彭真在 1957 年整風、 「反右派」運動中的角色與作為

鍾延麟

國立政治大學東亞研究所助理教授

1957年春,毛澤東發起整風運動,其原先規劃對黨內進行整頓與革新,但 是到後來卻加入了「反右派」的議程,使得運動演變成對黨內外敢言人士的大 肆討伐和追查。當時擔任中共中央政治局委員、中央書記處書記兼北京市委第 一書記、市長的彭眞,在其中的政治角色和影響問題,西方學者雖早已注意, 但研究過淺並認識有誤;中國大陸官方史家則對之不敢細談和深究。本文以近 年蒐集的各類文獻資料爲基礎,經過考察後指出:彭眞雖非中央政治局常委會 的成員,但他深受層峰信賴而參與運動各階段的政策制定。彭眞因身任中央書 記處第二號書記,直接肩挑運動相關政策如「引蛇出洞」的執行,他對自身分 工負責的領域如統戰和政法部門的「反右」操作上,更是獨當一面。與此同時, 彭真又因擔任首都北京市的最高黨政負責人,直接掌控當地的運動發展。在他 的努力下,北京市的運動作法和經驗,常成爲其他省市參照模仿的對象。彭眞 對運動所作的兩層次(中央和北京市)、多面向的參與,使之成爲運動的實際 操辦者和運動激化發展的重要關係人。在運動中的高層菁英互動方面,除了可 見彭眞對毛澤東的悉心跟隨和力爭表現,也可觀察彭眞和鄧小平爲貫徹運動決 策的緊密合作。最後,透過彭真的此一個案研究,還可有助於進一步地認識和 了解中共的政治運動,特別是藉之檢視在運動過程中承上啓下、職司執行的 「督導人」的相關角色。

關鍵字:彭嶌、整風運動、反右派鬥爭、毛澤東、中共黨史

Peng Zhen's Roles and Activities in the Rectification and the Anti-Rightist Campaign of 1957

Yen-lin Chung

Assistant Professor, Graduate Institute of East Asian Studies National Chengchi University

ABSTRACT

In the spring of 1957, Mao Zedong launched the Rectification Campaign. Initially, this campaign aimed at rectifying certain shortcomings of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). However, it soon became a political purge in which outspoken individuals were hunted out and labeled Rightists. During this notorious campaign, Peng Zhen was one of the most influential political figures. As a senior member of the Politburo of the CCP and the second-ranking leader of the Central Secretariat, Peng Zhen actively participated in decision-making and zealously assisted Deng Xiaoping in carrying out the campaign policies such as "luring out the snakes." As the Central leader who took charge of politicallegal affairs and united front works, Peng was responsible for the radical campaign development in these two fields. Furthermore, Peng concurrently served as the Party Secretary of the Beijing Municipal Committee. He was in charge of directing and supervising the campaign of Beijing city, and was eager to promote the campaign experiences of the nation's capital as an example for emulation throughout the rest of the country. To sum up, Peng contributed much to escalating and radicalizing the campaign, and driving it forward excessively. Regarding the elite politics during the campaign, Peng was Mao's trusted follower to implement his political initiatives, and he cooperated well with Deng to accomplish the campaign. This study also enhances the understanding of the political campaigns led by the CCP, and particularly the crucial role of the campaign executor.

Key Words: Peng Zhen, Rectification Campaign, Anti-Rightist Struggle, Mao Zedong, Chinese Communist Party History