中华人民共和国代表团团长
邓小平在联大特别会议上的发言

SPEECH BY
CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION
OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA,
TENG HSIAO-PING,
AT THE SPECIAL SESSION OF
THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

（汉 英 对 照）
中华人民共和国代表团团长
邓小平在联大特别会议上的发言
（一九七四年四月十日）
SPEECH BY
CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION
OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA,
TENG HSIAO-PING,
AT THE SPECIAL SESSION OF
THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY
(April 10, 1974)
（汉英对照）

商务印书馆
1974年•北京
中华人民共和国代表团团长
邓小平在联大特别会议上的发言
(一九七四年四月十日)

主席先生：

联合国大会关于原料和发展问题的特别会议，在阿尔及利亚民主人民共和国革命委员会布迈丁主席的倡议下，在全世界绝大多数国家的支持下，顺利召开了。联合国成立二十九年来，举行专门会议讨论反对帝国主义剥削和掠夺、改造国际经济关系的重大问题，还是第一次。这反映了国际局势的深刻变化。中国政府热烈祝贺这次会议的召开。中国政府希望会议将为

1. on the proposals of: 在…的倡议下。介词短语，用作状语，修饰 is convened. 而在 session...on (关于…的会议)中，on 引出的介词短语，则用作定语，和名词 session 发生关系。2. that a session is held specially...in international economic relations: 举行专门会议讨论…重大问题。连词 that 引导的名词从句，用作定语，以同位关系修饰 time. 3. that profound
SPEECH BY
CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION
OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA,
TENG HSIAO-PING,
AT THE SPECIAL SESSION OF
THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

(April 10, 1974)

Mr. President,

The special session of the United Nations General Assembly on the problems of raw materials and development is successfully convened on the proposals of President Houari Boumediene of the Council of Revolution of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria and with the support of the great majority of the countries of the world. This is the first time in the 29 years since the founding of the United Nations that a session is held specially to discuss the important question of opposing imperialist exploitation and plunder and effecting a change in international economic relations. This reflects that profound changes have taken place in the international situation. The Chinese Government extends its warm congratulations on the convocation of this session and hopes that it will
加强发展中国家的团结，维护民族经济权益，为促进各国人民反对帝国主义、特别是霸权主义的斗争，作出积极的贡献。

当前国际形势对发展中国家和世界各国人民非常有利。建立在殖民主义、帝国主义、霸权主义基础上的旧秩序，遭到了日益深刻的破坏和冲击。国际关系激烈变化，整个世界动荡不安。这种状况用中国的话说，就是“天下大乱”。这个“乱”是当代世界各种基本矛盾日益激化的表现。它加剧了腐朽的反动势力的瓦解和没落，促进了新生的人民力量的觉醒和壮大。

在“天下大乱”的形势下，世界上各种政治力量经过长期的较量和斗争，发生了急剧的分化和改组。一系列亚非拉国家纷纷取得独立，在国际事务中起着愈来愈大的作用。在战后一个时期内曾经存在的社会主义阵营，因为出现了社会帝国主义，现已不复存在。由

① the developing countries: 发展中国家。② more and more: 日益深刻，越来越厉害。③ “great disorder under heaven”:“天下大乱”。④ which existed for a time after World War II: 在战后一个时期内曾存在的。
make a positive contribution to strengthening the unity of the developing countries, safeguarding their national economic rights and interests and promoting the struggle of all peoples against imperialism, and particularly against hegemonism.

At present, the international situation is most favourable to the developing countries and the peoples of the world. More and more, the old order based on colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism is being undermined and shaken to its foundations. International relations are changing drastically. The whole world is in turbulence and unrest. The situation is one of "great disorder under heaven," as we Chinese put it. This "disorder" is a manifestation of the sharpening of all the basic contradictions in the contemporary world. It is accelerating the disintegration and decline of the decadent reactionary forces and stimulating the awakening and growth of the new emerging forces of the people.

In this situation of "great disorder under heaven," all the political forces in the world have undergone drastic division and realignment through prolonged trials of strength and struggle. A large number of Asian, African and Latin American countries have achieved independence one after another and they are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. As a result of the emergence of social-imperialism, the socialist camp which existed for a time after World War II is no longer in existence. Owing to the law of
于资本主义发展不平衡的规律，西方帝国主义集团，也已四分五裂。从国际关系的变化看，现在世界实际上存在着互相联系又互相矛盾的三个方面、三个世界。美国、苏联是第一世界。亚非拉发展中国家和其他地区的发展中国家，是第三世界。处于这两者之间的发达国家是第二世界。

美国和苏联两个超级大国，妄图称霸世界。它们用不同的方式都想把亚非拉的发展中国家置于它们各自的控制之下，同时还要欺负那些实力不如它们的发达国家。

两个超级大国是当代最大的国际剥削者和压迫者，是新的世界战争的策源地。它们两家都拥有大量核武器。它们进行激烈的军备竞赛，在国外派兵重兵，到处搞军事基地，威胁着所有国家的独立和安全。它们都不断对其他国家进行控制、颠覆、干涉和侵略。它们都对别国进行经济剥削，掠夺别国的财富，攫取别国的资源。在欺负人方面，打着社会主义旗号的超级大
the uneven development of capitalism, the Western imperialist bloc, too, is disintegrating. Judging from the changes in international relations, the world today actually consists of three parts, or three worlds, that are both interconnected and in contradiction to one another. The United States and the Soviet Union make up the First World. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World. The developed countries between the two make up the Second World.

The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are mainly seeking world hegemony. Each in its own way attempts to bring the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America under its control and, at the same time, to bully the developed countries that are not their match in strength.

The two superpowers are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors of today. They are the source of a new world war. They both possess large numbers of nuclear weapons. They carry on a keenly contested arms race, station massive forces abroad and set up military bases everywhere, threatening the independence and security of all nations. They both keep subjecting other countries to their control, subversion, interference or aggression. They both exploit other countries economically, plundering their wealth and grabbing their resources. In bullying others, the superpower which flaunts the label of socialism...
国尤为恶劣。它出兵占领自己的“盟国”捷克斯洛伐克，它策动战争，肢解巴基斯坦；它说了话不算，毫无信义，唯利是图，不择手段。

处于超级大国和发展中国家之间的发达国家的情况是复杂的。它们当中的一些国家，至今还对第三世界国家保持着各种不同形态的殖民主义的关系；象葡萄牙这样的国家，甚至还在继续野蛮的殖民统治。这种情况应当结束。同时，所有这些发达国家，都在不同程度上受着这个或那个超级大国的控制、威胁或欺负，其中有些国家在所谓“大家庭”的幌子下，实际上被超级大国置于附庸的地位。这些国家都在不同程度上具有摆脱超级大国的奴役或控制，维护国家独立和主权完整的要求。

广大发展中国家，长期遭受殖民主义、帝国主义的压迫和剥削。它们取得了政治上的独立，但都还面临着肃清殖民主义残余势力，发展民族经济，巩固民族独立的历史任务。这些国家地域辽阔，人口众多，资源丰富。这些国家受的压迫最深，反对压迫、谋求解放和
is especially vicious. It has dispatched its armed forces to occupy its "ally" Czechoslovakia and instigated the war to dismember Pakistan. It does not honour its words and is perfidious; it is self-seeking and unscrupulous.

The case of the developed countries in between the superpowers and the developing countries⁵ is a complicated one. Some of them still retain colonialist relations of one form or another with Third World countries, and a country like Portugal even continues with its barbarous colonial rule. An end must be put to this state of affairs.⁶ At the same time, all these developed countries are in varying degrees controlled, threatened or bullied by the one superpower or the other. Some of them have in fact been reduced by a superpower to the position of dependencies under the signboard of its so-called "family." In varying degrees, all these countries have the desire of shaking off⁷ superpower enslavement or control and safeguarding their national independence and the integrity of their sovereignty.

The numerous developing countries have long suffered from colonialist and imperialist oppression and exploitation. They have won political independence, yet all of them still face the historic task of clearing out⁸ the remnant forces of colonialism, developing the national economy and consolidating national independence. These countries cover vast territories, encompass a large population and abound in natural resources. Having suffered the heaviest oppression,⁹
发展的要求最为强烈。它们在争取民族解放和国家独立的斗争中，显示了无比巨大的威力，不断地取得了辉煌的胜利。它们是推动世界历史车轮前进的革命动力，是反对殖民主义、帝国主义、特别是超级大国的主要力量。

两个超级大国既然要争夺世界的霸权，就存在着不可调和的矛盾，不是你压倒我，就是我压倒你。它们之间的妥协和勾结，只能是局部的，暂时的，相对的，而它们之间的争夺则是全面的，长期的，绝对的。什么“均衡裁军”，什么“限制战略核武器”，到头来都是一句空话，实际上，既没有“均衡”，也不可能“限制”。它们可能达成某些协议，但是这种协议只不过是表面的和骗人的东西，骨子里是为了进行更大、更剧烈的争夺。超级大国的争夺遍及全球。欧洲是它们争夺的战略重点，处在长期紧张对峙之中。它们在中东、地中海、波斯湾、印度洋、太平洋地区的角逐正在加剧。它们天天讲

① propelling the wheel of world history: 推动世界历史车轮前进的。现在分词短语作定语用，修饰 a revolutionary motive force. ② one either overpowers the other, or is overpowered: 不是你压倒我，就是我压倒你。overpowers (压倒)，用主动语态，is overpowered (被压倒) 用被动语态，其后省略 by the other. either ... or (不是…就是) 为关联连词，和两个谓语前后呼应. ③ in the final analysis: 到头来；归根到底. ④ nothing but: 只不过是. ⑤ nor can there possibly be "limitation": 也不可能限制. 此句
they have the strongest desire to oppose oppression and seek liberation and development. In the struggle for national liberation and independence, they have demonstrated immense power and continually won splendid victories. They constitute a revolutionary motive force propelling the wheel of world history and are the main force combating colonialism, imperialism, and particularly the superpowers.

Since the two superpowers are contending for world hegemony, the contradiction between them is irreconcilable; one either overpowers the other, or is overpowered. Their compromise and collusion can only be partial, temporary and relative, while their contention is all-embracing, permanent and absolute. In the final analysis, the so-called "balanced reduction of forces" and "strategic arms limitation" are nothing but empty talk, for in fact there is no "balance," nor can there possibly be "limitation." They may reach certain agreements, but their agreements are only a facade and a deception. At bottom, they are aiming at greater and fiercer contention. The contention between the superpowers extends over the entire globe. Strategically, Europe is the focus of their contention, where they are in constant tense confrontation. They are intensifying their rivalry in the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. Every day, they...
裁军，实际上天天在扩军。它们天天讲“缓和”，实际上天天在搞紧张。它们争夺到那里，那里就出现动乱。只要帝国主义和法西斯帝国主义存在一天，这个世界就决不会安宁，就决不会有什么持久和平，不是它们相互之间打起来，就是人民起来革命。正如毛泽东主席所阐明的那样，新的世界大战的危险依然存在，各国人民必须有所准备。但是，当前世界的主要倾向是革命。

两个超级大国为自己设置了对立面。它们以大欺小、以强凌弱、以富压贫，激起了第三世界和全世界人民的强烈反抗。亚非拉人民反对殖民主义、帝国主义，特别是霸权主义的斗争不断取得新的胜利。印度支那各国人民反对美帝国主义侵略、争取民族解放的斗争继续前进。阿拉伯各国人民和巴勒斯坦人民，在第四次中东战争中，冲破了两个超级大国的控制和“不战不和”的局面，取得了反对以色列侵略者的巨大胜利。非洲人民反对帝国主义、殖民主义、种族歧视的斗争深入

1 (be) engaged in: 从事；参加.  engage a person in 是“使某人从事…”，这个短语常用被动语态形式 be engaged in，意思是“从事于，参加”.
2 so long as: 只要.
3 But revolution is the main trend in the world today. 但是，当前世界的主要倾向是革命。这里，英语的主语和谓语的位置，同汉语原文颠倒。英语与汉语相反，有时把讲话或写文章的人认为重要的部分，即用作表语的词语，放在句首，作为主语（参看第26页注(5)）.
4 acting in the
talk about disarmament but are actually engaged in arms expansion. Every day, they talk about "detente" but are actually creating tension. Wherever they contend, turbulence occurs. So long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, there definitely will be no tranquillity in the world, nor will there be "lasting peace." Either they will fight each other, or the people will rise in revolution. It is as Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.③

The two superpowers have created their own antithesis. Acting in the way of the big bullying the small, the strong domineering over the weak and the rich oppressing the poor,④ they have aroused strong resistance among the Third World and the people of the whole world. The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been winning new victories in their struggles against colonialism, imperialism, and particularly hegemonism. The Indochinese peoples are continuing to press forward⑤ in their struggles against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national liberation. In the 4th Middle East war, the people of the Arab countries and Palestine broke through⑥ the control of the two superpowers and the state of "no war, no peace" and won a tremendous victory over⑦ the Israeli aggressors. The African people’s struggles against imperialism, colonialism and racial

way of the big bullying the small, the strong domineering over the weak and the rich oppressing the poor: 以大欺小、以强凌弱、以富压贫. act in the way of (以…方式活动) 在这里用的是现在分词短语形式, 作状语, 表原因. domineer over: 欺凌；压迫. ⑤ to press forward: 继续前进；坚决推进. ⑥ break through: 冲破；突破. ⑦ won a tremendous victory over: 取得了对…的巨大胜利. won 是 win (取得, 争取) 的过去式.
发展。几内亚（比绍）共和国在武装斗争的烈火中光荣诞生。莫桑比克、安哥拉、津巴布韦、纳米比亚和阿扎尼亚人民反对葡萄牙殖民统治和南非、南罗白人种族主义的武装斗争和群众运动蓬勃发展。拉丁美洲国家带头兴起的维护海洋权的斗争，已发展成为世界规模的反对两个超级大国海洋霸权的斗争。第十届非洲国家首脑会议、第四次不结盟国家首脑会议、阿拉伯国家首脑会议和伊斯兰国家首脑会议，一次又一次地强烈谴责帝国主义、新老殖民主义、霸权主义、犹太复国主义和种族主义，表达了发展中国家加强团结、相互支援、同仇敌忾的坚强意志和决心。亚非拉国家和人民前赴后继的斗争，戳穿了帝国主义、特别是超级大国外强中干的虚弱本质，沉重地打击了它们妄图统治世界的野心。

两个超级大国的霸权主义和强权政治，也激起了
discrimination are developing in depth. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau was born in glory amidst the flames of armed struggle. The armed struggles and mass movements carried out by the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania against Portuguese colonial rule and white racism in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are surging ahead vigorously. The struggle to defend sea rights initiated by Latin American countries has grown into a worldwide struggle against the maritime hegemony of the two superpowers. The 10th Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, the 4th Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, the Arab Summit Conference and the Islamic Summit Conference successively voiced strong condemnation against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism, demonstrating the developing countries' firm will and determination to strengthen their unity and support one another in their common struggle against the hated enemies. The struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American countries and people, advancing wave upon wave, have exposed the essential weakness of imperialism, and particularly the superpowers, which are outwardly strong but inwardly feeble, and dealt heavy blows at their wild ambitions to dominate the world.

The hegemonism and power politics of the two superpowers have also aroused strong dissatisfaction among the

initiate (带头搞) 组成的过去分词短语。④ advancing wave upon wave: 一波又一波地前进; 前赴后继。⑤ which are outwardly strong but inwardly feeble: 外强中干的。非限制性定语从句, 修饰 imperialism 和 the superpowers。⑥ dealt heavy blows at: 沉重打击..., 对...施以沉重打击。
第二世界发达国家的强烈不满。这些国家反对超级大国的控制、干涉、威胁、剥削和转嫁经济危机的斗争，日益发展。它们的斗争，也对国际形势的发展产生重要的影响。

无数事实说明，一切过高估计两霸力量，过低估计人民力量的观点，都是没有根据的。真正有力量的不是一两个超级大国，而是团结起来敢于斗争、敢于胜利的第三世界和各国人民。广大的第三世界国家和人民，既然能够通过长期斗争取得自己的政治独立，就一定也能够在这一基础上，加强团结，联合受到超级大国欺负的国家，联合包含美国人民和苏联人民在内的全世界人民，通过持续不断的斗争，彻底改变建立在不平等、控制和剥削的基础上的国际经济关系，为独立自主地发展民族经济创造必不可少的条件。

主席先生：

原料和发展问题的实质，就是发展中国家维护国
developed countries of the Second World. The struggles of these countries against superpower control, interference, intimidation, exploitation and shifting of economic crises are growing day by day. Their struggles also have a significant impact on the development of the international situation.

Innumerable facts show that all views that overestimate the strength of the two hegemonic powers and underestimate the strength of the people are groundless. It is not the one or two superpowers that are really powerful, the really powerful are the Third World and the people of all countries uniting together and daring to fight and daring to win. Since numerous Third World countries and people were able to achieve political independence through protracted struggle, certainly they will also be able, on this basis, to bring about through sustained struggle a thorough change in the international economic relations which are based on inequality, control and exploitation and thus create essential conditions for the independent development of their national economy by strengthening their unity and allying themselves with other countries subjected to superpower bullying as well as with the people of the whole world, including the people of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Mr. President,

The essence of the problems of raw materials and de-
家主权，发展民族经济，反对帝国主义、特别是超级大国的掠夺和控制的问题。这是当前第三世界国家和人民反殖、反帝、反霸斗争的一个极其重要的方面。

大家知道，在过去几个世纪里，殖民主义和帝国主义对亚非拉人民进行了肆无忌惮的奴役和掠夺。它们利用当地人民的廉价劳动力和丰富的自然资源，推行畸形的单一经济，攫取廉价的农矿产品，倾销自己的工业产品，扼杀民族工业，进行不等价交换，榨取超额利润。发达国家的富和发展中国家的穷，是殖民主义、帝国主义掠夺政策造成的结果。

许多亚非拉国家在取得政治上的独立之后，殖民主义、帝国主义依然在不同程度上控制着这些国家的经济命脉，旧的经济结构并没有根本改变。帝国主义、特别是超级大国采用了新殖民主义形式，变本加厉地继续对发展中国家进行剥削和掠夺。它们向发展中国家输出资本，通过“跨国公司”这样的国际垄断组织，建

① As we all know: 大家知道。插入语，它不是句子的成分，和整个句子发生关系。

② a lopsided and single-product economy: 崩形的单一
velopment is the struggle of the developing countries to defend their state sovereignty, develop their national economy and combat imperialism, and particularly superpower, plunder and control. This is a very important aspect of the current struggle of the Third World countries and people against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

As we all know, in the last few centuries colonialism and imperialism unscrupulously enslaved and plundered the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Exploiting the cheap labour power of the local people and their rich natural resources and imposing a lopsided and single-product economy, they extorted superprofits by grabbing lowpriced farm and mineral products, dumping their industrial goods, strangling national industries and carrying on an exchange of unequal values. The richness of the developed countries and the poverty of the developing countries are the result of the colonialist and imperialist policy of plunder.

In many Asian, African and Latin American countries that have won political independence, the economic lifelines are still controlled by colonialism and imperialism in varying degrees, and the old economic structure has not changed fundamentally. The imperialists, and particularly the superpowers, have adopted neo-colonialist methods to continue and intensify their exploitation and plunder of the developing countries. They export capital to the developing countries and build there a "state within a state" by means of such international monopoly organizations as "trans-national

---

经济. export [eks'pɔːt] capital to the developing countries: 向发展中国家输出资本. export 的名词读作 [ˈekspɔːt].

19
立“国中之国”，在经济上进行掠夺，在政治上进行干涉。它们利用在国际市场上的垄断地位，提高它们自己的产品的出口价格，压低发展中国家原料价格，牟取暴利。随着资本主义政治经济危机的加深和它们相互间竞争的激化，它们还用转嫁经济、货币危机的办法，加剧对发展中国家的掠夺。

应该指出的是，一个号称社会主义的超级大国在进行新殖民主义的经济掠夺方面，并不逊色。它在自己那个“大家庭”中以所谓“经济合作”和“国际分工”的名义，采用高压手段，榨取超额利润，其损人利己的程度，在其他帝国主义国家中也不常见。它打着“援助”、“支持”的旗号，在一些国家中搞的联合企业，实质上就是“跨国公司”的翻版。它惯于利用陈旧设备和报废武器，标高价格，换取发展中国家的战略原料和农产品。它大做军火买卖，成了世界军火商。它经常乘人之危，

① trans-national [ˈtrænzˈnæʃənəl] corporations: 跨国公司。② reap fabulous profits: 牟取暴利。③ shift ... on to: 把…转嫁到。④ style oneself: 以…标榜，号称是。⑤ by no means less proficient at (in): 并不逊色。⑥ be proficient (at) in: 在…方面很有一套。⑦ under the name of: 以…名义。⑧ go to
corporations" to carry out economic plunder and political interference. Taking advantage of their monopoly position in international markets, they reap fabulous profits by raising the export prices of their own products and forcing down those of raw materials from the developing countries. Moreover, with the deepening of the political and economic crises of capitalism and the sharpening of their mutual competition, they are further intensifying their plunder of the developing countries by shifting the economic and monetary crises on to the latter.

It must be pointed out that the superpower which styles itself a socialist country is by no means less proficient at neo-colonialist economic plunder. Under the name of so-called "economic co-operation" and "international division of labour," it uses high-handed measures to extort superprofits in its "family." In profiting at others' expense, it has gone to lengths rarely seen even in the case of other imperialist countries. The "joint enterprises" it runs in some countries under the signboard of "aid" and "support" are in essence copies of "transnational corporations." Its usual practice is to tag a high price on outmoded equipment and substandard weapons and exchange them for strategic raw materials and farm produce of the developing countries. Selling arms and ammunition in a big way, it has become an international merchant of death. It often takes advan-

lengths (go to any length): 什么都做得出，无所不为. rarely seen even in the case of other imperialist countries: 在其它帝国主义国家中也不常见. under the signboard of: 打着…旗号. in essence: 本质上，实质上. in a big way: 大量地. merchant of death (或 death merchant): 军火商.
进行逼债。在这次中东战争中，它用贩卖军火赚取大量外汇，用低价买进阿拉伯石油，再用高价出售，转瞬之间大发横财。它还鼓吹什么“有限主权论”，什么发展中国家的资源是国际财产，它竟然说，“发展中国家对自然资源的主权，很大程度上取决于其工业对这些资源的利用能力”。这是赤裸裸的帝国主义理论。它比另一个超级大国所标榜的名为“相互依存”，实则维持剥削与被剥削关系的论调，更加露骨。一个真正的社会主义国家，理应遵循国际主义的原则，真诚地支援被压迫的国家和民族，帮助人家发展民族经济，而这个超级大国却反其而行之。这就更加证明它是口头上的社会主义，实际上的帝国主义。

殖民主义、帝国主义，特别是超级大国的掠夺和剥削，使得贫国愈贫，富国愈富，贫国和富国的差距越来越大。帝国主义是发展中国家解放和进步的最大障碍。

① in the twinkling of an eye: 转瞬之间，一眨眼功夫。② out-and-out: 赤裸裸的，彻头彻尾的，地地道道的。③ which actually means retaining the exploitative relationship: 实则维持剥削与被剥削关系的。这是非限制性定语从句，修饰 the so-called “inter-dependence”。④ true to its
tage of others' difficulties to press for the repayment of debts. In the recent Middle East war, it bought Arab oil at a low price with the large amount of foreign exchange it had earned by peddling munitions, and then sold it at a high price, making staggering profits in the twinkling of an eye. Moreover, it preaches the theory of "limited sovereignty," alleges that the resources of developing countries are international property, and even asserts that "the sovereignty over the natural resources is depending to a great extent upon the capability of utilizing these resources by the industry of the developing countries." These are out-and-out imperialist fallacies. They are even more undisguised than the so-called "inter-dependence" advertised by the other superpower, which actually means retaining the exploitative relationship. A socialist country that is true to its name ought to follow the principle of internationalism, sincerely render support and assistance to oppressed countries and nations and help them develop their national economy. But this superpower is doing exactly the opposite. This is additional proof that it is socialism in words and imperialism in deeds.

Plunder and exploitation by colonialism, imperialism, and particularly by the superpowers, are making the poor countries poorer and the rich countries richer, further widening the gap between the two. Imperialism is the greatest obstacle to the liberation of the developing countries and to

---

name: 真正的，名副其实的. ⑤ do exactly the opposite: 反其道而行之. ⑥ in words: 口头上. ⑦ in deeds: 实际上，真正的. ⑧ further widening the gap between the two: 贫国和富国的差距越来越大. 现在分词短语，是动词谓语的补充行为或后果.
发展中国家打破它们在经济上的垄断和掠夺，扫除这些障碍，采取一切必要的措施来保护国家的经济资源和其他权益，这是完全正当的。

帝国主义、特别是超级大国的所作所为，阻挡不了发展中国家在争取经济解放的道路上胜利前进。最近在中东战争中，阿拉伯国家团结一致，用石油作为武器，狠狠地打击了犹太复国主义及其支持者。这件事做得好，做得对。这是发展中国家在反帝斗争中的一个创举。它大长了第三世界人民的志气，大灭了帝国主义的威风。它冲破了帝国主义长期以来垄断国际经济的局面，也充分显示了发展中国家团结起来进行战斗的巨大威力。既然帝国主义垄断资本可以勾结在一起，任意操纵市场，严重地危害发展中国家的切身利益，那么发展中国家又为什么不可以团结起来，冲破帝国主义的垄断，维护自己的经济权益呢？石油斗争打开了人们的眼界。在石油斗争上已经做到的事情，在其他原料问题上也应该、而且能够做到。

还应当指出：发展中国家捍卫自己的自然资源的

(1) sweep away: 扫除。 (2) in no way: 决不，无论如何不。 (3) a telling blow: 猛烈的打击，致命的打击。 (4) gang up: 勾结在一起。 (5) at will: 任意，随意。 (6) to the great detriment of: 严重地为害。这是表
their progress. It is entirely right and proper for the developing countries to terminate imperialist economic monopoly and plunder, sweep away the obstacles and take all necessary measures to protect their economic resources and other rights and interests.

The doings of imperialism, and particularly the superpowers, can in no way check the triumphant advance of the developing countries along the road of economic liberation. In the recent Middle East war, the Arab countries, united as one, used oil as a weapon with which they dealt a telling blow at Zionism and its supporters. They did well, and rightly too. This was a pioneering action taken by developing countries in their struggle against imperialism. It greatly heightened the fighting spirit of the people of the Third World and deflated the arrogance of imperialism. It broke through the international economic monopoly long maintained by imperialism and fully demonstrated the might of a united struggle waged by developing countries. If imperialist monopolies can gang up to manipulate the markets at will, to the great detriment of the vital interests of the developing countries, why can't developing countries unite to break imperialist monopoly and defend their own economic rights and interests? The oil battle has broadened people's vision. What was done in the oil battle should and can be done in the case of other raw materials.

It must be pointed out further that the significance of the developing countries' struggle to defend their natural re-

---

① 介词短语“to terminate”意为“终止”；② 代词“these”指代前面提到的“obstacles”；③ “in no way”意为“绝无可能”；④ “gang up to manipulate”意为“串通来操纵”；⑤ “vital interests”意为“至关重要的利益”；⑥ “in the oil battle”意为“在石油战争中”；⑦ “what was done in the oil battle”意为“石油战争中所做的一切”。
意义，绝不仅限于经济方面。超级大国为了扩军备战，争霸世界，必然要疯狂地掠夺第三世界的资源。发展中国家掌握和保护自己的资源，不仅对于巩固政治独立、发展民族经济是必要的，而且对于反对超级大国扩军备战，制止它们发动侵略战争，也是必要的。

主席先生：

我们认为，第三世界的国家要发展自己的经济，首要的前提是维护政治独立。一个国家的人民取得政治独立，还只是走了第一步，还必须巩固这个独立，因为在国内外还存在殖民主义的残余势力，还存在着帝国主义、霸权主义进行颠覆和侵略的危险。巩固政治独立必须经历一个反复斗争的过程。归根结底，政治独立和经济独立是不可分的。没有政治独立，就不可能获得经济独立；而没有经济独立，一个国家的独立就是不

---

1. **by no means**：绝不，决不。
2. **to contend for world hegemony**: 争霸世界，争夺世界霸权。
3. **are bound to**：必然要；非…不可，to 后接动词不定式。
4. **not only...but also**: 不仅…而且…，并列连词，使表语 essential 连接介词 for 引导的两个短语。
5. **stop ... from**: 制止…做某事，使…不能做某事。
6. **the safeguarding of political independence is the first prerequisite for a Third World country to develop its economy**: 第三世界的国家
sources is by no means confined to the economic field. In order to carry out arms expansion and war preparations and to contend for world hegemony, the superpowers are bound to plunder rapaciously the resources of the Third World. Control and protection of their own resources by the developing countries are essential, not only for the consolidation of their political independence and the development of their national economy, but also for combating superpower arms expansion and war preparations and stopping the superpowers from launching wars of aggression.

Mr. President,

We maintain that the safeguarding of political independence is the first prerequisite for a Third World country to develop its economy. In achieving political independence, the people of a country have only taken the first step, and they must proceed to consolidate this independence, for there still exist remnant forces of colonialism at home and there is still the danger of subversion and aggression by imperialism and hegemonism. The consolidation of political independence is necessarily a process of repeated struggles. In the final analysis, political independence and economic independence are inseparable. Without political independence, it is impossible to achieve economic independence; without economic independence, a country’s independence is incom-
完全不巩固的。

发展中国家在独立发展经济方面拥有巨大的潜力。只要各国根据自己的特点和条件，沿着独立自主、自力更生的道路进行坚持不懈的努力，完全有可能在工农业现代化方面逐步地达到我们的前人所没有达到的高度生产水平。帝国主义对发展中国家发展问题所散布的一切悲观失望、无所作为的论调，都是毫无根据的，别有用心的。

我们说的自力更生，就是主要依靠本国人民的力量和智慧，掌握本国的经济命脉，充分利用本国的资源，努力增加粮食生产，有计划地，逐步地发展本国的民族经济。独立自主、自力更生，决不是脱离本国实际，而是要根据各国的具体条件，区别不同情况，确定各国自己的自力更生的途径。在现阶段，发展中国家要发展民族经济，首先必须掌握自己的自然资源，并且

---

① in the light of: 根据，按照。② never reached by previous generations: 我们的前人所没有达到的。这是过去分词短语作定语，修饰 a high level of development。③ in connection with: 关于……，对……。④ by self-reliance we mean: 我们说的自力更生就是。mean by: 说的……意思是指……。
plete and insecure.

The developing countries have great potentials for developing their economy independently. As long as a country makes unremitting efforts in the light of its own specific features and conditions and advances along the road of independence and self-reliance, it is fully possible for it to attain gradually a high level of development never reached by previous generations in the modernization of its industry and agriculture. The ideas of pessimism and helplessness spread by imperialism in connection with the question of the development of developing countries are all unfounded and are being disseminated with ulterior motives.

By self-reliance we mean that a country should mainly rely on the strength and wisdom of its own people, control its own economic lifelines, make full use of its own resources, strive hard to increase food production and develop its national economy step by step and in a planned way. The policy of independence and self-reliance in no way means that it should be divorced from the actual conditions of a country; instead, it requires that distinction must be made between different circumstances, and that each country should work out its own way of practising self-reliance in the light of its specific conditions. At the present stage, a developing country that wants to develop its national economy must first of all keep its natural re-

逐步地摆脱外国资本的控制。原料生产在许多发展中国家的国民经济中，占较大的比重。如果这些国家能够把原料的生产、使用、销售、储存、运输都掌握在自己的手中，通过平等的贸易关系，以合理的价格出售原料，换取较多的为它们发展工农业生产所必需的产品，它们就有可能逐步解决面临的困难，为早日摆脱贫穷落后状态，铺平道路。

自力更生决不是“闭关自守”，拒绝外援。我们一向认为，各国在尊重国家主权、平等互利、互通有无的条件下，开展经济技术交流，取长补短，对于发展民族经济，是有利的和必要的。

这里，我们要着重指出，发展中国家之间的经济合作具有特别重要的意义。第三世界国家过去有着共同的遭遇，今天都面临着反对新老殖民主义和大国霸权主义，发展民族经济，建设各自国家的共同任务。我们有一切理由进一步团结起来，而没有任何理由互相疏

1. keep (or take) in one's own hands: 掌握，控制，支配。
2. account for: 占（比重），计有。
3. in exchange for: 交换。
4. pave the way for: 为…铺平道路。
5. to make up for each other's deficiencies: 取长补
sources in its own hands\(^1\) and gradually shake off the control of foreign capital. In many developing countries, the production of raw materials accounts for\(^2\) a considerable proportion of the national economy. If they can take in their own hands the production, use, sale, storage and transport of raw materials and sell them at reasonable prices on the basis of equitable trade relations in exchange for\(^3\) a greater amount of goods needed for the growth of their industrial and agricultural production, they will then be able to resolve step by step the difficulties they are facing and pave the way for\(^4\) an early emergence from poverty and backwardness.

Self-reliance in no way means "self-seclusion" and rejection of foreign aid. We have always considered it beneficial and necessary for the development of the national economy that countries should carry on economic and technical exchanges on the basis of respect for state sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit, and the exchange of needed goods to make up for each other's deficiencies.\(^5\)

Here we wish to emphasize the special importance of economic co-operation among the developing countries. The Third World countries shared a common lot in the past\(^6\) and now face the common tasks of opposing colonialism, neo-colonialism and great-power hegemonism, developing the national economy and building their respective countries. We have every reason to unite more closely, and no reason

---

短语中，在目的状语，和动词性语 carry on economic and technical exchanges (开展经济技术交流) 发生关系。\(^6\) shared a common lot in the past: 过去有着共同的遭遇。
远。帝国主义特别是超级大国，正在利用我们发展中国家之间的某些暂时分歧，进行挑拨分化，破坏团结，以达到它们继续操纵、控制和掠夺的目的。我们应当保持充分警惕。我们发展中国家之间的某些分歧，完全可以而且应当在有关发展中国家内部，通过协商，求得解决。在石油问题上，有关的发展中国家，正在做出积极努力，寻求适当途径，谋求问题的合理解决，对此我们感到高兴。我们发展中国家不仅在政治上应该互相支持，在经济上也应该互相帮助。我们之间的合作是真正平等的合作，是具有广阔的前景的。

主席先生：

第三世界国家强烈要求改变目前这种极不平等的国际经济关系，并且提出了许多合理的改革建议。中国政府和中国人民热烈赞同并坚决支持第三世界国家提出的一切正义主张。

我们主张，国家之间的政治和经济关系都应当建立在互相尊重主权和领土完整、互不侵犯、互不干涉内
to become estranged from one another. The imperialists, and particularly the superpowers, are taking advantage of temporary differences among us developing countries to sow dissension and disrupt unity so as to continue their manipulation, control and plunder. We must maintain full vigilance. Differences among us developing countries can very well be resolved and should be resolved, through consultations among the parties concerned. We are glad that, on the question of oil, the developing countries concerned are making active efforts and seeking appropriate ways to find a reasonable solution. We, the developing countries, should not only support one another politically but also help each other economically. Our co-operation is a co-operation based on true equality and has broad prospects.

Mr. President,

The Third World countries strongly demand that the present extremely unequal international economic relations be changed, and they have made many rational proposals of reform. The Chinese Government and people warmly endorse and firmly support all just propositions made by Third World countries.

We hold that in both political and economic relations, countries should base themselves on the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity,
政、平等互利、和平共处五项原则的基础上。我们反对任何国家违背这些原则，在任何地区建立霸权和势力范围。

我们主张，各国的事务应当由各国人民自己来管。发展中国家人民有权自行选择和决定他们自己的社会、经济制度。我们支持发展中国家对自己的自然资源享有和行使永久主权。我们支持发展中国家对一切外国资本特别是“跨国公司”进行控制和管理，直到把它们收归国有。我们支持发展中国家“各别地或集体地自力更生”发展民族经济的主张。

我们主张，国家不论大小，不论贫富，应该一律平等，国际经济事务应该由世界各国共同来管，而不应当由一、两个超级大国来垄断。我们支持占世界人口绝大多数的发展中国家享有参与有关国际贸易、货币、航运等一切决定的充分权利。

我们主张，国际贸易应当建立在平等互利、互通有

① up to: 直到。 ② big or small, rich or poor: 不论大小，不论贫富。和 all countries 发生关系。 ③ instead of: 而不……。 ④ which comprise the great majority of the world’s population: 占世界人口绝大多
mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. We are opposed to the establishment of hegemony and spheres of influence by any country in any part of the world in violation of these principles.

We hold that the affairs of each country should be managed by its own people. The people of the developing countries have the right to choose and decide on their own social and economic systems. We support the permanent sovereignty of the developing countries over their own natural resources as well as their exercise of it. We support the actions of the developing countries to bring all foreign capital, and particularly “trans-national corporations,” under their control and management, up to⁹ and including nationalization. We support the position of the developing countries for the development of their national economy through “individual and collective self-reliance.”

We hold that all countries, big or small, rich or poor,⁵ should be equal, and that international economic affairs should be jointly managed by all the countries of the world instead of⁶ being monopolized by the one or two superpowers. We support the full right of the developing countries, which comprise the great majority of the world’s population,⁴ to take part in⁵ all decision-making on international trade, monetary, shipping and other matters.

We hold that international trade should be based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and the exchange

数的．这是非限制性定语从句，修饰 the developing countries． ⑤ to take part in：参加，参与．
无的原则基础上。我们支持发展中国家改善它们的原料、初级产品、半制成品和制成品的贸易条件，扩大销售市场，确定公正有利的价格等迫切要求。我们支持发展中国家建立各种原料输出国组织，进行反殖、反帝、反霸的联合斗争。

我们主张，对发展中国家的经济援助，应当严格尊重受援国的主权，不附带任何政治、军事条件，不要求任何特权或借机牟取暴利。对发展中国家提供的贷款应当是无息或低息的，必要时可以延期还本付息，甚至减免债务负担。我们反对假借援助发展中国家进行高利盘剥和敲诈勒索。

我们主张，对发展中国家的技术转让必须实用、有效、廉价、方便。派往受援国的专家和人员有责任向受援国人民认真传授技术，尊重受援国的法令和民族习惯，而不应当要求特殊待遇，更不得进行非法活动。
of needed goods. We support the urgent demand of the developing countries to improve trade terms for their raw materials, primary products and semi-manufactured and manufactured goods, to expand their market and to fix equitable and favourable prices. We support the developing countries in establishing various organizations of raw material exporting countries for a united struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

We hold that economic aid to the developing countries must strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries and must not be accompanied by any political or military conditions and the extortion of any special privileges or excessive profits. Loans to the developing countries should be interest-free or low-interest and allow for delayed repayment of capital and interest, or even reduction and cancellation of debts in case of necessity. We are opposed to the exploitation of developing countries by usury or blackmail in the name of aid.

We hold that technology transferred to the developing countries must be practical, efficient, economical and convenient for use. The experts and other personnel dispatched to the recipient countries have the obligation to pass conscientiously technical know-how to the people there and to respect the laws and national customs of the countries concerned. They must not make special demands or ask for special amenities, let alone engage in illegal activities.

去分词短语，用作定语，修饰主语 the experts and other personnel (专家和人员)。⑥ pass on: 传授；传递，移交。⑦ ask for: 要，要求。⑧ let alone: 听其自然，更不要说，更不得。
主席先生：

中国是一个社会主义国家，也是一个发展中的国家。中国属于第三世界。中国政府和中国人民，一贯遵循毛主席的教导，坚决支持一切被压迫人民和被压迫民族争取和维护民族独立，发展民族经济，反对殖民主义、帝国主义、霸权主义的斗争，这是我们应尽的国际主义义务。中国现在不是，将来也不做超级大国。什么叫超级大国？超级大国就是到处对别国进行侵略、干涉、控制、颠覆和掠夺，谋求世界霸权的帝国主义国家。一个社会主义大国如果出现资本主义复辟，必然会变成超级大国。过去几年内，在中国进行的无产阶级文化大革命和目前正在进行的反右运动，都是为了防止资本主义复辟，保证中国的社会主义江山永不变色，保证中国永远站在被压迫人民和被压迫民族一边。如果中国有朝一日变了颜色，变成一个超级大国，也在世界上称王称霸，到处欺负人家，侵略人家，剥削人家，那么，世界人民就应当给中国戴上一顶社会帝国主义的帽子，就应当揭露它，反对它，并且同中国人
Mr. President,

China is a socialist country, and a developing country as well. China belongs to the Third World. Consistently following Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese Government and people firmly support all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations in their struggle to win or defend national independence, develop the national economy and oppose colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. This is our bounden internationalist duty. China is not a superpower, nor will she ever seek to be one. What is a superpower? A superpower is an imperialist country which everywhere subjects other countries to its aggression, interference, control, subversion or plunder and strives for world hegemony. If capitalism is restored in a big socialist country, it will inevitably become a superpower. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which has been carried out in China in recent years, and the campaign of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius now under way throughout China, are both aimed at preventing capitalist restoration and ensuring that socialist China will never change her colour and will always stand by the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations. If one day China should change her colour and turn into a superpower, if she too should play the tyrant in the world, and everywhere subject others to her bullying, aggression and exploitation, the people of the world should identify her as social-imperialism, expose it, oppose it and work to-

superpower. ④ strive for: 谋求，争取. ⑤ under way: 在展开，进行；在发生. ⑥ stand by: 站在...一边；支持，拥护.
民一道，打倒它。

主席先生：

历史在斗争中发展，世界在动荡中前进。帝国主义，特别是超级大国困难重重，日益衰败没落。国家要独立，民族要解放，人民要革命，这是不可抗拒的历史潮流。我们相信，只要第三世界国家和人民加强团结，并且联合一切可以联合的力量，坚持长期斗争，就一定能够不断地取得新的胜利。

(1) If one day China should change her colour ... to overthrow it.
如果中国有朝一日变了颜色，……打倒它。这个句子用虚拟语气 should change, should play, should identify 等。句中代词 She, her 指代 China, it 指代
gether with the Chinese people to overthrow it.]

Mr. President,

History develops in struggle, and the world advances amidst turbulence. The imperialists, and the superpowers in particular, are beset with troubles and are on the decline. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this is the irresistible trend of history. We are convinced that, so long as the Third World countries and people strengthen their unity, ally themselves with all forces that can be allied with and persist in a protracted struggle, they are sure to win continuous new victories.

social-imperialism. ② in particular: particularly. ③ be beset with troubles: 困难重重. ④ be on the decline: 日益衰败没落. ⑤ persist in: 坚持.
本书是出席联合国第六届特别会议的中华人民共和国代表团团长，国务院副总理邓小平，在一九七四年四月十日大会一般性辩论中发言的汉英对照注释本。汉语根据《人民日报》一九七四年四月十一日所载本文排印，英语译文根据外文出版社的英译本第一版排印。

中华人民共和国
代表团团长邓小平
在联大特别会议上的发言
（汉英对照）
商务印书馆出版
（北京人民路36号）
新华书店北京发行所发行
北京第二新华印刷厂印刷

787×1092毫米1/32 1/8印张 30千字
1974年11月初版 1974年11月北京第1次印刷
统一书号：9917-740 定价：0.10元