



李良玉教授与其博士生 文丛
Liliangyu Jiaoshou Yu Qi Boshisheng Wencong

城郊农民的现代化 ——扬州市何村研究

Chengjiao Nongmin De Xiandaihua

翟洪峰 著

合肥工业大学出版社

- 江苏省高校哲学社会科学基金项目
- 南京师范大学国家级重点学科建设项目
- 南京师范大学国家“211”重点建设项目
- 南京师范大学江苏省省级重点学科建设项目

李良玉教授与其博士生

Liliangyu Jiaoshou Yu Qi Boshisheng Wencong

文丛

城郊农民的现代化

——扬州市何村研究

Chengjiao Nongmin De Xiandaihua

翟洪峰 著

F327.533
2046

合肥工业大学出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

城郊农民的现代化:扬州市何村研究/翟洪峰著. —合肥:合肥工业大学出版社, 2009. 12

ISBN 978 - 7 - 5650 - 0168 - 0

I. 城… II. 翟… III. 农村—现代化建设—研究—扬州市 IV. F327. 533

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2009)第 043925 号

城郊农民的现代化

——扬州市何村研究

翟洪峰 著

责任编辑 朱移山

出版 合肥工业大学出版社
地址 合肥市屯溪路 193 号
邮编 230009
电话 总编室:0551 - 2903038
发行部:0551 - 2903198
网址 www. hfutpress. com. cn
E-mail press@ hfutpress. com. cn

版次 2009 年 12 月第 1 版
印次 2009 年 12 月第 1 次印刷
开本 710 毫米×1000 毫米 1/16
印张 21. 75
字数 438 千字
印刷 合肥现代印务有限公司
发行 全国新华书店

ISBN 978 - 7 - 5650 - 0168 - 0

定价: 30. 00 元

如果有影响阅读的印装质量问题,请与出版社发行部联系调换。



翟洪峰,1975 年生,江苏邳州人。1997 年毕业于扬州大学师范学院政法系,获法学学士学位。2000 年毕业于东北师范大学政法学院,获法学硕士学位。现为南京师范大学公共管理学院讲师,南京大学历史系中国近现代史专业博士研究生。研究方向为中国近现代史、中共党史。主持过江苏省教育厅项目“城郊农村的现代化”,先后参加过国家社科基金重点项目和江苏省社科重点项目。在《当代中国史研究》《二十一世纪》《江苏大学学报》《广西师范大学学报》等刊物发表学术论文 20 余篇,其中两篇文章被中国人民大学复印报刊资料全文转载或摘要转载。参与编著《中国共产党与中国农民》《世界历史性社会主义研究》等学术著作 4 部。

总序

“李良玉教授及其博士生学术文丛”原由知识产权出版社出版。从现在起，这套文集将由合肥工业大学出版社陆续出版。为了既体现丛书的连续性，又显示新一家出版社的气象，丛书改名为“李良玉教授与其博士生文丛”。

2005年8月至2006年8月，在知识产权出版社领导的大力支持下，特别是在副总编辑王润贵先生和编辑牛洁颖女士的直接主持下，共有《李良玉历史研究与教育文选》和我的5位学生的博士论文出版，还有一位学生的博士论文目前已经修改完毕，即将交付审阅。我衷心感谢所有关心和参与这套丛书的朋友们的远见卓识和辛勤劳动，也特别珍惜和他们相处过程中所获得的真诚。记得我在给牛洁颖的一封电子邮件中说过：“人文社会科学的东西，仁者见仁、智者见智而已。我很欢迎和你推心置腹地讨论问题，目标是一致的，就是把书出好；立场是一致的，就是以诚相见；我想效果自然也是可以预见的，就是互相更加信任，友谊愈笃。”这段文字代表了我们的共识。

1999年，南京大学通过有关程序确认我具备博士生导师资格，次年我开始招收学生。假如按今天官本位条件下博导的实际社会地位、声誉及其所承担的职责等多项指标来衡量，成为博士生导师或许并非幸事。然而，我仍然感谢学校领导、研究生院和所有参加评审工作的校内校外专家，他们给了我一份可能，如同我在第一届学生答辩的时候所说：“使我有机会获得培养青年、提携才俊的创造性工作的快乐”。它来源于教育的诚实、神奇和自我满足。

把我指导的学生的论文结集出版博士论文丛书，是我招收博士生伊始就定下来的努力方向，也是一开始就向同学们提出来的目标。这是一个艰难的目标。现在，这套丛书已经拥有13种著作，预计今后一两年内将达到20多种的规模。假如有人问我，丛书的价值何在？我依然回答：任何著作一经出版，对它的评判权从来就不属于作者。只有读者和时间的检验，才能最终决定其命运。

除了我的书以外，这套丛书的著作，多是我的学生的博士论文。读他们的书，能读到一些锐气，自然也会有一些幼稚。同学们努力学习的风范是值得夸奖的，从这个角度上说，丛书为了解当前博士生教育提供了一例个案，不论这一个案有没有价值。



回顾招收博士生以来的教书生活，我从内心深处感激我的学生。无论来自何方、年龄大小、从事过什么工作，他们为了读书求知的共同目标走到一起来了。我们坦诚相处，教学相长，虽然也会有艰难或者隔阂，但毕竟能够获得一些理解与成长的经验。我始终认为，生活的本质在于真实。基于这样的理念，我曾对同学说过，追求真实而不追求虚伪，追求幸福而不追求痛苦，追求理解而不追求怨恨。博士生的学习生活是一种知识、道德和能力的全面提高过程，它既是学生的提高过程，也是老师的提高过程。对于我们每个人来说，都是由日常生活的点点滴滴所积累起来的进步。

在同学们的身上，我们能够感受到新时代学术的朝气。尽管他们各自人生阅历、知识背景、生活目标不尽相同，但是读书生活却给了他们以同样的学术传统、学术理念、学术规范与方法的熏陶。在这里，我个人的能量是有限的。不过，我们拥有传统人文的深厚资源、外来学术的精彩信息和百年老校的丰富积淀。它们浩如大海，蔚为壮观。也许，现代与传统的衔接，师道与学统的交汇，个人与时代的融合，才是他们不断自我觉悟，自我更新，自我发展的内在精神动力。

博士论文，是博士生学习的主要成果，也是当代学术进步的重要标志之一。引导同学完成博士论文的过程，是师生之间知识交流、思想交流、情感交流的完整过程。对老师来说，同学的敏锐、勤奋与活力，是那么的宝贵；对于同学来说，每一类学术题材的发现，每一种学术思路的开拓，每一个细节问题的解决，都会带来学问启蒙和心灵震撼的作用，甚至包括对人生意义的新认识。近20多年来，有相当多的博士论文开辟了各自学术领域的新境界。它告诉我们，博士论文质量的根本标志，是按照学术规范研究解决问题所达到的水平，或者说，是解决问题的难度及其所包含的开拓性成就。有鉴于此，我们才应该把博士论文看作是一种文化创造，一种当下社会和时代应当能够留下来的精神产品。要求所有博士论文都达到这样的水平也许很难，但是，提出这样的要求是必要的，鼓励每一位博士生向这样的目标努力前进也是有意义的。

是为序。

李良玉

2007年1月23日于南京大学港龙园

内 容 提 要

在中国现代化的整体进程中，城郊村处在一个特殊的地位。因处在城市边缘，城郊村在经济、行政和文化上与城市存在千丝万缕的联系，它既能感受城市辐射和带动提供的发展机会，又会遭受城市的利益侵夺，在这种复杂的利益格局的博弈中，城郊村走上了现代化和城市化的曲折之路。

何村是扬州市的近郊村，新中国成立以来，尤其是改革开放以来，何村的经济社会事业获得了长足发展。至本世纪初，它已经由一个传统的农业村发展成为新型的工商社区，先后创建成扬州市小康村和全面小康先行村，其现代化在扬州市邗江区各行政村中位居前列。

新中国成立以来，何村的现代化经历了三大阶段，即上世纪50年代—70年代、70年代—90年代、90年代以来。在第一阶段，现代化进展缓慢，何村长期停留于传统农业经济的状态，但并非一事无成，主要成绩是建立以党支部为核心的党政组织。第二阶段是何村工业化阶段。上世纪70年代中期，何村工业化开始起步，80年代村办工业红红火火，90年代初村办企业趋于衰败，私有化的改制随后掀起。90年代末以来，是何村城市化显著发展的时期，第三产业取代工业成为何村组织关注的焦点，工业的地位显著下降。

在工业化过程中，何村农业变迁呈现出双重趋势，即从外延来看，从量的方面来看，何村耕地加速减少，农作物播种面积、农作物产量甚至产值都出现了下降的趋势，这是不可逆转的。另一方面，何村在农田水利建设、农业科技等方面不断进步，农业生产条件获得很大改善，农产品单产有了大幅提高；通过缩粮扩经，农业生产结构获得优化升级；农业产业化也有了重要进展，这些说明何村农业在质量方面获得提升。何村农业上的双重趋势与国家政策和市场经济密切相关。

60年来何村的土地占有关系和土地用途发生了重大变化。土地集体所有、家庭承包是目前中国根本的土地制度，执政党声称要长期坚持并不断完善。土地所有制与用地制度存在内在联系，它方便了国家甚至村组织对土地的征收和征用，国家凭借征地权可以轻而易举地从农民手中拿走土地，用于国家建设、乡村建设，甚至用来建造商品房。由于地处城市郊区，何村土地非农化乃大势所趋，

土地非农化对何村村组织和村民的影响是双重的，既推进了何村的现代化、城市化，造福于村民，同时，利益分配不公又严重侵夺了农民的利益。欲改变这种局面，必须限制国家权力，规范市场秩序，防止官商结合，同时还要保障和强化包括农民在内的公民权利，实现后者对前者的有效制衡。

企业是现代经济的细胞，也是何村现代化的中流砥柱。就所有制形式和经营管理体制而言，何村企业发展史可划分为改制前后两大阶段。在改制前，何村企业为村办集体企业，企业是何村组织的经济附属，也是村组织各项工作的重心。村组织与企业之间是上下级关系，企业的运作受制于村组织，其带来的影响是双重的，村组织结构是否合理、运转是否正常、组织内部是否团结，决定村企经营管理水平，决定村企的经济效益。90年代中后期，在全国性的企业改制浪潮的席卷下，加之村企管理不善，何村企业也走上了改制之路。改制以后，村组织与企业的关系发生了重大变化，两者不再是上下、主从关系，而是相对平等的市场主体之间的关系。由于改制不彻底，企业经营管理人员素质不高，以及政府的放任不管，改制之后的企业日渐衰落。

经济与政治的演变，必然投射在社会结构上。新中国成立以来，何村社会阶层分化经历了从政治分化到社会分层的转变。在毛泽东时代，划分社会阶层的依据主要是阶级成分，而阶级成分又是历史地按照各家户生产资料占有水平和生活状况划分的，一经划定，很难改变。由于奉行平均主义的分配原则，政治化的各阶层之间的生活水平相差不大。改革开放以来，随着政治高压和政治歧视的退潮，阶层的政治化也日渐淡化。在工业化和市场经济的推动下，以及“效率优先、兼顾公平”的分配原则的推行，何村社会出现了层化的现象，各阶层在财富、权力和声望的占有上逐渐拉开差距，毛泽东时代的政治分层为经济分层所取代。社会分层既调动了各阶层的创造性和积极性，但日渐拉大的阶层差距，也加大了社会整合的难度。

如同执政党之于国家的现代化的关系一样，何村的党政组织在何村的现代化事业中居于核心地位。这种核心地位主要指村组织是现代化的动员者、组织者和领导者。建国以来，除了少数极端年代，不论政治风云如何变化，政经体制如何变革，何村党组织的核心地位未曾改变。村党组织的核心作用实际发挥的水平，取决于村支部书记的综合素质之高低，以及村组织结构是否合理，运转是否协调且有效率。建国以来，何村产生了几位工作能力较强的村支部书记，在他们的带领下，何村党政组织产生了较强的行政管理能力。80年代末以来，村民自治制度和“两票制”进入入村，威权主义的村落政治生活多了几分民主和自治的活力。村组织的运转状况以及在它领导下的村落现代化成绩也与村级财务实力及其管理水平有着很大关系。本世纪以来，以“村财乡管”、“组财村管”等重要内容的农村财务管理体制的改革，在规范了集体收支管理的同时，也重塑了村组织和乡镇政府的关系。

“创建全面小康村”是何村历史上的重大事件，它既展示何村现代化的成绩单，又可以让人们窥视村组织和地方政府之间的关系。此次创建活动，基本上是上面的需要，体现的是国家的意志，它不是从村落，从基层自然生发出来的需要。或许它在某些方面反映了农村的发展趋势和农民的某些需求，但它基本上仍然是一种自上而下的行政运作，村民对创建活动缺乏热情，即为佐证。在此次创建运动中，何村村组织除了贯彻执行上级的决策外，还能够积极寻找和利用创建活动带来的良机，游说政府同意村组织征用本村土地建造三产综合楼，为本村增加了大笔收入。这个事例说明，即使在一个具有强制性的创建运动中，村组织与其上级之间也存在博弈关系。

90年代末以来，随着扬州城市化步伐加速，何村也日益卷入其中。何村的城市化不仅包括城市景观的生成和蔓延，更包括组织的转型和村民的素质的现代化。在城市化的推动下，何村村组织开始公司化。何村居民身上的乡土色彩也开始退却，他们不再是传统的以务农为生的农民，他们中的大部分以主要时间和精力从事非农产业。非农化的工作和生活，以及对外交往的增加，使何村人的开放意识、法制观念、竞争意识、普遍主义意识等现代意识和价值观不断成长，何村人的现代化、城市化由表及里，这有助于他们加速融入城市。由于宏观环境的改变，以及微观的社区物质和文化生活的变化，何村的习俗也发生了变迁，总体趋向是更加简约，更加文明，但由于有效的公共精神产品供给不足，一些旧有的习俗依然存在，甚至复苏和发展。

何村的现代化是中国农村现代化诸多型式之一，它既反映了中国农村现代化的总体趋势和基本规律，又带有浓郁的地方特色，探讨它的生成动因、发展脉络、变迁机制，总结它的经验和教训，揭示它的共性和个性，对于丰富中国农村现代化的经验库和理论库均具有重要意义。

关键词：扬州；何村；村落；现代化；城市化；工业化

Abstract

In the overall China's modernization process, suburban villages have been in a special status. For being located at the urban fringe, suburban villages are closely connected with cities in respect of economy, administration and cultures, not only enjoying the city's radiation and development opportunities, but also being infringed by the city. In such a complex interest structure of the game, suburban villages are embarking on the arduous path of modernization and urbanization.

He Village is on the outskirts of Yangzhou city. Since the founding of New China, especially since the reform and opening up, the village's economy and social cause have developed substantially. To the beginning of this century, it has been transformed from a traditional agricultural village into a new type of industrial and commercial communities. It has been created to be a well-off village, and first-round well-off village in Yangzhou City. Its modernization level stays in the forefront of all administrative villages in Hanjiang District, Yangzhou City.

Since the founding of new China, the modernization of He Village has gone through three major stages, namely the 1950s—1970s, the 1970s—1990s, and from the 1990s till now. In the first stage, the modernization paced slowly and the village had long remained at the traditional agricultural economy. Instead of accomplishing nothing, an achievement in the stage was obvious—the establishment of party branches as the core of the modern organization. The second stage is the stage of industrialization. In the mid—1970s, the industrialization started. In the 1980s, village-run industry was booming. In the early 1990s, it tended to decline. Then the privatization and restructuring of village-run enterprises set off. Since the late 1990s, the beginning of urbanization period, the tertiary industry to replace the industry has become the focus of the organization of He Village, and industry's position has dropped significantly.

In the process of industrialization, He Village, shows the dual trends of

agricultural change. From extensional point of view and a quantitative point of view, the arable land, crop acreage, crop yield and even output have shown a downward trend, which is irreversible. On the other hand, farmland water conservancy construction and agricultural science and technology have advanced which have greatly improved conditions for agricultural production; Agricultural yield has been significantly improved; by reducing the cultivation of food crops and increasing economic crop planting area, agricultural production structure has been optimized and upgraded. Agricultural industrialization has significant progress. These present the improvement of He Village's agriculture in quality. The twin trends of agriculture are closely linked with the national policies and the market economy.

In 60 years, the relationship between land tenure and land use has undergone major changes in He Village. Collective land ownership and the household contract are China's basic land system, which the ruling party claims to long-term adhere and improve. Land ownership and land use systems are intrinsically linked, which facilitates the government and the organization of the village to expropriate and make a requisition. The State by virtue of land rights can easily take land away from peasants for national construction, rural construction, and even commercial houses building. As being located in suburban areas, non-agriculture of He Village is a general trend. The non-agriculture of the land has twofold impact on the village organizations and the villagers. It has promoted the modernization and urbanization of He Village and the benefit of the villagers. But at the same time, inequitable distribution of benefits has seriously infringed upon the interests of peasants. To change this situation, state power must be limited, the market order must be standardized, and the combination of officials and businessmen must be prevented, while at the same time the rights of citizens including peasants must be strengthened to achieve effective checks and balances.

Enterprises are the cells of modern economy, but also the backbone of modern He Village. As far as the ownership and the management structure are concerned, the history of He Village's enterprises can be divided into two stages: before and after restructuring. Before restructuring, He Village's enterprise was collective. It, as an economic organization affiliated to village Party organization, was also the work focus of village Party organization. Between village organizations and enterprises was a superior-subordinate relationship. Whether the structure of village organization was reasonable, operation was normal, the organization was co-operative would decide the economic

benefits of village enterprises. In the middle and late 1990s, a nationwide wave of enterprise restructuring, coupled with poor management of the village enterprises, pushed He village enterprises to embark on a restructuring path. After restructuring, the relation between the village organization and enterprises underwent major changes: no longer an up-down, master-slaver relationship, but a relatively equal one between the market players. However, as the conversion was not complete, the quality of enterprises' management staff was not high, and the government had done absolutely nothing, the enterprises were dying after restructuring.

Economic and political evolution has an inevitable projection in the social structure. Since the founding of new China, the social stratification in He Village has gone from the political division to social stratification. In Mao Zedong era, social classes division was mainly based on class composition, and class composition was divided historically according to the level of each household possession of the means of production and living conditions, which was difficult to change once designated. For the egalitarian principle of distribution, the standard of living varied less among different sectors. Since the reform and opening, with the political pressure and political discrimination ebbing, the politicalization of class has become more dilute. Driven by industrialization and market economy, and the implementation of "giving priority to efficiency while giving consideration to fairness" principle of distribution, He Village community has witnessed a phenomenon of stratification —the gap of wealth, power and prestige are gradually widening among all the sectors. Thus Mao Zedong epochal political stratification has been replaced by economic stratification. Social stratification has not only aroused the creativity and enthusiasm in all sectors, but also widened the gap between classes, which, at the same time, increase the difficulty in social integration.

Just like the relationship between the ruling party and the modernization of the country, the Party organization in He Village is the core of the village's modernization. The organization acts as the organizer and leader of the village's modernization. Since the founding, except few ages of extremes, the core of the Party organization of He village has never been changed, regardless of how the political situation changed, political and economic system reformed. The Party organization plays a central role in the actual levels, depending on the overall quality of the secretary of the Party branch, the rationality of structure of the village organization and the co-ordination and efficiency of the operation of the village organization. Since the founding of the PRC, there were a

few secretaries in He Village with strong ability to work. In their leadership, the Party and the administrative organization had a strong cohesion and combat effectiveness. In the late 1980s, the villagers self-government system and the “two-vote system” went into the village. With that, the village’s authoritarian political life was endowed with a little more vitality of democracy and self-government.

How well the organization functions and the modernization results under its leadership are closely related to village-level financial strength and management level. In this century, the “township management for village finance”, “village for Group Finance” among important elements in the reform of rural financial management system have not only regulated the collective management of the payments balance but also reshaped the relationship between the village’s organizations and the township government.

“Creating a comprehensive well-off village” was a major event in the history of He Village, which could show the modernization achievements, and also allow people to spy on the relations between the village’s organization and local government. The activities of creating basically met the needs of higher levels, reflecting the will of the state but were not the natural needs of the villagers. Perhaps it in some ways reflected the development trends in rural areas and some of the peasants’ demands. Basically, however, it was a top-down administrative operation, and the lack of villagers’ enthusiasm on the creation was the proof.

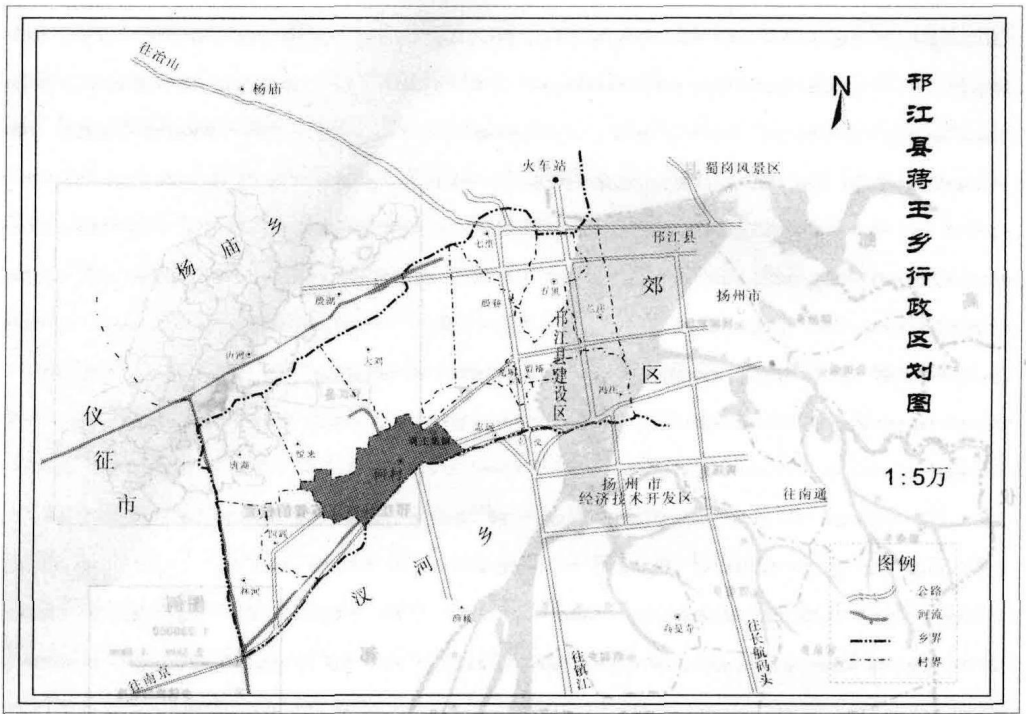
In this movement, apart from implementing the higher-level decision-making, the organizations of He Village, searched for and caught a good opportunity——success in lobbying the government to agree to expropriation of village’s land for constructing 3rd Industrial Complex Building which thus substantially increased its revenue. This example shows that even in a mandatory campaign, the game relation also exists between the organization and its parents.

Since the late 1990s, with the accelerated pace of Yangzhou city, He Village are also increasingly pacing up. He Village’s urbanization not only includes the generation and spread of urban landscape, but also the organization’s transformation and modernization of the quality of the villagers. Under the impetus of urbanization, He village organizations begin to be corporatized. He Village residents, with local color trading away, are no longer traditional peasants on agriculture for a living. Most of them have most of the time and energy to engage themselves in non-agricultural industries.

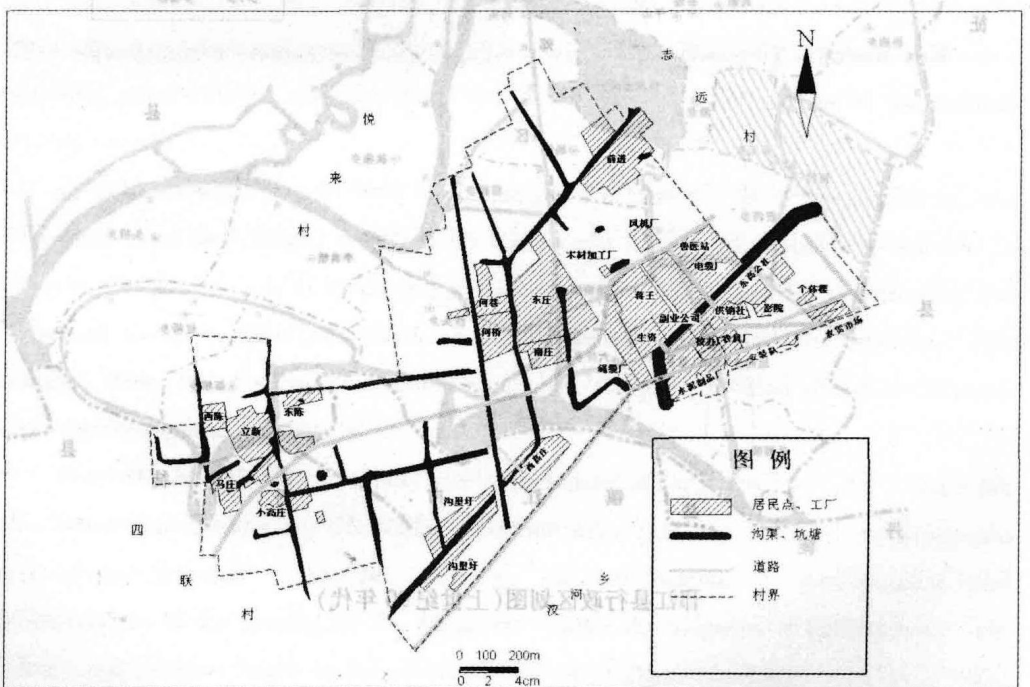
Non-agricultural work and life, as well as growing contact with the outside world, have made their such modern consciousness and values as opening awareness, legal awareness, sense of competition, universalism to grow. The modernization and urbanization of He village has grown from the outside to the inside, which can help it to speed up the integration into the city. Due to the changes in the macroeconomic environment, as well as the changes in the material and cultural life of micro-communities, the customs of He Village have taken place, whose overall trend is even more simple and more civilized. But because of shortage of inadequate supply of effective public spirit products, some old customs still exist, and even recover and develop.

He Village's modernization is one of many types of China's modernization, reflecting the general trend of rural modernization in China and the basic laws of the village, and bearing distinctive local features. To explore the generating cause, development context, mechanism in changes and to sum up its experience and lessons so as to reveal its general and individual characters are of great significance for enriching experience and theoretical libraries of the modernization of China's rural areas.

Key words: Yangzhou; He village; villages; modernization; urbanization; industrialization



蒋王乡行政区划图(上世纪 80 年代)



何村区域图(上世纪 90 年代)



目 录

| | |
|----------------|------|
| 绪 论 | (1) |
| 一、选题缘起 | (1) |
| 二、学术采撷 | (2) |
| 三、研究方法与材料 | (6) |
| (一) 研究方法 | (6) |
| (二) 所用材料 | (9) |
| 第一章 变迁六十年 | (11) |
| 第一节 走进何村 | (11) |
| 一、地理位置 | (11) |
| 二、村落由来 | (12) |
| 三、建制沿革 | (13) |
| 第二节 从土改到人民公社化 | (14) |
| 一、何村的土改 | (14) |
| 二、何村的合作化 | (16) |
| 三、公社化的影响 | (18) |
| 第三节 从“四清”到“文革” | (22) |
| 一、“四清”运动的发动和经过 | (22) |
| 二、“四清”运动的后果和影响 | (30) |
| 三、“文革”中的何村 | (33) |
| 第四节 工业化与何村的翻身 | (36) |
| 一、农机厂诞生 | (36) |
| 二、产品认证与企业上档次 | (37) |
| 三、从一到多：村办企业的增加 | (38) |

