

向胡耀邦学习——《胡耀邦传》序言 Learn from Hu Yaobang— Preface to *Biography of Hu Yaobang*

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胡耀邦

FN 028 – Li Rui on Learning from Hu Yaobang

1985年6月中旬，胡耀邦在山西吉县农家炕头和农民商讨如何开发山区，治贫致富过上好日子

Google Translation throughout

我们党的历届正式领导人，从陈独秀开始，瞿秋白、向忠发、李立三、王明、秦邦宪、张闻天、毛泽东、华国锋……一一回顾起来，最得人心的我个人以为是胡耀邦。他去世已经十五年，可是声誉更隆，更被怀念，在党内党外公众的心目中，他是党的良心，社会的良心。 The previous official leaders of our party, starting with Chen Duxiu, Qu Qiubai, Xiang Zhongfa, Li Lisan, Wang Ming, Qin Bangxian, Zhang Wentian, Mao Zedong, Hua Guofeng. Looking back one by one, I personally think it is Hu Yaobang who is the most popular. It has been 15 years since his death, but his reputation is even greater and he is remembered even more. in the eyes of the public outside the party, he is the conscience of the party and the conscience of society.

耀邦是应该得到这样的历史地位的，因为他是真正扭转乾坤，推动历史前进的一个人物。党在毛泽东去世时解决了“四人帮”后，面临“中国向何处去”的问题。在这个重要的历史转折关头，耀邦理直气壮、挺身而出。当叶剑英派他的儿子将“四人帮”已被抓起来的信息告诉耀邦时，他立即进言：“中兴伟业，人心为上；停止批邓，人心大顺；冤案一理，人心大喜；生产狠狠抓，人心乐开花。”（当时被称为“隆中三策”）这时全国还在“两个凡是”的统治之下。耀邦在中央党校副校长的岗位上，顶着极大的风险，组织

了“实践是检验真理的唯一标准”的讨论，冲破了“两个凡是”左倾错误思想的长期束缚。他明确提出：“这十几年的历史是非，不要根据哪个文件，哪个同志的讲话，光看文件不行，还要看实践。”以实践为分清历史是非的标准，这比后来发展的大讨论要早半年。随后在中央组织部部长的岗位上，以彻底的唯物主义精神，“要横下一条心，该坚持的一定要坚持，该挺身而出说话的，一定要挺身而出。”他大胆排除上面来的干扰，平反了数以百万计的冤假错案，从“六十一人叛徒集团”直到五十几万右派分子，不但还历史以公正，而且为改革开放大业找到了一大批得力干部。十年浩劫后，不做好上述这两件大事，就无从拨乱反正，打开改革开放的新局面。所以大家都认为，耀邦是十一届三中全会起始，在邓小平、叶剑英、陈云支持下，推动历史前进的一位先锋人物。 Yaobang deserves such a historical position, because he is a figure who really turns things around and promotes the progress of history. After Mao Zedong solved the Gang of four at the time of Mao Zedong's death, the party was faced with the question of "where does China go?" At this important historical turning point, Yaobang stood up and stood up. When Ye Jianying sent his son to tell Yaobang that the Gang of four had been arrested, he immediately said: "ZTE's great cause, the hearts of the people are above; stop criticizing Deng, the hearts of the people are great; when the grievances are justified, the hearts of the people are happy;" Production is hard to grasp, and the hearts of the people bloom with joy. "(at that time, it was called the" three policies of Longzhong ") at this time, the whole country was still under the rule of" two nobles ". In his post as vice president of the Central Party School, Yaobang, at great risk, organized a discussion on "practice is the only criterion for testing truth," breaking through the long-term shackles of the left-leaning erroneous thought of "two whatevers." He clearly pointed out: "over the past decade or so, the history of right and wrong should not be based on which document, which comrade's speech, it is impossible to read the document alone, but also depends on practice." "taking practice as the criterion for distinguishing right from wrong in history was half a year earlier than the great discussion that developed later. Subsequently, in the post of head of the Organization Department of the Central Committee, in a spirit of thorough materialism, "we must stick to what we should insist on, and if we should stand up and speak, we must stand up." "he boldly ruled out the above interference and rehabilitated millions of wrongs and wrongs, from the" group of 61 traitors "to more than half a million Rightists, and not only did history serve justice. Moreover, a large number of capable cadres have been found for the great cause of reform and opening up. After a decade of havoc, if we do not do a good job in these two major events, we will not be able to put things right and open up a

new situation of reform and opening up. Therefore, we all believe that Yaobang is a pioneer who pushed history forward with the support of Deng Xiaoping, Ye Jianying, and Chen Yun at the beginning of the third Plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

耀邦为什么能具有如此的眼光和气魄？仅仅是由于文革十年的教训吗？据我所知，耀邦从理论到实践的过人胆识，由来已久。他十四岁参加革命后，就遇到打 AB 团，自己几乎被杀，这当然是刻骨铭心之事。以下简要记述几件他的这种有关经历。耀邦为什么能具有如此的眼光和气魄？仅仅是由于文革十年的教训吗？据我所知，耀邦从理论到实践的过人胆识，由来已久。他十四岁参加革命后，就遇到打 AB 团，自己几乎被杀，这当然是刻骨铭心之事。以下简要记述几件他的这种有关经历

延安抢救运动时，他很是反对，在自己掌权的我军总政组织部，亲自做逼、供、信试验，打出假特务，立即向毛泽东作了报告。 Why can Yaobang have such vision and spirit? Is it just because of the lessons of the decade of the Cultural Revolution? As far as I know, Yaobang has a long history of courage from theory to practice. After he joined the revolution at the age of 14, he met the AB regiment and was almost killed, which is, of course, unforgettable. The following is a brief account of several of his relevant experiences. Why can Yaobang have such vision and spirit? Is it just because of the lessons of the decade of the Cultural Revolution? As far as I know, Yaobang has a long history of courage from theory to practice. After he joined the revolution at the age of 14, he met the AB regiment and was almost killed, which is, of course, unforgettable. The following is a brief account of several of his relevant experiences in the Yan'an rescue movement. he was very opposed to it. in the General political Organization Department of our army, which was in power, he personally conducted coercion, confessions, and letter tests, made false spies, and immediately made a report to Mao Zedong.

1950 年到 1952 年，担任川北党政领导时，他亲自起草“人民代表公约”；土改中实行保护富农和对地主的温和政策；不许农民乱罚乱斗，进城抓人。当年邓小平这样评价他：“有主见，不盲从。” From 1950 to 1952, when he was the leader of the party and government in northern Sichuan, he personally drafted the Convention on people's Representatives; carried out a moderate policy of protecting the rich peasants and landlords in the land reform; and forbade the peasants to punish and fight indiscriminately and to go into the cities to catch people. Deng Xiaoping said of him that year: "have your own opinions, not blindly follow." "

1952 年到 1966 年，他担任团中央第一书记，提倡八个大字：“朝气蓬勃，实事求是。”他说：“实事求是就是做老实人，说老实话，办老实事。要说一是一，说二是二，

不弄虚作假。要有实干的精神，言行一致，表里如一。”他认为执政党尤其要这样要求。战争年代，形势逼得你非实事求是不可；执政以后，极容易自以为是，走向反面；坚持实事求是，必须深入实际，尤其需要民主制度和党的纪律的保证。 From 1952 to 1966, he served as the first secretary of the Youth League Central Committee, advocating eight big words: "vigorous, realistic and realistic." "to seek truth from facts is to be honest, to tell the truth, and to do honest things," he said. To say one is one, say two is two, do not cheat. It is necessary to have the spirit of practical work, to be consistent with words and deeds, and to act as if they were the same. "he believes that the ruling party should, in particular, demand this. In the war years, the situation forced you to seek truth from facts; after you came to power, it was very easy to be self-righteous and go the other way. to persist in seeking truth from facts, you must go deep into reality, especially the guarantee of democratic system and party discipline.

1954年10月，《中国青年报》编辑问他，“怎样理解社会主义人道主义？”耀邦回答：“无产阶级不是只讲革命，只讲斗争，它也讲爱心，讲人情味，讲对同志、对广大人民群众群众的尊重、关心和爱护。只有这样，我们的社会主义才是可爱的，人们才能从中感受到更多的欢乐和温暖。” In October 1954, the editor of the China Youth Daily asked him, "how do you understand socialist humanitarianism?" Yaobang replied: "the proletariat is not just about revolution, it is only about struggle, it is also about love, humanity, respect, concern, and love for comrades and the broad masses of the people. Only in this way, our socialism is lovely, people can feel more joy and warmth. "

1957年反右派时，他不在国内；回国后，对团中央打的右派进行安慰。他同我谈过，生平憾事，对项南和苏进没有保护好；两次自责，批斗彭德怀时没讲公道话，开除刘少奇党籍也举了手。 When anti-Rightism began in 1957, he was not in the country; when he returned home, he comforted the Rightists attacked by the CYL Central Committee. He talked to me about the regret in his life that he did not protect Xiang Nan and Su Jin well; he blamed himself twice for not speaking fairly during the criticism of Peng Dehuai, and for raising his hand to expel Liu Shaoqi from the party.

1962年下放湖南帮助工作两年时，他亲自来浏阳、醴陵、平江的生产大队蹲点。四清运动开始，对政策界限和方法步骤都作了规定：凡属集体瞒产私分，不做处理；手脚不干净的，公物归还，不搞坦白检举；群众向干部提意见，只“背靠背”；同时号召“一手抓生产，一手抓运动。”湘潭地区因此没有发生乱斗和影响生产，大家都满意。 When he was sent down to Hunan in 1962 to help with his work for two years, he personally came to the

production brigades of Liuyang, Liling and Pingjiang to squat on a point. At the beginning of the four Qing Movement, the policy boundaries and methods and steps were stipulated: where it is a collective concealment of property and private division, no handling shall be done; if the hands and feet are not clean, the public property shall be returned and no frank prosecution shall be carried out; and the masses shall put forward their opinions to the cadres. It is only "back-to-back"; at the same time, it calls for "one hand to grasp production and the other hand to grasp movement." "as a result, no fighting has taken place in the Xiangtan area and has affected production, and everyone is satisfied.

1964年12月到1965年6月，在陕西省第一书记任上，正是以阶级斗争为纲、四清运动越来越左时。他以大无畏的精神，开展了“解放思想、解放人、放宽政策、搞活经济”为主题的超前民主改革，纠正社教运动中侵犯人权的错误做法。他发出这样的号召：“社教运动是教育人，不是整人”；“要维护人权，尊重风俗人情”；“民主要过硬”；“领导人要听反对的话”。他强调“生产好不好，是检验工作好坏的最主要标志。”同时，恢复集市贸易，允许短途运输，发展乡镇工业，提倡植树造林（谁种归谁）。当年在中共西北局的领导下，陕西“左祸”特别严重。耀邦本人被批判被审查，以后在叶剑英保护下回到北京，他的副手等则受到严重迫害。 From December 1964 to June 1965, when he was the first secretary of Shaanxi Province, it was on the basis of class struggle that the four Qing movements became more and more left. In a fearless spirit, he carried out advanced democratic reforms with the theme of "emancipating the mind, liberating people, relaxing policies, and invigorating the economy," and corrected the wrong practice of violating human rights in the social education movement. He issued such a call: "the social education movement is to educate people, not to persecute people"; "to uphold human rights and respect customs and customs"; "Democracy should be strong"; and "leaders should listen to the words of opposition". He stressed that "whether the production is good or not is the most important sign of whether the inspection work is good or not." "at the same time, we should resume fair trade, allow short-distance transport, develop township industries, and promote afforestation (whoever grows it). At that time, under the leadership of the Northwest Bureau of the Communist Party of China, Shaanxi's "left disaster" was particularly serious. Yaobang himself was criticized and censored, and later returned to Beijing under the protection of Ye Jianying, and his deputy was severely persecuted.

耀邦在文革中始终是比较清醒的。初期同团中央几位书记同舟共济，每天有几千上万人来揪斗他们。有人揭发他反对毛主席，说过“太阳也有黑点”；反对林副主席“突出政治”，说“游泳时要突出鼻子，不然就要呛水”；他说过“康生一贯左”。他只承认学习不够，工作有错，执行了修正主义路线。有次在长辛店，被打得全身皮肉红肿。他认为毛泽东骄傲了；“不让权，不做自我批评。”“骄傲害死人呀！”文革后期，他叹息“搞八年还看不到头”，“多行不义必自毙”。Yaobang was always sober during the Cultural Revolution. In the early days, several secretaries of the CYL Central Committee worked together in the same boat, and tens of thousands of people came to attack them every day. They revealed that he opposes Chairman Mao and said that "the sun also has black spots"; that Vice Chairman Lin "gives prominence to politics" and that "if you swim, you have to highlight your nose, or you have to choke on water"; and he has said that "Kang Sheng has always been left". He only admitted that he did not study enough, that his work was wrong, and that he had carried out the revisionist line. Once in Changxin shop, he was beaten red and swollen all over his body. He thought Mao Zedong was arrogant: "He does not cede power, does not do self-criticism." "Pride kills people!" In the late Cultural Revolution, he sighed that "we've done this for eight years, and still can't see the can't see the head" and that "if you do more injustice, you must kill yourself. "

文革后期，耀邦被周恩来、邓小平推荐到科学院主持工作，主持起草了《汇报提纲》，根据马克思的著作，最早提出“科学技术是生产力”，从而否定了“知识私有”、“白专道路”等打击知识分子的错误提法，并作了“实现四个现代化是新长征”的报告。后来在“批邓反击右倾翻案风”中，这《汇报提纲》成了集中批判的“三株大毒草”之一，他又受到残酷斗争。In the late period of the Cultural Revolution, Yaobang was recommended by Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping to preside over the work of the Academy of Sciences and presided over the drafting of the "outline report," according to Marx's works. It was the first to put forward that "science and technology are productive forces", thus negating the erroneous formulation of "private knowledge" and "white special road" against intellectuals, and making a report on "realizing the four modernizations is a new long march". Later, in the "Criticize Deng and Counterattack the Rightist Wind of Reversing Verdicts," the "Outline Report" became one of the "three poisonous weeds" that focused criticism, and he was subjected to a cruel struggle.

由上述这些事例，我们知道耀邦一生历经革命磨练，特别注重理论与实践的结合，尤其看重实践效果，因而能抓住过去党和毛泽东屡犯错误最终走上文革绝路的症结：即接受

了斯大林的一套想法和做法，从政治、经济到文化、思想都绝对统治，名为无产阶级专政，实为一党专政，一党专政又变成了领袖专政。毛泽东晚年还结合中国自秦始皇以来的帝王专制：乾纲独断，一言九鼎，发展个人崇拜，高呼万岁；甚至超过历代帝王；林彪领会迎合，做到极致：四个伟大，一句顶一万句，手摇小红书，身上挂像章，早请示晚汇报。于是党内党外，都做驯服工具，甘为奴隶（还有吹捧者甘做奴才）。于是文革浩劫，犹如邪教猖狂。因此，耀邦特别重视全面改革，经济、政治、文化、教育等体制必须同步改革；尤其政治要民主化，认为强求“保持一致”，就没有思想自由和言论、出版自由。他在兼任中共中央宣传部长以后，在1978年最后一天和1979年第三天，同全体工作人员两次讲话，正式宣布，要把中宣部办成“思想解放部”，要建立社会主义的自由、民主、科学、求实、开放、文明、富裕的体制，以代替那种被异化了的专制、迷信、僵化、封闭、落后、野蛮、贫困的体制。他愤怒地谴责文化专制主义。他说：“多少年来，我们党内有那么一些理论棍子，经常打人。我们党内有好几根棍子，不是好棍子，而是恶棍，不管你做什么好文章、好作品，抓住你一点，无限上纲，说你是‘反党小说’、‘黑画’等等。这种恶劣作风如不加以清算，百花齐放能搞得好吗？这种方法，说轻一点是形而上学，说重一点是文化专制主义，是特务行径。”随后在一次文艺界座谈会上，他向大家推荐马克思的第一篇文章《评普鲁士最近的书报检查令》，“就是反对文化专制主义。我们社会主义的生活是多姿多彩的，为什么还要通过审查制度，让反映社会生活的文学艺术作品，只能表现一种色彩呢？”

From the above examples, we know that Yaobang has experienced revolutionary training all his life, paying special attention to the combination of theory and practice, and paying particular attention to the effect of practice. Therefore, we can grasp the crux of the repeated mistakes made by the Party and Mao Zedong in the past and finally went to the end of the Cultural Revolution: that is, they accepted a set of Stalin's ideas and practices, from politics, economy to culture, and thought, absolutely ruled, known as the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, it is a one-party dictatorship, and the one-party dictatorship has become a leader dictatorship. In his later years, Mao Zedong also combined with China's imperial autocracy since Qin Shihuang: the key link was arbitrary, one word was everything, developed a personality cult, and shouted long live; even more than the emperors of previous dynasties; Lin Biao grasped and catered to the extreme: four greatnesses, one sentence above 10,000 sentences, waving the little red book, hang likenesses on your body, ask for instructions in the morning and report late in the evening. As a result, both within and outside the party, they are tame tools and willing to be slaves (and flatterers are willing slaves). As a result, the Cultural Revolution wreaked havoc like a cult. Therefore,

Yaobang attaches particular importance to comprehensive reform, and the economic, political, cultural, educational, and other systems must be reformed at the same time. In particular, if politics is to be democratized, there will be no freedom of thought and freedom of speech and publication if we force "consistency." After also serving as propaganda minister of the CPC Central Committee, he made two speeches to all the staff on the last day of 1978 and the third day of 1979, and officially announced that. **It is necessary to turn the propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee into a "Ministry of ideological Liberation," and to establish a socialist system of freedom, democracy, science, realism, openness, civilization, and affluence.** To replace the alienated autocratic, superstitious, rigid, closed, backward, barbaric, poor system. He angrily condemned cultural despotism. "over the years, there have been some theoretical sticks in our party that often hit people," he said. There are several sticks in our party, not good sticks, but villains, no matter what good articles and good works you do, catch you a little, infinitely, say that you are an 'anti-party novel', 'black painting' and so on. If this bad style of work is not liquidated, can a hundred flowers bloom well? In this way, it is metaphysical to say less, and it is an act of secret service to say that more importantly, it is cultural despotism. "then, at a symposium on literature and art, he recommended Marx's first article," Review of Prussia's recent Book and newspaper Inspection order, "which was to oppose cultural despotism. Our socialist life is colorful, why through the censorship, so that the reflection of social life of literary and artistic works, can only show one color?"

1979年3月25日，西单民主墙出现《要民主还是要新的独裁》、《中国人权宣言》等大字报，随后作者被捕，耀邦就极不以为然。他给一位青年写了一封公开信，在《人民日报》4月10日头版发表。信中说：“教育青年的方法，不是压，不是抓，应该是‘引导’两个字。‘引导’比‘教育’更精确，意义更大。这是我们几十年工作的经验总结。压制的方法，一个巴掌打下去，是封建家长的办法。”随后6月间，他又在五届人大二次会议的发言中，更加严正地对取缔民主墙和逮捕人发表了意见：“我始终支持任何人在社会主义制度下行使自己的民主权利。希望大家都在宪法的保护下享有最大的自由。尽管在中央工作会议上，以及这次人大会议上，不少同志点名也好不点名也好，批评我背着中央，支持违反‘四项基本原则’的所谓民主化运动，助长无政府主义，但我仍要保持我自己的看法。”“我奉劝同志们不要抓人来斗，更不要抓人来关。敢于大胆提出这些问题的人，恐怕也不在乎坐牢。”（请问，我们现在还能在中央的会议上听到哪个领导人发出这样的声音吗？）耀邦当时还主张成立一个民主公园。后来，北京市虽然将月坛公园定

为民主公园，由于政治形势的影响，无疾而终。当年党内老人支持耀邦的只有叶剑英。叶说过：“党的十一届三中全会是党内民主的典范，西单民主墙是人民民主的典范。” On March 25, 1979, the Xidan democratic wall appeared "democracy or a new dictatorship", [Wei Jingsheng's poster] "China Declaration of Human Rights" and other big-character posters, and then the author was arrested, Yaobang was extremely dissatisfied. He wrote an open letter to a young man, published on **the front page of People's Daily on April 10. The letter said: "the way to educate young people is not to suppress, not to grasp, should be the word 'guide'.**" 'guidance' is more accurate and meaningful than 'education'. This is a summary of the experience of our decades of work. The method of repression, a slap down, is the way of feudal parents. Then, in June, in his speech at the second session of the Fifth National people's Congress, he even more serious expressed his views on banning the democratic wall and arresting people: **"I have always supported anyone in the exercise of his democratic rights under the socialist system.** It is hoped that everyone will enjoy the greatest freedom under the protection of the Constitution. Although at the working session of the Central Committee and at this session of the National people's Congress, many comrades named or not named, criticized me for cheating on the Central Committee, supporting the so-called democratization movement that violated the 'four basic principles,' and encouraging anarchism. But I still have to keep my opinion. **"I advise comrades not to arrest people to fight, let alone to lock them up. I'm afraid those who dare to ask these questions don't care about going to jail.**" (Excuse me, can we still hear any leader make such a voice at the central meeting?) Yaobang also advocated the establishment of a democracy park at that time. Later, although Yuetan Park was designated as a democracy park in Beijing, due to the influence of the political situation, it did not end well. Ye Jianying was the only old man in the party who supported Yaobang. Ye once said: "the third Plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is a model of inner-party democracy, and the Xidan democratic wall is a model of people's democracy. "

耀邦为什么能如此仗义执言呢？这自然同他的极其重视知识和知识分子有关。耀邦只读过半年初中，但他一生手不释卷，极好读书，而且真正博览群书（《博览群书》的刊名即是他题写的），古今中外，从二十四史到西方历史，从马克思主义到各种社会学说，中外文学名著，诗词歌赋，以及天文、地理、数学、物理、化学等科学书籍，包括圣经、辞典，他都精读或涉猎。在延安时，他的勤奋好学就颇有名声。他认为没有广博的知识，就做不好工作。“博古通今”四个字安在他身上是合适的。陆定一称他为大知识分子，确有根据。他同“中学为体，西学为用”无缘，他反对将马克思主义当作教条。他是从人类历

史发展的过程，来接受人权、自由、民主、科学、法治和市场经济这些规则的，这是西方几百年间向前发展的全社会的共同财富，并非资产阶级的专利。我们中国几千年封建专制主义传统，却同这些规则没有缘分。耀邦尤其重视个人的思想自由和独立精神，重视属于人的人权、人道、人格、人情。因此，他认为重视和运用这些规则，决不是搞什么“资产阶级自由化”。由于李维汉谈到过去封建专制主义的长期危害，1980年8月，邓小平作了“党和国家领导制度的改革”这个重要讲话，经政治局讨论作为中央文件下发。胡乔木认为当时形势比反右派前还严重，要接受波兰团结工会的教训，如进行政治体制改革，必将造成形势的混乱。小平同志这个讲话也就被置之高阁了。 Why can Yaobang speak up so justly? This, of course, had something to do with his great emphasis on knowledge and intellectuals. Yaobang had only been in junior high school for half a year, but he kept on reading all his life, and he was very good at reading, and he really read a lot of books (the title of "extensive Books" was written by him), at all times and in all over the world, from the twenty-fourth history to the history of the West. From Marxism to various social theories, Chinese and foreign literary classics, poetry and Fu, as well as astronomy, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry and other scientific books, including the Bible, dictionaries, he has read or dabbled in. When he was in Yan'an, he had a reputation for being diligent and studious. He doesn't think he can do a good job without extensive knowledge. The word "bogutong today" is appropriate for him. Lu Dingyi has a good basis for calling him a great intellectual. He has nothing to do with "Chinese learning as the body, western learning as the use", and he opposes Marxism as a dogma. **He accepted the rules of human rights, freedom, democracy, science, the rule of law and the market economy from the process of the development of human history.** this is the common wealth of the whole society that has been moving forward in the West for hundreds of years, not the patent of the bourgeoisie. We in China have a feudal autocratic tradition for thousands of years, but we have no fate with these rules. Yaobang attaches particular importance to the freedom of thought and the spirit of independence of the individual, as well as to the human rights, humanity, personality and human feelings belonging to human beings. Therefore, he believes that attaching importance to and applying these rules is by no means "bourgeois liberalization." **As Li Weihuan talked about the long-term harm of feudal autocracy in the past, Deng Xiaoping delivered an important speech on "Reform of the Party and State leadership system" in August 1980, which was discussed by the Politburo and issued as a central document.** Hu Qiaomu believed that the situation at that time was even more serious than before the anti-rightists, and that it was necessary to accept the lessons of the Polish Solidarity Union, and if

the political system reform was carried out, it would certainly lead to chaos in the situation. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech was shelved.

1981年十一届六中全会，耀邦被选为中共中央主席时，他说了这样真诚而感人肺腑的话：“虽然我担任这样一个重要职务，但有两点是没有因而改变的，第一，老革命家的作用没有变；第二，我的能力和水平没有变，我还是昨天的我。”邓小平随即说：“耀邦刚才的讲话，证明了他党的主席的合适人选。”这是耀邦身上的一大特点，权力没有改变他的本色，知道自己有多大本事，因此能尊重他人，不论职位高低，能听得进不同意见。When Yaobang was elected Chairman of the CPC Central Committee at the sixth Plenary session of the Eleventh Central Committee in 1981, he said such sincere and touching words: "although I hold such an important position, there are two points that have not changed as a result. The role of the old revolutionaries has not changed; second, my ability and level have not changed, I am still who I was yesterday. Deng Xiaoping immediately said: "Yaobang's speech just now proved that he is a suitable candidate for the chairman of the party. "this is a major feature of Yaobang. power has not changed his nature. he knows how good he is, so he can respect others, regardless of his position, and can listen to different opinions.

正如马克思在《路易·波拿巴的雾月十八日》这部名著中所说的，人们创造历史，“并不是在他们自己选定的条件下创造的，而是在直接碰到的、既定的、从过去继承的条件下创造。”耀邦在从事他的历史事业的时候，不得不面对种种既定的条件，不得不受到这些既定条件的牵制。我们不要以为他有了总书记这样的崇高的职位，就有了多大的自由。在党的几位元老面前，耀邦是被提拔上来的“晚辈”。元老们的改革开放思想，程度有别，见解不一；他们中有的人还多具有某些传统习惯，如“兴无灭资”、“阶级立场”等传统观念负面影响，不易消除。因此，耀邦有时不能不违心听命；元老之间如意见不统一，何去何从也使他为难。更大的阻力还在两位左倾代表人物的遇事干扰。如理论务虚会就受到胡乔木的干预，半途中止，他还代邓小平起草了《坚持四项基本原则》的报告，大讲专政，贬斥民主。1979年耀邦倡导的两个讨论：一是批评过去忽视基本经济规律、为生产而生产的“关于生产目的”的讨论；二是“要把人放在第一位”的“关于人民群众主人翁地位”的讨论。这两个讨论受到胡乔木的反对，并向华国锋告状，讨论随即停止。接着批判郭罗基的两篇文章——《政治问题也可以讨论》、《认真杜绝个人崇拜》，关系到言论自由、“思想犯罪”的问题。胡乔木斥责《人民日报》，也牵连到耀邦。1981年批判《苦恋》，闹得更凶，认为“党对思想战线的领导存在着软弱涣散的状态”，也是指耀

邦而言。 As Marx said in Louis Bonaparte's Fog Moon 18, people make history, "not under conditions of their own choosing." It is created under conditions that are directly encountered, established, and inherited from the past. "when Yaobang was engaged in his historical cause, he had to face all kinds of established conditions and had to be held back by these established conditions. Let us not think that he has much freedom if he has such a high post as General Secretary. In front of several elders of the party, Yaobang was promoted to the "younger generation." The elders' thoughts of reform and opening up are different in degree and opinions, and some of them still have some traditional habits, such as the negative influence of traditional concepts such as "rejuvenating no capital" and "class position", which are not easy to eliminate. As a result, Yaobang sometimes had to obey orders against his will; if the elders did not agree with each other, he was embarrassed as to where to go. The greater resistance is also in the interference of two left-leaning representatives. If the Conference on Theoretical Principles was intervened by Hu Qiaomu and suspended halfway, he also drafted a report on behalf of Deng Xiaoping on "adhering to the four basic principles," stressing dictatorship and belittling democracy. In 1979, Yaobang advocated two discussions: one was to criticize the past discussion of "about the purpose of production" that ignored the basic economic laws and produced for the sake of production; the other was the discussion of "putting people first" and "the status of the masses as masters of the people." The two discussions were opposed by Hu Qiaomu and filed a complaint with Hua Guofeng, and the discussion immediately stopped. Then he criticizes Guo Luoji's two articles-"political issues can also be discussed" and "seriously put an end to the personality cult", which is related to the freedom of speech and "ideological crime". Hu Qiaomu reprimanded "People's Daily" and was also implicated in Yaobang. In 1981, he criticized "bitter love" and made it even more fierce. He believed that "the party's leadership over the ideological front is weak and lax," which also refers to Yaobang.

1983年1月20日，耀邦在全国职工思想政治工作会议上作了《四化建设与改革》的报告，提出“全面而系统地改革”的问题，批评了那种“农村要改革，城市不一定改革；经济部门要改革，政治、文教部门可以置身事外”的思想。明确指出：“一切战线、一切地区、一切部门、一切单位都有改革的任务，都要破除陈旧的、妨碍我们前进的老框框、老套套、老作风，都要钻研新情况，解决新问题，总结新经验，创立新章法。”关于“衡量各项改革对与不对的标志”，他首次提出“三个有利于”：“是否有利于建设中国特色的社会主义，是否有利于国家的兴旺发达，是否有利于人民的富裕幸福。”可以说，这是实行全面改革的初步纲领。可是，这个极其中肯、极其适时的全面改革思想，却遭到胡乔

木、邓力群的强力抵制，认为跟十二大精神不符，反对见报，并到陈云处告状。于是发生逼耀邦下台的一幕。二月中旬政治局会议上，耀邦受到了较严厉的批评。胡乔木提议召开中央工作会议，邓小平说“到此为止”。邓力群便立即向两个宣传系统的会议传达了对耀邦的批评，引起一种震动。虽然这次反对的目的没有达到，他们仍继续其反对全面改革和反耀邦的活动。接着在三月间，借周扬的报告，批判“人道主义”和“异化”问题，反对耀邦所倡导的解放思想、解放人的号召。其后果是《人民日报》人事更动，周扬愤懑而去世。六月间，他们又发起“清除精神污染”运动，除了理论、新闻、文艺领域在劫难逃外，还涉及农村改革和四个特区的问题（诬蔑特区是“租界”），几乎酿成又一次文革。这些反改革的活动，由于受到赵紫阳和书记处其他同志的一致抵制，闹了28天就呜呼了。

On January 20, 1983, Yaobang made a report on "the construction and reform of the four modernizations" at the National Conference on the ideological and political work of staff and Workers, put forward the issue of "comprehensive and systematic reform" and criticized the kind of "rural reform, urban reform is not necessarily reform;" The idea that the economic sector should be reformed and that the political, cultural and educational departments can stay out of it ". It is clearly pointed out: "all fronts, all regions, all departments, and all units have the task of reforming, and we must break through the old frames, stereotypes, and old styles that hinder our progress, and we must delve into new situations and solve new problems. Sum up the new experience, create a new chapter. On the "symbol of measuring the right and wrong of various reforms," he put forward for the first time "three advantages": "whether it is conducive to the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics, whether it is conducive to the prosperity and development of the country, and whether it is conducive to the prosperity and happiness of the people." "it can be said that this is the preliminary program for the implementation of comprehensive reform. However, **this extremely pertinent and timely thought of comprehensive reform was strongly resisted by Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun, who believed that it was inconsistent with the spirit of the Twelfth National Congress, opposed it in the newspapers, and filed a complaint with Chen Yun.** So there was a scene that forced Yaobang to step down. **At the Politburo meeting in mid-February, Yaobang was severely criticized. Hu Qiaomu proposed the convening of a central working meeting, and Deng Xiaoping said, "this is the end." Deng Liqun immediately conveyed criticism of Yaobang to the meetings of the two publicity systems, causing a shock.** Although the purpose of this opposition has not been achieved, they continue their activities against comprehensive reform and anti-Yaobang. Then, in March, through Zhou Yang's report, he criticized the issues of "humanitarianism" and

"alienation," and opposed Yaobang's call to emancipate the mind and liberate people. The result was a personnel change in "People's Daily," and Zhou Yang died angrily. **In June, they launched a campaign to "clean up spiritual pollution," which, in addition to being doomed in the fields of theory, journalism, and literature and art, also involved rural reform and the problems of the four special administrative regions (slandering the special administrative region as a "concession"), which almost led to another cultural revolution. These anti-reform activities, which were unanimously boycotted by Zhao Ziyang and other comrades in the Secretariat, ended after 28 days.**

面对如此严重的干扰，耀邦始终坚持全面改革和全面开放的思想，而且日益深刻和成熟。这反映在他最后一次主持起草的《中共中央关于社会主义精神文明指导方针的决议》之中。在思想政治领域这是空前改革开放的文件，它提出了社会主义现代化的总方向：

“以经济建设为中心，坚定不移地进行经济体制改革，坚定不移地进行政治体制改革，坚定不移地加强精神文明建设，并且使这几个方面相互配合，相互促进。”《决议》中以下这些彻底解放思想，促使国家现代化、民主化、法制化的意见，都是过去中央文件中没有出现过的：“拒绝接受外国的先进科学文化，任何国家任何民族要发展进步都是不可能的。”“在社会公共生活中，要大力发扬社会主义人道精神，尊重人，关心人。”“民主和自由、平等、博爱等观念是人类精神的一大解放。”“社会主义法制体现人民意志，保障人民的合法权利和利益，调节人们的关系，规范和约束人们的行动，制裁和打击各种危害社会的非法行为。”还有如此明确的规定：“要遵守宪法规定的原则，实行学术自由、创作自由、批评和反批评的自由。”这个决议虽不得不把“反对资产阶级自由化”这种“棍子”语言写进去，但主调还是上述思想理论的创新。 In the face of such serious interference, Yaobang has always adhered to the idea of comprehensive reform and all-round opening up, and has become increasingly profound and mature. This is reflected in the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the guidelines for Socialist spiritual Civilization", which he presided over for the last time. This is an unprecedented document of reform and opening up in the ideological and political field. it puts forward the general direction of socialist modernization: "take economic construction as the center, unswervingly carry out economic system reform, and unswervingly carry out political system reform." We will unswervingly strengthen the building of spiritual civilization and make these aspects cooperate and promote each other. "the following views in the" resolution "on thoroughly emancipating the mind and promoting the modernization, democratization, and legalization of the country have not appeared in the central documents in the past:" refusing to accept the advanced scientific culture of foreign countries, It is

impossible for any nation in any country to develop and progress. "in social and public life, it is necessary to vigorously carry forward the socialist spirit of humanity, respect and care for people. "Democracy and the concepts of freedom, equality and fraternity are a great liberation of the human spirit. "the socialist legal system embodies the will of the people, guarantees the legitimate rights and interests of the people, regulates people's relations, standardizes and binds people's actions, and sanctioned and cracked down on all kinds of illegal acts endangering society. There is also such a clear provision: "We should abide by the principles laid down in the Constitution and exercise academic freedom, freedom of creation, freedom of criticism and freedom to counter-criticism. "although this resolution has to include the" stick "language of" opposing bourgeois liberalization, "the main theme is an innovation in the above-mentioned ideas and theories.

遗憾的是，这个决议尚未付诸实行，耀邦就在 1987 年 1 月被迫离职了。杜甫咏武侯诗云：“出师未捷身先死，长使英雄泪满襟。”耀邦出师未捷，壮志未酬，一直到他离开人世，也未能看到他为之奋斗的政治体制改革、全面改革的曙光，不能不抱终天之恨，死不瞑目吧。 Unfortunately, before this resolution was implemented, Yaobang was forced to leave office in January 1987. Du Fu chanted Wu Hou's poem: "Unfortunately, it was a pity that Wei Weijie was attacked and died in the army, and the heroes of the past dynasties were filled with tears." "Yaobang did not succeed and his ambition was unremunerated, and until his death, he could not see the dawn of the political system reform and comprehensive reform for which he had strived. we cannot but hold the hatred of the end of the day and die in peace.

中国有句老话，“不以成败论英雄”。耀邦就是一位不能以成败论的英雄，大家都见到了他的丰功伟绩。黯然告别政治舞台，这也不能说是他的失败。假如他跟常见世情一样，处处注意揣摩各方的心思，曲意迎合，讲究“平衡”，当然也就可以保住自己的平安和地位。可是他大义凛然，不拿原则做交易，才出现了那样的结果。这个被世俗看作的“失败”，正是他坚持自我的胜利。他对逼他下台毫无精神准备，这是他的天性，他毫无防人之心，总是以善心待人，宽厚待人，这才是我们的胡耀邦。 There is an old Chinese saying, "do not judge heroes by success or failure." Yaobang is a hero who can not be judged by success or failure, and everyone has seen his great achievements. His gloomy departure from the political scene cannot be said to be because of his failure. If he is the same as the common world, everywhere pay attention to speculate on the minds of all parties, bend to cater to, pay attention to "balance", of course, you can also keep their own peace and status. But he was so righteous that he did not trade with the principles, and that was the result. This secular "defeat" is his insistence on his

own victory. His lack of preparation for those who forced him to step down was his nature, he had to heart for self-defense, he always treated people with kindness and leniency, this only is our Hu Yaobang.

为什么他的去世会引发那样一场大“风波”呢？通常情况，执掌大权的政治人物的去世，引发政治地震，并不少见。可是，耀邦是在早已离开权力核心之后去世的，却在全国引起如此强烈的反应，这在历史上是并不多见的，可说是举国同悲。那些悼念他的年轻人，不仅是为了悼念一位年长的知心朋友，为这位知心朋友受到的不公正待遇愤愤不平，更是表示拥护耀邦所倡导的全面改革，尤其是希望政治体制改革能早日实现，国家民主化、法治化、现代化早日到来。 Why did his death cause such a big "storm"? It is not uncommon for the death of a powerful politician to trigger a political earthquake. However, Yaobang's death long after he left the core of power has aroused such a strong reaction throughout the country. this is rare in history. it can be said that the whole country is in sorrow. The young people who mourned him not only mourned the memory of an elderly bosom friend, resentful of the unfair treatment of this bosom friend, but also expressed their support for the comprehensive reform advocated by Yaobang. In particular, it is hoped that the reform of the political system will be realized at an early date and that the democratization, rule of law and modernization of the country will come at an early date.

耀邦去世的前十天，1989年4月5日，我应邀到他家中，他同我作了七个小时的长谈。他说：应当还历史的本来面目。4月19日，在中顾委的支部会上，我反映了这个情况，我说这是耀邦的政治遗嘱。这次长谈我已经详细写出，文章编在《怀念耀邦》第四集中。这四集的作者共110人，都是耀邦的老战友、老同事和老部属。前面引述的事例多来自于此。这四集共百万字的主编张黎群、张定、严如平、李公天、唐非，都是团中央的老人。现在有关党史的出版物和博物馆的陈列中，仍见不到胡耀邦的名字和照片。这不是实事求是的。唯物主义者不能这样做。在当前这种伪史、假象泛滥成灾之时，经过上述五位忠实的部属（张黎群不久前去世）多年劳动撰写的《胡耀邦传》力求客观地、真实地反映耀邦生平，既不溢美，也不文过，不为亲者讳，也不为尊者讳，把耀邦的功过是非当成历史的经验教训，秉笔直书。文信国公《正气歌》云：“在齐太史简，在晋董狐笔”，我以为《胡耀邦传》，是史家的直笔，是体现天地之正气的。这本《胡耀邦传》，就是一部体现了天地正气的信史。这部《胡耀邦传》如能出版，不仅可满足广大读者的渴望，也可告慰耀邦在天之灵。 Ten days before Yaobang's death, on 5 April 1989, I was invited to his home and he had a long talk with me for seven hours. The true face of history should be returned, he said.

On 19 April, at the meeting of the branch of the Central Advisory Committee, I reflected this situation. I said that this was Yaobang's political will. **This long talk I have written in detail, the article is compiled in the fourth episode of "yearning for Yaobang".** The authors of these four volumes, a total of 110 people, are Yaobang's old comrades in arms, old colleagues and old subordinates. Most of the examples cited earlier come from this. The editors of these four volumes, Zhang Liqun, Zhang Ding, Yan Ruping, Li Gongtian, and Tang Fei, are all elderly people of the League Central Committee. **At present, Hu Yaobang's name and photos are still not seen in publications on party history and on display in museums.** This is not realistic. Materialists cannot do this. At a time when this kind of false history and illusion is rampant, **Hu Yaobang's biography, written over the years by the above-mentioned five loyal subordinates (Zhang Liqun died not long ago), strives to objectively and truly reflect Yaobang's life, neither overflowing beauty nor writing about it.** Not for the relatives taboo, not for the respect of the taboo, Yaobang's merits and demerits as a historical lesson, straight book. Wenxin Guogong "Zhengqi Song" Yun: "in Qi Taishi Jane, in Jin Dong Fox pen", I thought "Hu Yaobang Biography" is a historian's straight pen, is to reflect the integrity of heaven and earth. **This biography of Hu Yaobang is a history of faith that reflects the integrity of heaven and earth. If this biography of Hu Yaobang can be published, it can not only meet the aspirations of the vast number of readers, but also comfort the spirits of the country in heaven.**

张黎群等五位作者，在团中央工作多年养成实事求是的作风，书中除了反映出他们的这种学养之外，还贯注了他们对领导兼朋友的耀邦的深厚感情。耀邦的平易近人，待同志如家人，遇事可以相互争执，善于接受意见，知错必改，决不自以为是。工作中出现了问题，他首先承担责任，决不诿过于人。他总说：“知错就改，光明磊落一辈子。知错不改，内疚一辈子。”这些话使他们最难忘却。张黎群曾是团中央机关报《中国青年报》的社长，同耀邦的关系密切。1957年耀邦率团赴莫斯科参加世界青年联欢节时，张黎群几乎被团中央机关工作的主持人打成右派分子，耀邦回国后把他保护了下来。他们五位对耀邦的亲身感受，想必也会感染读者的。Zhang Liqun and other five authors have worked in the League Central Committee for many years to develop a style of seeking truth from facts. in addition to reflecting their education and upbringing, the book also focuses on their deep feelings for Yaobang, a leader and friend. Yaobang's approachability, treating comrades like family members, can argue with each other in times of trouble, be good at accepting opinions, know that mistakes will be

corrected, and will never be self-righteous. When there is a problem in his work, he bears the responsibility first and never blames others. He always said, "if you know your mistakes, you will correct them. you will be aboveboard and aboveboard for the rest of your life." If you don't change your mistakes, you'll feel guilty for the rest of your life. "these words make it most difficult for them to forget. Zhang Liqun was president of the China Youth Daily, the official newspaper of the League Central Committee, and has a close relationship with Yaobang. When Yaobang led a delegation to Moscow in 1957 to attend the World Youth Festival, Zhang Liqun was almost beaten as a rightist by the host of the work of the Central Organ of the League, and Yaobang protected him when he returned home. Their personal experience of Yaobang is bound to infect readers, too.

我深信，读了这本书的人会更好地了解耀邦，更亲近耀邦，更崇敬耀邦。我更希望读者们在这本书的激励之下，更自觉地成为耀邦事业的后继者，努力在各自的岗位上去完成他的未竟之业，使我们的国家早日实现民主化、科学化、法治化，认真实施宪政，成为真正富强的现代化国家。我已经快八十八岁了，我也会这样做。 I am confident that those who have read this book will understand Yaobang better, be closer to Yaobang and respect Yaobang more. I also hope that with the encouragement of this book, readers will become more conscious successors to the cause of Yaobang, and strive to complete his unfinished business in their respective posts, **so that our country can achieve democratization, scientization, and legalization at an early date.** We will conscientiously implement constitutionalism and become a truly rich and strong modern country. I am almost 88 years old, and I would do the same.

最后，我想振臂高呼这样一句口号：向胡耀邦学习呵！ Finally, I want to wave my arms and shout this slogan: Learn from Hu Yaobang!

2004年10月初

附言：

2005年11月18日，本文写完一年之后，中共中央召开了纪念胡耀邦同志诞辰90周年座谈会，顺应民意，重新肯定了胡耀邦同志的历史功绩。随着社会的进步，我相信，人们会越来越重视胡耀邦同志积极推动政治体制改革的伟大意义。

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