have brought you, peace be with you—the spirituality in which justice and truth kiss one another upon the brow. We need no reminder that He is the Prince of Peace, that He is the King of Life who came in order that we may have life, a fuller life. Nor need we enumerate those passages in the Holy Scripture, for of these there are very many, in which the Lord speaks out against bloodshed, devastation, cruelty, war and carnage. . . . His words are often like lightning: he who lives by the sword shall die by the sword; and with the Psalmist He thunders the words into mankind's ear: *Dissipa gentes quae bella volunt*, scatter the peoples that want war. . . . For if He Himself brought war, His is not like other wars. His is a spiritual war, a war of truths: for a better humanity, for a better life.

Where shall the priest stand if not on the side of peace? That the conscience of our clergy is morally wholesome is best evidenced by the fact that when the question of signing the Stockholm peace appeal arose, they felt a certain sense of release, as if suddenly catching their breath; they sighed with relief: well, thank God, at last our day has come; *they espoused en masse the cause of peace and signed the peace petition*. It is not their fault that this beautiful movement has been suddenly blocked. It should be blamed upon the unfortunate measure instituted by a segment of the higher clergy which prohibits priests, monks and nuns from becoming signatories to the peace petitions.

The Polish Catholic Episcopate encouraged similar obstacles. They were under the impression that, since Par. 9 of the Treaty had pledged them, beside supporting the cause of peace, to condemn war and all war-mongering, any separate signatures upon the Stockholm peace appeal were superfluous. But subsequently, and properly, together with Cardinal Sapieha all of them endorsed the Stockholm petition.

It would be well if in this respect the Hungarian Catholic Episcopate, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, were to follow the Polish example by acting as they did.

The peace points of the Stockholm appeal have been couched, very

wisely, in terms acceptable for endorsement without qualms by all people, regardless of faith, creed, political or world outlook.

I condemn war. I condemn the atom bomb and urge that he who uses it first shall be branded a war criminal. . . . Who is there among us that cannot endorse these points?

My brethren, let us not hearken to the whispering campaign of those who claim that it is directed against the Vatican and that he who endorses the appeal has in reality joined the Communist party. These propagandistic insinuations are politically fatuous and positionally backward. For one who even gropes like that on this particular level cannot be right because the struggle of men of good will, who love and long for peace, is directed against the inhuman imperialistic war-mongers,—who even now, in the Far East, are engaged in massacring multitudes of innocent children and defenseless mothers, destroying homes, in the service of selfish power politics. They are not pained by the devastation of human culture and are ready—provided that it is in their power—to plunge the whole world into the abomination of another war. . . . To fight against them is just and pleasing in the sight of God.

Where else can the clergy, the Hungarian Catholic priesthood too join more naturally and self-evidently than in this particular peace movement? Ours is not the task to erect houses, build bridges, drive tractors, but to stand our ground actively for peace. . . . We must also pray for it and proclaim the idea of peace, but we must equally take action for peace and, if need be, fight for it.

We must join the ranks of the peace movement, participate in the labors of the peace organizations, also form special clerical peace groups, peace committees. We must condemn incitement to war, terror bombing, imperialistic wars. We must expose and brand the war criminals.

We must pound into the consciousness of little people, the working people, the everyday heroes, the conviction that their opinions are of importance, that the opinions of every human being concerning war and peace are very important. For if hundreds of millions all over the globe do not want war, and if they are united in this antipathy to war, in this struggle in quest of peace, they can prevent war and safeguard the peace. Even in capitalistic countries, the millions who want peace constitute a factor to be reckoned with, a radiating and humanly persuasive force, a power so formidable as to defy the schemes of war makers. . . . We must condemn the atom bomb. *And we must brand all speculation in atomic energy*, which is godless and un-Christian, sinister and wicked, whenever it is used for destructive, not constructive, purposes.

Just how fascinating is this idea of peace is evident from the peace

letters of French cardinals and archbishops, which were issued likewise in order to save humanity. They write: "Those instruments of destruction which modern science has placed at the disposal of warring factions—atomic weapons, radio-active gasses, biological poisons—hover over people's heads like a direful threat. It is understandable why in this nightmarish atmosphere the Stockholm peace appeal, against the use of atomic weapons, has deeply impressed large numbers of souls. . . . For ourselves, we reject most emphatically all such weapons." . . . This illustrious body includes many distinguished minds. We might well envy them with reverence.

And so it is, my brethren, that in this notable and just struggle, waged to the hilt for the sake of humanity, indeed, two powerful and in many respects antagonistic ideologies can meet. This is our meeting ground too. It is a good place, pleasing to God.

For the sake of peace, Catholics, believers and priests alike, Christians and Communists together, all men of good will and good intention can unite. And this fight of ours will have God's blessing too.

And here we must especially stress the fact that along this path we have the full support and understanding of the Hungarian people and the Hungarian state.

This is the essence of our movement united in loyalty with the people, with our people, from whom we stem and with whom we belong. Together with them along the path of constructive Socialism, together with them in the service of peace, together with them in creating understanding between our Church and our Fatherland.

We know that this stand we take is on a high moral plane. For when our souls beheld in amazement that a new country was being reared about us, we also discovered quickly that this is not all, that there is much more in the offing. Man and his country are not just building and blossoming externally here, but internally as well. Man has been released inwardly too. He has become self-conscious. He is responsible for his own destiny. He feels it to be important that his opinion counts, that he himself, the working man, is master of his own future. He has taken on stature. He has become more human. Therefore, man has attained adulthood and fulfilment morally.

This is the reward of Socialism. And all that is Socialism which fosters the freedom, prosperity, welfare and pleasures of man. . . . But all this is an Evangelical asset no less. The two coincide. Hence in wanting and building Socialism, I also strengthen the Evangelical foundations. That is how we, priests loyal to the people, have reached and embraced the idea of devotion to our people's democratic state and to our working masses. And that is how our movement was born. We are steadfast in our conviction because we know that ours is the road of the future.

We Must Disavow the Politics Once Pursued by the Church

Address delivered by the Rev. Dr. István Balogh

I must say at the outset: it has taken us very long to get here. Perhaps, even now, we have reached this stage, this assembly, only as a matter of *proximus ardet*. We have gained bitter experiences, met bitter disappointments. We have waited in vain: nothing had happened to indicate that the corruption, the deterioration of the Hungarian Catholic Church has been arrested, nor even that the Church was being reorganized.

It is well nigh three years since the Hungarian Catholic Church, by following in the footsteps of policies that unquestionably had misjudged the political climate abroad, has strayed into a blind alley.

As far back as that I wrote: "Within the People's Democracy in which we live, we may look for improvement only when, and to the extent to which, the Church will adjust and seek amicable relations with the State." Such endeavour, regrettably, has not been manifested by the official Church during the past few years. That is how we got to where we now are.

Thus we got into a blind alley then, from which we failed to search for a way out. Since then, this blind alley has become a quagmire, stumbling and foundering in which not only has made extrication exceedingly difficult but which has sucked up, one after another, those values of the Church which it had lovingly nurtured for centuries, values indispensable to its followers even today, and which the People's Democracy too was ready to accord due respect.

When I wrote the above-cited sentiments, there were but few willing to support the endeavour whereby we wished to bring the Church closer to the State and to pave the way to rapprochement that was so essential. The lessons of the elapsed years have been sufficient, as we now behold, to swell the camp of those who voice not only the possibility but the necessity of reconciliation and peaceful cooperation between church and state.

But there is still reluctance, first of all by the Episcopate, to recognize that only the most determined turn in a positive direction—a departure from the hitherto passive, reserved and distrustful attitude—can lead to the right course. Hence it must be the kind of switch which, beyond any shadow of doubt, is ready to cooperate with the government of the People's Democracy in the interest of the Hungarian working masses. Without such a definite change in attitude, we cannot pin much hope to the results of the deliberations now in progress.

Lessons of the Past Years

But let us review the past events chronologically. At the beginning of 1948, we had the opportunity to reach a long-term agreement regarding school text-books. The Episcopate declined to enter such an agreement;

consequently the text-books have been edited since then by a committee in which the Church was unrepresented. I ask you: is this situation better than what the government proposed, when it sought to secure the cooperation of ecclesiastical experts too?

This is what precipitated the struggle between Church and State. *This* is why the nationalization of schools took place so quickly. Here too we had a chance to negotiate. Surely, the Archbishop of Eger, who participated in the negotiations, will recall that the monastic orders could have retained 16 to 18 schools under Church discipline. The friars were ready to agree. But the official Church said No! Let us ask the monks and parents involved: are they grateful for the *politics* the bishops played in this case? For this was obviously and undoubtedly a political, not a doctrinal, question, else the present Episcopate could not be satisfied with a fraction of the concessions that were then offered.

It may please you to remember that in a speech delivered in Parliament January 19, 1949, I quoted from the first hopeful, and alas last, circular letter issued by the then already gravely ill Bishop László Bánáss of Veszprém, in which he said: "I would be happy, and my life would not have been in vain, were the good Lord to accept my puny sufferings and my very life in return for that peace which would result from a meeting of minds between the Church of Christ and our beloved Fatherland." Our exertions in that direction proved lamentably futile, our hopes were illusory. Those bent on achieving a deadline were sadly mistaken, and the Church has had to pay the price—alas!

But let's go on. There was the inauguration of the new Constitution of the People's Republic. That might have been an excellent opportunity to bring about the settlement which by now was fervently desired by all. In his presentation address, Deputy Prime Minister Mátyás Rákosi himself expressed, in unmistakable terms, the government's intention when he said:

"As we have so often emphasized, our democracy is willing, now as in the past, to enter into an agreement based upon mutual understanding and conciliation. Therefore, the interests of the Church are not in jeopardy and her rights can be exercised."

What was the response? While the Episcopate gave the priests permission to take the oath of allegiance, the Bishops themselves *evaded the oath* on the implied plea that Rome disapproved, failed to negotiate and left unilaterally to the government the method of separating Church from State.

The Polish and Czechoslovak Examples

In the matter of settling the relationship between Church and State, the Episcopate had long held that it was beyond its sphere of authority, and hence they could not initiate negotiations until empowered by the

Vatican to do so. Just how fallacious was this standpoint I should like to prove not by the fact that today they are actually conducting negotiations without the Vatican's concurrence, but rather by the agreement which the Polish Episcopate reached with their own government on April 11, 1950.

Even my opponents must admit that I was not mistaken when in the Parliamentary address cited I declared: "You may be sure that eventually the Church and the people's democratic countries will reach an agreement."

It may not be amiss to recall some of the points of that agreement, which ushered in a new era:

"1. The Episcopate calls upon the priesthood, when engaged in pastoral activities, to teach the faithful to respect the laws and the state authorities in accordance with the tenets of the Church."

"5. The basic principle which assumes the Pope to be the supreme and absolute factor of the Church applies to affairs pertaining to faith, religious ethics and to the practice of canon law. In all other questions, the Episcopate shall be guided by the interests of the Polish State."

"7. In consonance with its own principles, the Church condemns all subversive activities and is especially opposed to the exploitation of religious sentiment for subversive purposes."

"8. The Catholic Church, in conformity with its own principles . . . condemns and punishes, as prescribed by canon law, those members of the priesthood that participate in any underground, subversive movement whatsoever aimed at the State."

"9. In accordance with the tenets of the Church, the Episcopate will support every endeavour designed to strengthen the peace and, within the bounds of its potentialities, will oppose all such endeavours as may incite to war."

There you have the obligations assumed by the Polish Episcopate. None of these can affect their loyalty to Rome; nor are they in conflict with the religious law but rather congruous with the duties, desires and aspirations of the conscientious Polish citizen. Of course, the government in turn has been appreciative and desires, equally with trust, to support the interests of the Church, particularly in matters of religious education, the Catholic schools and the press.

And what of the Situation in Czechoslovakia?

The relationship between Church and State in Czechoslovakia has been so undisturbed that the Cardinal celebrated *Te Deum* upon the election of Clement Gottwald, President of the Republic. Negotiations had been in progress looking to an agreement between Church and State. These conferences were on the verge of success when, suddenly, Monsignore Verolino,

then head of the erstwhile Papal Nunciature at Prague, interfered, compelling the Episcopate to withdraw and preventing them from signing the treaty upon which agreement had already been reached. *That this singular political interference has not redounded to any serious detriment of the Catholic Church of Czechoslovakia is the achievement of the patriotic Czechoslovak clergy which, under the leadership of Joseph Plojhar, enjoys the confidence of the government and has attained an enviable status.*

I did not personally tune in, but I am told that a radio broadcast from London last Sunday mentioned our movement with notorious "objectivity." It claimed to have precise information to the effect that the movement is led by 35 "renegade" priests and that the great heresy, or schism, would take place Tuesday—that is today. The Vatican radio, this time employing a tone more subdued than usual, merely expressed concern over what we are engaged in doing.

I should like to focus your attention, your opinion, upon the question: Has the Anglican radio of London really got a headache for fear that the sort of heresy may come to pass here which they have been indulging themselves for centuries? If that were really their source of anxiety, they would be applauding such a move. But because they are well aware that the aims of our movement are not doctrinal, but political, they know right well that, in proportion to the success of our movement, the bold determination to fight for peace in our country, the tempo of our social development and the friendly approach of Church to State will grow apace. That is what really hurts them, what they do not view with favour. Hence their slander, their smear tactics, their hypocritical solicitude. Well, we are as smart as they are. It is really easy to see through their sieve.

A Movement of the Priesthood

Let us talk about this movement. *Official Church policy, as hitherto pursued, has proved to be perilous. We must break with it.*

Unquestionably this is what the Episcopate too has realized when it decided at last to sit down to a conference table. This too was recognized by the Hungarian Catholic clergy when it launched the movement for the successful culmination of our negotiations.

We Catholic priests cannot stand idly by and, at best, merely wring our hands at the sight of so much devastation. That would be a fallacious and exceedingly mean attitude. Fallacious because the responsibility, insofar as it is incumbent upon us, must be borne by ourselves, cannot be shifted to any other person or to any kind of authority.

That would be a very cheap and convenient standpoint: let someone else think and pick up the cudgels for us, while we wait for events to take their course; maybe we have time to join later, if we wish. The tempo of life today, the surge of events, will not brook such convenience.

The parish priests who, years ago or more recently, adjusted the relationship between Church and State within their own bailiwicks, live and quietly work in harmony with our people, with their flocks, and with the local authorities,—they have already solved the problem. But even in such places, the differing political attitudes of the Church officials not infrequently create difficulties. One offers this, the other that interpretation of some political move, and members of the Episcopate themselves do not evaluate alike the self-same political situation.

Take the question of signing the peace appeal. One bishop consented, another forbade it. One professed to be completely disinterested because he judged it to be not a clerical but a purely citizenship matter. At the same time, another threatened retaliation. Under such circumstances, the situation was bound to keel over; distrust towards the institutions and personnel of the Church has been mounting.

At this stage, responsibility for these developments devolved, in increasing measure, upon the lower clergy. *It was the sense and manifestation of this responsibility that made our movement a matter of urgency.* And what do we find in connection with this exclusively political movement? We have not even had occasion to make any mistakes, not even to be blamed for mistakes, yet already there are Church dignitaries who, by the most serious intimidation, attempt to discourage their priests from participating in this movement. At the same time, the majority—and I must add: the most influential part—of the Church dignitaries have allowed the priesthood an entirely free hand, bearing in mind of course that this is an explicitly political undertaking.

Please note the sharp difference: The Polish Episcopate punishes those priests that participate in subversive activity against the State; in our country certain bishops threaten and punish those that hurry to the aid of the government which is engaged in building a state for the laboring masses. That is why the attitude of the Polish Government is friendly, while here the government looks upon us with suspicion.

We ought to realize that whatever we do, whatever the fixed goals of our movement are, primarily serve the best interests of the Church.

We are charged with being disrupters of "unity." I ask: what unity? There are no questions of doctrine involved, are there? What, then, is it about?

The clarification of relations between Church and State. Enlistment in the movement to "Defend the Peace." Support for the Five-Year Plan and for the social progress of our people.

These are the moot points. These are the things we want. Therefore, we who want these positive objectives, we who desire to discharge our duties of citizenship in this area, too, cannot be regarded as disrupters of unity. The disrupters of unity are they who segregate themselves, who keep aloof from

the common endeavours of the Hungarian people. And we want no unity with them. Indeed, we neither desire *nor intend to bear the onus that may fall on us from the reactionary conduct of these gentlemen, that might hamper our pastoral activities.*

We must make our choice. And this we cannot entrust to others, only to ourselves. It is increasingly intolerable to be faced with a situation in which the onus of the attitude of priests hostile to the People's Democracy must extend to the Hungarian Catholic clergy as a whole.

For Peace, Socialism and the People's Cause!

Let us finally examine what it is that the government rightfully expects of us. What are those "abominations" that certain people are so afraid of?

The government expects us to support the Five-Year Plan and its efforts to raise the social standards of our people, which are surely no evil aims but rather our duty as citizens. Why, the Episcopate itself approved these goals in a circular letter on the eve of the People's Front elections.

We wish to support the government in its aim to improve the working people's standards of living. Is this really the sort of thing we need plead with the Catholic clergy to do? Should we not rather demand it, were it not considered by the government as one of its supreme aims?

Or can it be that the fight for peace is too difficult for a priest to espouse? I will not digress even to consider such a possibility. *We endorse with enthusiasm the resolutions adopted at Stockholm. We want peace—for our Church, for our country, and for all humanity!* We condemn the use of the atom bomb. For our congregants, for our fellow men, we do not wish death *but* life: a happy, contented and free life, fit for human beings.

There you have what the government expects of us, and what we now pledge with the utmost conviction.

In conclusion, Reverend sirs, I wish to conjure for you a picture I saw at Velehrad a few weeks ago. In the presence of representatives of the Czechoslovak Government, the peace resolution of the Christian clergy was submitted to a referendum. Thousands upon thousands of people milled about in front of the ancient abbey. They were not the rich or the powerful, but the poor, the workers. Those that had heard our Saviour speak at the shores of Lake Gennesaret, those that had heard the Sermon on the Mount and had looked to Him for the improvement of their lot. To them was put the question: *Do you want peace? Do you want social betterment?*

Spontaneous enthusiasm and uncontrolled applause were their response. And this fervor for a common goal welded together the clergy and their communicants, the government and the people. That is what I'd like to see happen in our own country, where the desires of the people, the duties of the priesthood and the aspirations of the government are identical.

May God grant that our struggle for peace, in unison with our government, our common battle for the betterment of our people, and our religious

labours in the service of God's glory and our spiritual salvation may be triumphant. To this end, we cannot be content with having met only once here today. Our movement needs to be permanent and ever widening.

I propose that we form a peace committee of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Priests, which shall function within the bosom of the National Peace Council. And I further propose that a permanent peace committee be elected, which shall consistently pursue the permanent tasks of our movement and lead our cause to victory.

OUR PEOPLE WILL PROTECT THOSE THAT ARE LOYAL TO THEM

Address delivered by József Darvas, Minister of Religion and Public Education

In the name of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, I greet the participants in this conference, and I welcome with sincere pleasure the movement of Catholic priests devoted to the people, a movement in which the present conference is a milestone of great significance. I should like, at the very outset, to tell you that the Government of our People's Republic endorses this movement, agrees with its aims and aspirations. Indeed, beyond such approval and concurrence, and without wishing to meddle in the affairs of a movement that has been unfolding so spontaneously within the Church, our government will gladly support and heartily facilitate its development and fruitful progress. Just as, I am sure, the masses of Catholic believers and the Catholic priesthood, especially the large majority of the lower clergy, approve and support this wholesome, respectable and courageous undertaking.

What is the purpose of this beautiful movement of manifold mission?

From the expressions of the initiators, from the appeal of the preparatory committee, from the communications of the Catholic priests and monks that have joined the cause, and from the utterances voiced here at the conference as well, the aim becomes crystal clear:

To assist with heart and soul, vigorously to promote an early settlement between our People's Democratic State and the Church;

Openly, unmistakably and with cooperative resolve to stand behind the heroic struggle that is being waged by our Hungarian people for reconstruction, for the upbuilding of its new, happy and liberated life, for the achievement of complete social justice;

Openly, unmistakably, with faith and deed, to join our people's fight for peace and that just struggle which hundreds of millions of people the world over now carry on for the defense of peace, against the imperialist war-mongers.

I believe there is no person of integrity, no Catholic priest honestly loyal

to his Church, who cannot with clear conscience and wholly sincere conviction adopt these aims. And I also believe *there are large numbers within the Catholic Church, within the priesthood itself, that have long awaited the advent of a movement which would dare give voice at last to these aims and to a resolute, open espousal of these objectives.*

This very conference is convincing testimony that the unfoldment of this movement has been a historical necessity, an indispensable requirement. "At last!" is the unrestrained, joyous exclamation that rang out of the hundreds of welcoming and enrolling letters, from the encouraging notes written by priests and ordinary Catholic laymen, and the same response has been articulated in more than one of the utterances by priests and monks who spoke up at the conference today. At last, there is a voice, a sounding board, a public forum for those thoughts and aspirations which urge the undeferable agreement between Church and State, which mark the only right path the Church can follow today and which express the feelings and opinions of the Catholic clergy that professes equal loyalty to the people and to the Church.

Those that attended this conference did so under no compulsion by the Church hierarchy. On the contrary—and let us say it frankly—there were efforts, attempts, and even intimidations made by certain ecclesiastical officials and bishops, under the false guise of Church discipline, to discourage and frighten away those wishing to participate. If nevertheless there was—and of course there was—an impelling reason for bringing here today those that came despite all coercion and threats, it was the compulsion of their own conscience! It was the firm conviction that they will be traitors to their Church not by joining the movement—but rather by not daring freely to proclaim, to speak out that which their consciences, their innermost convictions dictate.

I think you, Reverend sirs, who are here today, are present not alone in your own behalf, but your presence betokens the conviction and the conception of the majority of the Catholic clergy as well.

I shall not deny that we too have looked forward to the launching of this movement. We have not inspired it, nor hastened it, but we have long expected it and we have been confident that sooner or later our expectations would be realized. We have felt especially certain that there are those—more than just a few—among the ranks of Catholic clergy, mainly among the lower clergy, that disapprove the uneasy relationship which has obtained for years between our People's Democratic State and the Church.

The Catholic priesthood itself, principally the greater part of the lower clergy, stems from the people. They have always lived with the people. Thousands of threads have tied them to the life, to the destiny of the people, to their everyday and holiday existence—so that devotion to the

people cannot be for the priesthood a lightly spurnable political slogan. Unless indifferent to the fate of the people, the clergy could not but observe in the past how the feudal estates, big capital and the banks exploited, plunged into abysmal misery and even into dark ignorance millions of our people, depriving them of the most elementary rights of life and human dignity. Unless indifferent to the fate of the people, it sees, for it must, how step by step the People's Democracy has created for the toiling millions the preconditions of free human life, of material and intellectual uplift, of a happy present and a hopeful future.

The National Conference Fosters Agreement

Can it be a mere accident that those participating in the conference today are, in the main, the parish priests of the provinces, of the villages, of the workers' districts, members of the lower clergy intimately familiar with the people's way of life? Obviously it is no accident. They know, for they saw, what a past that oppressed the people meant, for the hems of their frocks had swept the mire of the soil drenched in tears of misery. They know, and they see, how very different is the present—and they know, too, how our liberated people think about defending their liberty, about the upbuilding of their new life, about the unflinching struggle for peace. It is of them—of you and of priests like you—that we thought when we felt confident about the launching of this movement.

We knew there are in the ranks of the Catholic clergy—no small number either—those who were never prone to concede that the Catholic Church, under the guise of religion but not with any religious intent, can be the refuge, the shelter and even the trench, of the forces of a world gone by, of reactionary forces arrayed against progress, against the people's cause. We knew that there are many in the ranks of the Catholic clergy who favor and are ready to aid that powerful and heroic effort with which our people, after centuries of misery and oppression, will create for themselves a free and happy life. We knew that there are many in the ranks of the Catholic clergy ready to take a hand in the peace efforts of our future-building people, priests who regard it their ministerial duty, their congregational calling to fight—by words, deeds and steadfastness—against the eruption of another war, against death, mass murder, destruction and devastation . . . for life triumphant.

And, as you see, we were right in having faith in the birth of this movement.

Agreement between Church and State—the guiding principle of this movement—is at once the question and the urgent task which has been in the throes of birth for many years. I believe participants in this conference are not unaware that our People's Democratic State has exerted no little effort to this end. From the very outset we have held that agreement with

the Catholic Church is both possible and necessary. Just as we were able to achieve agreement with the other denominations, just so have we kept open the path to agreement with the Catholic Church. It is not our fault that repeated efforts have led to no success. But I must tell you again:

never even for a moment did we abandon the prospects of agreement, for we knew that there are many within the Catholic Church, including the priesthood, who honestly wish for, indeed, insist on an agreement.

We are pleased that these make themselves heard in this movement—at last. We are all the more glad about this because, now as in the past, we regard as desirable a peaceful settlement of the relations between Church and State.

As is well known, for several weeks now negotiations have been in progress between representatives of the Government and the Episcopate. There are those who, citing this fact, claim that therefore this movement is unnecessary. I believe those who say this are wrong. It would be improper to comment prematurely on the outcome of the discussions now underway—but I believe that this very movement can be one of the main safeguards, giving impetus to a really successful conclusion, at last, of the negotiations between the Government and the Episcopate. There are those who insinuate, indeed loudly assert, that this movement hampers and even endangers the success of the negotiations now in progress between the Government and the Episcopate. Obviously this is but sheer pretext on the part of those who prefer no agreement between Church and State. *For how could a movement which urges agreement possibly be at cross purposes with negotiations aiming at such an agreement? How could a movement which champions the successful culmination of these negotiations possibly jeopardize their favourable outcome?* Only a patently hostile impulse can make such insinuation. We believe, it is our view—and surely those of the Episcopate intent upon an agreement will share this view—that this movement by the patriotic Catholic clergy, loyal to the people, will not only not harm but greatly benefit the cause of reconciliation. On the other hand, it will thwart indeed those reactionary political intentions which, gambling against the people and to the detriment of the Church, are bent on maintaining, and even aggravating, the unhappy relationship between Church and State.

Expressions by the initiators of the movement and the views that were voiced here have accentuated loyalty alike to Church and State. That is quite proper and fitting. We not only appreciate it but deem it to be natural. But there are within the Catholic Church—and let us speak frankly and clearly—those that do not at all regard it as either fitting or natural. There are those in whose books the declaration of allegiance to the People's Democratic State is entered as evidence of disloyalty to the Church. While I cannot speak in the name of the participants in this conference, I believe all of you will agree when I say that such interpretation is a clumsy lie

and all too clearly a tendentious slander. But since I am able to speak in the name of the Hungarian People's Democratic Government, I declare that we do not at all regard devotion and attachment to the Church as disloyalty to the State. We hold that loyalty to the State and devotion to the Church are not only not inconsistent but downright compatible.

We never did, and never will, demand that even a single minister or congregant of the Catholic, or any other religious community, be untrue to his Church, to his spiritual convictions. It would be utterly wrong were we to make such a demand, and it would place us in conflict with ourselves. The Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic guarantees to every citizen full freedom of conscience, and we respect our Constitution.

Yes: we affirm that loyalty to the People's State and devotion to the Church are wholly compatible. The requisites of loyalty to the people, to the People's State, are in no wise contradictory to the tenets of the Church. Can a Catholic priest come into conflict with the teachings and doctrines of his Church if, boldly and unmistakably, he espouses the great social achievements of our People's Democracy: land reform, cessation of capitalist exploitation and the raising of our cultural plane? Can a priest come into conflict with the teachings and doctrines of his Church if he loves his country and his people, if he wants to help his people build, to make their country thrive, to defend their peace and freedom?

Can a priest come into conflict with the teachings and doctrines of his Church by campaigning against the horrors of war, by condemning the atom bomb and imperialist war-mongering, by denouncing American aggression in Korea and the barbaric slaughter of defenseless women and children? No,—I do not believe that he can be in conflict; on the contrary, by so doing he is acting wholly in the true spirit of his Church, of his religion!

The initiators and participants of this movement have recognized this to be so and, because their intentions and their consciences are clear, they have dared speak out loud. *I am certain that their example will soon be followed by the great majority of the Catholic priesthood and that the false, abrasive dilemma of divided loyalties will no longer plague the honest, patriotically minded priesthood that is loyal to the people. There can be no either-or!* This false dilemma was created during the past few years by those that are enemies alike of the people and of the Catholic Church—those that are partisans not of peace and progress but of hatred and destruction. *Therefore, let this movement strike deeper roots for the people and for the Church!*

Traditions of Loyalty to the People

And now, I should like to broach just one other point. Upon invitation of the preparatory committee, I recently participated at a caucus conference of the initiators of this movement. One of the speakers there said that the path

of this movement is a new, unbroken and troublesome trail. I should like to repeat here what my answer was to that statement. *True: the path of this movement is still fresh and unbroken—but at the same time it is very old.*

The history of the Catholic Church has many beautiful and meritorious traditions which recall, and might serve as inspiring guideposts for our own era, the great and true tasks of loyalty to the people, of the struggle for progress.

Just think of Father Lőrincz who, with crucifix in hand, fought in the armies of the libertarian György Dózsa in order that the rights and the freedom of the people might triumph. Think of István Telekessy, Bishop of Eger, who was—and remained despite every threat and accusation—an intrepid and ardent participant in Ferenc Rákóczi's war of liberation in the glorious Kuruc struggles of his day. Think of Ferenc Verseghy, Miklós Révai and József Rajnis who — as Catholic priests — were the good, brave toilers of Hungarian cultural progress, of the liberal spirit of Hungary, notwithstanding the fact that slander and persecution were their lot. Think of the many heroic army chaplains of the struggle for independence in 1848-49,—and think of Bishop Mihály Horváth of Csanád, Lajos Kossuth's Minister of Culture, one of the authors of the Emancipation Proclamation.

I urge you now to be faithful to their spirit and their heritage by serving your people and your Church as befits the challenge of our time. But there is one sense in which these examples are not apt. Just as in the past our people failed in every attempt at gaining their freedom—so too these Catholic priests, who fought for progress and for the people, met frustration, persecution, and often martyrdom too. Today the course of history is different.

Today our people have the strength and the power to defend, against all comers, those that follow the path of loyalty to them. And today among our people persecution is no longer the lot of those that strive for progress and justice.

I know that, nevertheless, the road of this salutary and honest movement will not be altogether smooth. There are, and will be, those that will do their utmost to malign its adherents. Among these are people who oppose agreement between Church and State, and who even at the cost of a third world war would like to restore the old system of oppression against the people. But I am equally sure that the participants in the movement cannot be intimidated because they know theirs is the path of the righteous.

In behalf of our working people, in the name of the Government of our People's Republic, I pledge this movement our backing and, if need be, our wholehearted assistance and defense. If necessary, we shall not fail to inform anyone that in our People's Democracy it cannot be detrimental to any person—including the Catholic priests—to be devoted partisans of democracy, progress and peace.

Resolution Adopted by the National Conference of Catholic Priests, August 1, 1950

The Roman Catholic priests and monks, affiliated with all the Dioceses of Hungary and participants in this conference, hereby declare that they are faithful to the Holy Roman Catholic Mother Church and to the head thereof, as well as loyal citizens of the Hungarian People's Democratic State. They deem it to be their duty, as priests and citizens, to perform their pastoral calling, to promote the campaign launched to insure enduring peace. Be it therefore resolved:

1. That they seek, with mutual respect for the laws of Church and State, the urgent and full achievement of an agreement between Church and State. Hence they welcome the negotiations now underway between the Episcopate and representatives of the People's Government, and they intend to facilitate them to the best of their ability.

2. In order to restore confidence between the clergy and the working masses, they pledge their devotion to the people's democratic state: to the Hungarian People's Republic. They regard this to be their patriotic duty, the more so as the People's Democracy has made it its own prime objective to liberate the Hungarian people socially, to elevate them to human dignity, and to proclaim — as does the clergy too, in keeping with its Christian creed — that "Man is the supreme asset." They further declare that they will do their utmost toward the realization of the Economic Five-Year Plan so that they too may contribute to the raising of the material and spiritual standards of the Hungarian people. They will combat every internal and external reactionary attempt, first of all — of course — the reactionary tendencies that may arise within their own ranks, which would retard or sabotage the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan and the building of Socialism. They will not condone attempts by reaction to exploit the Holy Roman Catholic Mother Church for its own ends. They will not yearn for the revival of the social injustices of the past. They desire to march forward in unison with the people in patriotism, in affection, and in labor.

3. They support without reservation the Hungarian people's struggle for peace, of which they wish to partake their own stint actively, bearing in mind this sentence in our Lord Jesus' Sermon on the Mount: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." For that reason, they unanimously endorse the Stockholm peace appeal and call upon those fellow-priests who have not yet signed this appeal to regard the affixing of their signatures as an urgent Catholic duty.

4. Inasmuch as the defense of enduring peace is of essential interest alike to Church and State, to the priesthood and to the people, they condemn the war-mongering of imperialists and the military intervention by imperialists, designed to suppress the battles for liberation of colonial and semi-colonial peoples. In the name of true Christian humanism, they protest against the advocacy and use of the atom bomb. They brand those who, in connection with the Korean war, demand the employment of the atom bomb. They protest against the bombing of the Korean civilian population, of defenseless cities and villages.

5. For the sake of reconciliation between Church and State, for the cooperation of the clergy and the working masses, they regard it as desirable that the state should extend the fullest support within its power to the clergy and to monastic orders, loyal to the people, in the performance of their labours to further the reconstruction of the country and the cause of lasting peace.

Among those that participated in the Peace Conference of Catholic Priests were:

Róbert Aczél, Eger; Father Ányos Ágoston, Budapest; Gyula Andriská, Szigliget; István Apáti, Tiszazug; Father Sebestyén Angeli, Eger; Gyula

Anya; Father Teobald Bagó; György Balázs; Father Lehel Bánhegyi; István Bati and Father G. Alfonz Balázs, Budapest; Franciscan Father, Dr. József Badó; Dr. Ferenc Bádi, Budapest; György Bálint, Bodrogköz; Father Boldizsár Bata, Budapest; Andor Bártányi, Gyöngyösoroszi; Father Didák Bédó, Budapest; Father József Bedök; Máté Beruslák; István Berzsényi; Ernő Bence; János Békefi; László Biziáz, Putnok; Sándor Bodnár, curate; János Bonta, Rozé; Alfréd Bordás, Eger; Ferenc Bogdán and István Bota, Budapest; Dr. Béla Bodzsár; Andor Bódis; János Bolli, Hajdunánás; Father Achilles Borbély, Budapest; József Bus, Endrefalva; Father Hilár Butzkó, Eger; Tibor Bujdosó; Ferenc Brenner, Kozármiszlény; László Bertely; Ferenc Bruszki, Budapest; Gyula Császtí, Eger; András Cseh; Kelemen Csikbárfalvi, Nyirbátor; Dr. Vilmos Csóthi, chief prelate, Eger; Jenő Csepény, Bodrogköz; Father Oszkár Csontos, Budapest; József Daraba, Selyp; Ignác Devánszky, Szendrő; Imre Devánszky, County Szabolcs; Benvent Dobos; Dr. József Donáth; Károly Domin; István Erős, Csapod; Father Gottmar Faddy and Adolf Farda, Budapest; Imre Farkas; Jenő Fazekas, Budapest; Sándor Fényi, Molnárpuszpökpuszta; Tibor Fojti; József Freesz, archiepiscopal commissioner, Budapest.

Father Grácián Gábris, Budapest; János Galenkó, Ózd; Father Gallusz Galenkó, Budapest; József Garamvölgyi, Szegvár; János Gyalokai; Father Máté Gazsó, Budapest; Ferenc Gergyési, Veszprém; Béla Gertner, Tarany; Pál Gyetven, Budapest; Father Gratus Gombosi and Father Kandid Gosztonyi, Budapest; József Gyóni; László, Győrszegi, Tokod; Father Tamás Gubica and Miklós Glaser, Budapest; István Gulyás, Hort; Father Dénes Gunglics; Father Paskál Halmi, Budapest; Father Vince Harsányi, Eger; Dr. György Halász, Budapest; László Hegedüs, Nyergesujfalu; László Hegedüs, Budapest; Jenő Hegedüs; Ágoston Hirman, Budapest; Dr. Pál Himmel; Father Bertalan Hódos, Budapest; Kálmán Hoffmann; Father Jusztusz Horváth, Budapest; Gyula Horváth, Kaszaper; István Horváth; József Horváth; Kálmán Horváth, Szügy; László Horváth; Zsigmond Horváth; Father Zsigmond Horváth, Budapest; József Inhof, Nagyszákely; Sándor Iványi.

János Jakab; László Jády; Dr. István Jebele; Ferenc Józsa; Father Ágoston Juhász, Budapest; István Juhász, Szeged; Elemér Kapuvári, Tiszaluc; Lajos Kardos, Csurgó; Dr. Elek Kalász, Eger; Ferenc Kajnári and Father Kájusz Kálvin, Budapest; Mihály Kanyó; Mihály Kanabé; Mihály Kamarás; János Kálmán; József Karvas; Father Albert Kéceli Mészáros; Father Károly Kincses and Father Anaklét Király, Budapest; Gábor Kiss, Nagymagócs; Jenő Királyfalvi, Szombathely; Father Cecil Kiss, Kecskemét; Father Cecil Kiss, Budapest; Dr. István Kiss, professor of theology, Eger; Father Kálmán Kiss, Father Paskal Kiss and Father Kornél Kiss, Budapest; Vencel Kovács, Dejtár; Father Kamill Kovács, Budapest; Sándor Kovács, Gyékényes; Dr. József Korenák; Dr. Gyula Kovács, archiepiscopal counsellor, Budapest; Gyula Kovrig; Father Sándor Kovács; Dr. József Környei, Leányvár; Béla Körmendi and Father Fülöp Kőszegi, Budapest; Father János Kövér; Lajos Kun, Kiscsécse; István Kusnyek, Csány; István Kulkai, Eger; Lajos Kubán; Emil Krigsta; Kálmán Krusnéti; Father Sándor Kroszán.

János Lantos; József Lában; Father Lajos Lázár; Father Lajos Lázár, Mezőkövesd; Father Vid. P. László, Budapest; Alán Láng; Jakab Lócsi, Andács; Father László Lombos, Budapest; Dr. József Lukács; János Magyar; István Mandl; Imre Mácsai, Sajópüspök; János Máté; Father Effrám Matus, Budapest; Vince Merényi, Eger; Lajos Melke; Jenő Mester, Budapest; Father Donát Mészáros; Dr. Béla Miklós, archiepiscopal notary, Eger; Tamás Mihályi, Budapest; Dr. József Murzsa, professor of theology; Endre Molnár,

Mikófalva; Károly Motesicki, Budapest; Tibor Mugarin; Jenő Müller; Balázs Nagy, Kengyel; Dr. Béla Nagy; József Nagy; Father Dr. Konstantin Nagy, Budapest; László Nagyvárad; Father Kapisztrán Návai, Budapest; János Nemes; Father Ilár Nyraí; Adorján Nyárády; János Odaba; István Olaj, Eger; Father József Oláh; Ernő Olop; Imre Ólmos, Budapest; Pál Orosz, Eger; László Pastényi; László Paksi, Balassagyarmat; Gyula Papp; Lajos Papp; István Pataki; József Patócs; József Pákozdi, Eger; Pál Ferenc, Jászapáti; Ferenc Pál, County Heves; Lajos Pálfi; Father Benedek Pásztor; Father Elemér Pásztor, Budapest; Jenő Pejő; Father Kerubim Perjési, Budapest; Károly Petényi, Selyp; Lajos Petroczki; József Péterfi, Budapest; Pál Pintér; Dr. István Pingyi; Miklós Pollák, Dömös; Sándor Pongrácz; Pelvárt Pozsgai; Pál Pozsgai.

Dezső Ravas, Jászfényszaru; István Rákóczi; András Reihart, Budapest; János Reidling; Dezső Réz, Jászfényszaru; Alajos Rozman; Béla Sarkadi, Budapest; Dénes Sándor; Dénes Sándor and Ferenc Sármány, Budapest; Gyula Sebestyén, Nyirábránd; Father Szaniszló Sebestyén, Budapest; Jenő Sereghy; Béla Serényi; Father Gábor Sink; Gábor Solymár; Ferenc Sóti and Father László Sóti, Budapest; Nárcisz Szabadkai, Kecskemét; Nándor Szabadkai; Gábor Szabó; Gyula Szabó, Budapest; József Szabó; Lajos Szabó, Érsekudkert; Károly Szakács; Béla Szamoslaki, Father Krizológ Százdí, Gyula Szepesi, Papal chancellor, and Antal Szekcy, Budapest; Jenő Szili; Father Szilárd Szilvási and Father Szolán Szücs, Budapest; Dr. Lajos Tajthy; János Taál; Father Alajos Tamás, Ernő Tamás, Father Fidél Tamás, Father Gábor Tátrai, Imre Teész, Gyula Tille and Father Agapit Tolnai, Budapest; Béla Tóth, Érsekudkert; József Tóth, Father Ernő Tóth, Kálmán Tóth, Father Paramériusz Tóth, Father Ottokár Tóth and János Töröcsi, Budapest; István Thököli, Hatvan; Imre Tököli; Dezső Turcsics.

László Ugoes; Father Bernadin Unyi, Father Béla Várad, Adolf Vargha, Béla P. Varga and Father Vazul Végvári, Budapest; József Verosto, Eger; János Verdon; Andor Vértes, Budapest; József Vörös; István Vlagyovics; Jakab Vlauovics; Father Zénó Zagyi, Budapest; Imre Zentai, Dág; Lajos Zembik, Felsőörs; István Zolca.



Annex No. 4

Agreement Between the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Roman Catholic Episcopate

Following prolonged negotiations between representatives of the Hungarian Government and the Roman Catholic Episcopate, the subjoined statement was issued:

Guided by the aspiration to insure the peaceful co-existence of the State and the Catholic Church, and thereby facilitate the unity and constructive labours of the Hungarian people as well as the peaceful development of our country, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Hungarian Catholic Episcopate conducted negotiations and entered into the following agreement:

I

1. The Episcopate recognizes and, responsive to the citizenship duties of its members, supports the political system and the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic. It declares that, in accordance with the canons of the Church, it will proceed

against such persons within the Church as may act inimically against the legal system of the Hungarian People's Republic and the constructive efforts of its Government.

2. The Episcopate emphatically condemns all subversive activities, of whatever origin, directed against the State and social order of the Hungarian People's Republic. It declares that it will not tolerate the exploitation of the religious feelings of the faithful, nor the utilization of the Catholic Church for political ends detrimental to the State.

3. The Episcopate calls upon all faithful Catholics, as citizens and patriots, to participate to the utmost in the great work which, under the leadership of the Government of the People's Republic, is being performed by the Hungarian people as a whole, through the realization of the Five-Year-Plan, for the raising of living standards and for the effectuation of social justice. The Episcopate asks the clergy in particular not to offer resistance to the movement of agricultural producers' cooperatives because, as voluntary associations, these are founded upon the moral principle of human solidarity.

4. The Episcopate supports the movement, in behalf of peace. It approves the endeavours in defense of peace of the Hungarian people and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic; it condemns all war-mongering and the employment of atomic weapons and, hence, the Episcopate will regard the first government to use the atom bomb as guilty of a crime perpetrated against humanity.

II

1. As prescribed in the Constitution of the People's Republic, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic guarantees full freedom of religion to Catholic worshippers as well as freedom of function to the Catholic Church.

2. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic consents to the return of eight Catholic parochial schools (six for boys and two for girls), as also to the employment in Catholic parochial schools of the requisite number of teachers, male and female, selected from Catholic teaching orders.

3. In the spirit of agreements already entered into with other religious denominations, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic agrees to defray the financial requirements of the Catholic Church. Thus, for a period of eighteen years, that is until the Catholic Church is able to cover its budget from its own resources, the Government will remit due amounts, in a diminishing ratio at three or five-year intervals, for the purposes of the Catholic Church. Within the bounds of these financial provisions, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic places special stress upon insuring the minimal subsistence of the clergy engaged in pastoral activities.

For the practical implementation of the foregoing agreement, a joint committee shall be formed composed of an equal number of representatives of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and of the Episcopate.

Budapest, August 30, 1950

**In behalf of the Hungarian
Catholic Episcopate**

(signed) JÓZSEF GRÖSZ
Archbishop of Kalocsa

**In behalf of the Council of Ministers
of the Hungarian People's Republic**

(signed) JÓZSEF DARVAS
Minister of Religion and Public Education

“The Peaceful Co-Existence of State and Church”

By GYÖRGY PARRAGI

Member of Parliament and Roman Catholic Publicist

Reprinted from the “Magyar Nemzet,” September 1, 1950

At last! Into these two simple words are crowded all the satisfaction, relief and sincere joy which swept over Hungarian public opinion upon learning that the Roman Catholic Episcopate and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic had signed an agreement. These terse words faithfully mirror the emotions which dominate the soul of the Hungarian people in the wake of the announced agreement. The signing of the concordat between the Roman Catholic Episcopate and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic allays the misgivings, the mounting impatience, indeed, the bitterness which had accumulated in the souls of the lower clergy and the faithful. The spirit of sacred peace and undiluted Easter joy has entered their souls.”

Just how much significance is attributed to this agreement by Hungarian public opinion in general is indicated especially by the fact that the entire Hungarian press, including *Uj Ember* (New Man), official organ of the Catholic Episcopate, featured and headlined the text as front page news. The newspapers were literally snapped up. But even before the papers appeared, the metropolitan population of Budapest had gotten wind, at an incredible speed, of the signing of the pact; people discussed it everywhere with joy and relief and passed it on from mouth to mouth. Intuitively they felt that this agreement could only bode as well for the People's Democracy and the working masses as for the Catholic Church, the lower clergy and their congregants. The Catholic faithful, especially the lower clergy, felt that their heart's fondest desire had been realized and that consummation of the agreement meant a spiritual holiday for them.

Of the pact itself we must assert, before all else, that it is based on a recognition of the mutual interests and services of State and Church. In our opinion, the essence of the agreement is inherent in that decision in favour of collaboration, spiritual and political, which representatives of Church and State reached in the cause of our two guiding principles: national unity and the safeguarding of peace.

For this very reason, the agreement connotes a powerful step forward—toward the creation of increasingly firmer national unity and the still wider stabilization, reinforcement of the peace front.

The preamble of the joint statement issued by the Government of the People's Republic and the Catholic Episcopate underscores the aspiration which prompted both negotiating parties in an effort further to promote the unity of the Hungarian people and the peaceful development of our country by insuring the peaceable co-existence of the State and the Catholic Church. The ideal of a closer national unity is the *leitmotif* that runs through the entire text of the statement. It shows clearly that the Government of our People's Democracy regards peaceful co-existence with the religious communities, thus also with the Catholic Church, as a major integrating force in our people's unity. Leaders of the Catholic Church have come to realize that the Church cannot sever itself from the people, that it cannot remain a vital organization outside the unity of the people, because thereby it would lose its sustaining soil and would be renouncing the prospect of fulfilling its mission. The Church is impelled equally by self-interest and calling to give its fullest support to the unity of the working people as the supreme source of strength of our reborn country.

The agreement has further significance in that it is an attestation for peace.

Declarations of the Episcopate pertaining to our new social development, to our economic strivings, and to the Hungarian people's democracy in general constitute an important segment of the agreement.

The first section puts an end to a disastrous, confused situation of five years' duration, which was the focal source of so much trouble and spiritual crisis. This particular passage declares: "The Episcopate recognizes and, responsive to the citizenship duties of its members, supports the political system and the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic."

Not only does this sentence firmly undergird the relationship between Church and State but is capable of removing from this relationship those disturbing elements, distrust and suspicion. Had this lucid passage been drafted sooner and had the Church assumed this attitude earlier, distrust and uncertainty might long ago have vanished. But it is better late than never, and we rejoice that this clearly phrased sentence serves not only as the initial premise of the agreement but opens up possibilities for a happier, a more encouraging era between Church and State.

In this same section, the Episcopate undertakes to proceed against those ecclesiastical persons who may set themselves in opposition to the legal system of the Hungarian People's Republic and the constructive labours of its Government.

Perhaps nothing illustrates better this far-reaching change, which the agreement is destined to bring about in the relationship between Church and State, than does this declaration. Misguided Church policies of the past often rewarded those very people who were hostile to the legal order and persecuted those who, by virtue of their love for the people and their democratic concepts, pioneered in behalf of reconciliation between Church and State.

The agreement will lend impetus to the implementation of our economic plans.

There is also significance in that part of the Episcopate's appeal which calls upon the clergy "not to offer resistance to the movement of agricultural producers' cooperatives because, as voluntary associations, these are founded upon the moral principle of human solidarity."

If we examine carefully the domestic political implications of the declaration, we find evidence that, in this positive attitude of the Episcopate, the State and the Government of the People's Republic and the toiling masses have gained a fresh source of power for their work of building Socialism.

Now at last an agreement has been reached, consistent with the wisdom of Mátyás Rákosi's basic political principle of "mutual understanding and conciliation," between the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Catholic Episcopate.



Annex No. 6

**Statement issued by the
National Peace Committee of Catholic Priests
Concerning the Agreement Between Church and State**

The National Peace Committee of Roman Catholic Priests met in conference on September 1, 1950, which was opened by the Rev. Dr. Richard Horváth, as follows:

"The agreement reached between the Hungarian Catholic Episcopate and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic vindicates the judgment of those who had initiated the movement. Indeed, this clerical movement for peaceful under-

standing has contributed notably to the success of the negotiations. Long cherished yearnings and aspirations of millions of people have been thus realized. This settlement marks a decisive step forward along the path to firmer internal peace.

"We offer the Episcopate our pledge of support, with every ounce of strength and good will, their efforts for the increasingly successful implementation of this agreement, designed to serve the welfare of our people and their spiritual salvation."

We express our thanks to and our faith in the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic for its understanding and good will towards the interests of the Catholic Church and towards the religious steadfastness and traditional reverence of the Catholic toilers. We wish to affirm again that hereafter too we shall discharge our duties as citizens with fervour and self-sacrifice.

We note with pleasure that one of our fixed goals, the realization of this agreement, has been achieved just one month after our national conference. Meanwhile, the seed that was planted by the first declaration of 35 priests has begun to sprout into a spreading tree. On August 1 there were only 430 of us, some of whom may not even have fully grasped the significance of our movement. Today, as a result of the steady process of affiliation, our membership exceeds 600, and the movement of the Catholic clergy is becoming ever wider and more closely knit in the social service of the Hungarian working people, as well as in the struggle waged to save the peace of mankind.

But even in our joy and optimism we prefer to remain down to earth.

Sadly mistaken indeed would be he who believes that things can remain as of old and that all that has happened is nothing more than a tactical move on the chess-board. That would be fatal for the Catholic Church, and we shall be vigilant against any such occurrence.

We shall serve as the living conscience of conviction. We shall be a vital and indispensable aide and servant of fulfilment.

We shall be present wherever the nefarious work of war incendiaries needs to be extinguished and wherever the voice of Christian conscience must be made articulate against monstrous crimes perpetrated upon humanity.

And we shall be present wherever peace is bent on building a new land: we shall be integral parts of the mighty momentum of the Five-Year-Plan, and we shall share in its wondrous creations.

To accomplish this, we plead for the hearty cooperation of members of the Peace Committee and of all lay and clerical adherents of our movement.

Support for the agreement between Church and State—which is the duty of every priest and believer—means that every priest should take his place in the peace movement of the Hungarian people, should assist it, should actively participate in the local peace committees, and should join our Peace Committee.

Following this, Dr. Horváth announced that the committee originally elected had been empowered to increase its membership to 30; that since the affiliation of many hundreds more could be expected, it was felt prudent to fill only 22 of the seats for the moment. Upon his recommendation, the conference elected the following to membership in the Peace Committee:

Dr. István Balogh, vicar, retired; Dr. Richard Horváth, professor of theology, Budapest; Antal Szécsy, deputy archepiscopal commissioner and vicar, District XIII, Budapest; Ferenc Sármany, vicar, Budapest; János Máté, vicar, Kecskemét; József Mihácz, priest, Vecsés; Kornél Werner, vicar Vecsés; Dr. Gáspár Csömöz, vicar, Szolnokujvár; Miklós Beresztóczy, prelate and papal chamberlain; Lajos Királdi, priest, Esztergom; Miklós Pollák, priest, Dunapataj; Károly Domin, priest, Kazár; Andor Vértes, priest, Balatonföldvár; József Patócs, religious instructor, Mohács; Béla Nagy, Greek Catholic vicar, Nyírlugos; József Szalma, priest, Szőreg; Endre Molnár, vicar, Mikófalva; Imre Devánczky, priest, Nyiregyháza; Dr. Alán Láng,

Premonstrant canon, Novajidrány; József Lucács, piarist instructor, Sátoraljaujhely; Ferenc Bádi, priest, Budapest; Dr. Béla Serényi, priest, Budapest.

After rounding out the clerical Peace Committee, József Lukács of Sátoraljaujhely spoke up to say: "A great deal of bitterness has been sublimated within us since yesterday. They had charged us with being heretics, as if we had alienated ourselves from the Catholic Church. But surely now they will not look upon us as heretics or as foes of the Church. We shall stand our ground faithfully, and the more recruits for our movement we can win from among the servants of the Church the more successfully we can serve the ideals of peace, which affect Church and State alike."

Upon a motion by Andor Vértes, the following telegraphic message was sent to József Darvas, Minister of Religion and Public Education: "The National Peace Committee of Catholic Priests is sincerely delighted, and eager to assume new tasks, in conveying its thanks to you, sir, for the contribution you have made to the cause of understanding between Church and State. We promise to be workers and apostles of peace and progress. Please transmit our gratitude to the great leaders of our people."

A similar message was sent also to Archbishop József Grósz of Kalocsa.

After remarks by Prelate Miklós Beresztóczy, of Esztergom, Dr. István Balogh spoke up: "We Hungarian Catholic priests are now able to participate more actively than before in the peace movement, not only in response to our hearts and minds but also in compliance with the wishes of the Episcopate. When the Episcopate says it condemns all war-mongering and all those who may be first to use the atom bomb, it sanctions the very ideals and sentiments we have cherished right along.

"As regards the practical questions, let each priest regard it incumbent upon himself to participate in the efforts of the peace committees. There is need to persuade people, to open their eyes. It is our mission to enlighten people so that they may support the lofty labours of the Government, which has faith in us and reciprocates our support. We do no favour to the government, but serve our own best interests . . ."

Thereupon, at the suggestion of Richard Horváth, the Conference elected the following to constitute the presidium: Dr. Gáspár Csömöz, Ferenc Sármany, Dr. Richard Horváth, Dr. István Balogh, Dr. Béla Naby, and József Lukács.



Annex No. 7

Appeal of the National Peace Committee of Catholic Priests, Addressed to Catholic Priests and Congregants September 26, 1950

The agreement reached between the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Catholic Episcopate forms the basis and guarantee of collaboration between Church and State in all questions that affect the welfare of our people.

Our destiny is closely linked with the cause of peace. Imperialist incitation to war, propaganda for war, preparation for war and aggression are intensifying international tension from day to day. There is thus particular significance in that portion of the agreement which pledges the Episcopate to "support the movement in behalf of peace . . . approves the endeavours in defence of peace of the Hungarian people and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic."

These sentiments in the agreement are words expressive of the deepest

Christian morality. We too lean upon these words when we endorse, heart and soul, the "Let's Defend the Peace" appeal of the National Council, which summons to action the noblest human will: the will to serve in the cause of peace. We call upon the large hosts of Catholic priests and the faithful to join, actively and with the resolute confidence of conviction, the mighty peace camp in which hundreds of millions are gloriously battling for the preservation of all mankind.

To be in the service of peace today means to render the most imperative service to justice and the loftiest service to God. One of the essentials of our priesthood and our Christian faith is that: "God hath called us to preach peace." (Corin. I)

Peace, as a program, is a matter of constant struggle and of constant striving alike within ourselves and within the world. This battle means that we must participate in the activities of the peace committees, that we must openly stand for peace, that we must organize and spread enlightenment, that we too must do everything in our power to enhance the success of the National Peace Congress convoked for November 4-5. In other words: we must be at all times the indefatigable apostles of peace. For he accomplishes most who in his own spot, perhaps within a small circle, does his utmost.

In this struggle for peace our most immediate task, as believers and as priests, is active participation in local elections to the Council. For these Councils are destined to express our national unity, to deepen and further solidify that unity, and thus to strengthen and augment the forces of peace.

With the election of Councils, our democratic state gains in structure as well as in foundation. Through the Councils everyone participates in the exercise of state authority. Everyone has a share in shaping his own destiny. Along the road to political self-consciousness the Councils, which will choose 200,000 members and alternates, serve as exceedingly important stations. The elections are no mere party matter. They are the concern of the people as a whole. Each believing Catholic is also a loyal citizen. Whatever is good and fair for the people in general is likewise good and fair for him because he is at one with his people. The moral values incidental to Council membership dovetail perfectly into the moral order of Christianity.

The religiously faithful feels happy too at the thought that the State is no alien, no enemy, but a friend, that indeed he himself is the State. Through the Councils our people will be forged together. The Councils gather unto themselves the physical and spiritual toilers, workers, peasants and intellectuals. This fact alone will facilitate the removal of barriers that may exist among us. Thus it will also serve the great Christian ideal of human equality. It is a wholly Christian estimate too which appraises the intrinsic worth of man not by the kind of work he does, or where he works, but by how honestly, reliably and conscientiously, or how well he performs his work. As for the prime requisite of labor, which is peace, these elections will serve that very objective by consolidating our people, and that too is the unadulterated requirement of Christian spirituality.

The Hungarian people wish to work, build and create honestly, and they want peace. Happy indeed is the priest who can walk along with his peace-loving people. For the true priest of Christ is the priest of peace. His life must blend with the life of his people. He must be gladdened by all that elevates and pleases his people. And he must participate in all that builds and uplifts his people, that consummates their unity and their strength. These, then, are the aims contingent upon the elections.

That is why the clergy must endorse, assist, and participate in the elections to the utmost of their powers, with conviction and enlightenment, with fair example in voting and, if confidence be conferred upon them, accept nominations.

It is also the pious duty of every believer to participate in the elections. For the priest this duty is even more paramount: service in the cause of true Christian morality and in the cause of the human spirit.

