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**THE OPPOSITION TO COMMUNISM IN THE POLITICAL
THOUGHT OF THE EXILED DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST
ADAM CIOŁKOSZ**

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Abstract

The Polish socialist movement has undergone various stages of development over more than 100 years of history. In the first half of the 20th century it was, to a large extent, identified with European Social Democracy. After the Second World War and the seizure of power in Poland by the communists, the socialist movement was replaced by a communist ideology that completely distorted the authentic democratic socialism and appropriated the values it represented. The unmasking of communist counterfeits was dealt with by the Polish émigré activist – Adam Ciołkosz, who as active politician and theoretician of socialism, showed a special activity in the contestation of communism. His views as an authentic Social Democrat had a significant impact on the political thought of the Polish socialist movement outside Poland. Ciołkosz, as an anti-Communist, represented such values as: respect for human rights and social justice, humanistic sensitivity, Christianity and above all socialism. At the same time, he promoted the need to fight communism and expose the criminal ideology. He pointed to the need to introduce a system of social justice (i.e. democratic socialism).

Keywords: Socialism, communism, ideology, doctrine, democratic socialism, dictatorship

Introduction

Over the course of several decades, the Polish socialist movement, shaped according to Western European standards, introduced a national element to the theory and political practice and experience, inseparably connected with the independence of the state and the evolutionary way of building socialism.

One of the key figures and activists and animators of the development of ideology and socialist political thought was Adam Witold Maria Ciołkosz, who throughout his life showed an interest and a consistent devotion to democratic socialism. He belonged to a group of outstanding individuals with outstanding personality and special activity in the political as well as social and writing spheres.

The analysis of his work and the critique of his rich and original writing and political thought allows for an innovative look at the problem of transformations that have taken place in the last half century in the Polish workers' movement. The activities of censorship

as well as political manipulation created a kind of vacuum in the period of the Polish People's Republic in the area of historical and ideological truth. Thanks to the research work of Adam Ciołkosz and his innovative approach to the phenomena undertaken in this test, it was possible to show its role and influence in the unmasking of communist propaganda. It will be the main objective guiding the author. Until now an almost unexplored problem implies important questions, which include:

1. What role did Adam Ciołkosz play in popularizing democratic socialism?
2. What was the impact of Ciołkosz on unmasking communist counterfeits and distortions of such concepts as: socialism, communism, democracy and freedom, made by the communes?
3. The participation of Ciołkosz in precisely explaining the ideological differences between democratic socialism and communism (as two separate currents of the workers' movement).

The interpretive approach allowed for a thorough examination of the ways of thinking of Ciołkosz and his unconventional understanding of phenomena, as well as showing the influence on ideological processes in the socialist movement.

There is no doubt that a fundamental influence on the political development of Adam Ciołkosz was exerted by his family environment. He initiated his public engagement in his family town of Tarnów, where he co-created the Scouts Movement in his early youth. During World War I and shortly thereafter, as a young volunteer he participated in the battles for the freedom of Poland and its territorial shape. In the interwar period, he developed his activity in the socialist youth movement at the Jagiellonian University. He belonged to a group of activists who quickly gained popularity in the home community of Tarnów, and then Kraków. As one of the youngest deputies, he was able to implement his Polish Socialist Party's (PPS) election program. Being a fierce opponent of reforms, he became a victim of its repression and was tried in the Brześć trial. Until the outbreak of the war, he actively participated in political, union and local government activities. At the beginning of September 1939, in fear of being arrested by the Germans, he was forced, together with his family, to leave the country. In 1940, he settled in London, where he remained until the end of his life. He actively participated in the work of the Polish émigré authorities and the Foreign Committee of the Polish Socialist Party. He also showed great interest in issues related to the international socialist movement. As a political and social activist he popularized the idea of democratic and independent socialism (Friszke 2011, 33–34).

During the whole period of his exile he was engaged in the work of Polish authorities in London. He was also a member of the Committee for the Nation's Issues. After the war, he was among other positions, the vice president, and later the president of the Executive of United Nation (institution serving as a quasi government) in the years of 1956–1959 and 1963–1966.

1. Negation of communistic ideology

It is worth noticing that in the post-war period Ciołkosz belonged to the last PPS leaders of this stature, such as Ignacy Daszyński, Bolesław Limanowski, Mieczysław Niedziałkowski or Kazimierz Pużak. And for this reason he was removed from the memory of Poles, and by the historiography of the Polish People's Republic (PRL), carefully omitted in silence.

It probably resulted from the fact that, as an authentic democratic socialist, he opposed the communist system *par excellence*, recognizing it as a criminal system and the greatest destructor of socialism.

His views on communism developed from the Polish-Bolshevik war in 1920, when he personally experienced the actions of the Red Army. Ciołkosz's disapproval of communism was associated not only with independence and his patriotic attitude, but also with a conscious political and ideological position. The values and traditions he brought from his family home were foreign to Leninist-Stalinist ideologies. It should be emphasized that his views on this matter assumed axiological dimension only during the Second World War (after the aggression of the ZSSR on Poland on September 17, 1939 and the signing of the Sikorski – Majski agreement, and then the Yalta agreement). As the main ideologist of the émigré PPS, he believed that communism in the Soviet Union had betrayed the Marxist tradition and was a complete denial of the ideals of civil liberty and democratic freedoms. It was not, in the opinion of the protagonist, a radical version of socialism (in accordance with the theory), but a completely separate totalitarian trend, which used only the rhetoric and symbols socialism (Ciołkosz 1961, 7).

It is worth noting that Ciołkosz, being an authentic democrat and supporter of pluralism, initially believed that in a democratic state, communists and socialists had the same right to function in society and participate politically. In order to maintain political correctness, he showed a far-reaching tolerance and indulgence towards communists. He changed his opinion about them only when they began to conduct diversion and atomization activities harmful to the Polish workers' movement. The communists' activities and their ideology posed a threat not only to democratic socialism but also to independent and sovereign Poland (the announcement of the Polish Communist Workers Party (from 1920) about the establishment of the Polish Socialist Republic of Soviets). The activity of Polish communists, controlled by the Soviets, met with harsh criticism from pre-war state authorities, PPS leaders, and the entire Polish society. As you can imagine, it was in the 1930's that Ciołkosz (like most of his party members) became fully convinced of the communist threat, ideologically connected with the Soviet Union, in which such values as: socialism, democracy, freedom, justice, civil rights were only propaganda slogans and a kind of "nonsense factory".

2. Attitude towards the Polish communists

After the end of World War II, he gained a strong conviction that communism is dangerous and destructive not only for the workers themselves, but a threat to entire societies and states. His attitude and way of acting and thinking (as the leader of émigré PPS), fully reflected his attitude toward communism and the ZSSR, as well as toward the usurpation of power in Poland, acting in a foreign interest. Ciołkosz belonged to this group of émigré leaders who treated the national authorities as illegal. The absorption of licensed socialists by the communist PPR in December 1948, was recognized as the beginning of the "communist yoke" and the construction of a totalitarian system. The Polish emigration considered the USSR and Stalin as the perpetrator of Poland's enslavement. For this reason, its activities were in a sense also anti-Soviet in nature (Ciołkosz 1948, 5).

The practices of communist governments and their impact on the Polish nation had a significant influence on the shaping of the political thought of the Polish socialist move-

ment in exile. Ciołkosz, as an activist of the leftist party, not only contested communism par excellently, but also looked for solutions in the international forum that could lead to the regaining of Poland's independence. This desire was the basic precept for the émigré political parties, but also for all emigration, which presented his aspirations for independence on behalf of the Polish nation, subdued by the communist authorities.

As Rafał Habielski rightly points out, "émigré opinion in the vast majority treated communism in terms of the enemy, not a political opponent, resulting in negation and rejection" (Habielski 2000). The émigré socialists also felt obliged to fight communist efforts to falsify and distort such concepts as socialism, communism, democracy and freedom. Ciołkosz represented the view that all frauds of the Communist Party should be exposed and that socialism always equals freedom and democracy. He promoted the thesis both in the forum of the government and the party, as well as in the Socialist International, that the socialist system does not exist in Poland, because there were no free elections after the war, so the authorities are illegal and the citizens are deprived of their rights. He stressed that democracy is the foundation of the ideology of the PPS and is inseparable from the elimination of injustice, exploitation and human harm (Ciołkosz 1961). As an authentic democrat, he did not recognize communist methods and propagated the need to bloodlessly overthrow the dictatorship of communist monopolies in all countries subjugated by totalitarian regimes. He demanded that there should be free elections for constitutional assemblies that would give the enslaved countries a democratic political and socio-economic system¹.

He often represented the view that communism was the greatest enemy of socialism. He treated it not as the "Bolshevik faction of socialism", but as a completely separate and opposing historical current, with which coexistence was not possible, because communism excluded any coexistence, treating it only as a temporary tactical measure (Ciołkosz 1964, 7). Considering this fact, Ciołkosz became convinced that attempts to liberalize the communist dictatorship were a cardinal error. It was necessary to liquidate it, as the antithesis of democracy and socialism and the enemy of the Polish nation (Ciołkosz 1961; Śliwa 1993, 25). The émigré socialists refused to refer to the political and socio-economic system created by the communists, as being socialist. They believed that their mission and message was not only to expose the Leninist conception of alleged socialism, but also to develop and propagate the concept of true socialist independence and democracy (Ciołkosz, 1977, ref. 4). This attitude resulted from anti-communism, which was deeply ingrained in Polish socialist thought. It was the subject of considerations by Polish socialists, both in the interwar period and during World War II. In an increasingly limited dimension (due to the interference of censorship) it functioned until the communists abolished the independent socialist movement in 1948 (Paszkievicz 2003).

3. Discrepancies between communism and socialism

Communism was a caricature of socialism, its decisive contradiction. Its leaders and ideologues argued that it was impossible to implement socialism by democratic means. The denial of the thesis was, among other things, the takeover of power by the Labour Party in

¹ The emigre socialists did not completely reject the direction of socio-economic changes in Poland. Industrialization and the rise of the working class or access to free education was what they considered the proper direction of change, which absolutely did not imply the acceptance of the Communist Party's rule.

England in 1945 and its six-year rule, during which economic and social transformations were achieved through peaceful reforms (*Light* 1950, book 8).

Many times underlining the differences between communism and socialism, Ciołkosz represented the view that freedom in the view of socialists means respect for human rights and freedom of expression for otherwise-minded people. Communism broke all legal norms and there was no place for free opinions. Communist countries had solidarity with the USSR, which was the homeland of the proletariat. Therefore, as already mentioned in the case of a conflict between his own country and the USSR, the communist had to stand with the Soviets. This false patriotism (communist internationalism) was rejected by democratic socialists who recognized the right of every nation to an independent existence.

The decisive contradiction between communism and socialism also was noted by Ciołkosz in the economic sphere. Communism sought to completely abolish private property (in fact, the beneficiaries of all goods are the narrow caste of workers), and socialism insisted on the socialization of only some of the key industries. Socialist economic planning could be reconciled with the existence of private property in small enterprises and trade (Ciołkosz 1964). All threats resulting from social injustice will be removed in accordance with the political system of socialism. Means of production will, however, serve to satisfy needs, taking into account different forms of ownership.

Ciołkosz repeatedly emphasized that socialism and communism had nothing to do with each other. While the socialists were moving democratic methods to a new society based on freedom, the communists, using lawlessness and violence, sought dictatorial power (Ciołkosz 1961, 34). What was extremely important in his assessment was the attitude of the socialists to the working class, to which the PPS always referred to with trust and respect, as opposed to communists who were distrustful and full of contempt towards the workers. Socialists treated themselves as a collective and did not refer to their leaders with extraordinary respect, which is why they were foreign to the cult of Lenin or Stalin. They rejected dogmas of the so-called Marxism-Leninism and did not look for foreign patterns. While remaining international socialists, they were aware that their homeland was Poland, where workers and peasants should be the legitimate host, not “emperors in the Kremlin” (Ciołkosz 1983, 64).

The leader of the Polish socialist émigré argued that communist propaganda often and deliberately used the terminology of mixed communism-socialism. At the same time, it used a complicated interpretation to make the public realize that there are some differences between “socialism” and “communism”, but they shared a common ideological foundation. For the purpose of indoctrination, the communists created the concept of “Marxism-Leninism”, which in fact was false and ignorant of the scientific output of Karl Marx. Marx accepted the scientific principle of “*de omnibus dubitare*” (to doubt everything). He allowed the thesis that differences and new concepts might emerge during scientific research. He did not espouse the infallibility of his views (as opposed to W. Lenin or J. Stalin). The Polish socialists, including the outstanding sociologist-Marxist Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz (1872–1905), referred to the concept of Marx. Kelles-Krauz was the first to approve the principle of a free and autonomous (and not dogmatic, as the communists did) approach to the legacy of Marx and Engels. Ciołkosz emphasized that this principle also applies to contemporary socialists (*White Eagle*, April 1976, No. 140).

With full independence of thoughts and statements, he made theoretical considerations regarding the possibilities and opportunities for building a socialist system in the coun-

tries of Central and Eastern Europe. Unfortunately, the ideals of the pre-war PPS did not survive in the Polish society. The term “socialism” was completely discredited by the communists. Poles associated it not with the social democratic party, but with the communist and totalitarian regime capturing the nation. The activities of the communist authorities caused the indoctrinated Polish society to reject the alleged socialist ideals that were far away from the world of values, which was cursed by Ciołkosz as an activist, theoretician and socialist writer. The moral foundation for him lay in democratic socialism, based on humanistic and ethical values, which were completely foreign to the communist regime in Poland (Gross, 1972, pp. 148–149). He appropriated the concept of “socialism”, but it became for Poles only a symbol of the worker’s exploitation by the state.

For understandable reasons, those who continued with anti-communist socialist thought were independent socialists staying in exile. They tried to cut off the communist ideology and its assumptions, while proving that the socialist and communist doctrine is connected only by a common Marxist language.

In order to confirm this thesis, Ciołkosz undertook analytical and semantic explanations necessary to define precisely the ideological differences between socialism and communism, forming two separate currents of the workers’ movement. In the USSR, terminology distinguishing socialism and communism was used as two phases of a classless society. The first of these – lower was socialism, and communism was the higher one. Lack of insightful and reliable references to the above thesis gave rise to serious disputes, both philosophical and ideological. It also enabled communist propaganda to manipulate the concepts of communism and socialism, which from 1827 were used alternately depending on the time, place and preferences of the group of followers. Until 1917, all parties that led a political fight for the abolition of the capitalist system and replace it with a collectivist party were called socialist or socio-democratic parties. Only after the revolution in Russia and the takeover of power by Lenin and Bolsheviks, did their party adopt the communist name.

Ciołkosz, undertaking in-depth studies on the achievements of Karl Marx and Rosa Luxemburg and other ideologues of communism and socialism, started to explain the differences between socialism and communism. He stated that after the Second World War the communists deliberately used mixed terminology and used the names of the communist or socialist party interchangeably. One could get the impression that their “roots and ideological principles are identical” (Ciołkosz 1961). Ciołkosz decided to clarify this question by presenting the original differences between social democratic and communist parties. They consisted in the fact that only the revolutionary path to the socialist system was accepted in the program of the communist parties. They took into account the transition period, which was to be the “dictatorship of the proletariat”, which in fact served the use of rape, violence and widespread terror first in Russia, and during the Bolshevik invasion in 1920, also against Polish society (especially its elites). Ciołkosz, as a witness of these events, perfectly remembered one of the Bolshevik slogans: “On the blood of Polish nobility and the bourgeoisie, a red flower of the dictatorship of the proletariat will grow up” (Teslar 1938, 13).

Unlike the communists, the socialists did not recognize any dictatorship and denied the one-party system. They were in favour of a system of political democracy with equal rights for all citizens and parties (including opponents of socialism). It is worth recalling here the paradoxical attitude of communists and socialists to religious issues. Unlike

communists, a socialist did not have to be an atheist². This thesis is confirmed by the example of K. Pużak or Jan Józef Lipski. In the Radom PPS (the Polish Socialistic Party) program from 1937 (Chapter XI) it was noted that the party recognized the freedom of conscience as one of the fundamental rights of a citizen in the state, and religion is the internal, personal matter of the individual. Many Polish socialists were convinced that the Catholic Church played a fundamental state-creating role. This view was extremely problematic for communists. It was difficult to undermine the Christian heritage of the Polish nation and the values that were deeply rooted in it. The first socialists in the Polish lands (Romantic) in the first half of the nineteenth century believed that the most desirable is the fulfillment of the Decalogue and the evangelical precepts that Jesus gave in the Sermon on the Mount. The popularization of these values in Polish society and the emerging working class caused that even the criticism of the behavior of the clergy did not distract them from faith (Ciołkoszowie 1982, 23–24).

Andrzej Chwalba noted that the workers were characterized by strong religiosity, while some reservations and doubts in the worldview and religious sphere were the domain of leftist intelligentsia (Chwalba 2007, 9). Ciołkosz, as an authentic democratic socialist, did not have any religious prejudices. Raised in a Catholic family, he was fascinated by the ideals of Scouting, in which Christian values played a significant role. He learned in a diverse Tarnów environment that tolerance and love as well as respect for one's neighbour are a reference to Christian values. They were first introduced "into the cruel world of the ancient, and then the harsh world of the Middle Ages" (Żmigrodzki 1972, 127–128). They accompanied the Polish nation for a thousand years of existence. They also strongly rooted in the hero of this study. I share the view of Marcin Giełzak that Ciołkosz thought like a Catholic and perceived religious problems from the point of view of the Roman Catholic Church (especially after the Second World War) (Giełzak 2014, 37). Fidelity to socialist ideals did not prevent him from being friends with the Jesuit Father Jerzy Mirewicz, who had a serious influence on the acceptance of Christian faith by Lidia Ciołkoszowa, Ciołkosz's wife.

Christian sensitivity and socialist tolerance of Ciołkosz and the system of values he confessed were strongly contrary to the anti-religious, anti-clerical communist ideology. It was characterized by atheism and the struggle against the fundamental values of socialism. Lack of respect for basic human rights and expansionist policies made the hero of the dissertation review his position and critically assess Polish communists. He noted that communism had never gained the support of workers for whom exploitation and social injustice were unacceptable. An additional element of controversy was the fact that a significant portion of the post-war workers came from the village (the result of intense industrialization). They were strongly attached to the Catholic tradition and belief, which did not accept the atheist communist ideology.

² Atheism is a way larger notion than communism, it doesn't even have to be left-wing. However in many communistic countries (the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, North Korea) atheism so called 'state' was promoted by the authorities which comprehended it as an inseparable part of material communistic ideology and were cruel at fighting against religion. What's more the Polish People's Republic was getting rid of it from the public space.

4. Contestation of communistic regime

The turning point in the radicalization of Communists' evaluation by Ciołkosz probably took place as a result of the events of June 1956. At that time, he (as the quasi prime minister of the émigré government and socialist leader) divided Polish communists into two categories: ideological communists who sincerely and deeply believed in Leninist communism and "Moscow's footmen", who had the workers' mentality and expressed their gratitude to their Muscovite principals for their positions of power and their privileges (*News*, April 3, 1977, No. 13, 8). Based on the available sources, it can be concluded that Ciołkosz included both B. Bierut and W. Gomułka in the second category (*Left trend*, London 1966, No. 1, p. 45).

As one of the leaders of emigration and as a socialist leader, he pointed out that the overriding goal of his activity was the liquidation of the consequences of Tehran and Yalta (but not in the context of a return to the state of affairs that existed before 1939) with the liberation of Poland from the communist dictatorship and the subordination of the Union Soviet" (*Left trend*, London 1966, No. 1, p. 48). He pointed out that this could only happen through a peaceful "change of policy". At the same time, he rejected any dialogue with the communists and to seek with them a platform for "honest cooperation". The exceptions were those communists who turned to "the position of integral democracy" and completely broke with communism (e.g. Milovan Djilas or Imre Nagy) Ciołkosz translated the book by Djilas "Conversations with Stalin", New York 1962. During the conversations between Djilas and Stalin, the image of the greatest criminal of humanity was revealed, but the main culprit of the horrors that the Soviet Union experienced was not Stalin himself, but the communist system. He expressed the belief that in the "east of Europe, the existence of socialist parties can only be won, torn from the throats of communist governments at the expense of hard struggles and sacrifices from the local working class, not expatriated and negotiated by emigrants" (Ciołkosz 1966, 55). The only chance for democracy in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe was the overthrow of communist dictatorships.

Ciołkosz promoted the view that Polish socialists faced a long struggle in the form of social resistance that could overcome the communist regime. He believed that the enemy number one was not the Polish communists, but the Soviets and their party, which were a decisive destroyer of world peace, freedom and the prosperity of nations. If it did not rule in Moscow, then there would be no communist party in Poland and many other countries. Confirmation of this thesis was the low popularity of the communist parties in the interwar period. Ciołkosz indicated that the Polish nation had special reasons for hatred of the Soviet Union for taking half of Poland, for the Katyń massacre, for the ghetto of the labour camps, for leaving the fighting capital without help, and finally enforcing the communist authorities (*News*, April 3, 1977, No. 13, p. 9).

Ciołkosz was convinced that it was necessary to fight against communism. As chairman of the EZN (Executive of National Union) (quasi prime minister), he contested the projects of neutralization and introduction of the ideology of Titoism, developed after WWII by the Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito, who separated from the USSR and refused to accept Stalin's domination (total independence from Moscow) and the introduction of a somewhat separate character of the communist regime. He emphasized that "Poland is still the object of the neo-colonial policy of the ZSSR, and the prudence and caution of the Polish society should be recommended. The initiative to restore Poland's freedom should

come from the Western powers" (*The executive of the National Unification. Information Department (bulletin)*, London 1956, No. 9, p.12). However, the tragic events of 1956 in Poland and Hungary showed that Western states were not going to react effectively to the liberation aspirations of countries "behind the Iron Curtain", and attempts to regain independence by them ended in failure. In spite of the passive attitude of Western states, Ciołkosz believed that it should be demanded that they oblige the USSR to renounce the use of force in Poland, Hungary and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. For this purpose, the free world's cooperation with nations struggling for liberation from Soviet slavery, is desirable (Hrabyk, 1957; Siwik, 1994). He rightly expressed the conviction that Poland had no chance of regaining independence and sovereignty without the exit of Soviet troops and without free parliamentary elections. In addition, he shared the view of George Orwell, who claimed that "the destruction of the Soviet myth is necessary for the revival of the socialist movement" (Rodden, 2007, 139).

5. Endorsement of democratic socialism

As the leader of the Polish socialists, Ciołkosz sought to promote the values and ideas of democratic socialism (*Executive of the National Unification. Information Department (bulletin)*, London 1961, No. 16–17). He hoped that social democrats would instill their ideas in Polish society. It was possible that in favourable conditions Polish people would accept and adopt a program drawn up by the PPS émigrés.

Together with other leaders in exile in 1968, he undertook protests against the aggression of Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia. He organized anti-soviet demonstrations in London during which slogans addressed to Gomułka and other communist leaders were chanted. Ciołkosz realized that these actions could not change much in the countries dominated by the Soviets, but the actions of free citizens of the Western world might affect the attitudes of Poles (through Radio Free Europe). These views were shared by his close associate and friend Kazimierz Sabbat (Prime Minister and President of the Republic of Poland in Exile), who believed that "improvement in our countries may come as a result of internal pressure, and the role of emigration is secondary" (*Culture* (Paris) 1969, No. 4, p. 13).

In this mission Ciołkosz and his wife were doing well. Not only did they participate in anti-communist demonstrations (after the massacre of workers in Poznań and Gdańsk), but they also collected funds to help their compatriots in the country (*Polish Week*, January 16, 1961, p. 8). At the same time, in the pages of the émigré press and radio broadcasts of RWE, they provided information on the PPS emigration program, stressing that the working class is the only factor in the life of a nation that could implement this program. He repeatedly reminded that the PPS, as the only political party over the 85 years of its existence, did not change its name and main program thesis, such as: the fight against exploitation, abolition of political slavery and gaining democratic power through the Polish proletariat. He rightly argued that throughout the entire postwar period, the Polish nation, despite communist terror, "did not grind to a powerless, passive mass of people, blindly Moscow's Gauleiters" Three times (in 1956, 1970, and 1976) there were explosions in Poland caused by the communist regime. Three times the working class "cut off a certain scope of freedom within the imposed system" (Ciołkosz, 1977, p. 4). Poles found ways to shape their consciousness beyond the imposed system of governance and against this

regime. In one of his last public statements, Ciołkosz anticipated the coming of a revolution in Poland, which would be driven by workers forced by the conditions of existence to solidarity and struggle. The social storm that would cause a great shock would aim at the overthrow of communism and the transformation of Poland in the sense of the democratic socialist system. He promoted the view that the émigré socialists should be the voice of the enslaved Polish nation struggling to regain freedom. In order to implement this project, the emigration PPS should develop free socialist thought in the near future and propagate the ideals and aspirations of Polish socialists (Ciołkoszowie 1982, 3).

It may be presumed that Ciołkosz slightly stretched out that in favourable conditions and while maintaining authentic civil liberties and political rights, Polish society would choose democratic socialism (similarly to many Western European countries) (Siwik 1994). He did not take into account the fact that the abuse of the adjective “socialist” in the PRL and treating it as a synonym for “communist” caused an almost allergic reluctance of the Polish society to everything that was generally associated with the left. The communists have distorted the essence of socialism and democracy by dehumanizing interpersonal relations, manipulating the individual and collectivity in the name of allegedly higher goals (including the construction of the so-called “real socialism”) (*Socialist Review* 1947, No. 4–5, pp. 12–13; Siwik 2013). In fact, the dictatorial governments of the Single Party (PZPR) and a group of clerks, benefiting from the possession of unlimited power, were in the opinion of Ciołkosz, “the instrument of Poland’s dependence on Moscow” (*Worker* (London), June 1958, No. 6, p. 2). Therefore, the main task of the working class in Poland should be a fight with the dictatorship of the monopolies. He expressed the conviction that only a democratic system and the liquidation of the communist party, and the introduction of a genuine, pluralistic model of the party system, could give a chance for guarantees of national sovereignty. Ciołkosz predicted that under democratic conditions, a social democratic doctrine would find a strong group of supporters who would not allow the capitalist system to return.

A very important element of these activities should be the awareness of Polish society that social democracy was something completely different than the doctrine and practice of communism, even adorned with socialist phraseology. Ciołkosz repeatedly pointed out that it was impossible to allow that, in the understanding of Polish workers, the awareness that both the goal and the way of the socialists is completely different from the goal and path of communists vanished (*Left Trend*, issue 2, winter 1967/68, p.108). Poles should become convinced that the essence of socialism is democratic, humanistic and deeply human. The opposition to it was “fossilized, unchanging and stiff communism, which was introduced by violence in the so-called ‘people’s democracy’ under the slogan ‘the road to socialism’ and authentic social democracy has nothing to do with it” (Ciołkosz 1964, 5). In its current form, it could not be regarded as socialism or the next stage of social development that followed it.

The communist authorities refused to change the system and restore socialist phraseology and its original content. Ciołkosz’s priority was the situation of Polish society, enslaved by the communistic regime. He did not live to see the workers’ rebellion, which took place in the summer of 1980. The Solidarity uprising caused the rejection (for a short period) of the rhetoric and symbolism of “distorted” socialism. Instead of red flags – the first working-class symbol of bloodshed in the nineteenth century, and nowadays identified with the socialist regime and the USSR, workers used the white and red flag. The

election of Karol Wojtyła as Pope and his first pilgrimage to his homeland in June 1979 aroused new hopes and aspirations in Polish society. Poles sought support in religious symbols, and instead of revolutionary songs, they sang the Polish national anthem, patriotic and religious songs. In the atmosphere of Solidarity, a new awareness of the Polish nation began to take shape against the communist authorities. The workers, according to Ciołkosz's predictions from half a century before, became the authentic leading force of the nation. "Only the proletariat could pave and open the way to freedom for the nation" (Ciołkosz 1966, 30).

The leader of the émigré socialists did not realize that Polish society would not free itself from the socialism injury of the communist period for many years. Lack of popularization of corrections and explanations, which were made, by Ciołkosz and others in emigration publications caused Poles to have only rudimentary knowledge about the manipulations, falsifications and distortions of the ideals of authentic pre-war democratic socialism, and they still identify him with communism, a system falsely described as a radical version of socialism. In fact, it was a totalitarian current, which was contested by Ciołkosz. As an honest socialist, he defended the ideals to which he maintained loyalty throughout his life. He did not forget about the roots of socialist ideas and precursors to socialism. For many years he verified their views and worked out his own position on program issues on the international forum. He hoped that the postulated solutions would be introduced in his native country in favorable circumstances in the future.

Conclusion

Adam Ciołkosz treated public activity as a mission, always thinking and intensifying the activity in the interest and for the good of Poland. Making a thorough analysis of his scientific and journalistic achievements, one can see that his attitude towards communism evolved from moderate tolerance, through negation and complete opposition. He perceived a gradual erosion of a system based on violence, terror and fear. He was troubled by the negative phenomena that were to eradicate pride, brotherhood, solidarity, patriotism and faith in positive values from the Poles' memory. The communist authorities spread contempt for authentic democracy, and learned from Soviet models, aimed at weakening the potential of society, especially the working class. Its subsequent uprisings, bloodily suppressed by the army and the voluntary guard, did not stop Poles' aspirations for a dignified life, and even inspired them to fight for political freedom.

A significant support for the enslaved Polish nation was offered by the Catholic Church, which sustained the spirit, consolidated ethical values and facilitated survival in the most difficult moments. Primate Stefan Wyszyński stood firm in defense of the most important dominants (including authentic social solidarity) with his unbending attitude. It was thanks to his efforts that the Church experienced a moral triumph, especially during the millennium period in 1966. The mass piety that was revealed at that time caused attacks on the Church and allegations of interference in political life. All these signals reached Polish émigré circles. One cannot say unequivocally what Ciołkosz's attitude to the Catholic Church in Poland was, but there is no doubt that he appreciated its role in the fight to prevent the total enslavement of the Polish nation and to stabilize the situation during

harsh crises (1956, 1968, 1970, and 1976). The Polish Episcopate was against radicals on both sides of the conflict and in this way softened its course³.

A similar mission was played by the anti-Communist opposition, which began to develop in the early 1970s. After 1976, the Workers Defense Committee (KOR) (supported by Ciołkosz) created clear political goals. They were mostly coincidental with the tasks of the émigré PPS, which in 1977 was developed by Ciołkosz. It should be emphasized that they were entirely consistent with the Polish national interests. The priority objectives were to continue the fight against Soviet imperialism and its agents in the name of regaining Poland's independence and that of other enslaved nations of the Soviet zone. At the same time, it was a reminder that the Poles were not passive in the fight for freedom, as evidenced by their appearances in 1956, 1970 and 1976 (Eisler, 2008).

It cannot be ignored here that the development of the PPS program was the last chord of his political activity for Ciołkosz. Theoretical reflections based on rich experience of the active politician, enriched Polish socialist thinking about innovative texts. They might be a precious pattern for authentic Polish social democrats. For the rest of his life, he was of the opinion that the change in the lives of Poles could only come from the workers, because "only they can pave the way for freedom to the nation". However, he did not see the freedom and the mass movement (NSZZ "Solidarity"), which two years after his death were created by Polish workers.

It is highly probable that the views of the émigré leader of genuine Social Democrats, even to a certain extent, came to them calling for the rejection of the communist dictatorship not only in Poland, but in all countries enslaved by totalitarian regimes. Ciołkosz unwaveringly represented the view that communism is the greatest enemy of socialism and constitutes its antithesis. As an anti-communist émigré activist, he fulfilled a mission to expose the Leninist concepts of alleged socialism. He wrote about ideological differences between communism and socialism verbalizing the concept of true democratic socialism. Through publications and broadcasts by RWE, he made people aware that he is clearly different from the doctrine and practice of communism with which true social-democracy has nothing in common with.

After Poland regained full sovereignty in 1989 and attempted to build a pluralistic political scene, it was not possible to construct a formation that would be the heir of the pre-war PPS. The post-communists could not recreate social democracy because they were firmly in the mechanisms of communist ideology.

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³ See more L.B. Paszkiewicz, Situation of the Catholic Church in Poland in the years 1945–1948 in the light of the London "Tomorrow of Poland", [in:] "Perspectiva. Legnica's Studies in Theology and History", Year II, No. 1 (2), Legnica 2003; idem, On the 40th anniversary of the millennium of the baptism of Poland, Perspectiva. Legnica's Studies in Theology and History, Year V, No. 2 (9), Legnica 2006.

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