

评莫斯科三月会议

A COMMENT ON THE MARCH MOSCOW MEETING

(汉英对照)

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(一九六五年三月二十三日)

A COMMENT ON THE MARCH MOSCOW MEETING

by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao*
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March 23, 1965

(汉英对照)

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评莫斯科三月会议

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商英注释

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(一)这是一个什么會議

苏共新领导继承赫鲁晓夫衣钵制造的分裂會議，终于在一九六五年三月一日到五日举行了。三月十日，发表了一个名为《关于在莫斯科举行的共产党和工人党代表协商会晤的公报》。

苏共领导费尽九牛二虎之力，软硬兼施，七拼八凑，总算是开了一个支离破碎的會議。这个會議，充满着凄凉和零落的景象。它是一个分裂的小小的會議，它是一个很不像样子的會議。

参加莫斯科分裂會議的，除了苏联，还有十五个党的代表和观察員，加上澳大利亚和巴西的两个已经分裂出去的修正主义

1. The schismatic [siz'mætik] meeting contrived by: 由...策划召开的分裂會議。the schismatic meeting (分裂會議) 与下文的 the divisive meeting 同义。及物动词 contrive 原意“设计”，“筹划”；此处(贬意)“弄出”；“制造”。引出的分词短语，用作主语 meeting 的定语。2. CPSU: 苏共。是 the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (苏联共产党) 的缩写。3. from March 1 to 5, 1965: 一九六五年三月一日到五日，表示日期的数字 1 和 5，读音从序数词，分别读作 (the) first, (the) fifth; 1965 读作 nineteen sixty-five。这是一个时间状语，修饰谓语 was held (举行)。4. a statement entitled “Communique...”: 名为《...的公报》。动词 entitle 的意思是“给予...以 (...的名称)”，“把...称做(...)”，它除要求宾语外，还要求一个宾语补充语，和动词 name, call 的用法相似，常

I. WHAT KIND OF MEETING WAS IT?

The schismatic meeting contrived by¹ the new leadership of the CPSU² which inherited the mantle of Khrushchov was finally held from March 1 to 5, 1965.³ On March 10 a statement entitled "Communique⁴ of the Consultative Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow" was issued.

After making Herculean efforts⁵ and combining hard tactics with soft to knock something together,⁶ the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union finally managed to convene a fragmented meeting. The divisive meeting was quite small and most unseemly. It was a gloomy and forlorn affair.⁷

Attending this meeting, besides the Soviet Party, were representatives and observers of fifteen Parties, plus the two

用的是被动語态形式。这里 entitled 引出的过去分詞短語，修飾 statement。
5. making Herculean ['hə:kjuliən] efforts: 出大力气；費九牛二虎之力。Hercules ['hə:kjuli:] (赫克拉勒斯)，是希腊神話中的英雄，传说有擎天之力，故名大力神。此处的形容詞轉为“非常艰巨和吃力的”，相当于汉语的“九牛二虎”。
6. knock something together: 七拼八凑。knock together, 成語。此处作“拼拼凑凑”解，如：He knocked boards together and made a bookcase. (他把木板拼拼凑凑，作了一个书橱。)
7. The divisive [di'vaisiv] meeting was quite small and most unseemly. It was a gloomy and forlorn affair: 这两句的英語譯文和汉语原文，次序恰好顛倒。汉语原文先概括地点出“凄凉”和“零落”，后陈述“小小”，“很不像样子”的具体情况，英譯則先描述“小小而很不像样子”，后道出“凄凉而零落”的景象，語言表达的順序不同，修辭效果一样。

派，連舉世聞名的叛徒丹吉集团也被拉了去滥竽充数，一共是十九个单位。

在苏共领导命令規定要参加这个會議的二十六个党当中，阿尔巴尼亚、越南、印度尼西亚、中国、朝鮮、羅馬尼亚、日本等七个兄弟党坚决拒絕参加这次分裂會議。澳大利亚、巴西和印度的馬克思列宁主义的兄弟党，也譴責和反对这次分裂會議。

拿参加分裂會議的十九个单位來說，也是矛盾百出，四分五裂。在它們中間，有的是誠心誠意維護赫魯晓夫的修正主义和分裂主义的，有的是半心半意維護赫魯晓夫的修正主义和分裂主义的，有的是因为难言的苦衷而不能不奉命参加捧場的，也許有的是抱着天真的想法在一个时候陷入圈套的。

誰也无法否认，这个会，就是赫魯晓夫在一九六四年七月三十日的信件中，下命令要在一九六四年十二月十五日召开的那个非法的分裂會議。

有人問，这样的說法，究竟有什么根据呢？苏共新领导不是推迟开会的日期了嗎？不是把起草委員會的名称改成协商会晤了嗎？不是在公报中讲了團結对敌等等的好話嗎？

1. adding up to...in all: 一共是；总计有。add up to 作“加起来有”，(数目)“达到”，“計有”解。in all 是“一共”，“总起来”。 2. were rent by contradictions and disunity: 矛盾百出，四分五裂。rent 是 rend 的过去分詞。 3. did so: (直譯)如此做。did so 指代 supported Khrushchov's revisionism and splittism (維護赫魯晓夫的修正主义和分裂主义)，是避免詞語重複

splinter revisionist factions of Australia and Brazil and the notorious clique of the renegade Dange, which was also dragged in to swell the total, adding up to nineteen units in all.⁴

Of the twenty-six Parties whose attendance was ordered by the leaders of the CPSU, the seven fraternal Parties of Albania, China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Rumania and Viet Nam firmly refused to take part in the divisive meeting. The fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties of Australia, Brazil and India likewise condemned and opposed the meeting.

The nineteen units in attendance were rent by contradictions and disunity.² Some of them whole-heartedly supported Khrushchov's revisionism and splittism; some did so³ half-heartedly; others, for reasons they might find it awkward to divulge, had to attend under orders to serve as a claue at the show;⁴ and still others may have temporarily fallen into the trap⁵ from naïveté.

No one can deny that this meeting was the selfsame illegal and schismatic meeting which Khrushchov had ordered to be held on December 15, 1964 in the CPSU's letter of July 30, 1964.

People may ask, what grounds are there for saying so? Didn't the new leaders of the CPSU postpone the meeting? Didn't they change its name from a drafting committee meeting to⁶ a consultative meeting? Didn't they speak of⁷ unity against the enemy⁸ and other good things in the communique?

出現的一種習慣代用法。 4. to serve as a claue [klu:ə] at the show: 是漢語“捧場”的直譯，譯語既符合英語的語言表達習慣，也富有鮮明生動的形象性。 5. have fallen into the trap: 陷入了圈套。 6. change...from...to: 把...從...改變成。 7. speak of: 提到；講起。 8. unity against the enemy: 團結對敵。

从表面上看，苏共新领导是要了一些花招，做了一些改变，赫鲁晓夫原来的如意算盘是有一些没有能够实现。但是，从本质上看，苏共新领导完全继承了赫鲁晓夫的修正主义和分裂主义的衣钵，忠心耿耿地执行了赫鲁晓夫所下的召开分裂会议的命令。请看以下的事实：

苏共新领导几次三番地向我们声明，兄弟党的国际会议及其筹备会议，一定要同赫鲁晓夫一九六四年七月三十日下令召开的非法的分裂会议联系在一起。

在一九六四年十一月二十四日苏共中央给中共中央的信件中，在此前后苏共中央给其他兄弟党的信件中，以及在一九六四年十二月十二日苏联《真理报》刊登的《关于召开筹备共产党和工人党国际会议起草委员会的通告》中，苏共新领导都重申了赫鲁晓夫所下的命令。他们坚持兄弟党的国际会议的筹备会议，必须在苏共领导决定的那个起草委员会的基础上进行。他们并且说，已经得出了结论，“主张召集起草委员会的兄弟党有权着手进行起草委员会的会议的实际准备工作”。

1. wishful thinking: 痴心梦想: 如意算盘. 2. have taken over: (本意) 接收过来: (此处转为) 继承了衣钵. 3. lock, stock and barrel: 完完全全. 三词原意“枪栓, 枪柄和枪筒”, 是枪的三个组成部分, 转喻“全部”, 是英语成语, 常用作表示程度的状语, 此句中修饰 have taken over. 4. dated: (注明日期为) ... 的. the letter dated November 24, 1964: 一九六四年十一月二十四日的信.

By playing tricks, in appearance the new leaders of the CPSU made some changes and a number of Khrushchov's original aims which were based on wishful thinking¹ have not been fulfilled. But in essence, the new leaders of the CPSU have taken over² Khrushchov's revisionism and splittism lock, stock and barrel,³ and they carried out his behest for a divisive meeting very faithfully. Please consider the following facts:

The new leaders of the CPSU repeatedly declared to us that the international meeting of fraternal Parties and the meeting preparatory to it must be linked with the illegal and schismatic meetings for which Khrushchov issued the order on July 30, 1964.

The new leaders of the CPSU reiterated Khrushchov's order in the letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party dated⁴ November 24, 1964, in the letters addressed to other fraternal Parties around that time, as well as in the "Announcement on the Convocation of the Drafting Committee for the Preparation of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties" carried in *Pravda* on December 12, 1964.⁵ They insisted that the preparatory meeting for the international meeting of fraternal Parties be held on the basis of the drafting committee which the leadership of the CPSU had decided on. They also said that they had reached the conclusion that "the fraternal Parties which have declared themselves for the convening of the drafting committee have the right to embark on⁶ practical preparations for its meeting".

5. carried in *Pravda* on December 12, 1964: 刊登在一九六四年十二月十二日苏联《真理报》上的。carry 在这里作“刊登”(传播)解。同下段 carry out (执行)中 carry 的意义不同。6. to embark on: 着手进行。

他們仍舊執行赫魯曉夫的命令，只通知一九六〇年的那個早已不存在了的起草委員會的二十個黨去開會，一個不多，一個不少。

他們仍舊執行赫魯曉夫的命令，不管多少黨不參加，他們都要開。果然，在不少兄弟黨的堅決反對和拒絕參加的情況下，他們還是開了。

他們推遲會議的日期，只不過是迫於形勢。但是，他們仍舊採取老子黨下命令的方式，規定會議要在一九六五年三月一日召開。果然，就在這天開了。

他們還在臨開會之前，給會議改換一個名稱，披上一件“協商會晤”的外衣。其實，改換成“協商會晤”的名義，並沒有改變赫魯曉夫下命令召開的那個分裂會議的性質。

由此可見，蘇共新領導雖然在作法上，耍了許多手腕，變了許多花樣，但是，販賣的還是赫魯曉夫的陳貨。其目的無非是增加一些欺騙的色彩，騙人家去開會，承認他們老子黨的地位，承認他們有今天這樣干，明天那樣干，揮舞指揮棒的權利，跟着他們走赫魯曉夫的修正主義和分裂主義的絕路。

1. **adhered to and carried out**: 二語的字面意義是“恪守並執行”，但 **adhered to** 還有“堅持”的意味，二者結合起來使用，就能更有力地表達漢語“仍舊執行”的語氣。 2. **to attend the meeting**: 去開會。是 **telling** (通知) 所要求的賓語補足語，和 **the twenty-six Parties** 一起構成複合賓語，意思是

They adhered to and carried out¹ Khrushchov's order by telling only the twenty-six Parties — no more and no less — which had been members of the long defunct drafting committee of 1960 to attend the meeting.²

They adhered to and carried out Khrushchov's order by insisting on³ convening the meeting no matter how many⁴ Parties refused to attend. And so⁵ they held the meeting despite the firm opposition of a number of fraternal Parties and their flat refusal to participate.

They only postponed the meeting because under the circumstances they could not do anything else. Nevertheless, in the manner of a patriarchal party they still issued orders that it be held on March 1, 1965. And so the meeting began on that date.

On the eve of the meeting they changed its name, giving it the cloak of a "consultative meeting". In fact, this change of name did not change the nature of the divisive meeting which had been ordered by Khrushchov.

It thus became clear that despite their many tricks and conjuring feats the new leaders of the CPSU were still peddling Khrushchov's old wares. Their purpose was simply to put up a false front and inveigle people into⁶ attending the meeting, into acknowledging their status as the patriarchal party, into recognizing their right to do one thing today and another tomorrow and to wave their baton, and into following them down the blind alley⁷ of Khrushchov's revisionism and splittism.

“通知二十六个党去开会”。 3. *insisting on*: 坚持。表达了原文中“却要”的含义和语气。 4. *no matter how many*: 不管多少。 5. *and so*: 于是就；果然。 6. *inveigle* [in'vi:gl] ... *into*: 诱骗（某人）做某事。 7. *blind alley*: 死胡同；绝路。

問題很清楚，如果蘇共新領導真的要團結，而不是繼承赫魯曉夫的老一套，玩弄假團結、真分裂的陰謀，那麼，为什么不拋棄一九六四年七月三十日赫魯曉夫下的命令呢，为什么又要搞一個一九六四年十一月二十四日的信件呢，为什么不能接受兄弟黨的勸告，放棄那個非法的分裂會議，改弦易轍，另起爐灶呢？

本來，赫魯曉夫下了台，如果蘇共新領導不是堅決執行赫魯曉夫修正主義的話，滿可以趁着這個很好的機會，從放棄召開分裂會議做起，來表明他們開始具有在新的基礎上消除分歧、加強團結的願望。我們曾經誠懇地希望蘇共新領導，能夠利用這個好機會，同我們和其他馬克思列寧主義政黨一起，尋求消除分歧、加強團結的新途徑。

可是，我們得到的是什麼回答呢？在一九六四年十月革命節，中國黨政代表團在莫斯科同蘇共新領導進行接觸的時候，蘇共新領導就明白表示，他們在國際共產主義運動的問題上，在對待中國的問題上，同赫魯曉夫沒有一絲一毫的差別。他們頑固地堅持召開非法的分裂會議的立場。而且，赫魯曉夫沒有來得及完成的分裂會議的計劃，倒是經過他的繼承者的手來實現了。

現在，人們可以更清楚地看到，蘇共新領導這些人，所以非

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1. Things could not be plainer: 事情再明白沒有了；問題很清楚。 2. come out with: 發表；搞出。 3. make a fresh start: 另起爐灶；重新開始。 4. 整句是虛擬語氣，表示與事實相反。 5. made contact with: 同...接觸。

Things could not be plainer.¹ If the new leaders of the CPSU really wanted unity and not a continuation of Khrushchov's old practice of plotting sham unity and a genuine split, why did they not discard the order issued by Khrushchov on July 30, 1964? Why did they come out with² another letter on November 24, 1964? And why could they not accept the advice of fraternal Parties, abandon this illegal schismatic meeting, change their direction and make a fresh start?³

Indeed, if the new leaders of the CPSU had not been determined to carry out Khrushchov revisionism after Khrushchov's fall, they could have very well used that fine opportunity and made a start by abandoning the divisive meeting and thus shown a desire to eliminate the differences and strengthen unity on a new basis.⁴ We sincerely hoped that the new leaders of the CPSU would make use of that fine opportunity and seek new ways to eliminate the differences and strengthen unity in conjunction with us as well as the other Marxist-Leninist Parties.

But what did we get instead? When the Chinese Party and Government Delegation made contact with⁵ the new leaders of the CPSU in Moscow in 1964 during the anniversary of the October Revolution, the latter explicitly stated that there was not a shade of⁶ difference between themselves and Khrushchov on the question of the international communist movement and in their attitude towards China. They obdurately held to their stand on an illegal schismatic meeting. What is more,⁷ the plan for the divisive meeting which Khrushchov had not had time to fulfil was carried through⁸ by his successors.

It is now possible for people to see more clearly that these

6. not a shade of: 連...的影子也沒有; 一絲一毫...也沒有. 7. what is more: 而且. 用作插入語, 是獨立成分. 8. was carried through: 被貫徹; 被實現.

要把赫魯曉夫趕下台不可，並不是因為他們同赫魯曉夫有任何原則性的區別，而是因為赫魯曉夫搞得實在太臭了，有些做法太蠢了，赫魯曉夫本人已經成為推行赫魯曉夫修正主義的嚴重障礙。他們換掉了赫魯曉夫，只不過是換一塊招牌，想用更巧妙的手法，更帶欺騙性的花樣，來更好地貫徹和發展赫魯曉夫主義，更好地執行赫魯曉夫在蘇共第二十次代表大會上提出的，在蘇共第二十二次代表大會上系統化了的，用蘇共綱領形式固定化起來的修正主義、大國沙文主義和分裂主義的總路線。

(二) 蘇共新領導做了

一些什麼事情

最近一個時期，蘇共新領導在口頭上講了不少漂亮話，這次分裂會議的公報也揀了許多好聽的、虛偽的話寫在上面，什麼“反對帝國主義”喲，什麼“支持越南反對美帝國主義”喲，什麼“支持民族解放運動”和“支持各國人民革命”喲，什麼“團結對敵”、“共同行動”喲，等等。蘇共新領導把馬克思列寧主義者提的某些口號接過去，企圖造成一種假象，似乎他們已經有了變化，似乎已經不同於赫魯曉夫的修正主義和分裂主義了。

這種情況，同美帝國主義將蘇共領導的一些主要口號接過

1. the better: 更好地。程度狀語，修飾隨后的不定式。 2. push through: 推行。 3. great-power chauvinism: 大國沙文主義。 4. of late: 近來；最近一個時期。時間狀語。 5. have uttered (quite a few) fine words: 講了(不少)漂亮話。 6. certain slogans advanced by the Marxist-Leninists: 馬克思列

new leaders of the CPSU had to oust Khrushchov, not because they had any difference of principle with him, but because Khrushchov had become too odious and had been too stupid in some of his practices and because Khrushchov himself had become a serious obstacle to the carrying out of Khrushchov revisionism. In replacing Khrushchov they simply changed the signboard and employed more cunning methods and subterfuges in order the better¹ to push through² and develop Khrushchovism and to carry out the general line of revisionism, great-power chauvinism³ and splittism which Khrushchov had put forward at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, systematized at its 22nd Congress and embodied in the Programme of the CPSU.

II. WHAT ARE THE DEEDS OF THE NEW LEADERS OF THE CPSU?

Of late⁴ the new leaders of the CPSU have uttered quite a few fine words,⁵ and the communique of this divisive meeting is also larded with many high-sounding hypocritical phrases, such as "oppose imperialism", "support Viet Nam against U.S. imperialism", "support the national liberation movement", "support the people's revolutions in various countries", "unity against the enemy" and "concerted action". The new leaders of the CPSU have taken over certain slogans advanced by the Marxist-Leninists⁶ in an attempt to create the illusion that they have changed somewhat and taken a stand differing from Khrushchov's revisionism and splittism.

What a striking similarity there is here to⁷ the adoption by

宁主义者提的某些口号。过去分詞 advanced 引出分詞短語，修飾 slogans. 7. what a striking similarity there is here to... 这同...有着多么显著的相似之处! here 指 to 以下的一段文字 (the adoption...the CPSU!).

去,何其相似乃尔!赫鲁晓夫的和平共处,和平竞赛,和平过渡,缓和紧张局势,全面彻底裁军,两大国主宰世界,共同援助印度,共同支持各国反动派,共同利用联合国来整世界各地革命运动,共同反华等等口号或阴谋计划,就被美帝国主义全部接过去了!苏共领导同美帝国主义打得火热,互通情报,共同反共、反人民、反革命、反对民族解放运动,以便共同维持帝国主义、修正主义和各国反动派,反对世界上一切革命者。但是,我們不是美国,我們是馬克思列宁主义者。我們是要揭露苏共新领导这些阴谋詭計的。

馬克思列宁主义教导我們,判断一个政党,同判断一个人一样,“当然不是看他的声明,而是看他的行为;不是看他自称如何如何,而是看他作些什么和实际是怎样一个人”^①。“在历史的战斗中,更应当把各个党派的言辞和幻想同它們的本来面目和实际利益区别开来,把它們对自己的看法同它們的真实本质区别开来”^②。

根据这个原則,讓我們看一看苏共新领导在赫鲁晓夫下台

1. — these slogans and schemes of Khrushchev's: 赫鲁晓夫这些口号或阴谋计划。这是上面从 Peaceful coexistence 到 joint efforts to oppose China 等十个短語的总括語,在語法功用上和同位語相似,但起承上启下的作用,能代表前面列举的詞語执行一定的語法职能,在这句里它是主語。2. a love feast: 联欢宴会。3. exchanging information and working in common against...: 交换情报,共同反对... 这两个分詞短語是伴随着謂語 have joined in a love feast 而发生的