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Is Strike a Form of Celebrating? “Celebrating” as a Propaganda Formula Compromising Striking

In Polish political reality in the beginning of the 1980's strikes of the various social—trade groups were a frequent phenomenon. Almost every day press, radio and television would report about consecutive “strike actions,” alarming the public with the intention of mobilising it against the “unjustified protests”—as it was said.

In media propaganda statements various arguments were presented, proving that strikes bring measurable economical losses, and at that time, in Polish situation they would also “deepen the economical crisis,” they also create a numerous very inconvenient impediments in everyday lives of Polish people, which could have been avoided, for many of them were directed against the “Party and government actions,” whose goal was to improve the living conditions of the society—were unjustified because they would not facilitate the pace of the improvement of the situation.

Showing the misunderstanding for the defined, concrete “strike actions” it has been suggested or even directly communicated, that it all is about political targets, in general about anti—socialism actions. Accusing the strikes organizers for political intentions was done through the propaganda formula “the worse the better.” It was supposed to reveal the direct political sense of a strike consisting in further worsening of the social—economical situation, so in this way “undermine the trust to the socialist authorities.”

A propaganda action discrediting strikes was also undertaken , proclaiming an opinion about so called strike celebration, wherein the term “celebration” had in this context a negative value judgement. In particular it was referred to the “non productive” social—trade groups (such as students, universities and cultural institutions employees) which were ascribed a “lack of will for work and study” as well as ludic motives, of which the confirmation

were the playful—frivolous behaviours of some of the participants of those strikes.

This way by using the “strike celebrating” formula a number of strikes was depreciated in 1981. It seems that a certain propaganda success has been achieved in this matter, for the common awareness of this discrediting opinion undoubtedly arose.

In spite of the above comments, it is not my intention to present the contemporary propaganda actions discrediting strikes by using the “strike celebrating” formula. I am interested in more general in nature problem and that is: what social—cultural circumstances cause associating strikes with a certain form of celebrating (in the neutral, non-descriptive sense of this word) which helped in widespread of the mentioned propaganda judgement about a strike and it can be said that they justify in a peculiar way a general view of a strike. The circumstances I would like to present below, looking at a strike from the culture studies point of view, by using for this purpose a social—regulating theory of Jerzy Kmita.¹

1

Generally speaking associations mentioned here are based on the observations concerning the most perceptible (external, physical) similarities that exist between a celebration and a strike. As Kazimierz Żygulski states:

...in both cases it is about a certain form of a group behaviour, in case of a strike depending, amongst other things, on discontinuing a normal everyday work, public declaration of an extraordinary, strike time, reintegration of the striking group around its basic values which it wants to protect and which it publicly reminds, weakening or even rejecting normally functioning authorities, forming of unusual structures of strike committees, picketing, preparing the adequate decorations, posters, leaflets, signs. Similarly to the celebrations, strike develops, within the group which organises it, a specific, intense ambience of emotional excitement, tension, happiness and concern.²

Assuming this comparative way of presenting those issues, let's consider more closely, possible to distinguish similarities between the celebration

¹ Characteristic of social-regulating theory of culture consist, amongst others, the following works: J. Kmita, *Późny wnuk filozofii. Wprowadzenie do kulturoznawstwa*, Bogucki WN, Poznań 2007; J. Kmita, *Kultura i poznanie*, PWN, Warszawa 1985; G. Banaszak, J. Kmita, *Społeczno-regulacyjna koncepcja kultury*, IK, Warszawa 1994.

² K. Żygulski, *Święto i kultura. Święta dawne i nowe. Rozważania socjologa*, IWZZ, Warszawa 1981, p. 51.

and a strike, but above all lets highlight the differences appearing between them, determining them, aside from mutual and clearly visible elements and accessories, as fundamentally different cultural or social institutions (in reference to the social aspect).

The key word for the consideration is the definition of the world—view. It is defined on the ground of the social—regulating concept of culture as:

...the kind of beliefs group, which by presenting one or another vision of the whole reality—any way: (1) determines a kind of a set of positive, superior values i.e. state of things acting as the final aims of the human activity (not the means of achieving the targets of that kind) (2) defines all types of connections occurring between the superior values and practically noticeable values i.e. life values realised by the individuals taking part in various spheres of social practice. Connections shown here can... depend on the realization of the relevant, directly practical values leading unconditionally to the realisation of the appropriate superior values, which can only (more or less) support this realisation, they may not support it, they can make it impossible, they can be inert in this matter, and so on. There are more complex situations in this matter anyway.³

Superior values mentioned in the definition given, are finally given a name of the “world-view values.” Specifying it normative beliefs and beliefs characterising relations between them and life values, are implicated by adequate groups of beliefs called the “world-view message” or more often “myths” (in the mental sense of this word). They make up the basic elements of the world-view systems and are generated by the adequate for those world-view systems social world-view making practices (magical, religious, secular). Knowledge of those concepts, necessary for undertaking the activities realising world-view values and the reception (interpretation) of their sense (substance) is gained by every member of the social group through a special institutionalised world-view education (for example regular religion lessons at school) more often, though, in the process of participation in rituals as in specific groups of world-view activities or ceremonies as groups of moral actions held mostly in the time of celebrations.

For celebrating is a strictly designed time (day or a few days) allocated only for realisation of world-view values (and particularly intense) and manifesting, communicating of this realisation on the moral practice grounds. Realisation of those values is done usually by the group membership connected with the given system of the world-view rituals (masses, services, processions,

³ J. Kmita, *Światopogląd nauki — światopogląd naukowy*, [w:] *Nauka a światopogląd*, ed. J. Lipiec, KAW, Kraków 1979, p. 299.

manifestations etc.) and communicating through the participation in rites, celebrations, fairs constituting celebration rituals.⁴

Because during the festivities the realisation of the world-view values is the only one that takes effect, on hold is the realisation of direct-practical values of production, trade and often in some aspects—realisation of consumption values (lent) and sometimes other practically perceptible values such as in legislation-political sphere, which is generally defined as “referring from work.” On putting the activities on hold, mainly in the scope of production, exchange and consumption (“material” practice) called “the work discontinuation” although done in a sudden mode (though often possible to foresee, or even announced) is a strike. Considering the fact that for many millennia “time off work” was only the celebration time and “refraining from work” in the festive days showed the respect for sacrum values celebrated in those days, as well as the festive time itself, a clear becomes a frequent association of the strike with some kind of celebration, and what’s more (that is distinctive for those associations), it abstracts from the social-subjective context (target) of the strikes “work discontinuation.”

It is not taken under the consideration that the aim of the festive “off work time” is to allow members of every social group to give in entirely to the realisation of the world-view values in force, on the other hand strike based on “work discontinuation” is a method (instrument, tool) of forcing, by the trade-social groups, on the owners of the means of production—of all kinds of conditions or means of realising by those groups, in general a direct-practical in other words “vital” values. When it comes to the character of the values, of which realisation it is all about, the strike described is an economical one. Though when we realise, that between practical values and some moral values of many world-view systems connected to the political schemes (i.e. love for neighbours, social justice, and so on) there are defined ties (often of the objective subdue) no strike is purely an economical one. Values which are clearly world-view ones come to force in those strikes where the aim is, amongst other things, to force political authority subjects to realise world-view values, including moral ones connected to the spheres of their control (freedom, egalitarianism, democracy and so on) or maybe the values representing the world-view of striking social group, which can be incompatible with the world-view of the social community that holds the political power. The strike oriented axiologically would be in that meaning a political strike.

However the aim of a strike may be the cause of the realisation of the world-view values, strike is not a form of celebrating nor the celebration

⁴ See: J. Grad, *Święto—światopogląd—obyczaj*, „Studia Metodologiczne”, 1984, p. 23.

itself. “Work discontinuation” is not a condition for obtaining the time for special, mass realisation and communication of the cultural world-view values, that constitutes the sense of celebrations, strike is the “work discontinuation” and not for the duty of cultivating the sacrum values in the time given, but to extort the conditions for the realisation of the generally “prosaic” consumption values by the social-trade groups participating mainly in the “material” practice. Therefore identifying strike connected “work discontinuation” with the celebrations, or more exactly with festive—tradition respect or manifestation of respect for world-view values, is a mistake typical with the general point of view, drawing attention to the most obvious, phenomenological features of both phenomena, taken in isolation from their cultural senses. Those characteristics, for instance a mass participation of strikers in the religious rituals, are explained in abstractions of those meanings, above all psychological (sense of threat and insecurity) and political considerations (if the world-view given is not an official, national world-view).

2

Celebrating however characteristic for religious festivities rituals and rites during the strike is not the indispensable element of the means for a social struggle. It was more the Polish specifics of the 80’s of the previous century, when in that time in the ideological-political contexts of conventional communication of affiliation to the “believers” community functioned highly politically, demonstrating the lack of acceptance or at least the distance towards the socialists socio-political system. Organising and participating in religious rituals and rites during the strike is not necessary for the achievement of the assumed aims of the strike. Those are achieved though only due to the objective economical outcome it causes, and of which the trustees of the means of production are well aware of and only because of them they undertake the actions aimed at ending the strike (prognosis, persuasion, use of force, use of so called strike breakers).

Organising the participation in religious rituals becomes helpful if not necessary in the situation of a weak identification of the individual interests of the members of the striking group with the group interest. Low level of this identification with overriding values-aims of the group causes, that a group represents low level of integration, which is the fundamental condition for the achievement of the set aims, especially in the situation of the strike prolongation, or the threat of the use of force for its liquidation and repressions. The group consolidation is most easily achieved on the

moral practice grounds (acting as an objective integration—differentiating function) tied essentially, axiologically with the most common, in a given group, world-view system. It is most often a world-view of a religious type.

In parallel the members integration is done through the participation in the rites derived from the original political sphere (celebrations, “mass meetings,” rallies) set to communicating the beliefs (values) acceptance, constituting or existing, developed and propagated ideology of a given class-trade group. On the grounds of this class and trade variant of a moral practice the actualisation of the legends about our own heroes takes place—about “the fighters in our cause,” that brings to mind a “close-up” of analogical figures, religious heroes called “the saints” done during religious rituals and rites (quoting the appropriate passages from the hagiography literature, for instance “Life of Saints,” Gospel etc.). Participation in those rites, interpreted as individual, in a mass scale, demonstration of facts of acceptance for the values at stake, develops a sense of bonding of all the group members, implicating at the same time important for the strikers feel of power. Taking part in the strike and connected to it ideological and word-view activities give the strikers many feelings, experiences and emotions. Their externalising, perceptible intensity and diversity, creates this special atmosphere often compared to the festive one tied to the authentic holidays celebrating. It is another one, usually mentioned similarity of a strike to the celebration.

The similarity also occurs in accessories used, though it is not about the objects of religious cult used during the services held in the time of a strike. It is about flags, banners, portraits, posters, leaflets on one hand and flags, feretories, prayers prints on the other. They do not fulfil the decorative role only. Their usage in first case is determined by semantic rules of genetically political customs and needs for information, in the second case by the liturgical regulations.

In relation to strike accessories it would be interesting to examine to what degree a usage of posters, slogans, words written on walls and leaflets also a so called telegraphic way of forming their contents is motivated by rational informations which are the communication demands, clear targets presentation, intentions and aims of the strikers and in what measure—magical beliefs about the “power of word” , noticed within the construction of sentences, the used modes and phrases. They most often have a shape of: a summon, an appeal, an obligation, a demand, a wish, a recommendation, a command, an order, therefore a characteristic shape of a magical performative expression (spell). In this range, in which the belief in the “power of word” is implicated by the performative aspect of a language, setting a defined cultural reality in an appropriate cultural—moral contexts,

is rational. However if to take under the consideration, that those usually assumed in advance postulated reality has no chance for realisation because of the different aspects, that those callings, appeals etc. will not cause the situation to come into being or demanded actions to be done, therefore the given preformative expressions will not be fulfilled, will stay incorrect or “poor,” “failed”—in the terminology of the performatives creator John L. Austin, representative of the British analytical philosophy—that we have to deal with “the pure” belief in the magical power of word. This belief is vividly seen amongst the members of the religious rituals related to used within them word forms.

Presented here circumstances, determining the widespread opinions about strikes as of a way of celebrating, show that those opinions are based on secondary if not unimportant characteristics of a strike with the exception of “work discontinuation” constituting the nature of a strike, the circumstances characteristic also for a celebration. Decisive however—as it seems—for common judgements in that matter are the significant world-view and moral behaviours of the striking group, bearing close phenomenalic resemblance to the festive behaviours.

Up till now we spoke of the exterior resemblances between the celebrations and strikes. Now let's consider the relations that occur or may occur between them. First, the celebration may be set to commemorate the defined strike (genetic relation), to be more precise—for mainly moral manifestation of values acceptance, in which name the strike was proclaimed, demonstration of solidarity with everyone who respects those values, starting with the strikes themselves (considered in related tradition as subsequent heroes of social fights). That is what happened in a case of a national holiday of Solidarity and Freedom Day (31st of August) set by Polish parliament in 2005 in honour of the “August Agreement” in 1980 established in the effect of the strike of the workers from the Pomeranian region industrial plants.⁵

Secondly, strike can occasionally be, in the absence of other possibilities, a way of celebrating officially not established holidays (i.e. 1st of May in some countries) and the means of implementing the values, which should be realised during holidays not legally sanctioned. At the same time strike of that kind is an instrument of pressure on the representatives of the authorities, to legally recognise the data spontaneously constituting the holidays.

Thirdly, strike can be a form of a protest against the set up or celebration of holidays that realise and communicate the world-view values inconsistent

⁵ Act of 27th July 2005: „Akt z 27 lipca o ustanowieniu dnia 31 sierpnia Dniem Solidarności i Wolności, AR z 2005, nr 155, pos. 1295”.

or even hostile towards the world-view (ideology) of the working class (i.e. celebration of the fascist holidays with the racist overtones).

3

Now the reasons should be determined, for which the word “celebration” is connected in some contexts with the negatively evaluative sense. Socially-cultural source of this sense is a festive “refraining from work,” which as we determined earlier aims at the possibility of intensive, mainly through the participation in rituals—realisation of religious values. Besides the participation in rituals all followers are obliged to regard the celebration time, that can be manifested through the ordinary remaining idle of “doing nothing” commonly called laziness or doing non-practical activities, unconnected to work, which in ancient Rome was called *ludus*—fun. These are typical activities for the festive free time. Ludic activities, fun and that laziness determine in the beginning a festive custom, the custom of celebration. Moved into the time beyond celebrations, not set culturally as a free time throughout the centuries, especially for lower classes,⁶ became an object of the social environment spontaneous criticism of the individuals taking them up as of those who give in to the unfounded and unjustified for that moment celebration. In that meaning the term “celebration” has gained a sense negatively evaluating of behaviours considered as entertainment. That sense of “celebrating” has been used many times in social life to morally mark and politically disqualify actions, which although their completely different cultural status included in the socially-cultural sphere of “dignity” (for instance strike) was recognized from the common and usually particular point of view as lazy fun inappropriate celebrating, or even undesirable in the world of dignity.

Negative sense of “celebration” is strengthened through the strong emotional influence with authentic custom of celebration, with which an atmosphere of joy and happiness.⁷ They contrast with the experience of participation in everyday activity belonging to the cultural sphere of dignity. In relation to this the propaganda—political statement about “strike celebration” is highly disqualifying the sense and reason of a given strike in regard to assigning its members the pleasure experiences, evidently colliding, according to the

⁶ Beyond celebration (everyday) free time was just a privilege of the higher social classes beginning in the antiquity up until the industrial age.

⁷ See: J. Grad, *Radość i wesołość jako przejawy uczestnictwa w święcie*, [in:] A. Grzegorzcyk, J. Grad, P. Szkudlarek (eds.), *Fenomen radości*, WN UAM, Poznań 2007, pp. 265-271.

common belief, with the dignity atmosphere, which should accompany the strike, directed towards realising of the “serious” life targets of a given social-trade groups.

Tradition of a critical attitude—from the point of view of the defined social or ideologically-political interests—towards celebrations is quite long. Its constitution is connected—as it seems—with the historical rationalising of the work time in the period of forming of the capitalistic economy. Big number, of the inherited after feudal forms religious holidays has been a serious obstacle for introduction of a functional for the manufacture beginnings of capitalism organisation of production and work organization (continuation, regularity of the production processes, productivity, efficient management etc.). Increasing number of working days which are the labour days, was at that time a basic condition of gaining higher work effectiveness causing in the effect a maximisation of the entrepreneurs profit. Question of limiting the number of celebration days off work must have been placed in the centre of interest of both, the owners of the means of production as well as the ideologists of the industrial era. The last ones lead an original propaganda campaign discrediting the excessive celebrating, used only—as it was said—“to exercise laziness, desire of life, give in to fun, dissolution and a habit of drinking.”⁸ It was also referred to the visible economical in nature outcomes. As an author of the XVIII century “Aesthetics of a capital city Warsaw” states: “A considerable number of holidays within a year, introduced here a long time ago, visibly made delays in both farm work and crafts...”⁹ This kind of propaganda compromising the action which was aimed at eradicating frequent celebration supported the efforts made with the church authorities, that led to abolition of many holidays (i.e. of 28 in 1775) although in the Catholic church grounds limit of the number of holiday days has been meeting and still meets a big resistance of clergy and of a vast number of believers. Influential here is mainly a kind of lack of “understanding” or “forbearance” of a catholic religion world-view for practical values called in religious nomenclature “temporal.” For that reason a catholic religion could not fulfil its role regarding the actions on the grounds of production practice, exchange and consumption entering the industrial-capitalistic stage, and genetically connected with it morality could not become “the ethics of a

⁸ Maybe there is some connection with this compromising the excessive celebrating campaign with the French term *fêtard* (*fête*—celebration) meaning mainly a lazy person, rake and then the one celebrating.

⁹ Quotation: N. Assorodobraj, *Początki klasy robotniczej. Problem rąk roboczych w przemyśle polskim epoki stanisławowskiej*, PWN, Warszawa 1966, p. 125, note 6.

capitalists profession”¹⁰ just like ethics implicated by the Protestant religion, particularly the puritan one. On the grounds of this world-view system an interesting us question about celebrating has gained the most beneficial for the owners of the means of production solution. Differently then in the Catholicism, not celebrating but honest work has been considered the most “pleasing the God,” the most glorious way of “serving the God and praising the Gods glory.” Therefore a negligible number of holidays is obligatory for the Protestant followers and all other above—obligatory celebrations are considered a waste of time and are interpreted as a sinful lack of care ones interests. According to Karol Marks “Protestantism has played a great role in a genesis of the capital just by changing almost all traditional celebration days into ordinary ones.”¹¹

In Poland under the slogan “to celebrate or to work” a publicist discussion about the work time has been started by Bolesław Prus,¹² by issuing the article under that title, considering though the everyday working time, but presented in the title opposition links it to the negative sense of “celebration.” This problem has been taken up in independent Poland by Piotr Drzewiecki, stating the general thesis about Polish excessive celebrating.¹³

In Polish Peoples Republic a tradition of celebrating connected to the catholic religion was subjected to a special propaganda criticism within the frames of a wide ideologically-political campaign aimed at expelling it from the social life, which was called in the Catholic environment “top-down atheism.” Propaganda action compromising excessive religious celebrating often assumed grotesque forms and used the arguments which in social reception would become a subject of ordinary jokes. In official media propaganda the society has been persuaded that “excessive celebrating leads to economical losses,” listing possible to produce in that time scarce goods, suggesting that celebrating religious holidays is at least an excess if not a luxury, which “we cannot afford.” Warnings have been issued concerning the effects on health of a two days Christmas and Easter celebrating, informing widely about numerous cases of harmful for health excessive consumption of food and alcoholic drinks.

¹⁰ In the opinoin of Max Weber, who has made in the range of the raised problems many significant discoveries, the protestant religion was one of the conditions necessary for shaping and development of the capitalism in the western Europe (M. Weber, *Etyka protestancka a duch kapitalizmu*, przeł. J. Miziński, Test, Lublin 1994).

¹¹ K. Marks, *Kapitał*, Vol. I, KiW, Warszawa 1968, p. 321, note 124.

¹² B. Prus, *Świętować czy pracować?*, „Przegląd Techniczny”, 1911, No. 37.

¹³ P. Drzewiecki, *W Polsce pracuje się za mało a świętuje za dużo*, „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny”, 1938, No. 214.

In concern for “society’s health” as—publicists Ilona Morżoł and Michał Ogórek note: “Before Easter and Christmas appeals for temperance usually have been issued, with indignation listing cases of overeating and overdrinking.”¹⁴ In this case official propaganda paradoxically was in agreement with the teachings of the Church, according to which immoderation in eating and drinking is often one of the deadly sins. Effort has put to eradicate from common conscientiousness a religious status of annual celebrations, specifically secularising them by naming them in media statements the “family holidays,” treating them as an occasion for family and social meetings, and renaming them by using the names not associated directly with the religious messages. In the beginning of the 50’s of XX century the name “Easter” has been replaced in officially issued calendars with the name “Spring Festival,” “Christmas” has functioned mainly as “Gwiazdka” or “Choinka”¹⁵ and Saint Nicolas has been changed into, taken from Russian tradition, “Father Frost” with which a new socialist holiday tradition for kindergarten kids has been inaugurated.

There were attempts made to tie Christmas celebrations with New Year by giving it the status of the national holiday together with the adequate propaganda publicity. In 1950–1955 during the last day of a calendar year, on New Years Eve there were ceremonies and afterwards balls were held. The music that was enjoyed were the waltzes, tangos and folk music and the avoided was the western popular music of the time, mainly jazz, on the popular side there were also mass songs. For eradicating the catholic consciousness of the holiday character of the celebrations, their ludic and touristy—recreational character was exposed, propagating—what was to take over the traditional celebrations—at first organised but later spontaneously popularising “festive vacations” organised in attractive tourist places, in which various institutions, corporations and associations placed their recreational facilities. The concept of “holiday rest” appeared usually in relation to church holidays.

The traditional custom of celebrating has been opposed to the secular celebration of national and labour holidays, that is “days” of various social—trade groups. In general there were 27 “labour holidays” established, determining their days for specified Sundays¹⁶ except for Miners Day (and Oil

¹⁴ I. Morżoł, M. Ogórek, *Co się święci*, “Przegląd Tygodniowy”, 1987, No. 16.

¹⁵ ‘Gwiazdka’ means a star and ‘Choinka’ a Christmas tree

¹⁶ An index of the trade holidays is included in a detachment to no94 Act of the Ministry dated 24th April 1973 (“Monitor Polski” 1973, No. 20 pos. 118). Here are the mentioned within it trade holidays:

Day of a Commerce Employee—first Sunday after 29 January, Day of a Metalworker—last day of March, Day of a Health Care Employee—first Sunday after 7 April, Day of a Woodsman and Tree care Employee—first day of April, Day of a Textile, Clothes and Leather

Miners). It was not about avoiding additional days off work, nor emphasising their special character and allowing the real celebrating. It was not about allowing the actual celebrating for the “labour crews” on Sundays as in days off work but using them towards celebrating the trade holidays with additional work, productions obligations “above the plan.” This way a basic difference was shown between connected with religion “lazy” celebrating and secular, socialistic celebrating connected with “strenuous work for the good of the whole.” In the time of “real socialism” a lot has been done to discredit traditional celebrating and historically shaped custom of celebrating but most of all give the word “celebrating” itself a negative meaning so to by using it propagandistically depreciate specified social actions within the political dimension, of which the example was a media propaganda campaign discrediting strikes of different social-trade groups in 1981.

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by Jan Grad

Abstract

The author is showing from cultural point of view of the social and cultural circumstance which cause associating the strike with the certain form of celebrating (in the neutral, not judging meaning of this word). In this purpose he uses the Jerzy Kmita’s social-regulating theory of the culture for analysis of strikes of all sorts social-professional groups in 1981.

Keywords: striking, celebrating, Jerzy Kmita’s social-regulating theory of the culture, Poland, 1981.

Industry Employee—first Sunday after 15 April, Day of Transport and Roadman Employee—last Sunday of April, Day of Metallurgist—second Sunday of May, Day of a Communal Employee—second Sunday of May, Day of a Fireman—first Sunday after 15 May, Day of a Theatre—Sunday in a third decade of May, Day of Culture—Sunday in a third decade of May, Day of a Comestible Industry Employee—last Sunday of May, Day of a Printer—last Sunday of May, Day of a Territorial Industry Employee—first Sunday of June, Day of a Chemist—first Sunday of June, Day of a Shipyard Employee—Sunday in a third decade of June, Day of a Sailor—Sunday in a third decade of June, Day of a Fisherman—Sunday in a third decade of June, Day of a Cooperative—first day of June, Day of a Power engineer—first Sunday of September, Day of a Railway man of Peoples Republic of Poland—second Sunday of September, Day of a Builder—last Sunday of September, Day of a Teacher—14 October, Day of a Communication Employee—first Sunday after 18 October, Day of a Miner and Day of an Oil Miner—4December, Day of Founder—first Sunday after 4 December.