

## Adam Ciołkosz and Radio Free Europe in the light of correspondence with Jan Nowak-Jeziorański<sup>1</sup>. Introductory remarks

### KEY WORDS

Adam Ciołkosz, Radio Free Europe, Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, Polish Socialist Party, *Polish Freedom Movement* “*Independence and Democracy*”

### ABSTRACT

A significant element of Ciołkosz’s journalistic achievement is his epistolographic legacy, which comprises several thousand letters. Against this background, a special place is occupied by his correspondence with Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, conducted in the years 1946–1975 and comprising 269 letters. Ciołkosz was one of the most prominent political publicists of the Polish service of RFE, particularly valued by Nowak. The correspondence provides significant evidence that he held an important place on the map of Nowak’s friends and allies.

The correspondence of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański and Adam Ciołkosz occupies an important place in the epistolographic legacy of the director of the Polish Radio Free Europe due to the number of letters, the duration of correspondence, the scale of issues discussed and the importance that Nowak attached to the opinion of his respondent<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The article was created as part of the research grant *Documents and Materials for the History of the Polish Broadcasting Radio Free Europe 1952-1975* financed by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education as part of the National Program for the Development of Humanities (Research Module 1.1., 0070/NPRH3/H11/82/2014, implementation period 2014-2018, head: Prof. dr hab. Rafał Habielski).

<sup>2</sup> So far, several volumes of Jan Nowak's correspondence have been published, see *Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, Jerzy Giedroyc. Listy 1952–1998*, wybór, oprac. i wstęp D. Platt [Letters of 1952-1998, selection, edition and introduction by D. Platt], Wrocław 2002; *Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, Zbigniew Brzeziński. Listy 1953–2003*, wybór, wstęp i oprac. D. Platt [Letters of 1953-2014, selection, edition and introduction by D. Platt], Warszawa 2014; *Korespondencja 1955–1989. Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, Maria Winowska*, oprac. i wstęp A. Nowak [Correspondence of 1955-1989. Jan Nowak Jeziorański, Maria Winowska, edition and introduction by A. Nowak], Wrocław 2016. See also articles on the epistolographic legacy of Nowak and some letters: *Listy J. Giedroycia, J. Nowaka-Jeziorańskiego, J. Stempowskiego do W. Micuty*, Jerzy Giedroyc, Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, Jerzy Stempowski [Letters of J. Giedroyc, J. Nowak-Jeziorański, J. Stempowski to W. Micuta, Jerzy Giedroyc, Jan Nowak Jeziorański, Jerzy Sampowski], «Zeszyty Historyczne», vol. 166 (2008), pp. 236–250; *Listy Jana Nowaka-Jeziorańskiego do Eugeniusza Kwiatkowskiego z lat 1955–1973*, [Letters of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański to Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski from the years 1955-1973], edited by G. Fular, “Biuletyn Biblioteki

Ciołkosz, along with Edward Raczyński and general Władysław Anders, was one of the people particularly appreciated by Nowak. “In London, I had three faithful and much older friends, or rather patrons – he wrote – general Władysław Anders, ambassador Edward Raczyński and Adam Ciołkosz (...). Ciołkosz was my loyal, older friend and an ally that I could always count on. I find Raczyński and Ciołkosz, along with Taylor, one of the wisest people I have ever met”<sup>3</sup>.

Correspondence provides a lot of evidence for that<sup>4</sup>. Shortly before resigning from the position of Director of the Broadcasting Department, he wrote to Ciołkosz: “(...) I think of You as one of my closest friends and it was my intention that You are one of the first to be notified (...). I only informed you and Mr Raczyński about my decision by telephone”<sup>5</sup>. Ciołkosz reciprocated this appreciation, which is confirmed by correspondence and his statements about the Radio and Nowak. After his resignation, in 1975, Ciołkosz wrote: “Future historians dealing with our epoch will classify its [RFE's] operation as one of the greatest achievements and merits of Polish emigration for the Polish national cause”<sup>6</sup>.

The source basis of the article is correspondence of Adam Ciołkosz and Jan Nowak-Jeziorański deposited at National Ossoliński Institute (hereinafter: ZNiO) in Wrocław and Polish Underground Movement Study Trust in London (hereinafter: SPP). The text corpus has

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Jagiellońskiej”, R. 54 (2004), pp. 251–297; *W obronie Wolnej Europy: listy Jana Nowaka do gen. Władysława Andersa i Adama Ciołkosza* [In defence of the Free Europe: letters of Jan Nowak to general Władysław Anders and Adam Ciołkosz], edited by A. Friszke, “Więź”, R. 48, no. 3 (2005), pp. 101–111.

<sup>3</sup> J. Nowak-Jeziorański, *Wojna w eterze* [War in the ether], Kraków 2005, p. 486.

<sup>4</sup> Given the unusually rich scientific and journalistic achievements of Ciołkosz, which consists of several dozen different books on the history of the socialist movement, the history of the Cold War and scouting, such a negligible interest in the figure of the Polish socialist may be surprising. See, among others, A. Friszke, *Portret polskiego socjalisty* [The portrait of a Polish socialist], Warszawa 2011; *Adam Ciołkosz: polityk, pisarz, historyk socjalizmu* [Adam Ciołkosz: politician, writer, historian of socialism], ed. J. Żmigrodzki, London 1972; F. Gross, *Ludzie P.P.S. Wspomnienie o Adamie Ciołkoszu* [People of the Polish Socialist Party. Memories of Adam Ciołkosz], Warszawa 1987; M. Gielzak, *Antykomuniści lewicy: Lidia i Adam Ciołkoszowie jako historycy socjalizmu polskiego* [Anti-communists of the left wing: Lidia and Adam Ciołkosz as historians of Polish socialism], Poznań 2014; K. Kamińska-Chełmianiak, *O publicystyce Adama Ciołkosza* [On the journalism of Adam Ciołkosz], “Zeszyty Prasoznawcze” 2016, no. 4, pp. 690–705; L.B. Paszkiewicz, *Pierwsza podróż Lidii i Adama Ciołkoszów do USA (1953–1954)* [The first trip of Lidia and Adam Ciołkosz to the USA (1953-1954)], “Przegląd Polsko-Polonijny” 2012, no. 4, pp. 169–195; A. Ciołkosz, *Walka o prawdę: wybór artykułów 1940–1978*, przedm. G. Herling-Grudziński, wyboru dokonał W. Ryser-Szymański [Fight for the truth: the choice of articles 1940-1978, preface by G. Herling-Grudziński, selection by W. Ryser-Szymański], London 1984; A. and L. Ciołkosz, *Niepodległość i socjalizm: 1835–1945. Audycje radiowe* [Independence and socialism: 1835-1945. Radio broadcasts], Warszawa 1984; *Refleksje emigracyjnego socjalisty. Z listów Adama Ciołkosza 1945–1950* [Reflections of an émigré socialist. From the letters of Adam Ciołkosz 1945-1950], edited by A. Friszke, “Więź” 1994, no. 9, pp. 145–158; P. Waingertner, *Rosyjski komunizm w oczach polskiego socjalisty: Z refleksji politycznej Adama Ciołkosza* [Russian communism in the eyes of the Polish socialist: From political reflection of Adam Ciołkosz], “Rocznik Łódzki” 2005, vol. 52, pp. 143–150; K. Tarka, *Kryptonim „Okularnik”. Sprawa rozpracowania operacyjnego Adama Ciołkosza* [Codename “Okularnik”. The case of Adam Ciołkosz's investigation], “Przegląd Polonijny” 2006, vol. 3, pp. 103–108.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański to Adam Ciołkosz dated 21.11.1975, National Ossoliński Institute in Wrocław (hereinafter: ZNiO), Archive of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, Correspondence, vol. 8, Adam and Lidia Ciołkosz.

<sup>6</sup> A. Ciołkosz, *24 lata pracy J. Nowaka* [24 years of work of J. Nowak], “Tydzień Polski” 1975, 20 XII.

a total of more than 350 letters, together with the attachments<sup>7</sup>. The correspondence is complemented by radio records of broadcast by the Polish RFE (to 1958 the Voice of Free Poland) located at the National Digital Archives in Warsaw (RFE collection) and in the SPP<sup>8</sup>.

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The relationship between Nowak and Ciołkosz was, in spite of various political affiliations of its authors (Ciołkosz belonged to the Polish Socialist Party, Nowak – to the Polish Freedom Movement “Independence and Democracy”) a community of values and the same understanding of principals. They both remained steadfast in thinking about free Poland, they shared similar attitude to the situation in the country, they similarly understood the concept of patriotism and service to the homeland. Each of them, though using other methods, made efforts to protect Poles from mental sovietization. Both of them treated this as a mission, creating tools useful for its implementation.

The correspondence gives the opportunity to inspect their political activity, being the key to understand the motives of dealing in difficult realities. Ciołkosz counted on the collapse of communist rule in Poland, trusting that the impulse for defeating the oppressive system will come out of labour environments<sup>9</sup>. After the end of World War II, he decided not to return to Poland, he hoped for a quick change in the political situation and a return in a dozen or so years. He could not know that the Communists will remain in power for more than four decades<sup>10</sup>.

Over time he got used to the fate of an emigrant, but in the immediate post-war period he did not feel well outside the country. In 1946, he wrote to Feliks Gross that in the interwar period he lived modestly<sup>11</sup>. “It was hard, but I was happy, truly happy. And those years in

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<sup>7</sup> Most of the letters are located in the National Ossoliński Institute, while approx. 140 letters are found in SPP, but it is difficult to say if these are all the letters.

<sup>8</sup> The texts of Ciołkosz’s broadcast from 1940 onwards, prepared for Polish Radio in London, BBC, and RFE, are located in SPP in London. Intensity of Ciołkosz's cooperation with the Munich radio is confirmed by the number of broadcasts in RFE. For example, from 1964 to 1969, 290 broadcasts were aired with the participation of Ciołkosz (1964 – 27 broadcasts, 1965 – 25, 1966 – 23, 1967 – 68, 1968 – 66, 1969 – 81). Own calculations based on the list of broadcasts with the participation of Adam Ciołkosz in the National Digital archives, RFE collection.

<sup>9</sup> See *Sylwetki pracowników Rozgłośni Polskiej RWE w Londynie* [Profiles of employees of the Polish RFE in London], broadcast date: 01.07.1969, National Digital Archives (hereinafter: NAC), RFE collection, ref. no. 3826/0.

<sup>10</sup> L. Ciołkosz, *Spojrzenie wstecz* [Looking back], Paris 1995, p. 205.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

exile were in terms of personal relations a total denial of the atmosphere I enjoyed in 20 years of organisational work (...)"<sup>12</sup>.

The first contact of Ciołkosz and Nowak dates back to the war period. Lidia Ciołkosz mentioned years later that "Adam probably met him even during the war, when he was the underground courier"<sup>13</sup>. In *Kurier z Warszawy* [Courier from Warsaw] the name "Ciołkosz" appears several times. They met in London in 1944, when, after providing general Sosnowski with information on the situation in the country, he had a series of conversations with government members and the most important Polish politicians in exile, one of which was Ciołkosz<sup>14</sup>.

Correspondence with Nowak, covering a period of thirty years, is dominated by matters related to the RFE policy and programme. A letter contact was established in October 1946 – both of them were in London at the time. Nowak applied for an American visa, but when he received a job offer in the Polish BBC Section, he decided to stay in Britain. In 1947, he joined the Polish Freedom Movement "Independence and Democracy", which turned out to be a door to the position of director of the Polish RFE<sup>15</sup>.

When he was director of the Voice of Free Poland (in 1958 the radio changed its name to Polish Radio Free Europe), Ciołkosz gave him advice on the style of work: "In my life – he said – I was the company commander, I was a parliamentarian, editor, publicist. I have always defended democracy, but remember: two functions of collective life cannot stand collective management – commanding a larger or smaller military formation and editing a newspaper or managing a radio station"<sup>16</sup>.

There are many indications that Nowak took the advice. He treated the work in the Voice of Free Poland as commanding a military formation, which was not popular, and some accused him of dictatorial tendencies. This style of management has not escaped the attention of Ciołkosz's wife, who, like Ciołkosz, has been associated with RFE since the very

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<sup>12</sup> Quote: A. Friszke, *Adam Ciołkosz. Portret polskiego socjalisty...* [Adam Ciołkosz. The portrait of a Polish socialist], op. cit., p. 365. See also: *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], Polish Underground Movement Study Trust in London (hereinafter: SPP), Archive of Adam Ciołkosz, ref. no. 133/39.

<sup>13</sup> L. Ciołkosz, *Spojrzenie wstecz...*, op. cit., p. 305.

<sup>14</sup> J. Nowak-Jeziorański, *Kurier z Warszawy* [Courier from Warsaw], Warszawa–Kraków 1989, p. 212.

<sup>15</sup> Sławomir Łukasiewicz discusses the matter with more details, see S. Łukasiewicz, *Jan Nowak-Jeziorański jako działacz PRW „NiD”* [Jan Nowak-Jeziorański as an activist of Polish Freedom Movement "Independence and Democracy"] [in:] *Jan Nowak-Jeziorański. Kurier Armii Krajowej. Redaktor Radia Wolna Europa. Polityk* [Jan Nowak-Jeziorański. Courier of the Home Army. Editor of Radio Free Europe. Politician], ed. P. Machciewicz, R. Habielski, Wrocław–Warszawa 2011, pp. 89–116; by the same author: *Partia w warunkach emigracji. Dylematy Polskiego Ruchu Wolnościowego „Niepodległość i Demokracja” 1945–1994* [The party in conditions of emigration. Dilemmas of the Polish Freedom Movement "Independence and Democracy" 1945–1994], Lublin–Warszawa 2014, pp. 488–502.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

beginning. Years later she mentioned that although Nowak “had a sharp attitude towards employees, military-like as some said, he (...) was a great director (...). But when any of the employees had life, health or family problems, Nowak did his best to help”<sup>17</sup>. Ciołkosz believed that any other style of work would bring the radio to ruin<sup>18</sup>. In an article summarising the 24 years of work, Nowak justified him by writing: “(...) roughness is an unpleasant, but inevitable tax paid to a tense, nervous atmosphere of work”<sup>19</sup>. Incidentally, Ciołkosz had such life and work style, which cost him his health<sup>20</sup>.

After the initial exchange of letters, the correspondence ceased for a couple of years – it was resumed after the inauguration of the broadcast of Voice of Free Poland from Munich (3 May 1952). Most of the letters come from the end of the 50s and from the 60s. Ciołkosz contacted Nowak not only as an author, but also as a political activist and historical writer. They maintained correspondence contact, even though Nowak did not trust the German post office to such an extent that he transferred the most important information by his employees from London's RFE studio, by telephone and in person. Annually, they exchanged from a few to a dozen or so letters.

In 1952 Nowak proposed a permanent, non-formalised cooperation<sup>21</sup>. The first broadcast with his participation was aired at the turn of 1952/1953, the exact date is difficult to determine<sup>22</sup>. In June 1953, Ciołkosz prepared a speech as part of the cycle *Polish leaders speak to the nation*, dedicated to the 23rd anniversary of death of Mieczysław Niedziałkowski, PPS activist and editor of “Robotnik” shot in Palmiry<sup>23</sup>.

From that time, he was always present in front of the Radio's microphones. He participated in the most important broadcasts: *Świadkowie historii* [Witnesses to history]; *Polscy przywódcy na wygnaniu przemawiają do kraju* [Polish exiled leaders speak to the nation]; *Odwrotna strona medalu* [The other side of the medal]; *Notatki o socjalizmie* [Notes on socialism]; *Listy do komunisty* [Letters to a communist]; *Czarno na białym* [In black and white]; *Nie rozdzieli nas żelazna kurtyna* [We will not be divided by the iron curtain] and in discussions at the round table. He prepared programmes and storytelling for labourers,

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<sup>17</sup> L. Ciołkosz, *Spojrzenie wstecz...*, op. cit., p. 305.

<sup>18</sup> *Uroczystość pożegnania Jana Nowaka w Londynie...* [The farawel to Jan Nowak in London...], op. cit.

<sup>19</sup> A. Ciołkosz, *24 lata pracy J. Nowaka* [24 years of work of J. Nowak], “Tydzień Polski” 1975, 20 XII.

<sup>20</sup> L. Ciołkosz, *Spojrzenie wstecz...*, op. cit., pp. 361–362.

<sup>21</sup> A similar proposal was given to Lidia Ciołkosz, who prepared for the Nowak-Jeziorański the programme “Kartka z kalendarza” [Calendar page], wrote columns and took part in discussions. In the mid-1960s, she even received a proposal to work permanently at RFE and to move to Munich, which she ultimately did not do, see L. Ciołkosz, *Spojrzenie wstecz...*, op. cit., p. 304.

<sup>22</sup> List of broadcasts in RFE with the participation of Ciołkosz is located at the National Digital Archives.

<sup>23</sup> *Przywódcy na wygnaniu przemawiają do kraju* (cz. 14) [The exiled leaders speak to the nation (part 14)], NAC, RFE collection, ref. no. 57/0.

intellectuals, communists and youth. We willingly commented on current political affairs concerning Poland and the United Kingdom. Knowledge of several foreign languages (e.g. English, German, French, Russian, Yiddish) allowed him to read foreign press, which translated to the knowledge of international relations and political issues in the world. Reports of Ciołkosz were aired in *Komentarze dnia* [Daily comments], *Fakty, wydarzenia, opinie* [Facts, events, opinions], *Panorama dnia* [Panorama of the day], *Panorama tygodnia* [Panorama of the week] and in *Kalejdoskop* [Kaleidoscope]. He was the author or participant of historical radio broadcasts (on the September campaign, the January uprising, World War I, general Władysław Sikorski, World War II). He was always present on the air. In June 1956, Nowak wrote: “I suppose that you are well aware of the fact that – compared to other Polish politicians in exile and in relation to the capabilities of our radio – you were very often participating in our programmers (...)”<sup>24</sup>.

Ciołkosz rarely gave Nowak advices on the RFE’s programme. Based on the correspondence, we imagine diligent, hard-working and principled co-operator of the Radio and ally of its director.

In September 1953, Adam and Lidia Ciołkosz visited the United States for the first time at the invitation of the Polish Socialists' Union and the Canadian Polish Congress<sup>25</sup>. The journey lasted almost six months, during which Ciołkosz delivered lectures at universities and meetings of Jewish labour organisations in New York and Los Angeles, had meetings with journalists, gave several interviews to the American press, repeatedly spoke on the radio (including in the Voice of America). He held a series of talks in the House of Representatives, the State Department, the Labour Department and the Free Europe Committee. He talked about what is happening in Poland, what is communist slavery, terror and Stalinism. In January 1954 he wrote to Nowak: “Everywhere I was asked about the ‘Voice of Free Poland’ – everywhere (according to my conviction, acquired during my stay in Munich) I gave the best testimony of the work of Yours and the Polish team. I had with me a letter from the country, received through secret roads (...) and in it the sentence ‘Radio Free Europe is heard by everyone enthusiastically – both the city and the village’. I repeatedly read this sentence to my interlocutors and – believe me – it made huge impression”<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> Letter of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański to Adam Ciołkosz dated 06.06.1956, ZNiO, Archive of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, *Korespondencja*, t. 8 [Correspondence, vol. 8], Adam and Lidia Ciołkosz.

<sup>25</sup> About the trip, read more: L.B. Paszkiewicz, *Pierwsza podróż Lidii i Adama Ciołkoszów do USA...* [First trip of Lidia and Adam Ciołkosz to the United States...], op. cit., pp. 169–195; L. Ciołkosz, *Spojrzenie wstecz...*, op. cit., pp. 299–303.

<sup>26</sup> Letter of Adam Ciołkosz to Jan Nowak-Jeziorański dated 25.01.1954, ZNiO, Archive of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, *Korespondencja*, t. 8 [Correspondence, vol. 8], Adam and Lidia Ciołkosz.

When on 12 February 1955 the Americans launched operation Spotlight, using balloons to drop over Poland, among others, the booklet *behind the scenes of the secret police and the party*, which was a record of the selected broadcasts of Józef Światła (high officer of the Ministry of Public Security who fled to the West), Ciołkosz as one of the few was informed about it in advance. Nowak wrote: “Please treat this letter as proof of full trust (...)”<sup>27</sup>.

Balloon action was a response to increased jamming of RFE’s broadcasts. Similar actions, overseen by the US State Department and the CIA, were organised over the territory of Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Nowak was opposed to this type of operations; in his opinion, they raised unjustified hopes of the societies to which they were directed. In the case of Poland, having no impact on the action itself, he could however affect the content of transmitted material. He appreciated the positive sides, believing that the booklets and brochures, although more dangerous for recipients than radio broadcasts, can have a great impact on their attitudes. “In his opinion, the booklet of Światła could destroy the influence of the Party among the younger generation, who was unable confront the communist propaganda with the history watched with their own eyes”<sup>28</sup>. After the operation finished, he claimed that the revelations of Światła broadcast by the Radio from October 1954 significantly accelerated the course of events in Poland, contributing to the changes that took place in 1956<sup>29</sup>.

Political commitment of Ciołkosz had significant impact on the relations between Nowak and Ciołkosz. In the years 1956-1959 and 1963-1966, Ciołkosz served as the Chairman of the Executive Government of National Unity (EZN), executive body established in 1954 by anti-presidential opposition. When balloon action began to raise concerns among the emigrants and, at the same time, it became obvious that the Americans initiating it are going to implement it regardless of the position of the Poles, EZN supported the action, recognising it as “informative action positive for the Country”. Ciołkosz did not lead its work yet, however, he had an impact on the position that the Provisional Council of National Unity (TRJN), forum of groups forming the Executive’s facilities, took on the balloons. “I also know – Nowak wrote – in general, the content of the future declaration of TRJN and I know that its reasonable tone is in large part result of your work”<sup>30</sup>. Ciołkosz's support was all the

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> J. Nowak, *Wojna w eterze* [War in the ether], pp. 225–226.

<sup>30</sup> Letter of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański to Adam Ciołkosz dated 26.03.1955, ZNiO, Archive of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, *Korespondencja*, t. 8 [Correspondence, vol. 8], Adam and Lidia Ciołkosz.

more valuable than TRJN's branch in the US and Stanisław Skrzetelski, the chief editor of the New York's RFE, announced a protest against the operation Spotlight<sup>31</sup>.

Correspondence of Nowak and Ciołkosz is free from substantive disputes. Misunderstandings occurred from time to time, but not serious enough to significantly disrupt the cooperation. A misunderstanding, which has become the subject of correspondence was the Radio's failure to broadcast the *exposé* of Ciołkosz, *the Chairman of EZN delivered at a TRJN meeting on 22 March 1956*. Ciołkosz considered Nowak's decision as incomprehensible, and as "obvious mistake". "My American partners have advised me that You found appropriate filing a complaint on me directly to the Management Committee of the Free Europe. I find that very surprising" – Nowak responded. He resented Ciołkosz as the case reached the highest levels of the Committee of the Free Europe, and he was convinced that "(...) the national solidarity indicates the purposefulness of moving any claim directly between the Poles while avoiding dragging factors of different nationality"<sup>32</sup>. Exchange of comments on this topic continued until August 1956 and ended with the postponement to the oral explanation and Ciołkosz's message assuring of "deep affection and definitely positive assessment of Your work"<sup>33</sup>.

At the same time, Nowak fought in the Committee of the Free Europe for funds to release *Zarys dziejów socjalizmu polskiego* [The outline of the history of Polish socialism] written by the Ciołkosz marriage. In his opinion the book constituted a valuable source addressing the lies, which surrounded the history of Polish socialist movement<sup>34</sup>. Even before the thing was published, he suggested Ciołkosz to record the cycle of talks on the history of Polish socialism and came out with a proposal to publish them in monthlies issued by RFE: "East Europe" and "Hinter dem Vorhang Eisernen".

An important place in the correspondence and exchange of views between Nowak and Ciołkosz was taken by the German issues, including the issue of the border on the Oder and Nysa. The Radio could inform about the position of Polish communities, the Western press and the political world in this case abroad, but it could not speak on its own behalf. This situation created an opportunity to attack the regime propaganda, striving to prove that the Radio is an ally of the West-German retaliation environments. In fact, Nowak believed that

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<sup>31</sup> P. Machcewicz, *Emigracja w polityce międzynarodowej* [Emigration in the international politics], Warszawa 1999, p. 116.

<sup>32</sup> Letter of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański to Adam Ciołkosz dated 06.06.1956, ZNiO, Archive of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, *Korespondencja*, t. 8 [Correspondence, vol. 8], Adam and Lidia Ciołkosz.

<sup>33</sup> Letter of Adam Ciołkosz to Jan Nowak-Jeziorański dated 12.08.1956, ZNiO, Archive of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, *Korespondencja*, t. 8 [Correspondence, vol. 8], Adam and Lidia Ciołkosz.

<sup>34</sup> Letter of Adam Ciołkosz to Jan Nowak-Jeziorański dated 1.02.1956, ZNiO, Archive of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, *Korespondencja*, t. 8 [Correspondence, vol. 8], Adam and Lidia Ciołkosz.



demands for the re-establishment of the borders of 1937 and treating the areas located east of the Oder and Nysa as territories temporarily incorporated into Poland were dangerous for Polish interests. He renounced chauvinism and was not an opponent of Polish-German contacts, accepting – as a starting point to improve the relationship – Germany's recognition of the western border of Poland, and thus Bonn's renunciation of territorial claims. This happened on 7 December 1970 due to the agreement between the Polish People's Republic and Germany on the basis of normalization of mutual relations, in which the inviolability of the western Polish border was confirmed. “I believe – he wrote to Ciołkosz – that Polish-German dialogue lies in our interest as a road leading to recognition by the majority of German society of the Oder and Nysa border (...) However, it is not irrelevant under whose auspices this dialogue is to be conducted and who is to be partner of negotiations. Revisionist elements also want to draw emigration into negotiations, but in their understanding the dialogue is to be a tactical move, serving the achievement of their own goals, which are contrary to our reason of state”<sup>35</sup>.

Correspondence leaves no doubt that Nowak was sensitive about the German issue. He approached the idea of reconciliation with caution and skepticism. He was of the opinion that there exist dynamically operating revisionist circles in the Federal Republic of Germany, centred around resettlement communities, which, under the pretext of seeking Polish-German agreement, are lobbying for the recovery of the Western Lands. His distrust also came from attacks at his own address, originating in some German newspapers related to the extreme right wing (“Intern-Informationen”) and the Federation of Expellees (“Deutsche Ostdienst”).

In German newspapers in 1974, a series of critical articles about Nowak was published, which was related to the attack on the Polish RFE conducted by the Third Department of the Ministry of the Interior. In February 1975, Nowak reported to Ciołkosz that he is fighting on several fronts at once: “with the Americans, who surrender to diplomatic pressure coming from Warsaw; with communist diversion unsuccessfully operating in broad daylight, and led from Warsaw by MSW (...). Finally, the third front are extreme-right wing German elements, deriving from the former Nazi circles”<sup>36</sup>.

Ciołkosz shared Nowak's beliefs on German issues. He claimed that reconciliation between Poles and Germans is not possible in a situation where organisations of exiles promote re-establishing borders of the Reich from 1937, and demand compensation from the

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<sup>35</sup> Letter of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański to Adam Ciołkosz dated 07.04.1966, ZNiO, Archive of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, *Korespondencja*, t. 8 [Correspondence, vol. 8], Adam and Lidia Ciołkosz.

<sup>36</sup> Letter of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański to Adam Ciołkosz dated 11.02.1975, ZNiO, Archive of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, *Korespondencja*, t. 8 [Correspondence, vol. 8], Adam and Lidia Ciołkosz.

authorities of the Polish People's Republic for crimes committed on the exiled Germans. Ciołkosz criticized the talks of the Polish government with those German politicians, who remained in touch with exile groups. He wrote about it in letters to Nowak, he drawn attention to this in the current journalism.

The beginning of the action directed against Nowak in Germany was an article that appeared on 20 September 1974 in "Rheinischer Merkur". the author, Joachim Görlich, citing Andrzej Czechowicz's book *Siedem trudnych lat* [Seven hard years] (Warsaw 1973) cited information about cooperation between Nowak and Germans during the war. Czechowicz, a collaborator of the PRL's secret intelligence, employed for several years in the RFE's Studies and Analyses Bureau, returned to Poland in 1971, and his confessions were used to discredit the Radio and Nowak. The campaign began in the first months of Edward Gierek's rule, and its assumptions were developed by the Ministry of the Interior, the Press Office, the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the PZPR and the Main Political Board of the Polish Army. In the first edition of the book, Czechowicz accused Nowak of cooperation with the Nazis, presenting him as an agent of German intelligence – his courier mission to London, which begun in 1943, was to be carried out in agreement with the Germans. In the second edition of the book (1974), there was a facsimile of Volksdeutsche from Żyrardow, Johann Kassner, who claimed that Nowak was in 1940-1942 a commissary administrator of Jewish property.

Nowak was afraid that the accusations would contribute to the weakening of his position in the Radio and would hurt the Radio, so he filed a lawsuit against the editor-in-chief of "Rheinischer Merkur" and Görlich. The judgement was announced on 2 July 1975 by the National Court in Cologne. Before this occurred, in February 1975, he wrote to Ciołkosz that the attacks against him are to remove him from the position of director of the Radio. "However, the most dangerous for my future activities is the attack going through diplomatic ways. It is aimed at removing me, but also at incapacitating the Radio"<sup>37</sup>.

The end of the correspondence between Ciołkosz and Nowak is probably December 1975, which is the time when Nowak left the Radio. Nowak wrote about his plans, informed that he intends to focus on writing, and after a break to get back to active life and serve the Polish cause, keeping away from foreign personal and political games<sup>38</sup>. He was not decided

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Letter of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański to Adam Ciołkosz dated 12.12.1975, ZNiO, Archive of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, *Korespondencja*, t. 8 [Correspondence, vol. 8], Adam and Lidia Ciołkosz.

on whether to move to the United States, or to stay in Western Europe, however, he was not going to retire.

For Ciołkosz, decision of Nowak meant the “change of work station”. “To be honest, Mr Jan – he said during a farewell meeting in 1976 broadcast in the Polish RFE – I do not believe that You will really leave this work. I believe that you have ink flowing in your veins, and not blood, and you cannot get rid of this fluid from your arteries. This profession will attract you, tempt you, and You will succumb to the temptation. That is why we do not say farewell to You, as you are not leaving the profession, working for Poland, you simply pass to other work stations. This is not a wake, we are not writing a collective obituary for him, we only say goodbye to him at one stage of work that he completed and we welcome him at a new stage. Jan is not retiring”<sup>39</sup>.

Ciołkosz, formulating such a conclusion based on own experience, thought that the profession of journalist, working at the microphone, gives satisfaction that cannot be achieved with “any liquor, drug, even hashish”<sup>40</sup>. “He was grateful for the two factors of life on exile”: The opportunity to work for Poland, although generally in harsh conditions having to immediately respond to requests for comments on the Radio, or participation in discussion and the possibility of “living in the country”, living a Polish life, thinking in a way that Poles in the country think and feel “You know, it is a difficult thing to live in Poland after thirty years in a foreign country” – he said during a farewell meeting<sup>41</sup>.

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