



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

苏南土地改革研究

Sunan Tudi Gaige Yanjiu

莫宏伟 著


合肥工业大学出版社

中国农村土地制度改革研究

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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阁先生和编辑牛洁颖女士的直接主持下，共有《李良玉教授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

内容摘要

土地改革前，苏南农村经济主要有四大基本特征：一是农产品种类多、商品化程度较高，农村副业比较发达；二是农村租佃关系与阶级关系极为复杂；三是苏南永佃权土地、公地和特殊土地较多；四是苏南部分农村农业生产技术和设备较为先进。另外，苏南的土地占有和使用、租佃制度、雇佣关系、借贷关系均显示了本地的特色。

苏南土地改革是依据中共中央和华东局关于新区土改的路线方针政策进行的。1949年4月至1950年2月是中共接管苏南城乡与初步准备土改的时期。苏南土改的全部过程，大体分为准备阶段（1950年2月到9月）、展开阶段（1950年10月到1951年3月）与结束阶段（1951年4月到12月）三个时期。土改准备工作重点放在领导干部的准备和群众条件的准备两个方面，并紧紧抓住调查研究、整顿基层组织、训练干部、宣传动员、典型试验等工作。展开阶段分为局部展开和全面推开两个时期。土改结束阶段的工作主要是对苏南全区土改进行最后一次全面检查和颁发土地证。苏南每个乡的土改均按照五个具体步骤进行，即：宣传教育，整顿组织，调查研究；划分阶级；没收，征收；分配；总结土改，颁发土地证。

苏南的地主中不乏恶霸和不法地主，他们在中共解放苏南之前霸占土地，对农民进行地租、高利贷及其他剥削，利用各种组织甚至暴力机关对农民残酷地催租和逼租，霸占和强奸农民妇女。在中共解放苏南之后他们抗拒土改，比如制造舆论、谣言，否定土改的必要性，恐吓、威胁农民，期待变天；出卖、赠送、分散甚至毁坏土地及其他财产；贿赂和拉拢干部群众；逃亡城市，诽谤土地改革；组织暴动，等等。苏南在土改期间，对地主的斗争和镇压是相当严厉的，规模也是较大的。

苏南城市郊区人多地少，非农业人口多，土地占有关系和租佃关系复杂，特殊土地多，城乡关系密切，农产品商品化程度较高。苏南针对城市郊区的这些基本特点，对郊区土地所有权、工商业的政策、划分阶级和土地分配中的一些问题等作出了切合苏南实际的具体规定：一是农民分得的原来耕种的所有权（田底权）属于地主而使用权（田面权）属于农民的土地，田面折价部分的所有权属于农民，但田底折价部分，无论分给原耕农民还是抽出，其所有权均属于国家；二是确保工商业家在城市郊区发展工商业的用地，保护具有进步设备和技术的农业经营；三是在划分阶级中慎重区别主要劳动与附带劳动，如浇水、拔草等均视为主要劳动，等等。

苏南不少地主居住城市兼营工商业或从事其他职业，城市不少工商业资本家在农村占有土地，土地所有者与工商业以及工商业者与土地的关系极为密切。保护工商业是中共在新区土改中的一项重要政策。苏南对地主兼工商业家和工商业家兼地主的工商业以及其他有利于工商业发展的土地、房屋、设备、技术等均加以保护。

土改前，苏南富农人均占有土地数为当地平均数的2倍以上，户均使用土地数为当地平均数的3倍左右，人均使用土地数为当地平均数的2倍以上。富农通过自己耕种（包括雇工耕种）和出租的方式经营土地。中共中央对新区的富农经济实行保存的政策。苏南除了征收半地主式富农的出租土地外，对一般富农的土地基本上不动，对富农的其他财产全部保留，体现了保存富农经济的原则和精神。就中国大陆范围的土地改革而言，苏南在保存富农经济方面可能是做得最好的。苏南富农的占有土地在土改后虽稍有减少，但富农人均占有土地数仍然为当地平均数的2倍左右。

苏南公共土地和特殊土地较多，公共土地主要包括宗族土地、宗教土地、慈善团体土地、学田、农场土地等，特殊土地主要有鱼池、桑田、果园、湖荡田、芦滩地等。苏南在贯彻执行中共中央和华东局处理公共土地和特殊土地的精神时，又能根据本地的情况，作了更加具体和切合实际的规定。

苏南土改中曾出现过重大偏差，主要是错划阶级成分和乱斗乱打乱杀。错划阶级成分主要表现在任意提升和降低阶级成分，有的地方还自创了在中共中央文件中没有规定的奇怪的阶级成分种类。这些情况之所以发生，一是有的土改干部任意解释劳动，提高劳动标准；二是单纯以土地占有和出租的多少为标准来划分阶级；三是以剥削作为划分阶级的唯一依据；四是以生活好坏作为划分阶级的主要标准；五是将政治态度、生活作风或者人际关系的好坏作为划分阶级的重要标准；六是一些干部包庇或者借划分阶级成分的机会公报私仇，等等。苏南还发生了乱斗乱打现象，主要表现为：斗争不是斗理而是斗力斗蛮，斗打的花样繁多；选择斗争对象不准确，将斗打的对象扩大到了农村各个阶层的人们之中；被乱斗乱打人数众多，其中部分人被打死；打人者既有干部也有农民群众，有些是干部指示打或带头打；一些地方的干部和农民借斗争之名敲诈勒索。乱斗乱打的斗争方式，伤及了许多无辜的干部和群众，导致干部在群众中的威信下降，妨碍了土地改革运动的深入，也致使不少心理脆弱者在弥漫一时的乱斗乱打氛围中自杀。

民主人士黄炎培和柳亚子均是苏南人，尤其是柳亚子本身还是苏南的大地主，他们在苏南城乡有较多的社会关系，对苏南土地改革时期农村的偏差有不少意见，而且在土改时期还来到苏南。但当时的苏南中共领导人对他们的意见不甚重视。

苏南各阶层在土地改革时期表现出极其复杂的思想动态。在土改前夕和

土改中，面对土改，有的赞成，有的反对，有的无所谓，有的听天由命，有的伤心，有的抗拒。绝大部分贫雇农积极参与土改，但普遍存在绝对平均主义心理。中农大部分是自耕农，一般而言，他们对土改不是积极参与，而是消极旁观。富农一般能在土改中保持中立，但由于革命历程中对富农的政策多次反复变化，致使不少富农怀疑中共“保存富农经济”的许诺。地主一般表现无奈、恐惧，也有表现开明的地主，还有不少地主采取种种方式抗拒土改。土改之后，贫雇农一般都能够积极生产，希望发家致富，中农的生活成为他们追赶的目标，但政治热情却明显比土改时降温。一些底子薄，生产资金不足，生产、生活较困难的贫雇农，希望和依赖政府贷款解决困难。部分贫雇农、二流子头脑中仍然充斥着农业社会主义思想，期待再次土改，生产不积极，不务正业，得过且过。中农和富农思想上普遍存在顾虑，怕升级成分，怕二次土改，怕负担重，怕露富，怕贫雇农借贷，做做吃吃的想法在这两个阶层中广泛存在，生产致富的进取欲望明显不如土改前强烈。地主的绝大部分土地、财产已被农民（主要是贫雇农）没收和分配，他们沉浸在失去土地、财产和政治权利的痛苦深渊与极度不满之中。

苏南土改结束初期，虽然不少富农中农由于顾虑很多，失去了生产的热情，但在土改中分得了土地和其他生产生活资料的绝大部分贫雇农和部分中农，生产情绪却空前提高。土改后，苏南农业产量和农民收入逐年增加，农民购买力逐年提高与物质生活初步改善，中农逐渐增多，成为农村社会的主体。

土地改革不能也无法解决所有贫困农民的所有问题。苏南土改结束初期，由于乡村干部和农民群众对中共的土地租佃和买卖、雇佣、借贷等政策不甚明了，再加上土改中一些问题处理不当，导致农村土地租佃与买卖关系、借贷关系和雇佣关系均不正常。由于过重的农业税以及自然灾害和其他意外事故的影响，苏南部分农民在土改后仍未摆脱贫困，生产资料和生活资料均感缺乏。

关键词：苏南；土地改革；农村

ABSTRACT

Before the land reform, there were four basic characteristics of the rural economy for Southern Jiangsu. The first one was the large variety of farm products, the higher degree of commercialization and the more developed rural sideline. The second one was that the rural tenancy relations and class relations were extremely complicated. The third one was that, there were a lot more land that the peasants could rent it in perpetuity, surplus land and special land. The fourth one was that the farming techniques and equipments were more advanced here. Moreover, the tenure and usage of land, tenancy system, employment relationship and debtor - creditor relationship in Southern Jiangsu all revealed its own features.

The land reform was carried on according to the land reform line and policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Part of China (CPC) and the East Bureau of Central Committee of CPC in newly - occupied area. CPC took over the whole Southern Jiangsu and had a preliminary preparation for the land reform ranged from Apr. 1949 to Feb. 1950. The whole process of the land reform could be generally divided into three periods: preparatory stage (Feb. to Sep. 1950), expanding stage (Oct. 1950 to Mar. 1951) and concluding stage (Apr. to Dec. 1951). The focus points of the first stage were on the preparation of the leaders and the masses. It held tight to the tasks of research, regulation of cell organizations, training of cadres, publication and the experiment of typical model, and so on. For the second stage, it could be divided into two periods: localizing for the reform and pushing it over to full scale. For the final stage were the overall check for the last time and promulgated the land certificate. The land reform in every village of Southern Jiangsu was carried out according to five specific steps as follows: publication, regulation of the cell organizations and research; class division; confiscation and collection; allocation; making a summary of the land reform and promulgation of the land certificate.

There was no lack of local tyrants and illegal landlords in Southern Jiangsu. They jumped a claim to the land before the coming of CPC, and charged land rent, usury and did other exploitation to the peasants. All kinds of organizations and forces were used to wring rent from the peasants. What's more, they seized and committed the crime of rape to women. After the arrival of CPC, they resisted the land reform. For example, they spread the rumor that the land reform was useless, intimidated and threatened the peasants and longed for the change of situation. They sold out, gave away, scattered, and even destroyed the land and prosperity. They bribed and co-opted the cadres and the masses. They fled to the city, spread injurious words about the land reform and incited a crowd to riot, and so on. In the course of the land reform, the struggle with and crush to the landlords were rather punitive in a



large scale.

The suburbs of Southern Jiangsu had much population while less land. Many of them didn't have the membership of agriculture people and resident status. Land tenure and tenancy relations were complicated. A mount of special land, a close relationship between city and countryside, and a high level of commercialized agriculture products were all its basic features. According to all these facts and the problems, in policy on land ownership, industry and commerce, class division and allocation of land, CPC set specific rules to meet the reality of Southern Jiangsu as follows: Firstly, in the past days the landlords had the ownership of the land, and the peasants had its right of usage, now the peasants got ownership of discounts part for its right of usage, but whose ownership of discount part for its ownership belonged to the state. Secondly, ensuring the land usage for industry and commerce in suburbs and protecting the farming and management using advanced equipments and techniques. Thirdly, distinguishing the main and supplementary work in the course of class division, like watering and mowing, which should belong to the item of main work, etc.

There were a lot of landlords who lived in the city and also operated industry and commerce and engaged in other occupations, while many capitalists captured land in the countryside. The landowners and the industry and commerce, the capitalists and the land were extremely tied tightly. It was an important policy for CPC to protect the industry and commerce in newly-occupied areas. Not only for the industry and commerce of the two kinds men mentioned before, but also for the land, houses, equipments and techniques, as long as good for the development of industry and commerce, were all well protected in Southern Jiangsu.

Before the land reform, the land hold by the rich peasants in Southern Jiangsu much doubled the average for the whole rural population. The amount of land use for the household of the rich peasants was treble the average level. The amount of land use for the percapita of the rich peasants was still twice as much as the average. They managed the land in the way of cultivation by themselves and farmlands and renting to others. The Central Committee of CPC implemented the preserving policy to the rich peasants in newly-occupied areas. Except the rent out land that was more than the land cultivated by the rich peasants themselves and their farmhands was confiscated, all land and private properties were well preserved for the general rich peasants, which expressed the sprit of "preserving the rich peasants economy". In the range of mainland in China, the Southern Jiangsu did a good job in this aspect. The per-capita land they had after the land reform was still doubled the average though a little deceased.

The surplus and special land in Southern Jiangsu were excessive. The surplus land mainly included clan land, religious land, charity land, study land, farm land and so on. The special land mainly included rearing land, mulberry field, orchard, and reed bed land, etc. The implementing of the policy in Southern Jiangsu conveyed the spirit of Central Committee of CPC and the East Bureau of the Central

Committee of CPC. What's more, they made more specific and suitable provisions according to the reality of local place.

Serious deviation had occurred in the course of the land reform, mainly for the mistaken division of classes and the state of disorder to fight and kill. The first one appeared in the aspect of arbitrarily determined of the class level, high or low, and some local cadres clarified kind of strange class by themselves, which was not even mentioned in the paper of the Central Committee of CPC. The reasons as follow: Firstly, the cadres of the land reform explained the meaning of labor at will and hold up the standard of labor. Secondly, the criterion for the class division simply depended on the amount of tenure and rent out land. Exploitation was taken for the solely gist of class difference as the third one. The fourth one was good or bad life standard was taken for main criterion. Fifthly, political attitude, life style or personal relationship were all considered as an important part. Finally, some cadres covered up for his fellow and avenged his rival in the name of the land reform. The state of disorder also happened in Southern Jiangsu. The fight was for who was more forceful and peremptory rather than the truth and the pattern was numerous. The objective of struggle was misleading and extending to all classes in the countryside. So many people were involved in the violence and some of them were killed. There were cadres and also peasants in the mess. For the most time the rude behaviors were encouraged and directed by the cadres. Some cadres and peasants extorted property in the name of struggles and fights. The struggles and fights within the mass hurt many innocent cadres and people, aliened CPC from the mass, hindered the deep through of the land reform, and made some weak - minded ones commit suicide during this period.

The democratic personages Huang Yanpei and Liu Yazi were all natives; especially the latter one was a big landlord in Southern Jiangsu. They had many social relations in this area. They came personally and made suggestions about the deviation in the countryside, which were not attached the great importance from the leaders of CPC in Southern Jiangsu.

All of the classes showed complex feelings in the course of the land reform. On the eve and in the process of the land reform, approval, objection, indifference, resignation to fate, sadness and resistance happened in the different class. Most of the poor peasants and farmhands took active role in the land reform, but generally they had the desire of equalitarianism mentality. For the middle peasants, generally speaking, most of them were tillers, so they were not so positive in the land reform, and had passive attitude instead. Though the rich peasants kept neutral in the land reform, they suspected the promise of "preserving economy of the rich peasants", because of the changeable policy carried out by CPC in the process of reform. For the landlords, helplessness and fear were in common, but there were some enlightened ones, and also some stubborn ones. After the land reform, the poor peasants and farmhands worked hard for agricultural production in order to get rich and pursue the living standard of the middle peasants, but the political enthusiasm lower than

before. Some poor peasants who had little fund depended on the loan of the government. Some of them were still expected the re-reform, who were lazy in the agricultural production, lived a meaningless life and drifted along. The middle and rich peasants worried about the future and feared about the change of class division, re-reform, heavy load, wealth reveal and loan. "Waiting and seeing" was widely distributed in these two classes. The frontier spirit was obvious less than before. To the landlords, most of their land and property were confiscated and distributed by the peasants (especially by the poor peasants and farmhands). They indulged into the painful abyss and extreme dissatisfaction for the losing of their land, property and political right.

Shortly after the land reform in Southern Jiangsu, though many middle and rich peasants lost the zeal of production, the greater part of the poor peasants and farmhands who gotten the land and other means of production and subsistence in the land reform and part of the middle peasants had unprecedented exaltation for farm working. After the land reform, the agriculture yield and income of the peasants increased, the purchasing power of the peasants raised and the peasants' livelihood improved year by year. The middle peasants become the main body of population of countryside.

The land reform can't resolve all the problems for all the poor peasants. Shortly after the land reform in Southern Jiangsu, some rural cadres and peasants didn't have a comprehensive understanding for the policy of CPC about land rent, business, employment, loan, and so on. Attached to some problems were not handled properly, which lead the rural land tenancy relationship, business relationship, loan relationship and employment relationship were not normal. For influence of over-weight agriculture tax, disasters and other accidents, some peasants couldn't get rid of poverty, and the lack of means of production and subsistence were still existed in Southern Jiangsu.

Key words: Southern Jiangsu; land reform; countryside



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