

1 August 1956

H - 20.

F R E E H U N G A R Y

THE PERIODICAL OF THE NATIONAL OPPOSITION MOVEMENT.

Item : 1.

We are speaking of relaxation and expect things to take a favorable turn. The change in the Hungarian People's Democracy can be felt in every walk of life, since the Stalin period has come to an end and the Communists, themselves, sacked their hated leader, Rákosi. By a few press quotations we now demonstrate how public opinion, throughout the world, received the news about the "thaw" in Hungary.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW PERIOD.

Independent daily New York Times, July 20, 1956.

"The resignation of Mátyás Rákosi is welcome news to all friends of Hungary. Clearly the Communist rulers of that country found it necessary to sacrifice this brutal Stalinist in order to ease the popular discontent. . . Be sure, Mr. Rákosi's successor is tarred by the same black record of crimes and devotion to Stalinist dictatorship. But at least symbolically a concession has been made in Hungary.

The shadow of Poznan hangs heavy over Hungary's Communist rulers. . . The inflammable materials so forcibly revealed in Poznan exist in Budapest as well. . .

Mr. Gerő spoke of strengthening democracy in Hungary. Several former purge victims have been elected to the Politbureau in Budapest. But all these words and moves obviously affect only the most superficial aspects of the Hungarian situation. What is much more indicative of the real situation is that there has been no rehabili-

tation of former Premier Nagy, the figure around whom political discontent in the country has tended to crystallize . . .

It would seem unlikely that the replacement of one Stalinist bureaucrat by another would meet the population's demands and ease the tension in that unhappy country. "

News Chronicle, July 20, 1956.

"Stalin is dead, but the little Stalins live on. . . . And now the biggest of the little Stalins has gone. Mátyás Rákosi, Hungary's Communist boss, has been thrown to the wolves.

Will others follow ?

Perhaps the only man outside the Kremlin who can answer the question is Josip Tito, President of Yugoslavia. For he is the leader of the wolfpack, and he alone can say whether or not he is satisfied."

Le Monde, independent Paris daily, July 20, 1956

"Rákosi has vanished from the political scene. Who took his place ? One of his rivals, a faithful Stalinist, a merciless left-wing politician - but a personality of a much less colorful character than Rákosi had been. It was probably on this account that Gerő was chosen at a time, when the heavily endangered Party-unity had to be saved . . . Just as abroad, in Hungary too it is currently believed that the agreement reached on Ernő Gerő's person is a compromise resulting from the bargaining of the factions fighting each other within the Party. Nobody seriously believes Gerő capable of realizing the most ardent wish of the Hungarian people - reaching independence from Moscow.

Thus the changes which took place in Budapest are by no means to be considered a decisive political turning point. Prime Minister Hegedüs stated, that the fight against the right-wing elements grouped around Imre Nagy, goes on. This means that they stop half-way to democratization. Yet, a very important part of the Hungarian people and of the Communist Party demands that Imre Nagy, former Prime Minister take the lead of the Government again."

Independent Milan daily, Corriere della Sera,
July 19, 1956.

"And so Rákosi has fallen. He had made only one concession: the rehabilitation of Rajk and his co-defendants. . . . The Hungarian people were not satisfied with the rehabilitation of Rajk nor with the placing of all responsibility and guilt on a scapegoat. This increased the agitation . . . When a cataclysm occurs in countries with a totalitarian regime, such as that which was put in motion by Khrushchev's speech, no skill is sufficient to stop the consequences. The leader, whatever he does, inevitably makes a mistake. If he yields to popular pressure and concedes a little liberty to the people, it is more than probable that they will not content themselves with that little bit and will claim more. If the leader does not concede anything, there is grave danger that the ferment will increase and the people become exasperated. This is what has happened in Hungary."

La Libre Belgique, Bruxelles, July 21, 1956.

"Among all satellite Communist leaders Rákosi very probably was most universally hated. Even if not responsible for once, Hungarians invariably saw the main cause of all their worries, all their misery and all their misfortunes in his person. In the course of time, Rákosi became the symbol of oppression, of persecution and slavery. Though he is not alone to be blamed for the tragic situation the Magyars have to face, the unceasing attacks of the working classes and chiefly of the intellectuals, were directed against his person. . . .

. . . While the Communist intellectual rebels wished Imre Nagy to take the place of Rákosi, this post was finally occupied by Ernő Gerő. Deputy Prime Minister Ernő Gerő, economic ex-dictator of the country, is one of the most striking figures of the Hungarian Communist movement. He belongs to the left wing of the Party. Just as Rákosi, he is a Stalinist - of the most fanatical and most sectarian sort. While Rákosi, in the course of personal contacts succeeded

in engendering a certain liking for himself by his feigned joviality, Gerő is downright unbending and dry. Aggressive and inhuman, he is a person who certainly does not think of making concessions to the rebellious Hungarian intellectuals. In all probability, therefore, the fall of Rákosi is not due to the writers' revolt, but far more to Tito's firm and inflexible attitude. He invariably claims the head of his former adversary."

Gavro Altman, Borba correspondent, returned recently from a trip to Hungary. His report was published in the July 16, 1956 issue of his paper.

"... Did Hungary take a step forward towards a greater measure of socialism and democratization after that June day in 1953 when the former Premier Imre Nagy, surprisingly but with the stormy approval of the whole country, read before Parliament a courageous program for settling accounts with the past mistakes ?

This question can be answered with YES without any hesitation.

True, there was a kind of improvement, in any case a significant stabilization of the situation; some crying injustices were removed and the legal security of the citizens and lawfulness increased; also first steps towards decentralization were made. On the other hand, the single fact that Hungarians very openly express their characteristic criticism against the State Party and official policies, is another proof of this positive answer.

.....

The rehabilitation of the people who were sentenced innocently and put in prisons as well as of those who never appeared before a court - which would be a full and public rehabilitation - is one of the essential demands being voiced both in the Hungarian public in general and in the Party in particular.

Much has been already done in this direction. It is said that Rajk's monstrous trial was nothing but a perfidious criminal and anti-Yugoslav show-trial. More than

11,000 prisoners were released and now attempt to begin a normal life. Some of them are helped - some not.

Rehabilitation is an extremely delicate and sensitive social problem which one meets at every step in Hungary. For instance, when a meeting of the former members of the resistance movement is held in a Budapest District you can see side by side a recently released man who spent five years in prison and a former Lieutenant Colonel of the AVH (State Security Service) who tortured him ! The former Lieutenant Colonel was expelled from the resistance movement organization, but remained a leading functionary in the Hungarian economy.

Another example : a former AVH Lieutenant Colonel is invited to appear as a witness in Court. He tells the Court the story of how he had pinioned and beaten - with the permission by Imre Farkas, son of Michael Farkas - the University Professor Sándor Szalai, the former Social-Democrat and later prominent theoretician of the Hungarian Workers Party. The AVH Lieutenant Colonel told how he fed Szalai salt and then, after having beaten him to unconsciousness, compelled him to creep on his stomach from one floor to another. He said he had done this only to compel Szalai to confess that he had committed a crime which he never had. But the former Lieutenant Colonel leaves the Court freely ! He is now director of a factory. The people in Budapest know everything.

Gyula Alapi, the Chief Prosecutor in the Rajk trial, is even today a member of the Central Control Commission of the Hungarian Workers Party. "

C A R T O O N

HUGE FIST - - - - -

bearing the lines :
DISCONTENT IN THE WORKS
RESISTANCE OF THE RURAL POPULATION
WRITERS' REVOLT

SQUEEZES AN AGONIZED LITTLE FIGURE, WEARING A SICKLE AND HAMMER EMBLEM - AND HOWLING:

We abolish Peace-Loan !

We increase Wages !

We ease kulak-persecutions !

THE STORY OF RÁKOSI'S FALL.

Item : 2.

The Torino daily, La Stampa, quoting a distinguished Budapest Communist source, brings an interesting report in its August 11, 1956 issue on the circumstances of Rákosi's dismissal.

" . . . When Rákosi had no more doubts about the fact that his opponents inside the regime wanted to eliminate him, he decided to give battle. According to the source in question, he went to the Central Committee meeting with a 'list for a purge in grand style'. He had listed the names of hundreds of persons whose purge he called for, accusing them being 'traitors to the Party'. Among the first names on the list was that of Imre Nagy, the ex-Prime Minister.

The other members of the Committee refused to consider the 'purge' proposed by Rákosi and reacted with eloquent silence to the report on the 'traitors'. Rákosi insisted; they let him speak on for a while and then accused him of not wanting to give up his role of being a 'little Stalin'. During the heated session Rákosi had to face a headlong assault of accusations. They shouted at him that he was a 'dictator' and a 'purger of innocents'. Having decided not to give up, Mátyás Rákosi by-passed the Committee and went to seek the support of Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan, who had arrived in Budapest a few days before. He had no chance of succeeding because Mikoyan, according to reports that haven't yet been denied, had been sent to the Hungarian capital to arrange for Rákosi's quiet elimination from the Party.

The conversation between Rákosi and the Kremlin envoy, the source informs, was highly dramatic. When the purge list was presented, Anastas Mikoyan rejected it abruptly. Then, when Rákosi insisted, Mikoyan objected that the persons on that list had done no more, but opposed the policy followed by the Party.

'I am opposed to your proposal', said Mikoyan to his excited visitor; to this Rákosi replied by asking : 'Is this your personal opinion or one backed by the support of the Moscow Presidium ? ' Mikoyan answered that his attitude reflected the Kremlin point of view and told Rákosi that he had the support and the solidarity for what he said of the entire Soviet collective leadership.

Rákosi refused to believe Mikoyan. He wanted to telephone Moscow in order to ask confirmation from Khrushchev. 'Go right ahead', was Mikoyan's answer. Rákosi telephoned Khrushchev in Moscow and Khrushchev's reply was that Mikoyan had acted with the Presidium's backing. Rákosi then turned pale and surrendered. A new meeting of the Central Committee was summoned and the almighty Rákosi was compelled to make a harsh self-criticism. Gerő was appointed Secretary of the Party.

Gerő seems to be in poor health - he is suffering from heart trouble. He cannot work more than eight hours a day. This naturally makes it unlikely that he will stay in power long."

S T R I K E .

Item : 3.

U.S. STEELWORKERS SUCCESSFUL IN STRIKING FOR HIGHER WAGES.

Two days after the Poznan worker's strike, on July 1st, 1956, the Trade-Union of the American Steelworkers called a strike. While tanks watched over and restored public order in Poznan streets, and tens of thousands of horror-stricken people hurried to their places of work, in the U.S. 650.000 organized workers downed tools. "You notice - said Norman Thomas, the American Socialist Party's aged and highly esteemed leader the following day - that workers strike for plain bread in the popular democracies, and there the answer is given by tanks. Here in America workers are striking for cake, the only question being the size of the cake they will obtain when the fight is over. "

The "cake" has been specified - 2 Dollars 47 Cents in hourly wages. That is the amount an average American steel-worker earned in an hour before the strike. Taking the official Hungarian rate of exchange these 2 Dollars 47 Cents make 29 Forints. In reality they equal some 75 Forints approximately. A steelworker in America, before the strike, could buy one kilogram and a half of butter for one hour's wages, or over two kilograms of meat. He could, if he chose, purchase 50 eggs or even a first-rate shirt for the amount he made in an hour.

The Trade Union of Steelworkers was on strike for 27 days. The demand they formulated: a rise in wages. The stoppage of work paralyzed twelve of the largest American steel plants. This meant a 90 % drop in production. After the strike had gone on for three weeks, the stocks of the plants became largely exhausted and the failure of steel deliveries began to take effect on the whole of the country's economic structure. The drop in steel production amounted to two million tons a week, more than Hungary produces in 5 years.

The strike as such, was characterized by a peaceful atmosphere. To entertain pickets, some of the works had TV sets set up before the factory gates. Pickets had sandwiches and coffee brought to them by the wives of the workers. The works most willingly admitted Trade Union leaders to drive along the factory grounds in their cars, so they could make sure personally, that no strike-breakers were secretly at work. The Trade Union showed plenty of good will when it advised its members to help the management of the works in the safeguarding of the machines and of the factory equipment.

Twenty years ago, when the Trade Union had organized steelworkers, steel strikes in the U.S. used to be characterized by bloody clashes between police, strike-breakers and pickets. Now, a large part of the workers - much pleased that they need not stand in front of the glowing furnaces - departed for summer holidays. Turnover in industrial cities' paint-shops experienced a sudden boom. Strikers repainted their houses and repaired their home furniture.

The peaceful development of the strike was largely due to a 53-year-old, greyhaired, well-groomed and well-dressed gentleman. David John McDonald, President of the Union of Steelworkers. He uses the very same language; he has the same manners as his opponents, the delegates of the steel-manufacturers.

Big Labor is McDonald's only passion. The new type of Trade Union is as different from that of the past, as a jet-plane differs from a blunderbuss. Old battlecries have been replaced by reports written by top-notch economists, statisticians, lawyers, and experts on publicity. Trade Union experts will advise the claiming of such improvements only as are fair and can be realized within a sound economy. The language used is civil and human.

One of McDonald's friends is Ben Fairless, President of the powerful US Steel, the world's greatest steel pool. Fairless, who represents the capitalist side, is of

working-class origin, - the orphan of a coal-miner.

None of the parties wished for the strike. Yet, as neither yielded, it became inevitable. "The increase in the steel industry's productivity makes it possible to increase wages to a greater extent." - wrote McDonald in a memorandum dealing with the strike. And - "The Trade Union wishes plants to operate with profits, and also capitalists lending their money to get high interests. Yet, if the workers fail to obtain an adequate share in the profits, harm will be done to our economic life."

The Trade Union declared that employers "promised too little, too late". Every single worker joined the fight. "Not a single one of our workers could have been lured back to work in our plant, as long as the contract was not signed," - said one of the pickets in the huge Gary factory. "Even, had it lasted until the factory walls came down."

As a result of their endurance, the greatest part of the workers' claims were granted. On July 22nd work started again.

PICTURES.

3 P h o t o s :

1.) U. s. Factory.

Caption : Picket in front of a Steel-work.

2.) Strikers.

Caption : Strikers leave the works.

3.) When Labor and Capital meets.

Caption : McDonald negotiating with the Employers' representatives.

WHAT WERE WORKERS STRIKING FOR ?

Item : 4.

While discussing the new collective agreement, American steel-works offered exceptional advantages to the workers. They promised to raise the worker's wages by an additional 7 Cents an hour in every single one of the coming five years; to pay workers making Sunday and Saturday shifts a 4 % bonus; to grant ailing or accidented workers a 42 to 57 Dollar weekly disability allowance; to increase old age and insurance funds. Employers also were willing to add 5 Cents to every worker's wages by the hour and to turn that amount towards setting up an unemployment fund. That fund would supply wages for a year to every worker who became unemployed, if the fault did not lie with him. In return for all these advantages employers asked that the agreement be concluded for 5 years and also, that workers abstain from calling a strike during this period.

McDonald and the Trade Union's wage-board rejected the Company's offer. They considered the increase in wages too low and they also objected to the worker's pledging themselves now, when automation might, from one year to another, bring about a revolution in steel industry.

The agreement was signed - after the strike had ended - for three years. One year's wages were granted to all steel workers becoming unemployed; a high bonus assured to foundrymen working in the normal Saturday and Sunday shifts; - old age and health insurance funds were increased.

The increase in wages by the hour will amount to 20 Cents during the first year. This makes 36 Dollars a month, or, at least 1.100 forints in purchasing power. Accordingly, American steelworkers achieved bonuses which, by themselves, come up to the entire monthly income of an average Hungarian steelworker. The total income of the American steelworker in 1957 was raised to 500 Dollars a month. In Hungarian currency, this means 15,000 Forints in purchasing power.

WHAT HAPPENS IN POLAND ?

U P R I S I N G O F T H E D E S P E R A T E .

Item : 5.

Mrs. Annemarie Doherr, correspondent of the German "Frankfurter Zeitung", was present at the opening of the Poznan International Fair. She also was there while the uprising of the workers took place and returned shortly afterwards. Her report faithfully reflects the events, the whole atmosphere of the Poznan days and the motives underlying the worker's attitude.

"It started on a Thursday afternoon (June 28) at 2.00 p.m. I was standing at the window of a private apartmenthouse in Poznan, in Rossevelt Street 9. - 400 meters from the State Security Building. Machine guns were firing incessantly. The frightened crowds kept rushing into the near-by houses and into the bushes opposite. Three heavy tanks, Type T-34, rumbled through the rain-soaked streets, stopping under the windows. Youngsters in multi-colored shirts, workers in overalls, climbed onto the tanks, prompting the soldiers, 'Co-operate with us ! Let us have your tank ! Poland must be freed !'

An officer was the first to take the initiative. He left the driver's seat, amid the stormy applause of the crowd of workers gathering about the tank. Workers rushed up, hugging and kissing him. A woman hurried up, holding the white-and-red Polish flag, drenched with the blood of a worker, killed when the State Security building was besieged. She planted the blood-drenched banner on the tank. One after another, the soldiers got off the tank; the workers took over their weapons, offering them cigarettes. The younger ones carted ammunition boxes to the scene. One woman cried out: 'Benedictus Domini !' The workers took over the tank while the crowd applauded enthusiastically.

With tears in their eyes, they sang the old Polish anthem : "God, Thou who hast protected Poland through the centuries, who hast safeguarded it in times of need, return, oh Lord, our free country." Frenchmen, exhibiting at the Fair, cried to the crowd: "Vive la Pologne !" Only a few blocks further, the masses besieged the jamming station in the building of the State Health Insurance Service. Youngsters ripped down the red flag and threw the furniture out of the windows.

From afar, the white banner was fluttering on the headquarters of the Polish Communist Party; it had been hoisted by the workers. The crowd had formed a massive wall around the Party building, waiting for a word from the Party leadership. But no one appeared at the large square windows. In the building itself, the second district secretary, Krasko, was negotiating with a delegation of workers. He, too, tried to soothe the striking workers with the same words which they had been hearing for the past week. "Wait for the results of the Warsaw negotiations !"

The first signal on the part of the workers of the Railway-Carriage and Wagon Factory had been given as early as June 22nd. They had held a demonstrative strike, lasting one hour, with the view of speeding up the negotiations conducted by the Trade Unions for a wage increase. This demonstrative strike had been disregarded both by the regime and the Trade Unions.

At 8.00 o'clock in the morning of the day the big strike of the 30.000 started on its move, I was standing in the doorway of an apartment house on the Street of the Red Army. Cooks in white aprons, workers in faded overalls, many in ragged tennis-shoes, women and youngsters marched by, shouting: "Bread, bread ! Abolish the high working norms ! Give us the goods now being exported to the Soviet Union !" Policemen along the sidewalks, watched idly.

An elderly worker stood next to me. "Du aus deutscher Bundesrepublik ?" he asked me. His eyes gleamed at

hearing my positive answer. 'We are starving', he said, pointing to his wife, who stood next to him with tears in her eyes. 'One just cannot live on 600 Zloty' (the equivalent, in purchasing power, of about 60 West-DM, less than even a week's wages of an average worker in West Germany.) Within moments, I was surrounded by workers. One question followed the other. 'What can he afford to buy for his wages ? ' 'How much does a pair of shoes cost ?'

The first shot was heard around noon, in front of the State Security Building, when policemen shot at the besieging mob. Only shortly prior to that, the prison in the Mlynska had been stormed by the workers without a single shot being fired. In the whirl of excitement, the workers liberated the prisoners (including criminals) and burned the records. In the meantime, 49 tanks of the tank depot at Biedrusk, North of Poznan, entered the city, followed by infantry on trucks. The workers increasingly lost control over events.

'Freedom for Poland' - the crowds shouted. Half-grown youths besieged the eight-story warehouse, and began looting. Public office buildings were put on fire, street-cars turned upside-down, and barricades set up. The strike and hunger demonstration turned into an uprising. 'Down with the Russians, Freedom for Poland !' the masses cried. Soviet flags were torn to shreds.

Around 6.00 p.m., the regime had the situation in hand. Over 200 tanks clattered through the streets. Eight heavy tanks safeguarded the Party headquarters, infantry units stood ready for action in the doorways, bridges and public buildings were occupied, jets swarmed over the houses. Again and again, the masses gathered. Soldiers were shooting into the air demonstratively, to scare the mob off the streets. They had strict orders to shoot only in case of emergency. The white banner on the Party building was hauled down. Workers demolished the pavement, throwing the bits at the tanks. The three tanks, manned by workers in the morning, remained alone and unmanned in the Dombrowska Street, near the State Security building. The workers had not fired a

single shot, since the grenades did not fit the barrels of the guns. The infantry and tanks fenced off the quarters of the Security Building in a wide circle. Ambulance followed ambulance through the streets silently. Hope turned into despair among the people, and panic spread. In front of Roosevelt Street No. 9, - where I was standing - four tanks appeared and directed their guns against the center of the city. Persons, crying, desperate, ran into the entrances of houses, seeking refuge, spending the night there.

No more than five per cent of the workers had followed the regime's call to continue their work by Friday morning. There was desperate resistance and hopelessness etched upon the sleepless faces. 'They'll not get us down,' one of the workers stated. 'All we want, after all, is that we do not starve.' - 'And for Poland to be free once more' - he added, after a brief pause.

'We in Poznan have an average income of between 700 and 900 Zloty. If the women did not also work, we would be starving. One can, of course, make more' - he added, - 'if one overfulfills the norms. Some of us do that, but those are completely out and done for in two years.' He pointed to the shabby, black tennis-shoes on his feet. 'See, there's not enough for a pair of leather shoes', - During a walk in Rokossowski Street, going from shopwindow to shopwindow, I had earlier noticed the following prices : 1 kg of grey bread, 3,6 Zlotys; 500 grams of white bread, 2 Zlotys ; 1 kg of meat, 30 Zlotys ; sausages between 20 and 45 Zlotys a pound, 1 kg of potatoes, 1.20 Zlotys.

The Public Relations Officer of the Poznan Fair scrutinized us, journalists, through his glasses. It is quite obvious that he feels extremely embarrassed about our questions and the answers to be given by him concerning the reasons for the Poznan workers' uprising. 'The primary cause is our own fault' - he said in a slow tone of voice, adding the official Party version. 'We have taken the workers' wishes into consideration far too slowly and too undecidedly. However, ' - he asserted, on the other hand, - 'the nego-

tiations carried on in Warsaw by the Poznan workers' delegation, have good prospects. He adroitly evades questions as to just how far the regime will meet the workers' demands. 'Only justified demands, the realization of which is possible, can be taken into consideration. A wage increase of 50 %, as demanded by the workers, is impossible.'

I ask someone whether or not there exists a secret resistance movement, which started the strike according to plan just at the time of the International Fair. The question remains unanswered by one of the demonstrators. But when I mention the official version, according to which 'foreign Fascist provocateurs' - referred to as the 'Gehlen-Organization' within Party circles - had taken advantage of the dissatisfaction of the workers and thus initiated the strike, he laughs aloud. 'We Poles take care of our internal disputes among ourselves.'

Friday afternoon, the Public Relation Officer of the Poznan Fair called Hamburg by telephone, stating that 'there is complete quiet'. He had not yet finished his sentence, when shots were heard nearby. The journalists who were present laughed out loud. A Polish colleague turned to me to say: 'see, we have not yet learned enough in our changed propaganda, but re-training continues.' Polish Communists are cast in a mold different from East-Berlin's Party functionaries. Their slogan is 'Socialism which will serve Poland', Their attitude of nationalistic pride is evident. 'No one enjoys staying a satellite', I am told by a young Party functionary in a comparative high position.

Saturday morning - 48 hours after the start of the uprising - the streets of Poznan once again show the routine, every-day picture. Almost all the workers have returned to their place of work. Tanks stand about only in isolation. Soldiers armed with machine-guns, protect bridges and official buildings. The rainy pavements re-echo the foot-steps of uniformed patrols, watching the passers-on with unmoving expression. 'Civilians' move around within

the crowds, trying to pick up scraps of conversation, while they stand about as though engrossed in their newspapers.

The atmosphere has changed from one hour to the next. A scare moves paralyzingly through the streets. People rush along. Mothers sit, desperate, in their flats waiting for their sons to return. Fathers rush from hospital to hospital in search of their children. 'Three of my kids have been arrested', a taxi driver tells me. Rumors as to the number of those arrested are outbidding one-another. There is talk of 500, but even of 2.000, allegedly mainly young folk.

'Youngsters who just got to the end of their tether' one of my Polish acquaintances said, in conversation, adding that there was an officially acknowledged unemployment in Poland. Together with the young unemployed, many students are alleged to have participated in the siege of the State Security Building and the Party House. State scholarships cannot buy the thoughts of the young people. These state grants, incidentally, are extremely low. One day before the riot, I had visited such a student's home just outside of the city - long, dreary corridors, bedrooms with two army-bunks one on top of the other, all furniture extremely spartan. I saw only books in abundance, which are particularly cheap in Poland. With a state grant of 390 Zloty per month, 300 Zloty are spent for quarters and food. The rest equals, in purchasing power, approximately DM 10.- (5 hour's wages of an average West-German worker,) which must cover communications, cigarettes, an occasional movie. Leather shoes or a new suit are hopeless dreams. 'And then they are surprised that Polish students are dissatisfied' - a Pole remarked bitterly."

PHOTO : Tank taken by the Insurgents.

Caption : Insurgents planting the Polish Flag
on a Tank they had taken hold off.

P O L A N D W I L L N O T B E L O S T

WHILE WE ARE LIVING,

WHAT THE FOREIGN POWER HAS CONQUERED

WE SHALL REGAIN BY FORCE.

(First sentence of the Polish National Anthem).

Item : 6.

Below the headline - which is part of a long headline strip extending from one edge of the leaflet to the other, and running : WHAT HAPPENS IN POLAND? - POLAND WILL NOT BE LOST - and FORCES OF FREEDOM AT WORK -, Photo, showing a scene of the Poznan uprising.

THEY DEMAND BREAD AND FREEDOM.

Berliner Zeitung (West Berlin), July 2.

"The uprising of the Polish workers in Poznan has collapsed. It had to collapse - nobody knew this better than the rebelling population. In a Communist country an uprising against the regime can only be the expression of extreme despair and disregard of death. The Warsaw rulers adhered to this principle. With tanks, guns and machineguns they broke the resistance of desperate people whom hunger and want drove out into the streets and who knew no other way out than telling all the world about their misery."

Daily Telegraph, July 2, (London).

"Rioting for bread by workers in Poznan has done more to illuminate the true significance of recent changes in Communist society than any number of Khrushchev speeches or Pravda editorials. This spontaneous outburst of proletarian unrest underlines what is all too easily forgotten : that the relaxation and liberalization of Communism to date has been aimed at ensuring the continued loyalty of the new elites - the managers, technicians, intellectuals, scientists - on whose skills modern industrial societies depend absolutely. The 'new look' has been designed to make life tolerable for

them. In so far as it has succeeded in consolidating managerial privilege, the raising of elites from the mass level has thrown into high relief the relative worsening in the status and prospects of the workers themselves. What Mr. Khrushchev has done is to replace the myth of proletarian dictatorship with the prospect of managerial dominance. When, therefore, Polish workers protest against famine conditions, they should be seen, not as making rash and premature use of new freedoms, but as drawing back from the grim shadows of future oppression. "

The Times, (conservative London daily), June 30.

"The long and honorable history of Poland has many chapters that tell of brave resistance to oppression and struggle for freedom. Now a new chapter has been added to that history by the steel workers of Poznan. They have defied the Communist dictatorship to demand bread and freedom. The answer they received was the same brutal one given to the East German workers in 1953, to the Soviet slave laborers who demanded freedom after Beria's purge and to the people of Tiflis last March. The answer was bullets."

New York Herald Tribune, June 30.

"The plight of the people in these countries could not be more tragically dramatized than by the simple word 'Bread', which strikers wrote across their banners and shouted in the streets. That word alone makes nonsense of the much advertised new day which the recent Communist Party Congress in Moscow was supposed to inaugurate, and which Communists and their sympathizers in the West have been so fervently celebrating. "

FAULT IS FOUND WITH THE SYSTEM.

From the July 4, 1956, issue of the London Daily, "The Times".

"Since 1950, the Warsaw regime, under the delusion that it is possible to turn a peasant population into skilled mechanics overnight, has forced the pace of industrialization out of all proportion to the country's capacity. . . . A high proportion of the additional manpower needed has had to be taken from the farms. Before the war, 63 % of the

Polish people worked on the land ; today, the figure is less than 50 %. This factor, together with the peasant's reluctance, under a compulsory delivery system, to produce more food, has accentuated the problem of feeding the swelling urban population.

.

Outside of the Government and the Politbureau, the anti-Stalinist thaw has been more thoroughly exploited in Poland than in any other satellite. 'Democracy' was re-established in the Sejm. Deputies were to be heard denouncing Government by decree. On this occasion, Catholic Deputies made history by voting against a Bill.

The field in which action has been most daring has been the intellectual world, chiefly writers and poets, whose rebellion has been unmistakable. This process, too, has gone further in Poland than in the other satellites. The Poles are clever cartoonists and masters of the satirical quip. Lately they have been employing this gift with devastating effect in literary periodicals.

Revolt among the writers first showed itself - as the thaw became evident - in the conclaves of the professional organizations. Debates over Party dictates and Party dogma became openly controversial and the contrast between living conditions and the 'Communist Paradise' was freely drawn.

With the lid once off, criticism has come tumbling out. It raged at the recent Writers' Association meeting and at the Architects' Congress. Most significantly, it almost rent the Congress of the Polish Economists at the beginning of June. The Government was told that, if it was to recover from past mistakes, it must set up a special economic council, composed of scientific and economic experts, and must be guided by their decisions. The press has published vehement attacks on the Trade Unions and their failure to secure better living standards. The people, it was said, had to 'live in old bunkers, mud huts, basements, attics and cellars,' while palatial offices and luxury flats were being built for the Government. Among the chorus was Edda Werfel, a popular journalist, who publicly complained

of 'scandalous violations' of labor laws in State-owned factories and mines. The Trade Unions, she asserted, always protected the interests of production but seldom the day-to-day interests of the workers. 'Glos Pracy', the central organ of the Trade Unions, joined in blaming the Party for such a state of affairs."

Photomontage, of Western newspapers' frontpages, bearing the inscription :

WESTERN PRESS ABOUT POZNAN.

Item : 7.

C O M M U N I S T S A B O U T T H E M S E L V E S .

THE BITTER TRUTH

Excerpt from the "Trybuna Ludu", central newspaper of the Polish Communist Party, published on July 6, 1956.

"The Poznan uprising contained two elements - the dissatisfaction of the workers on the one hand, and the anti-regime intemperance on the other . . .

As is seen from our detailed report, the workers had every right to be dissatisfied. The result of the Poznan events nonetheless proves that this form of raising objection was incorrect and harmful.

Events in Poznan were a serious warning to the entire working class, first and foremost to the leading and influential heavy industrial workers. It was an equally serious warning and bitter lesson for our Party and for other organizations, above all, for the Trade Unions.

The strike of the Poznan workers, - this basic and sore truth - may be neither kept secret nor embellished, since this was, to no small extent, brought about by the bureaucratic tendencies of the proletarian State, by our State and our leadership."

PRIME MINISTER CYRENKIEWICZ'S EMERGENCY PLAN.

Excerpt from an article published in the London daily "The Times" on July 27, 1956. Report of the Warsaw correspondent.

"Mr. Cyrankiewicz, a former Social Democrat, and believed to be a leader of the moderates in the Politbureau, declared that an end has to be put to the times when workers were challengeously mistreated, when they were restricted by thousands of regulations, when their freedom was limited, when criticism was suppressed, when they were exposed to immorality and abuses on the part of the authorities and when their grievances and injuries, their needs and troubles were disregarded. 'We have taken up the struggle for real democratization of our life. We will continue this struggle.'

The Prime Minister underlined four points in his emergency program which he suggested should be concurrent with the first two years of the six-year-plan.

1. To raise the wages of the lowest paid workers and of those whose earnings had dropped or remained stationary in the past six years.

2. There must be an end to the practice of raising working norms.

3. To pay and re-pay to the workers by the end of this period all arrears, premiums and unjustly collected taxes and overdue payments.

4. Any increases of prices, direct or concealed, must be prevented, and wherever possible, those which were exorbitant must be reduced."

NO CONSPIRACY BUT A DEMONSTRATION.

Excerpt from an article, "Return to Poland", by Wiktor Woroszyński, published by 'Nowa Kultura' on July 29, 1956.

"At the prosecutor's request more than 300 persons are held in Poznan. Their families have been formally notified of the prisoners' whereabouts. Up till now, no activities of any conspiratorial organization have been proved. However, Security comrades point out that it is necessary to make a sharp distinction between conspiracy and

provocation. If there was probably no conspiracy, the events of anti-State provocation no doubt did take place, but they grew on the spontaneous wave of the workers' manifestation. Also during the events the elements of organization grew, individuals joined to make groups, the groups established contacts.

WHY HAS THE POZNAN REVOLT COME ABOUT ?

Excerpt from a report made by Edward Ochab, the Polish Communist Party's Secretary General :

" . . . In seeking the reasons of the Poznan incidents, it would be erroneous to concentrate attention above all on the machinations of provocateurs and imperialist agents. It is necessary to look first of all for the social roots of these incidents. Serious disturbances occurred in the relations between the Party and various sections of the working class. The Poznan incident ought to be a warning. "

WHERE ARE THE LIMITS TO SACRIFICE ?

Guiseppe Di Vittorio, Italian Secretary-General of the Communist controlled World Trade Union Federation stated, while commenting on the Poznan events.

"In a Socialist economic system, which pays no tribute to private capital, workers may deliberately accept certain sacrifices in the hope of securing future prosperity. The only questions - where are the limits to such sacrifices to be drawn ? In a Socialist society, such limits can be traced in agreement with the workers only. Considering the general discontent of the masses, it is obvious that in Poznan something went wrong in this respect."

BULGANIN OPPOSING POLISH "THAW".

Following the Poznan events, the Polish Communist Party's Central Committee met in plenary session, where important decisions were taken regarding the further democratization of the country.

During the session - which went on for several

days - Soviet Premier Bulganin and Soviet Marshal Zhukov arrived in Poland. Their addresses delivered in the course of their visit made it clear that the Soviet leaders fear popular democracies growing altogether too independent. They tried to keep this process in check.

Excerpts from Prime Minister Bulganin's speech delivered in Warsaw :

"Hostile elements have made use of Press organs of the Socialist countries in order to sow their venomous seed.

Some responsible editors of these Press organs gave way to hostile influence. . . .

They tried to weaken the international ties of the Socialist camp under the banner of so-called national peculiarities, and to sap the might of the people's democratic state under the banner of a dubious extension of democracy."

FORCES OF FREEDOM AT WORK !

POLISH WORKERS' CAUSE - MANKINDS CAUSE.

Item : 8.

John Steinbeck, the well-known American writer :

"If the men to be tried at Poznan are publicly charged with known crimes, publicly tried, defended and allowed to face and refute their accusers and if the proceedings are accurately reported, Poznan, Poland and the world will be reassured that the recent protests of change are truth rather than false and cowardly propaganda. In fact, with the Poznan trials the whole 'new look' of the Soviet group is held up for scrutiny and subjected to first and final tests."

George Meany, President of the 15,000,000-worker AFL-CIO :

"This uprising is not the action of people who have deliberately measured the consequences of their acts. It seems to stem from the irrespressible human desire for freedom which has burst forth in a symbolic chant 'We want bread' . . . We of the AFL-CIO are indeed proud of this memorable day of June 28, 1956. The free workers of America hail the courage of the workers of Poland. "

Victor Feather, international Vice President of the 8,000,000-member British Trade Union Congress :

"The city of Poznan and the names of its martyred dead have been written in letters of blood on the sacred scroll of working class history. In their martyrdom they have won the greatest victory in Polish modern history. It is a disgusting thing that workmen who want to live and work as free men should be shot down in cold blood by a cowardly administration. It is a bestial thing that decent men and women should be charged down by tanks, tanks ordered out against them by a Government which cringes in servility before the Soviet Communist Party but which brings out the jack-boot against the Polish people. Trade Unionists all over

the world salute in comradeship our brothers and sisters in Poland. The Nazis could not conquer the spirit of the people of Poland. The Communist tyranny will never succeed in conquering the proud and independent people of Poland."

The International League for the Rights of Man sent the following cable to the Polish Minister of Justice, Madame Wasilkowska :

"We urge you, first, that the accused be tried in open court; second, that they be given the right freely to choose their defense counsel; third, that in defence to the apprehension felt by Western public opinion in general and labor organizations in particular, observers of either the International Organization of Free Trade Unions of the International Jurists' Association, the Hague, or of the International League for the Rights of Man be permitted to attend the trial."

Decision of the Workers of the Paris Region, assembled, on July 12, 1956, in a Meeting of the French Socialist Party:

"Salute and all our sympathy to the Poznan workers, who, tortured by oppression, starvation and forced labor, claim freedom. We demand French lawyers to be permitted to defend Poznan accused in an open Court trial, where impartial and fair jurisdiction is fully granted."

American Socialist Party's monthly publication, "The Socialist Call", wrote in an editorial :

"American Socialists, Trade Unionists and Democrats have a primary obligation to indicate their solidarity with the democratic uprising in Poznan. They must show unmistakably their support of the aspirations for freedom of the Polish workers. The revolt has been suppressed for a time, but there is no doubt that its repercussions will be felt in other satellite countries and in the Soviet Union itself."

The Spokesman of the US State Department said on June 29:

"The US Government has taken note of the fight going on in Poznan, where many died and were wounded, with profound grievance."

This episode dramatically underlines what President

Eisenhower said to the Soviet leaders at Geneva :

'The peoples of Eastern Europe should have the right to choose the form of Government under which they will live and that sovereign rights and self-government should be restored to them.'

PHOTO showing street-scene in Poznan during the historic days. Child carrying the Polish Flag.

INDEPENDENCE DISPLAYED IN THE SHOW-WINDOW

Item : 9.

Excerpts from the series of articles published in the Paris daily "France Soir" (July 19-21, 1956.)

"I met Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz at the soirée given by the French Embassy. I told him that I had come to Warsaw for the second time within one month to see whether or not the situation had changed since the Poznan events.

'Nothing has changed' the Prime Minister replied. 'Developments continue apace'.

Economic decentralization is the most urgent task. The Poznan scandal disclosed the gravest errors of centralized economic life and showed a bureaucracy which is not aware of the true problems. After that, our first aim is to give greater possibilities for initiative in the factories and to enable workers, step-by-step, to participate in the management.'

If the workers' economic responsibility increases, does that go hand-in-hand with the development of Trade Union and political freedom ?

'Obviously. That is the road to development.'

Then, in reply to a question of mine :

'Yes. Decentralization strengthens our independence of the Soviet Union and also that of the other countries of the Socialist camp.'

Professor Lange, the grey eminence of Polish economy, stated in a talk I had with him :

'This plan was prepared according to the stand-points of war economy. Its greatest error was the construction of factories, the raw material supply of which was not guaranteed. They had not taken into consideration the fact that skilled workers would have to be trained en masse to produce the planned export goods. The peasantry, frightened of collectivization, left its land and swarmed to the cities. Thus an artificial working class came into being which had no roots. Nature does not favor abrupt changes;

it now revenges itself upon the sourcerer's apprentices. The new plants are not operating, due to the lack of raw materials. When not working, the laborer has no income, or receives only a ridiculously small amount of money. Thus the frightening situation has come about in a Socialist State, that close to half a million workers are unemployed, with about two million workers being in danger of unemployment due to technical development.'

This, then, is the explanation of the events in Poznan.

.

After the Poznan events, substantial wage arrears were paid to the Poznan workers, as unjustly high taxes from their incomes had been deducted previously.

Supervisors are visiting the plants, and factories are being closed down as soon as it is found that the workers' health had deteriorated for years.

In connection with the new, revised Plan, Professor Lange said the following to me, 'The aim has changed. Production must give preference to consumer goods. Within the framework of the Socialist economic sector, we can also take into consideration the individual needs of our country.'

.

'At last, we are truly independent' - a Communist journalist stated.

'Independence in the show-window' - the other added, slightly bitterly. 'This means that this is the role the Kremlin has cast us for.'

.

The Central Committee is in session; yet neither its resolutions, nor the regime's decrees are sufficient to put an end to the crisis in Poland, which still remains a satellite of the Kremlin.

.

The fermentation is still stronger, in the economic, literary and artistic fields. Yet it was among the young Communists, the so-called 'Young Turks', that I became acquainted with the essence of the Polish situation.

The leader of the 'young Turks', the managing editor of the 'Pro Prostu', Eligiusz Lasota, met me in a small café. . .

. . .

'We must fight against the small functionaries of the regime and the Party, who want to keep control over the spirit of our times from the depths of their offices', - say the responsible personalities of the 'Pro Prostu'.

The first page of each issue carries a facsimile copy of an avant-gardist painting. They are organizing literary clubs. Apart from all this, they are well aware that their most important role is of a political nature.

. . .

While strolling through the streets of Warsaw, I ask another editor-in-chief of the 'Pro Prostu'; 'Does censorship prior to printing, without which nothing may be published in Poland, never cause any discomfort to you?'

'Preliminary censorship - comes the answer - might interfere with the publication of articles written explicitly against the regime, yet it cannot prevent ideological debates or similar actions. It is true that we have several times been called before the Politbureau, where we have been reproached for the contents of certain articles. Yet we have friends also among the members of the Politbureau who enable us to continue our work.'

WARSAW IS HOPEFUL.

Item : 10.

Excerpt from K.S. Karol's report, published by the French radical daily "L'Express" on July 27.

"Professor Oscar Lange, the economist of world-wide renown, is one of the most outstanding analysts on the shortcomings of Stalinist economy. Formerly an emigrant, he acted as Professor at the Chicago University. He now works again in Warsaw. Here is the statement he made to me :

'Money and ambition, those incitements of work can be replaced only in exceptional situations, and but

transitorily, by political or moral incentives, by the slogans of Party greatness and working-class victory. During World War II, British and American workers, too, were ready to work 12 hours a day. But the driving power of a wartime economy is limited. After a certain time exertions have to be reduced.

Reduction in itself is not enough, either. You will have to introduce again that which incites to production: a material stake in the proceeds.'

A few hours later, at the musical restaurant 'Krokodil', I was given further interesting explanations from some Communist journalists.

'The Bureau of Planning in Poland is a kind of super-Government, you know. It directs, it supervises, it decides everything. If we wanted to have the parquet of the editor's office polished we should need the consent of the Bureau of Planning. Everything is being planned, including even the precise annual proliferation rate of rabbits. Should this organization become as effective as it is insistent, life in Poland would become intolerable both for humans and for rabbits. Fortunately, it is mostly paper and theory. Rabbits multiply in spite of planning, and day after day the plan is being wrecked by humans.'

. . . .

Bosses appeal to the workers: 'Do more work, and you will earn more !' The answer of the workers : 'Pay us higher wages, and we will work more !'

On July 7th, the IIInd Congress of Polish Economists met in Warsaw. A young Cracow Professor, on the first day, told them that he was a Communist, his scientific methods were based on Marxist principles. He then proceeded with a lecture that was as clever as it was full of criticism against the leaders. He finished by saying : 'If the leaders of our economic life propose to take my lecture as a vote of mistrust, then for once they are right', The audience was carried away to a spontaneous, long applause. The case did not remain an isolated one. There followed others who condemned the prevailing conditions. Two facts have been proved here: Polish youth has learned everything that could

be learnt in the course of their economic studies; besides, it showed that it was not afraid of thinking as well as of expressing its thoughts.

In spite of all, people acknowledge Poland's industrialization generally as a given fact. But then they say: 'We have paid too high a price for it. Other methods, too, would have got us the same results, and with less sacrifice'. There were those who told me that certain branches of industry, mainly pertaining to the production of machines, have been senselessly over-developed. For instance, there is no need for Poland to produce inferior motor-cars at a high cost while she could buy much better ones abroad, and far cheaper.

.

From Bukarest to Tirana, people hope for new leaders. Unfortunately the political life in the people's democracies makes it extremely difficult for new leaders to step in.

In this, Warsaw is in an exceptional position, because of Gomulka. In 1948 Gomulka, former Secretary General of the Party, had been 'purged', but miraculously not murdered. For the time being, he takes a rest after his years in prison. Legendary rumours about his person are multiplying from day to day. He was already offered - under the pressure of the people - a vice-presidency of the Council of Ministers, and a Politbureau membership. Gomulka is said to have asked: 'And who will be the other members of the Cabinet, and of the Politbureau?' The reply was: the same as before. Whereupon Gomulka declined the offer with a short 'no'.

.

In Warsaw's streets people, when speaking about Gomulka, change their tone and raise their heads proudly, saying: 'Gomulka? Why, he is a POLE!'

The Russians have keen ears, they hear all this, and don't trust the Poles. For some time they seemed to make way for the 'thaw', and to renounce their rule over Poland. Warsaw opinion held that the Russians would prefer an independent, but popular Government to the team that

caused the Poznan events, and shows instability at governing. That isn't the case. Bulganin's and Zhukov's visit to Warsaw at the time of the Central Committee's meeting was a significant event. The Kremlin bosses don't want to take any risks. Now as before it is Ochab (Secretary General of the Party, a Moscowite), who enjoys their protection. He, they feel, is one of them.

. . . .

The supporters of "thaw" are facing several problems: How are they to solve the questions of collectivization? How could they create, both in the Party and in public life, some kind of real Democracy? All these questions have a day-to-day topicality.

Sometimes they glance towards Paris and London; surely, they could get some assistance from leftish philosophers, writers, and experts there. The exchange of ideas will take place sooner or later.

In the People's Democracy it is not only the extreme left that turns towards the West. 'Zachod' (the West), rings an enchanting echo for all and sundry."

THE FLIGHT TO FREEDOM.

Item : 11.

The story of the Hungarian plane which landed at Ingolstadt, has been all over the world Press. The fall of Mátyás Rákosi produced less of a sensation than did this performance of seven Hungarians. One example : the most striking report published by French weekly 'Paris Match' (over a million copies), in its July 28 issue deals with the Ingolstadt affair. A translation of this report follows, with original snapshots made by the reporter.

Karl Mayer is still in a state of surprised bewilderment. Suddenly an airplane comes down on him from above the woods surrounding the airfield. For a moment Karl believed that it would sweep him away.

A plane at Ingolstadt ? The small Bavarian air-field had been out of use for a considerable spell of time now.

But even while terrified Karl ducked his head, the airplane performed a far from smooth landing. Presently a turban-clad head appeared at the door of the pilot's compartment. A man jumped out, and fired at Karl, who was still aflutter, a flow of incomprehensible words. In spite of his bewilderment Karl noticed that the man's turban was in fact some sort of hastily applied, blood-stained bandage. Then, among the flow of words uttered by the stranger, he thought he recognized some German ones : "Bonn", "Adenauer", and finally "Communist" and "Westdeutschland". Comprehension suddenly flashed through his mind. "Nix Communist" he cried; "Westdeutschland"!

At this, the stranger hastened to the rear part of the plane, opened the door, and cried something to the inside. Karl then beheld another, even more blood-stained man alighting from the plane. Now, he told himself it was high time to rouse the Police.

A few hours later the news agencies clattered away, revealing to Europe the mystery of Ingolstadt; telling the story of the six Hungarian youths having, in mid-air, seized an airplane to break through the Iron Curtain and to regain their liberty. The oldest among them is 25, the youngest 20. Ferenc Iszák, their chief, used to be a University student. He enjoyed a monthly scholarship amounting to 380 Forints while at the same time one pair of shoes - of mediocre quality - cost 600 Forints in Hungary.

Iszák intended to become a chemical engineer. During his first years of study he unloaded freight-cars at nighttime at the Budapest freight railway station in order to be able to survive. But he was not too strong, and soon he realized that, should he continue much longer, he would sooner be dead than become an engineer.

One day about two years ago he met a young girl with delicate features, with hands that remained finely shaped in spite of their callouses, and with a legendary name. She was called Emese, like Attila's mother. She worked at a factory. They fell in love with each other and got married. He abandoned his plan of becoming an engineer and worked now at a concrete factory near Budapest. Whenever he had a chance to do it he went to the gymnasium of a sports club next door where he trained himself at boxing. Some time, he thought, this "skill" might come in useful.

Actually there was at that club another amateur boxer: George Polyák, a former Air Force lieutenant, dismissed from the forces on account of being politically none too reliable. Neither of them dared to talk openly first. But somehow you get to know each other better while exchanging fist blows. Some day you had a drink together, you chatted for a while - you found you were of the same mind. What a relief ! What's more, they found they were complementary as partners. Iszák had the brains, Polyák the brawn.

On the 28th, last May, Iszák's wife went for a holiday to her parents. When returning in mid-June, she found a distracted and preoccupied husband. One day later

he made a full confession to her : during her absence he and two of his chums, ex-pilot Polyák and the factory tractor-driver Gábor Balla, had held a meeting. The conspiracy had been clinched. "You see, Emese," he told her "we are going to leave Hungary. You too, of course."

Emese's eyes lit up strangely. To escape - ah, if only you had a chance ! But then her eyes darkened. "It cannot be - she faltered - my parents . . . what will happen to my parents ? "

Meanwhile, on the following night, the conspirators met again, and this time Emese felt five pairs of eyes fixed on her own ones. Iszák had brought along another of his factory chums, Gábor Kiss, and Polyák one of his former aviation school pupils, Károly Pintér, who had been refused a pilot's commission. They all are so young, so enthusiastic; Emese finds herself unable to disillusion them. So it is a solemn promise: she too will depart, whatever might happen afterwards.

They have to find some money. Iszák sells his camera, the others ask for advances on their wages.

ONE RUSTY REVOLVER AND TWO CARTRIDGES.

It is naturally up to Polyák to plan the details of the escape. He thoroughly studies the itinerary. At last all is perfect. They even find a revolver. As a matter of fact, it had been buried since 1946. It was rusty all over. They ought to have fired a round from it in order to find out whether it worked. But they dare not. They have only those two rounds. All will be okay in the end, they reassure themselves.

There remains another problem - how to indentify the aircraft's plain-clothes police escort. (Invariably a member of the A.V.H. - the State Security Police - boards every plane in Hungary.) They decide, therefore, to occupy widely scattered seats, so that at least one of them should be within easy reach of the man to get the better of him. There remained nothing else to be done but to fix the

date for "J"-day.

By now we are in the last week of June. On the 28th, the Poznan insurrection breaks out. The conspirators hasten to their radio sets, and listen. From Munich, Radio Free Europe broadcasts the dramatic reports of the insurrection for 19 hours running. Aroused by the daring heroism of the Poles the six young men are not to be held back any longer. On the very day of the Polish insurrection the date is being fixed for the 13th of July.

SURPRISE : A FIFTH MAN.

According to the plan hatched for their escape, Polyák would turn in his seat and cry : "That's Győr" toward the 38th minute of flight, when the plane was to reach the town of Győr. After this they would have to let five minutes pass. The plane would by then be at a point nearest to the border, but still six to seven minutes from the Szombathely airport. It is during these few minutes that everything has to be accomplished. The signal would be the moment when Polyák, still occupied with surveying the landscape, would cry out : "Why, there are two airplanes down there !"

The Dakota had taken off at 13.53 at Ferihegy airport. It was late by ten minutes: already the six escapees thought themselves detected. In their anxiety they missed an important detail : instead of four men - two pilots, radio-operator, and mechanic - there moved five into the pilot's cabin.

Nevertheless, everything happens as foreseen. The seven other passengers seem to be quiet enough. One after the other the escapees scrutinize their fellow passengers, examine their future opponents. None of them looks like a secret police agent. And yet - one of them must be the spy. But which one ? One, a young girl, might be eliminated at once. Next to her a gentleman is obviously in a slight confusion. From time to time their eyes meet, only to turn away the next moment. There is no telling whether there is hatred or enchantment at the bottom of

their hearts.

Suddenly the young man in the front seat turns his head and shouts quite excitedly : "Győr!"

Some of the passengers throw a casual glance through the port-holes and fail to understand why those sitting in front of them are so excited. Others prepare for leaving the plane, which approaches its goal.

"Look!" Polyák suddenly shouts. "Two airplanes down there !" This time everybody looks down. In the same instant Polyák stands up and sets his back against the door of the pilot's compartment. Clutching the revolver in his fist, his green eyes sparkling threateningly, he shouts: "Don't move, any of you !"

Even before he had finished, a man at his side rises from his seat. But the escapees were prepared, and a blow on the head puts the man k.o. In the rear, another of the passengers stirs in a suspicious manner, but before he can do a thing, he too tumbles over and is silent. Another of the conspirators hit him on the nape of his neck with an iron bar. In the meantime Polyák has cut the radio wire that runs along the top of the fuselage and tries iron bar in hand, to force the door of the pilot's cabin that cannot be opened except from the inside. Having heard the hubbub the mechanic has just opened it but seeing Polyák's revolver promptly bangs it again. With spectacular speed Polyák throws his whole weight against the door, before the latch would have had time to ~~snap~~, literally falls into the pilot's compartment. An unpleasant surprise awaits him there: he finds five men instead of four, the fifth just trying to pull an automatic from his pocket. Here he is : the man of the A.V.H. - the Hungarian Secret Police. . . .

All would have been lost, had the ex-pilot reacted less quickly. But, with a dash, he threw himself at the policeman, seized his hand holding the gun and clung on, in spite of the kicks and blows raining upon him.

(The French reporter now relates, how the pilot went into savage loopings to terrorize the "insurgents";

how, as a climax, the baggage-compartment door swung open, showering heaps of weighty objects upon the passengers and injuring them all; how, in the meanwhile, Polyák, with the help of Balla, overwhelmed his opponents and took command of the plane.)

"YOU WANT TO KILL US ALL" HISSED THE PILOT.

"Course Munich" - Polyák ordered.

"All right!- replied the pilot, - Pass me the map."

But there was no map. It had disappeared in the confusion.

"Well, that's it - said Polyák - we will have to fly by guessing."

Polyák took over the controls, and, in order to avoid radar contact and fighter planes, makes a steep glide down. The Dakota comes down from an altitude of 1200 to 30 meters.

"You will kill us" - protests the pilot.

"You just keep that altitude" - Polyák replied coolly.

Suddenly Polyák spotted a town. He thought it to be Passau, in Germany. In fact it was Linz in Austria. Then he believed to see Munich; it was Salzburg. At last the Danube came into sight. That meant salvation. All he had to do now was to follow its course. It was on the Danube shores, in Bavaria, that he spotted, lost in the forest, the white runway of the old Ingolstadt airfield. By now there was gasoline for only half an hour's flight left.

At five p.m. sharp, Polyák gave orders for landing. The plane descended on the small Bavarian airfield, before the stupefied eyes of Bavarian Karl Mayer. The great adventure had come to an end.

But not quite yet. Nobody suspected the little sentimental tragi-comedy that was to follow as an epilogue.

When the German police arrived they found the 19 passengers of the plane seated on the grass. They were separated into two groups. On the one side the refugees gathered around Emese who had one leg and one of her fingers

fractured; on the other the "unwilling" ones, among them the airplane's entire staff. Now, that the fight was over, nobody seemed to have any bad feelings. What happened had happened anyway, and now, on both sides, they tried to make the best of it. They mutually tended each other's injuries. Polyák made his apologies to the man he mistook for the policeman; the latter accepted them in good grace in spite of his face being contorted by suffering. This passenger was Béla Horváth, aged 33, director of planning at a textile factory. He was delegated to visit an exhibition at Szombathely. Now, it has become a custom in Communist Hungary always to have a worker on every delegation. That same morning a nineteen-year-old girl called Ilona Antal, whom Horváth had not known until then, had been appointed to accompany him. Ilona, on the other hand, had known him well enough by sight, and her heart used to beat high, whenever she saw him in the factory. It was she, who, on board the plane, kept furtively looking at him and when he became aware of it, made him blush. It is a well known truth that strong emotions of the heart remove the scruples of the mind. Also, nothing is more apt to create unexpected attraction than a "looping" descent. As a result, when the plane flew steadily again, they found themselves in each other's arms - and in love. Mr. Horváth who, in the morning, had no thoughts except about textiles, now found himself enamoured.

ILONA INSTEAD OF THE LAKESIDE VINEYARD.

All at once one member of the group of thirteen is seen to detach herself. Ilona has joined the six.

"I was not with you at the start - she tells them - but I am going to be at the arrival, if you want me. "

"Why, gladly - replies Emese. - Come along."

However, something seemed to weigh heavily on Ilona. As if she could not be happy without reserve. It was just too beautiful a chance, she felt she had to make use of it. But apparently her heart, or at least part of it, had remained with the other group.

In the evening Ilona had a visitor in the hospital where the wounded were nursed.

"Come back - he said - what are we going to do outside of Hungary ? I do not speak any of the foreign languages, and then look at me, can you picture me as a factory worker ? I am not strong enough physically."

"I am surprised that a man like you should speak of returning to the Communists after having got an unhopedor chance of becoming a free man" - replied Ilona with tears in her beautiful eyes.

Horváth went away downheartedly. As for himself, he wasn't too badly affected by Communism. He was just a non-political intellectual. Besides, he earned something over 2,000 Forints a month, and, moreover, owned a small vineyard near Lake Balaton. Year after year he went there to spend his holidays. True, there is something to be said in favor of freedom, but then the vineyard near the lakeshore isn't bad either. Together with Ilona, it should be marvelous. Yes, but it just would have to be without Ilona - and suddenly Mr. Horváth realizes that his life has changed. Never again would the grapes of his vineyard taste the same as before. Without Ilona, they would even taste like nothing.

Thus it happened, that at nightfall, at the hour when the groups will be definitively separated from each other, one going to the hospital and the other to the inn, Mr. Horváth, briefcase under his arm, is seen to leave the group of the "unwilling ones" without so much as a farewell, and to head for the other group where Ilona awaits him.

% " % " %

PHOTO
PICTURES : showing the Hungarian plane at Ingolstadt air-field.

Caption : After the arrival . . .

PHOTO
showing four of the escapees.

Caption : Four happy wounded at the Ingolstadt Hospital.