

【李良玉教授及其博士生导师学术文丛】

叶扬兵 ■ 著

中国农业 合作化运动研究

非共产党人农业合作的设想和尝试

发展初级社的独特做法：严格控制的发展模式

中共高层三次争论的来龙去脉及全新解读

一九五一年和一九五五年两次大整顿的完整叙述和客观评价

农业合作化高潮前鲜为人知的插曲

退社风潮与打击单干户现象

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内容提要

本书以丰富而翔实的史料, 具体地考察了中共中央的决策演变、中共中央所采取的各种政策和措施及其在基层的具体实施, 详细地记述了运动中发生的纷繁复杂现象, 并生动描述了众多基层干部和广大农民在运动中形形色色的心态和各种各样的行为, 再现了中国农业合作化运动错综复杂而丰富多彩的历史原貌。在此基础上, 客观地分析了中国农业合作化运动的成败得失, 并进行了深刻的反思。

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中国农业合作化运动研究

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序

几经努力，这套“李良玉教授与其博士生学术文丛”终于问世了。同学们要我写个序，我总有点想说些什么又说不出来的感觉。我不知道这是一种释然，一种期待，还是一种担心。

读者一看到丛书的名称，大约就能明白，这是一位老师和他所带的一批学生的学术著作。我也想过，用这样的名称，难免给人以唐突、标新立异甚至狂妄的感觉。然而我和我的学生们的本意，仅仅在于告诉读者，丛书的作者是一位大学里的普通的博士生导师和他的一些学生，丝毫没有宣扬这些著作的学术水准的意思。我深深地知道，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，才能最终决定它的命运。

除了我的书以外，这套丛书的著作，都是我的学生的博士论文。所有文稿都经作者的审定，个别作者对论文做了部分内容删节或文字压缩。读他们的书，我想能读到一些锐气，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个具体个案，不论这个个案有没有价值。

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，为了读书求知的共同目标他们走到一起来了。我们坦诚相处，教学相长，虽然也会有艰难或者隔阂，但是毕竟能够获得一丝丝理解与成长的快乐。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。



在我的学生们的身上，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做是一种文化创造，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，鼓励每一位博士研究生向这样的目标努力前进也是有意义的。

是为序。

李良玉

2005 年 8 月 4 日于南京大学

摘 要

本书分8章，按照时间顺序再现了中国农业合作化运动的历史进程。

第一章介绍了农业合作化运动的发轫（1927~1949.10）。在20世纪上半叶，发展农业合作已成为共产党人和许多非共产党人的普遍共识。但是，两者的具体思路略有不同，实践上则差异更大。

非共产党人在土地制度变革几无进展的情况下，试图通过发展农业合作，以和平的手段和渐进的方式，一举解决土地问题和实行大农经营。但由于未能获得民众的广泛支持，他们只进行了有限的尝试，成效甚微。不过，他们的设想和尝试却较共产党人更为大胆，有些并不亚于乃至超过了后来的高级社和人民公社。

共产党人首先进行了农村土地制度的变革，然后才逐步推行劳动互助运动。在20世纪30年代，为了解决当时中央苏区农村劳动力和耕牛、农具非常短缺的困难，共产党人就开始推行互助社等形式的劳动互助运动。这一做法，在中央红军长征后被带到陕北，并一直延续到抗日战争中期。

1943年后，中共中央开始转而利用民间劳动互助习惯来发展互助合作运动，并取得很大成绩。与此同时，毛泽东开始把劳动互助运动提升到改变小农经济的战略高度，并逐渐形成了中国农业合作化道路的初步构想。这个初步构想实际上是“逐步地集体化”思想和“将来向社会主义过渡”思想的杂糅，因此它一开始就潜藏着内在矛盾和紧张。

在1949年以前，中共中央对于彻底改造小农经济、实现农业集体化（合作化）这个目标已经非常明确，但是，他们并没有立即将其付诸实施，而基本上是在民间互助习惯基础上发展互助组。当时虽然

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出现了少数零星的农业生产合作社，但并未得到大力提倡和推广。

第二章介绍了农业合作化运动的初步发展（1949.10～1953.10）。随着土地改革后老区出现了一些新情况，一些老区在发展互助合作运动上进行一些探索。在探索过程中，中共高层领导人由于理解不同而发生了两次争论。这两次争论暴露出农业合作化道路初步构想中存在着内在矛盾。于是，以中共中央《关于农业生产互助合作的决议（草案）》的出台为标志，中国农业合作化道路基本形成了。与此同时，从1951年底，中国农业合作化运动进入一个新的发展阶段，不仅在老区获得进一步发展，并且随着新区土地改革的进行也在逐步推进。这一阶段，主要是发展互助组，同时采取严格控制的发展模式逐级试办了一些初级社。在1952年底到1953年初，在局部地区产生了急躁冒进现象。于是，从1953年春开始，各地相继进行了大力整顿乃至收缩。

第三章介绍了农业合作化运动的加快发展（1953.11～1955.6）。为了改变农业发展落后的状况，1953年秋，中共中央决定加快发展农业合作化运动的步伐。与此同时，在1953年底和1954年春，中国农业合作化道路最终确立了。这一阶段，互助合作运动开始转入以发展初级社为重点，初级社发展不断加快。但就总体而言，初级社基本上仍然保持着严格控制的发展模式。在1954年下半年和1955年初，由于粮食统购了过头粮以及局部地区合作社发展过多，造成了农村形势紧张。于是，在1955年初，中共中央放慢合作化发展步伐，并实行整顿和收缩政策。

第四章介绍了农业合作化运动高潮的前奏（1955.7～1955.11）。1955年上半年，在农业合作化的发展和整顿问题上，毛泽东和邓子恢产生了分歧和争论。双方争论的实质是邓子恢坚持严格控制的发展模式，主张在严格控制下发展合作社，而毛泽东则要求在很大程度上改变严格控制的发展模式，主张在发展合作社中进行控制。但是，毛泽东把邓子恢的主张上升到政治高度进行严厉批判，造成了强大的政治压力。于是，在各地党政部门的大力推动下，农业合作化运动开始

迅猛发展，并出现了局部高潮。在此过程中，毛泽东和各省领导还比较注意质量，有些省一度采取停止发展转入整顿或进行一定的计划控制，少数省甚至实行全面“煞车”。这一阶段，虽然改变了原来严格控制的发展模式，合作化运动获得飞速发展，但是，基本上仍然是发展初级社，并且在规模、具体做法上都还比较稳妥，因而总体上仍不失为正常发展。

第五章介绍了农业合作化运动的高潮（1955.11～1956年春）。1955年11月后，随着毛泽东采取了一系列措施，不仅初级社的发展失去控制，而且高级社也获得迅猛发展。当时很多农民加入高级社，从形式上看的确是自愿的，但是，这种自愿是建立在加入高级社能够大量增加收入或不减少收入的预期之上的，带有很大的虚假性和脆弱性。同时，就一般而言，发展取消土地报酬的高级社，从根本上违背了互利原则。因此，这个阶段是中国农业合作化运动的重大转折。

第六章介绍了农业合作化运动高潮后的整顿和调整（1956年春～1957年夏）。针对高潮后逐步暴露出来的问题，各地进行了多次整顿，并调整相关政策，解决了一些局部问题，但是一些带有根本性的问题并未得到解决。在1956年秋冬后，随着加入高级社后大量增加收入的希望在很多地方落空，全国相当一部分地区出现了退社风潮。经过整顿后退社风潮有所缓和，但1957年春夏再一次爆发了更大规模的退社风潮。在处理退社风潮时，中共中央和各省要求尽量作好工作，争取农民不退社，但也允许一些仍然坚持退社的农民退社。但是，由于中共中央和各省态度并不坚决，也没有采取有力措施，结果在很多地方农民退社仍然受到诸多限制，这就严重违背了自愿原则。同时，尽管各地采取许多措施来满足农民的要求，但基本上都没有触动高级社的体制，这就难以从根本上贯彻互利原则。因此，这一阶段的失误已经成为整体性的，已经在很大程度上违背了自愿、互利原则。

第七章介绍了农业合作化运动的强行控制（1957年夏～1957年底）。1957年夏，毛泽东从阶级斗争理论出发对农村形势进行了错误

解读，把一些农民要求退社和反对粮食统购统销政策说成是“想走资本主义道路”。于是，在全国掀起了两条道路的“大辩论”，运用阶级斗争的专政手段和意识形态的强大压力把农民对合作化和统购统销的不满强行压制下去。同时还在制度上采取一系列措施来堵“资本主义的漏洞”。这样一来，中国农业合作化运动基本上进入强制发展阶段。

为了加强对农业合作组织的经济分析，并把一些在前面7章叙述中难以讲述的问题交代清楚，本书在第八章着重分析了互助组、初级社、高级社等合作形式的各自特点及其优劣短长，并对初级社和高级社的实际绩效作了大致评估。

ABSTRACT

This book consists of 8 chapters, which chronologically overviews the historical process of the Chinese Agricultural Cooperation Movement.

In Chapter One, the rudiments of Agricultural Cooperation Movement (1927 ~ 1949.10) is introduced. During the first half of the 20th century, To develop Agricultural Cooperation Movement was publicly acknowledged by most members of CPC and many other non-CPC figures, but the ideology of these two groups were slightly different, with even greater differences existing in their practice.

While the land tenure reform could hardly make progress, non-CPC figures strived to solve land problems by implementing large-scale agricultural cultivation at one stroke through agricultural cooperation, a peaceful, transitional process. Due to lack of wide support of the public, they only conducted a limited test with little progress achieved. Despite this, they showed bolder hypothesis and experiment than some CPC members. Some of such trials even was superior to the "Advanced Cooperative" or "People's Commune" implemented later after.

CPC members firstly launched agricultural land system reform, then gradually promoted the mutual labor aid movement. In the 1930s, in order to overcome the shortage of rural labors, farm cattle and farming tools in central Soviet Area, CPC initiated the mutual labor aid movement in the form of aid society or something else. This campaign was brought to north Shan'xi Province by the Red Army through the Long March, and lasted to the middle period of China's Resistance War against Japan.

From 1943, the Central Committee of CPC started to make use of the



custom of mutual labor aid in the countryside to conduct the mutual cooperation campaign, and obtained magnificent achievement. Meanwhile, Mao Zedong began to adopt the mutual labor aid as a strategy for reforming the small-scale peasant economy, and gradually established the rudimentary ideology of Chinese Collective Agriculture, which actually combined the idea of 'gradual cooperation' with the idea of 'to transit to socialism in the future'. So since the very beginning, this ideology is full of internal conflicts and high tensions.

Before 1949, the Central Committee of CPC had definitely established their goal to completely reform the small-scale peasant economy and realize agricultural cooperation. Instead of rushing into action immediately, however, they organized mutual aid groups on the basis of mutual aid habit. Though a few agricultural production cooperatives appeared at that time, most of them had been advocated or promoted.

In Chapter Two, the early development of Agricultural Cooperation Movement (1949.10 ~ 1953.10) is introduced. With the deepening of land reform, some new situation appeared in the old revolutionary areas, and in some of these areas, several attempts were made in promoting the mutual aid & cooperation movement. During this process, because of the different understanding of the movement, top leaders of CPC had experienced two arguments, which reflected the internal contradiction and the tension existing in the ideology of agricultural cooperation. With the promulgation of the *Resolution of Central Committee of CPC on the Mutual Aid in Agricultural Production (Draft)*, the Chinese agricultural cooperation took shape. Since the end of 1951, China's agricultural cooperation movement had entered a new stage, it was not only developed in the old revolutionary areas, but also promoted step by step in the newly-librated areas with the deepening of land reform. In that stage, the main actions adopted were organizing mutual aid groups, and establishing a few elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives with its development scale strictly restricted. From the end of 1952 to the beginning of 1953, the CPC had made

some mistakes such as “leaping forward” in some areas, so since the spring of 1953, all these areas were conducted compulsory rectifications and even large-scale constrictions.

Chapter Three specifies the accelerative development of the agricultural cooperation (1953.11 ~ 1955.6) .In 1953, in order to fundamentally change the backward developed agriculture, the Central Committee of CPC decided to accelerate the agricultural cooperation process, and between the end of 1953 and spring of 1954, the Chinese agricultural cooperation movement was eventually confirmed. In this stage, mutual aid movement began focusing on elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives which developed quickly. For its whole structure, elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives remained restricted from development to a high extent. During the second half of 1954 and the beginning of 1955, the condition in rural area became emergent because the state purchased too many grains as well as too excessive cooperative societies were established in local areas. So at the beginning of 1955, the Central Committee of CPC slowed down the cooperation process and implemented rectification & constriction policies.

Chapter Four introduces the dawn of the climax of agricultural cooperation (1955.7 ~ 1955.11) .In 1955, Mao Zedong had disputes with Deng Zihui with respect to the rectification of agricultural cooperation and constriction. The essence of such dissention was that Deng insisted on the strictly-controlled development mode to develop cooperative societies, while Mao preferred to make fundamental modifications to such development mode, and conduct controls in the process of developing cooperative societies. So Mao severely criticized Deng's opinions as a political issue, thus generating an overwhelming political pressure. In such an environment, promoted by the local party and administrative authorities with full strength, the agricultural cooperation movement developed vigorously and reached climax in some areas. In this process, Mao and several provincial leaders still emphasized the quality of this movement, but



some other provinces stopped development to conduct rectifications or planned controls, and a few provinces even stopped its comprehensive development with a complete brake. In this stage, though the original strictly-controlled development mode was modified and the cooperation movement obtained fast development, the strategy basically targeted to developing elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives, and was relatively stable either in the development scale or pattern. So it still can be regarded as a normal development mode in general.

Chapter Five delineated the climax of agricultural cooperation (1955.11 to Spring of 1956). Since Nov, 1955, Mao Zedong had adopted a series of measures, which not only caused the development of elementary agricultural producer's cooperatives completely out of control, but also stimulated the remarkable and fast development of advanced cooperatives. At that time, many peasants voluntarily joined advanced cooperatives since they believed that the advanced cooperative would largely increase personal incomes or would not reduce the current income, so their hypothesis was featured as false and vulnerable. But on the other hand, advanced cooperatives abolished the land remunerations, and basically violated the principle of mutual benefits. So this stage is the key turning point of China's Agricultural Cooperation Movement.

Chapter Six introduces some rectifications and adjustments after the climax of Agricultural Cooperation Movement (from Spring of 1956 to Summer of 1957). As for some problems unveiled gradually after the climax, local authorities conducted many rectifications, adjusted some relevant policies and solved partial problems, but the fundamental problems were yet to be solved. In the autumn and winter of 1956, with the expectation that the income would increase after joining the advanced cooperatives failed to be fulfilled, in many places the peasants withdrew from cooperatives. After rectification, such trend was moderated, but soared again even greater in the spring and summer of 1957. While dealing with such condition, the Central Committee of CPC

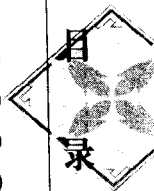
strived to do a better job and persuade peasants not to withdraw from cooperatives, meanwhile allowed those who were firm in mind to do so. Because the Central Committee of CPC and provincial authorities were wavering in their attitude and weak in taking practical measures, the withdrawal of peasants was hindered in many places, which severely violated the voluntary principle. At the same time, though authorities adopted many measures to meet the peasants' demand, but all of these measures failed to bring any changes to the mechanism of advanced cooperative, which made the implementation of the principle of mutual benefit basically impossible. Therefore mistakes in this stage were fatal, and basically violated the principle of being voluntary and mutual benefit.

Chapter Seven introduces the compulsory consolidation of Agricultural Cooperation Movement (from Summer of 1957 to the end of 1957). In summer of 1957, Mao Zedong mistakenly interpreted the condition in rural areas with the theory of social class conflict, and wrongly regarded peasant's withdrawing from cooperatives as well as their resistance against state monopoly for unified materials purchasing and selling as the inclination for capitalism. So he launched "great argumentation" of socialism and capitalism, and violently suppressed peasants' dissatisfaction with cooperation as well as state monopoly for unified materials purchasing and selling by means of dictatorship of social class conflict, as well as through the ideological pressure. At the same time, he also adopted a series of measures to correct the "loophole of capital entered the stage of mandatory development."

In order to deepen the economic analysis of the agricultural cooperative organization, as well as to delineate the issues described in first seven chapters, Chapter Eight focuses on explanation of the features and the shortcomings of every cooperation form, including mutual aid group, elementary agricultural producers' cooperative, advanced cooperative, etc., and at the same time, conducts general evaluation of the actual efficiency of each cooperation form.

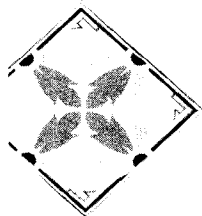
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