

【李良玉教授及其博士生导师学术文丛】

贾艳敏 ■ 著

# 大跃进时期 乡村政治的典型

——河南嵒嵒山卫星  
人民公社研究

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### 内容提要

本书选取了在大跃进和人民公社化运动中建立最早的人民公社——河南省遂平县嵒嵒山卫星人民公社作为研究个案，分析了它建立的背景、概况、遭受的灾难、第一次郑州会议后对“左”倾错误的初步调整、庐山会议后“左”倾错误的再一次加剧与造成的灾难，以及中共中央调整政策后公社经济的稳定和恢复。通过对这一典型个案的分析，旨在揭示人民公社化运动是如何从树立典型，再以这个典型为样板在全国展开的过程及其后果。

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## 总 序

几经努力，这套“李良玉教授及其博士生学术文丛”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

总



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

## 内容摘要

在中国农村延续了20余年的社会基层组织——人民公社，源于1958年的大跃进和人民公社化运动。那场曾经动员了全社会力量所进行的轰轰烈烈的运动，造成了中国历史上的又一次大饥荒，同时形成了三级所有、以队为基础的人民公社体制。这种体制一直延续到20世纪80年代，对中国农村造成了极大的影响。

本书选取最早建立的人民公社——河南省遂平县嵒嵒山卫星人民公社（以下简称嵒嵒山卫星公社）作为研究个案，分析了大跃进时期该公社建立的背景、概况、遭受的灾难、第一次郑州会议后对“左”倾错误的初步调整、庐山会议后“左”倾错误的再一次加剧与造成的更大灾难以及中共中央调整政策后公社经济的稳定和恢复。通过对这一典型个案的分析，旨在揭示人民公社化运动是如何从树立起典型，再以这个典型为样板在全国展开的过程及其造成的后果。文章还分析了这种树立典型的工作方法对当代历史发展的影响。

本书共分引言、正文和结语三部分，正文部分共有七章。

引言部分主要介绍本书选题的缘起、意义、相关学术史的回顾、研究的区域界定以及资料收集的情况。

第一章主要论述了第一个人民公社——嵒嵒山卫星公社首先在河南出现的背景和建立简况。背景包括两个方面：一是通过冒进、反冒进和反反冒进的斗争，迅速完成了农业合作化。二是在农业合作化和反右派问题上，河南省党内发生了省长、省委第二书记吴芝圃与省委第一书记潘复生的斗争。在农业合作化问题上，潘复生不满吴芝圃的“左”倾做法，主张照顾农民的利益，逐步走互助合作的道路。在反右派斗争中，潘复生的稳健作风引起了吴芝圃的不满。斗争的结果是吴芝圃等人占据了优势，潘复生被划为“右倾机会主义分子”，遭到

撤职的处分，而吴芝圃成为河南省委第一书记。在吴芝圃主持下，河南省成为大跃进的红旗省，“左”倾错误大泛滥。

第二章主要论述了嵯峨山卫星公社的建立过程。由于体现了毛泽东等中央高层领导人所设想的中国社会未来发展方向，嵯峨山卫星公社被树立为全国人民公社化的样板。国务院副总理谭震林对嵯峨山卫星公社给予高度评价，《红旗》杂志常任编辑李友九两次奉命到嵯峨山调查，河南省委书记处书记史向生向毛泽东作了详细汇报。由多方合作而代替公社研究制订出来的《嵯峨山卫星人民公社试行简章（草稿）》，被毛泽东赞誉为全国农民组织人民公社的“宪法”。人民公社化运动迅速掀起了高潮。本章还进一步分析了人民公社体制之所以成为“五亿农民的新方向”，具有三个方面的深层原因：一是马克思主义的经典作家曾经论述过对农民的小私有经济进行改造；二是受世界上第一个社会主义国家苏联农业集体化的影响；三是从青年时期起，毛泽东就具有空想社会主义情结。

第三章主要论述了嵯峨山卫星公社发射粮食高产“卫星”的过程。在大跃进和人民公社化运动中，一直处于领先地位的河南省不断修改各项“跃进”计划，尤其是粮食产量指标一再提高，实现《一九五六年到一九六七年全国农业发展纲要（草案）》所定目标的时间一再提前。在大跃进运动中卫星公社发射的小麦高产“卫星”造成了巨大的影响。在嵯峨山卫星公社带动下，全国各地竞相放“卫星”，甚至出现了亩产十几万斤的高产纪录。大跃进时期的“浮夸风”，是导致高征购的重要原因之一，也是造成饥荒蔓延的重要原因之一。

第四章主要论述新闻界对嵯峨山卫星公社粮食高产“卫星”以及生产、管理等方面的制度所进行的强大宣传。此宣传分为两个阶段，前期是对高产“卫星”的报道，各大报纸如《人民日报》、《光明日报》、《文汇报》、《中国青年报》等以及各省级报纸都参与其中。不少著名科学家、经济学家、作家也纷纷撰写文章，论证、鼓吹嵯峨山卫星公社发射的粮食高产“卫星”。后期是对嵯峨山卫星公社体制的宣传。卫星公社成了“人民公社”的“圣地”，各地、各阶层数以万计

的参观者纷纷到此取经学习。

第五章主要论述了嵯峨山区率先建立人民公社和在1958年夏季发射粮食产量“卫星”而造成的严重后果。大跃进时期，嵯峨山卫星公社以“共产风”和“浮夸风”为主的“五风”盛行，干部违法乱纪现象严重，农民的生命财产遭到严重破坏，社会生产力下降。党中央发现了大跃进和公社化的问题后进行了八个多月的纠正。通过纠“左”整社，嵯峨山卫星公社的“五风”得到初步遏制，调整了过大的所有制体制，清算了平调的各种款项，一定程度上缓解了“左”倾错误。

第六章主要论述庐山会议后，卫星公社的反右倾、鼓干劲和继续“跃进”。庐山会议后，全国范围内掀起了反右倾运动。河南省在反右倾运动中，划起了一大批右倾机会主义分子。嵯峨山卫星公社经过批判彭德怀，反右倾，修改“跃进”计划，掀起了新的“跃进”高潮，重新刮起“五风”，“左”倾错误更加严重。更大的一个错误做法是展开了大规模的“反瞒产私分”。“反瞒产私分”运动用掘地三尺的方法将嵯峨山卫星公社农民们出于求生本能私藏的一点点粮食挖走，这也是大跃进和人民公社化运动时期造成嵯峨山卫星公社人口大量非正常死亡的最直接的原因。“反瞒产私分”，把嵯峨山卫星公社在饥饿中挣扎的农民推向了死亡的深渊。

第七章主要叙述嵯峨山卫星公社在大跃进和人民公社化运动中的灾难性后果，即大饥荒和大量人口的非正常死亡。“信阳事件”是大跃进和人民公社化运动极“左”路线造成的恶果在河南的集中反映，也是全国范围内的一个恶性典型。嵯峨山卫星公社成为“信阳事件”的重灾区，出现了普遍的饥荒，干部违法乱纪达到了惊人的地步，罚冻、罚饿、捆、绑、吊、打、等种种酷刑被广泛利用，造成了人口死亡率超过了人口总数10%的恶果。这一灾难也是全国执行极“左”政策造成严重后果的一个缩影。

结论部分叙述了嵯峨山卫星人民公社从20世纪60年代直至今天的发展状况，并访谈了不同身份不同年龄阶段的当地人，倾听他们对



那段历史的看法。同时分析了中国当代史上树立典型的工作方法。当代史上被树立的典型有许多，其中包括“雷锋”、“焦裕禄”这样有积极意义的典型，也有“大寨”这样被歪曲的典型，更有“顾阿桃”这样的没有任何价值、只是充当个人崇拜工具的假典型。通过分析这些典型被树立、宣传、推广的过程以及导致的结果，总结了树立典型、宣传典型、推广典型的工作方法影响中国当代历史发展的程度及其所提供的经验教训。

## ABSTRACT

People's communes, which lasted more than 20 years as the grassroots social organization in the rural areas of China, originated in 1958 during the movement of the people's commune and the Great Leap Forward. The dynamic movement, which had had the whole society motivated, had caused another serious famine in Chinese history and resulted in the establishment of people's commune system. This system had lasted until the 1980's ever since, and had profoundly influenced the rural area of China. This thesis has selected the earliest founded people's commune, Chayashan Satellite People's Commune in Suiping County of Henan province to make a case study. It is to show progressively the background of the founding of Chayashan Satellite People's Commune in the Great Leap Forward, the general situation of Chayashan Satellite People's Commune and the disaster in its early phrase, the preliminary adjustment after the first ZhengZhou Meeting, the more serious Left Deviation mistake and more serious disaster after Lushan Meeting, and its economical recovery and stabilization after central government's adjustment of the policy. Through the study of typical case of this people's commune, this thesis is to show how the movement of the people's commune was developed from the setting of typical, which was taken as the model and was followed around the country. The advantage and disadvantage of such a method is also to be seen.

This thesis consists of three parts, including preface, main body and conclusion. The main body is divided into seven chapters.

The causes, importance, recall of related theoretical history and collected reference material were clarified in the preface.

In the first chapter, I describe the background and the general situation

of the first people's commune, Chayashan Satellite People's Commune. The background included two sides: first, the speedy completion of agriculture cooperative movement during the struggle of premature advance, countering premature advance and countering - countering premature advance. Second, the struggle between Wu Zhipu, who was province governor and second secretary of CPC (Communist Party of China) of Henan branch, and Pan Fusheng, who was the first secretary of CPC of Henan branch. Not being satisfied with Wu Zhipu's Left Deviation administration on the question of agriculture cooperative movement, Pan Fusheng advocated protecting farmer's interests and accomplishing agriculture cooperative movement gradually. But during the anti - Right Deviation movement, Pan Fusheng's steady administration caused Wu Zhipu's discontent. The struggle between them resulted in Pan Fusheng's discharge as a member of Right Deviation Opportunism, and Wu Zhipu became the first secretary of CPC of Henan branch. Because of the special situation in China in that time, the administration of Henan province under Wu Zhipu's direction won more attention from CCCPC (Central Committee of Communist Party of China) and Chairman Mao Zedong. This resulted in Left Deviation mistake which was run rampantly in Henan province during the Great Leap Forward.

In the second chapter, I talk about the foundation of Chayashan Satellite People's Commune. Because this people's commune tallied with the Utopia aspiration for China social future direction of CCCPC leaders, such as Mao Zedong etc, it was viewed positively and was attached great importance by the leaders of the locality, the province, and the central government. Vice premier Tan Zhenlin expressed theoretical support. Li Youjiu, executive editor of Hongqi magazine, twice visited Chayashan Satellite People's Commune, and secretariat secretary Shi Xiangsheng of CPC of Henan branch reported the situation to Mao Zedong in detail. *The general regulations of Chayashan Satellite People's Commune (rough draft)*, which was accomplished through coopera-

tion of several sides, was personally appointed as constitution of all people's communes in China by Mao Zedong. From then on, the system of people's commune was spread all over China. This chapter theoretically analyzes the deep reasons why people's commune could become the so-called new direction of five hundred million farmers. Those reasons include: first, the related theoretical points of Marx and Engels; second, the influence of the first socialism country, the Soviet Union; thirdly, Mao Zedong's Utopia complex since his youth. Those reasons resulted in confirmation and highly valuation of people's commune since its appearance, and the social revolution finally.

In the third chapter, it is described that the leading position of Henan province and Launch Satellite (create new and succeeded record in false and exaggerative ways) of food production in Chayashan Satellite People's Commune during the Great Leap Forward and people's commune movement. Because Henan province was the advanced Red Flag province in the Great Leap Forward and people's commune movement, it had to adjust all its plans constantly. Target of food production was personally and unreasonably raised without stop, the deadline of achieving agriculture development program was shifted to predated continuously. As the leader of Great Leap Forward, Chayashan Satellite People's Commune fulfilled system reform in advance. Chayashan Satellite People's Commune set the first false and exaggerative record of wheat product. This set the example for Launch Satellite in Great Leap Forward. From then on, it set more startling records in food production. Many other places in China followed its step and set more astonishing records one by one, even the record of each acre reached 100 thousand jin. This typical false and exaggerative record caused much more purchase from government, which caused shortage of food and widespread famine in rural areas.

Firth chapter discusses the propaganda of Chayashan Satellite People's Commune system and its so-called high food production by main newspaper and magazine, and the important influence of the production and management



of Chayashan People's Commune in the other areas of China. This propaganda was divided into two periods. In the first period, the propaganda mainly concentrated on high food production of Chayashan People's Commune, many national newspapers, such as *People Daily*, *Guangming Daily*, *Wenhui Daily*, *China Youth Daily* etc, and many provincial newspapers took part in the action. Many famous scientists, economists, writers wrote articles to analyze and sing high praise for the food production of Chayashan People's Commune. In the second period, the propaganda mainly concentrated on Chayashan People's Commune system. Through these strong propaganda and numerous articles, Chayashan became the Holy Land of people's commune. Thousands of visitors from all classes all over China flocked here to learn from it. Mao Zedong inspected Suiping County in November 1958, the report to him also concentrated on a splendid communism Utopia.

In the fifth chapter, I discuss the serious result of Chayashan Satellite People's Commune by the first foundation of the people's commune, and its launch of the food product "Satellite" in the summer of 1958. During the Great Leap Forward, the unique fame of Chayashan Satellite People's Commune also sowed the seeds of misfortune. Because of the popularity of "Wu Feng", mainly "Gong Chan Feng" and "Fu Kua Feng", the unlawful practice of cadres was popular, the life and fortune of farmers were destroyed seriously, and the social productivity declined. After CCCPC found its problem, the correction lasted for eight months, Ownership system was modulated and "Wu Feng" was preliminarily held back, all kinds of debt were made clear and definite. After the correction activity, Left Deviation mistake of Great Leap Forward and people's commune movement were kept within limits.

In the sixth chapter, Great Leap Forward continued after Lushan Meeting in Chayashan Satellite People's Commune by ways of anti - Right Deviation movement. After Lushan Meeting, anti - Right Deviation movement spread all over China. Just like its people's commune movement and Great Leap Forward,

the anti - Right Deviation movement in Henan province was on a grand and spectacular scale. A great number of Right Deviation members were arrested in this province. After criticizing Peng Dehuai and anti - Right Deviation movement, Chayashan Satellite People's Commune returned its original situation, new tide of Great Leap Forward was created here. "Wu Feng" also returned here as before, and Left Deviation mistake became more serious. A large scale of anti - concealment movement was launched against those farmers who privately hid food for themselves. This drove many dying farmers into the abyss of death. This was the most direct reason for huge amounts people's unnatural death during the Great Leap Forward and people's commune movement.

In the seventh chapter, I describe the disastrous result of Great Leap Forward and people's commune movement in Chayashan, which was huge amounts of unnatural death and serious famine. "Xinyang Accident" was an example of the disastrous result of Great Leap Forward and people's commune movement in Henan province, and also a typical case in China. In order to maintain the fame of the first class people's commune in all over the country, Chayashan carried out the Left Deviation policy incisively and vividly, and turned into a severely afflicted area of "Xinyang Accident". Famine spread all over Chayashan Satellite People's Commune, unlawful practice of cadres was astonishing, many cruel tortures, such as freezing, hunger, binding, beating, hanging, ironing etc, were used to treat disobeyers. All these factors caused more than 10 percent death rate among the whole population. This also was a typical case in China during the Left Deviation policy period.

Based on analyses of other typical cases, such as Leifeng and Jiao Yulu, which is positively influential even today, or Dazhai and Guatao, which added foul to the flames of Left Deviation mistaken policy, and the whole process of setting, propagandizing, spreading and its result of each typical case, this thesis clarifies the advantages and disadvantages of this kind of government administration in modern history of China.

伟大的阶级，正如伟大的民族一样，无论从哪方面学习，都不如从自己的错误中学习来得快。

——恩格斯

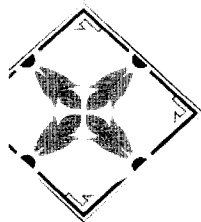
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大跃进时期乡村政治的典型



引言