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**THE POLEMIC  
ON THE GENERAL LINE  
OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL  
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS  
PEKING

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OF THE  
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**关于国际共产主义运动  
总路线的論战**

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## CONTENTS

### **A PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

**The Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in Reply to the Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of March 30, 1963**  
(June 14, 1963)

1

### **THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CPSU AND OURSELVES**

**Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU**

(September 6, 1963)

55

**THE DIFFERENCES BEGAN WITH THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU**

59

**THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU**

67

**THE 1957 MOSCOW MEETING OF FRATERNAL PARTIES**

70

**THE GROWTH OF THE REVISIONISM OF THE CPSU LEADERSHIP**

75

**THE SURPRISE ASSAULT ON THE CPC BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CPSU**

79

**THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO LINES AT THE 1960 MEETING OF FRATERNAL PARTIES**

83

**THE REVISIONISM OF THE CPSU LEADERSHIP BECOMES SYSTEMATIZED**

89

**AN ADVERSE CURRENT THAT IS OPPOSED TO MARXISM-LENINISM AND IS SPLITTING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

93

**WHAT HAVE THE FACTS OF THE PAST SEVEN YEARS DEMONSTRATED?**

99

#### **Appendix I**

**Outline of Views on the Question of Peaceful Transition**

(November 10, 1957)

105

#### **Appendix II**

**Statement of the Delegation of the Communist Party of China at the Bucharest Meeting of Fraternal Parties**

(June 26, 1960)

109

### *Appendix III*

The Five Proposals for Settlement of the Differences and Attainment of Unity Contained in the Letter of the Central Committee of the CPC in Reply to the Letter of Information of the Central Committee of the CPSU  
(September 10, 1960)

113

### **ON THE QUESTION OF STALIN**

Second Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU

(September 13, 1963)

115

### **IS YUGOSLAVIA A SOCIALIST COUNTRY?**

Third Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU

(September 26, 1963)

139

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE CAPITAL IN YUGOSLAV CITIES

145

YUGOSLAV COUNTRYSIDE SWAMPED BY CAPITALISM

147

THE DEGENERATION OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY OWNED BY THE WHOLE PEOPLE INTO CAPITALIST ECONOMY

154

A DEPENDENCY OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

161

A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY SPECIAL DETACHMENT OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

166

THE DEGENERATION OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT INTO THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE

171

THE PRINCIPLED STAND OF THE CPC ON THE QUESTION OF YUGOSLAVIA

175

HAS TITO "REMOVED HIS ERRORS"? OR DOES KHRUSHCHOV REGARD TITO AS HIS TEACHER?

177

BRIEF CONCLUSION

181

### **APOLOGISTS OF NEO-COLONIALISM**

Fourth Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU

(October 22, 1963)

185

ABOLITION OF THE TASK OF COMBATING IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM

188

PRESCRIPTIONS FOR ABOLISHING THE REVOLUTION OF THE OPPRESSED NATIONS

193

OPPOSITION TO WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

197

THE AREAS IN WHICH CONTEMPORARY WORLD CONTRADICTIONS ARE CONCENTRATED

200

DISTORTION OF THE LENINIST VIEW OF LEADERSHIP IN THE REVOLUTION	203
THE PATH OF NATIONALISM AND DEGENERATION	206
AN EXAMPLE OF SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM	209
AGAINST THE "THEORY OF RACISM" AND THE "THEORY OF THE YELLOW PERIL"	212
RESURRECTING THE OLD REVISIONISM IN A NEW GUISE	216

## **TWO DIFFERENT LINES ON THE QUESTION OF WAR AND PEACE**

### **Fifth Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU**

<i>(November 19, 1963)</i>	221
THE LESSONS OF HISTORY	224
THE GREATEST FRAUD	230
THE QUESTION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF PREVENTING A NEW WORLD WAR	235
NUCLEAR FETISHISM AND NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL ARE THE THEORETICAL BASIS AND GUIDING POLICY OF MODERN REVISIONISM	242
FIGHT OR CAPITULATE?	249
THE ROAD IN DEFENCE OF PEACE AND THE ROAD LEADING TO WAR	254

## **PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE — TWO DIAMETRICALLY OP- POSED POLICIES**

### **Sixth Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU**

<i>(December 12, 1963)</i>	259
LENIN AND STALIN'S POLICY OF PEACEFUL CO- EXISTENCE	262
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA UPHOLDS LENIN'S POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE	270
THE GENERAL LINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" OF THE CPSU LEADERS	275
THREE DIFFERENCES OF PRINCIPLE	278
THE CPSU LEADERS' GENERAL LINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" CATERS TO U.S. IMPERIALISM	289
SOVIET-U.S. COLLABORATION IS THE HEART AND SOUL OF THE CPSU LEADERS' GENERAL LINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"	295
A FEW WORDS OF ADVICE TO THE LEADERS OF THE CPSU	300

## **THE LEADERS OF THE CPSU ARE THE GREATEST SPLIT- TERS OF OUR TIMES**

### **Seventh Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU**

*(February 4, 1964)*

A REVIEW OF HISTORY	303
EXPERIENCE AND LESSONS	306
THE GREATEST SPLITTERS OF OUR TIMES	313
REFUTATION OF THE CHARGE OF BEING ANTI-SOVIET	318
REFUTATION OF THE CHARGE OF SEIZING THE LEADERSHIP	326
REFUTATION OF THE CHARGE OF FRUSTRATING THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY AND VIOLATING INTER- NATIONAL DISCIPLINE	331
REFUTATION OF THE CHARGE OF SUPPORTING THE ANTI-PARTY GROUPS OF FRATERNAL PARTIES	336
THE PRESENT PUBLIC DEBATE	341
THE WAY TO DEFEND AND STRENGTHEN UNITY	348

## **THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND KHRUSHCHOV'S REVISIONISM**

### **Eighth Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU**

*(March 31, 1964)*

A DISCIPLE OF BERNSTEIN AND KAUTSKY	359
VIOLENT REVOLUTION IS A UNIVERSAL LAW OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION	362
OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST KHRUSHCHOV'S REVISION- ISM	366
SOPHISTRY CANNOT ALTER HISTORY	370
LIES CANNOT COVER UP REALITY	375
REFUTATION OF THE "PARLIAMENTARY ROAD"	382
REFUTATION OF "OPPOSITION TO LEFT OPPORTUN- ISM"	388
TWO DIFFERENT LINES, TWO DIFFERENT RESULTS	392
FROM BROWDER AND TITO TO KHRUSHCHOV	399
OUR HOPES	403

## **ON KHRUSHCHOV'S PHONEY COMMUNISM AND ITS HIS- TORICAL LESSONS FOR THE WORLD**

### **Ninth Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU**

*(July 14, 1964)*

SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT	411
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ANTAGONISTIC CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE EXIST IN THE SOVIET UNION	428
THE SOVIET PRIVILEGED STRATUM AND THE REVI- SIONIST KHRUSHCHOV CLIQUE	436
REFUTATION OF THE SO-CALLED STATE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE	444
REFUTATION OF THE SO-CALLED PARTY OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE	453
KHRUSHCHOV'S PHONEY COMMUNISM	459
HISTORICAL LESSONS OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT	467
<b>WHY KHRUSHCHOV FELL</b> (November 21, 1964)	481

#### APPENDICES

<b>THE LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPC</b> (March 30, 1963)	495
<b>OPEN LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION TO ALL PARTY ORGANISATIONS, TO ALL COMMUNISTS OF THE SOVIET UNION</b> (July 14, 1963)	526

**A PROPOSAL CONCERNING  
THE GENERAL LINE  
OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

**The Letter of  
the Central Committee of  
the Communist Party of China  
in Reply to the Letter of  
the Central Committee of  
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
of March 30, 1963**

**(June 14, 1963)**



June 14, 1963

## The Central Committee of the Communist

### Party of the Soviet Union

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has studied the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of March 30, 1963.

All who have the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement at heart are deeply concerned about the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and hope that our talks will help to eliminate differences, strengthen unity and create favourable conditions for convening a meeting of representatives of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is the common and sacred duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to uphold and strengthen the unity of the international communist movement. The Chinese and Soviet Parties bear a heavier responsibility for the unity of the entire socialist camp and international communist movement and should of course make commensurately greater efforts.

A number of major differences of principle now exist in the international communist movement. But however serious these differences, we should exercise sufficient patience and find ways to eliminate them so that we can unite our forces and strengthen the struggle against our common enemy.

It is with this sincere desire that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approaches the forthcoming talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties.

In its letter of March 30, the Central Committee of the CPSU systematically presents its views on questions that need

to be discussed in the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties, and in particular raises the question of the general line of the international communist movement. In this letter we too would like to express our views, which constitute our proposal on the general line of the international communist movement and on some related questions of principle.

We hope that this exposition of views will be conducive to mutual understanding by our two Parties and to a detailed, point-by-point discussion in the talks.

We also hope that this will be conducive to the understanding of our views by the fraternal Parties and to a full exchange of ideas at an international meeting of fraternal Parties.

1. The general line of the international communist movement must take as its guiding principle the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory concerning the historical mission of the proletariat and must not depart from it.

The Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960 adopted the Declaration and the Statement respectively after a full exchange of views and in accordance with the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation. The two documents point out the characteristics of our epoch and the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and lay down the common line of all the Communist and Workers' Parties. They are the common programme of the international communist movement.

It is true that for several years there have been differences within the international communist movement in the understanding of, and the attitude towards, the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. The central issue here is whether or not to accept the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement. In the last analysis, it is a question of whether or not to accept the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, whether or not to recognize the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, whether or not

to accept the fact that the people still living under the imperialist and capitalist system, who comprise two-thirds of the world's population, need to make revolution, and whether or not to accept the fact that the people already on the socialist road, who comprise one-third of the world's population, need to carry their revolution forward to the end.

It has become an urgent and vital task of the international communist movement resolutely to defend the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

Only by strictly following the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the general road of the October Revolution is it possible to have a correct understanding of the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement and a correct attitude towards them.

2. What are the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement? They may be summarized as follows:

Workers of all countries, unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man.

This, in our view, is the general line of the international communist movement at the present stage.

3. This general line proceeds from the actual world situation taken as a whole and from a class analysis of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world, and is directed against the counter-revolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism.

This general line is one of forming a broad united front, with the socialist camp and the international proletariat as its

nucleus, to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries headed by the United States; it is a line of boldly arousing the masses, expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the reactionary forces.

This general line is one of resolute revolutionary struggle by the people of all countries and of carrying the proletarian world revolution forward to the end; it is the line that most effectively combats imperialism and defends world peace.

If the general line of the international communist movement is one-sidedly reduced to "peaceful coexistence", "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition", this is to violate the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, to discard the historical mission of proletarian world revolution, and to depart from the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The general line of the international communist movement should reflect the general law of development of world history. The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the people in various countries go through different stages and they all have their own characteristics, but they will not transcend the general law of development of world history. The general line should point out the basic direction for the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of all countries.

While working out its specific line and policies, it is most important for each Communist or Workers' Party to adhere to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution and construction in its own country.

4. In defining the general line of the international communist movement, the starting point is the concrete class analysis of world politics and economics as a whole and of actual world conditions, that is to say, of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world.

If one avoids a concrete class analysis, seizes at random on certain superficial phenomena, and draws subjective and groundless conclusions, one cannot possibly reach correct conclusions with regard to the general line of the international communist movement but will inevitably slide on to a track entirely different from that of Marxism-Leninism.

What are the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world? Marxist-Leninists consistently hold that they are:

- the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp;

- the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries;

- the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; and

- the contradictions among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

The contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp is a contradiction between two fundamentally different social systems, socialism and capitalism. It is undoubtedly very sharp. But Marxist-Leninists must not regard the contradictions in the world as consisting solely and simply of the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp.

The international balance of forces has changed and has become increasingly favourable to socialism and to all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world, and most unfavourable to imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries. Nevertheless, the contradictions enumerated above still objectively exist.

These contradictions and the struggles to which they give rise are interrelated and influence each other. Nobody can obliterate any of these fundamental contradictions or subjectively substitute one for all the rest.

It is inevitable that these contradictions will give rise to popular revolutions, which alone can resolve them.



5. The following erroneous views should be repudiated on the question of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world:

a. the view which blots out the class content of the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps and fails to see this contradiction as one between states under the dictatorship of the proletariat and states under the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists;

b. the view which recognizes only the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps, while neglecting or underestimating the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist world, between the oppressed nations and imperialism, among the imperialist countries and among the monopoly capitalist groups, and the struggles to which these contradictions give rise;

c. the view which maintains with regard to the capitalist world that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can be resolved without a proletarian revolution in each country and that the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism can be resolved without revolution by the oppressed nations;

d. the view which denies that the development of the inherent contradictions in the contemporary capitalist world inevitably leads to a new situation in which the imperialist countries are locked in an intense struggle, and asserts that the contradictions among the imperialist countries can be reconciled, or even eliminated, by "international agreements among the big monopolies"; and

e. the view which maintains that the contradiction between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism will automatically disappear in the course of "economic competition", that the other fundamental world contradictions will automatically do so with the disappearance of the contradiction between the two systems, and that a "world