

June 16, 1967

**Note from the Conversation between Comrade
Zenon Kliszko and CC CCP Secretary Liu Ningyi**

Citation:

"Note from the Conversation between Comrade Zenon Kliszko and CC CCP Secretary Liu Ningyi", June 16, 1967, Wilson Center Digital Archive, Polish Central Archives of Modern Records (AAN), KC PZPR, V/84 and XIA/23. Obtained and translated for CWIHP by Malgorzata K. Gnoinska. <https://digitalarchive.umd.edu/document/112707>

Summary:

Comrade Kliszko presents Liu Ningyi with a letter from six socialist countries calling for a conference to discuss aid and coordination in Vietnam in response to "American imperialism." He urges China to rally against this common enemy, despite the ideological differences dividing the socialist nations. Liu responds harshly both to the proposal and to Comrade Kliszko's statement, arguing China "did not want anything to do with a revisionist clique of the Soviet Union's leadership and its lackeys."

Original Language:

Polish

Contents:

Translation - English

Note from the Conversation between
Comrade Zenon Kliszko and CC CCP Secretary Liu Ningyi

Confidential

The meeting took place on June 16, 1967 in Beijing in hotel "Beijing." In addition to the CC CCP secretary Liu Ningyi, Deputy Foreign Minister Qiao Guanhua was also present. [Polish] Ambassador W[itold] Rodzinski was also present during the meeting.

Having passed on the greetings for Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Kliszko handed to Liu Ningyi a letter of parties and governments of six socialist countries regarding convening a conference of the countries of the socialist camp dedicated to the need to increase and coordinate the aid to Vietnam, as well as he explained the motives of this initiatives that was put forth by the CC PUWP. Comrade Z. Kliszko especially emphasized that in the face of the escalation of the American imperialism's aggression against the Vietnamese nation, the socialist countries are faced with an urgent need to coordinate their actions in order to provide support to the Vietnamese nation in such a degree as to force the imperialism to stop the aggression. This is why six socialist countries are turning to the CCP leadership with an ardent appeal to, in the face of this grave situation, agree to take place in the consultations regarding a joint and coordinated action to aid Vietnam. Comrade Kliszko strongly emphasized that the proposition of the six parties and governments is not of a propaganda nature, and that we are taking it very seriously. He expressed hope that the Chinese comrade would fully consider this initiative.

At the same time, Comrade Kliszko pointed out that for the past several years we have been witnessing the strongest pressure of American imperialism on the socialist camp ever since its inception. [He said that] for the first time the American imperialism dared to undertake the bombings of one of the socialist nations while taking advantage of the existing divergences between them. Regardless of the fact of how great the differences in ideological views are, we cannot forget about the fact that we are facing a common enemy - the American imperialism. History will never forgive us if we are not able to move beyond our divisive divergences so we can defend what we share in common and what is most important to us at the end of the day. Comrade Z. Kliszko pointed to the global nature of the American imperialism's offensive. He reminded of the tragedy of the Communist Party of Indonesia, as well as a series of reactionary military coups in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. The letter to the CC CCP was written still before the events in the Middle East, Comrade Z. Kliszko said, however, the aggression against the Arab nations will once more prove the need for a unified action of the socialist nations.

Liu Ningyi replied to the explanations of Comrade Kliszko with a violent attack both against this initiative and overall against other socialist countries and European communist parties. He stated that what the socialist countries are proposing is calling for a unity of action, and that the position of the CCP on this issue has already been presented in an empathic and unequivocal manner. He reiterated that the CCP did not want anything to do with a revisionist clique of the Soviet Union's leadership and its lackeys who provide a hypocritical support for the Vietnamese nation in its just struggle to save the nation against American imperialism, and in fact are betraying it, and who falsely come out against the American imperialism, and in fact fulfill the role of its ardent helper and supporter. What kind of unity are we then talking about here?

In the process of the conversation, Liu Ningyi actually reiterated the content of the article published in Renmin Ribao and entitled "The bankruptcy of the new outcasts [drop-outs] of Europe" and which is a violent and accusatory attack on the Conference in Karlove Vary. Liu Ningyi defined the letter of six countries as a continuation in the spirit of the conference in Karlove Vary and "a fetus of this conference." His pronouncement contained a series of accusations and epithets

addressed at parties which participated in the conference in Karlove Vary.

In the final fragment of his statement, Liu Ningyi attacked the PUWP for "anti-Chinese articles, information, and reprints," in the Polish press from March 1966 until March 1967. He stated: "We have not yet had the time to reply to these accusatory attacks. We haven't had the time to do so and they are waiting for their own turn."

Liu Ningyi said one more time that "there is not and cannot be any unity of actions between real Marxist-Leninists and revisionists."

Comrade Z. Kliszko rejected all of Liu Ningyi's accusations in a decisive manner. He stated, among other things, that he had never heard such loads of insults and names despite the fact that he has been in the communist movement for forty years. What you said here, Comrade Z. Kliszko said among other things, are only insults; there isn't even a shade of trying to justify the accusations that you are directing against us, an insult is not an argument and does not solve any divisive issue. Comrade Z. Kliszko stressed that it is outright tragic that the Communist Chinese Party has not drawn any conclusions, did not learn anything in this great tragedy which the drama of the Indonesian communists and their party really was to the entire [communist] movement.

In the course of exchanging views, Liu Ningyi stated that the March 1965 conference led to the split within the [communist] movement for which there is no return. There is a chasm between the CCP and the parties which signed the letter; there's no common language. Liu Ningyi returned several times to the accusatory thesis that the communist parties of Europe transformed themselves into "new social-democratic parties" and along with "the old social-democratic parties they serve as lackeys for reaction and imperialism."

The entire conversation, except for an introductory statement of Comrade Z. Kliszko was characterized by harsh polemics. At the end of the conversation, Liu Ningyi, having briefly consulted with the Deputy Foreign Minister Qiao Guanhua and after a moment of hesitation, finally accepted the letter handed over to him by Comrade Kliszko.