

彭德怀:我的一点意见（1959 年给毛泽东的信） Peng Dehuai: My Small Opinion (Letter to Mao Zedong in 1959)

彭德怀 1959 年庐山会议上书毛泽东全文

发布时间：2009-10-14 23:30 作者：彭德怀

New url: <http://w.hybsl.cn/article/13/16643>, accessed October 4, 2023

FN 112 – Peng Dehuai Letter to Mao in 1959 (Lushan)

主席：

这次庐山会议是重要的。我在西北小组有几次插言，在小组会还没有讲完的一些意见，特写给你作参考。但我这个简单人类似张飞，确有其粗，而无其细。

因此，是否有参考价值请斟酌。不妥之处，烦请指示。

甲、1958 年大跃进的成绩是肯定无疑的

根据国家计委几个核实后的指标来看，1958 年较 1957 年工农业总产值增长了 48.4%，其中工业增长了 66.1%，农副业增长了 25%（粮棉增产 30%是肯定的），国家财政收入增长了 43.5%。这样的增长速度，是世界各国从未有过的。突破了社会主义建设速度的成规，特别是象我国经济基础薄弱，技术设备落后，通过大跃进，基本上证实了多快好省的总路线是正确的。不仅是我国伟大的成就，在社会主义阵营也将长期的起积极作用。

1958 年的基本建设，现在看来有些项目是过急过多了一些，分散了一部分资金，推迟了一部分必成项目，这是一个缺点。基本原因是缺乏经验，对这点体会不深，认识过迟。因此，1959 年就不仅没有把步伐放慢一点，加以适当控制，而且继续大跃进，这就使不平衡现象没有得到及时调整，增加了新的暂时困难。但这些建设，终究是国家建设所需要

的，在今后一两年内或者稍许长一点时间，就会逐步收到效益的。现在还有一些缺门和薄弱环节，致使生产不能成套，有些物资缺乏十分必要的储备，使发生了失调现象和出现新的不平衡就难以及时调整，这就是当前困难的所在。因此，在安排明年度（1960 年）计划时，更应当放在实事求是和稳妥可靠的基础上，加以认真考虑。对 1958 年和 1959 年上半年有些基本建设项目实在无法完成的，也必须下最大决心暂时停止，在这方面必须有所舍，才能有所取，否则严重失调现象将要延长，某些方面的被动局面难以摆脱，将妨碍今后 4 年赶英和超英的跃进速度。国家计委虽有安排，但因各种原因难以决断。

1958 年农村公社化，是具有伟大意义的，这不仅使我国农民将彻底摆脱穷困，而且是加速建成社会主义走向共产主义的正确途径。虽然在所有制问题上，曾有一段混乱，具体工作中出现了一些缺点错误，这当然是严重的现象。

但是经过武昌、郑州、上海等一系列会议，基本已经得到纠正，混乱情况基本上已经过去，已经逐步的走上按劳分配的正常轨道。

在 1958 年大跃进中，解决了失业问题，在我们这样人口众多的、经济落后的国度里，能够迅速得到解决，不是小事，而是大事。

在全民炼钢铁中，多办了一些小土高炉，浪费了一些资源（物力、财力）和人力，当然是一笔较大损失。但是得到对全国地质作了一次规模巨大的初步普查，培养了不少技术人员，广大干部在这一运动中得到了锻炼和提高。虽然付出了一笔学费（贴补 20 余亿）。即在这一方面也是有失有得的。

仅从上述几点来看，成绩确是伟大的。但也有不少深刻的经验教训，认真地加以分析，是必要的有益的。

乙、如何总结工作中的经验教训

这次会议，到会同志都正在探讨去年以来工作中的经验教训，并且提出了不少有益的意见。通过这次讨论，将会使我们党的工作得到极大好处，变某些方面的被动为主动，进一步体会社会主义经济法则，使经常存在着的不平衡现象，得到及时调整，正确的认识“积极平衡”的意义。

据我看，1958年大跃进中所出现的一些缺点错误，有一些是难以避免的。如同我们党30多年来领导历次革命运动一样，在伟大成绩中总是有缺点的，这是一个问题的两个方面。现时我们在建设工作中所面临的突出矛盾，是由于比例失调而引起各方面的紧张。就其性质看，这种情况的发展已影响到工农之间、城市各阶层之间和农民各阶层之间的关系，因此也是具有政治性的。是关系到我们今后动员广大群众继续实现跃进的关键所在。

过去一个时期工作中所出现的一些缺点错误，原因是多方面的。其客观因素是我们对社会主义建设工作不熟悉，没有完整的经验。对社会主义有计划按比例发展的规律体会不深，对两条腿走路的方针，没有贯彻到各方面的实际工作中去。我们在处理经济建设中的问题时，总还没有像处理炮击金门、平定西藏叛乱等政治问题那样得心应手。另一方面，客观形势是我国一穷（还有一部分人吃不饱饭，去年棉布平均每人还只18尺，可缝一套单衣和两条裤叉）二白的落后状态，人民迫切要求改变现状。其次是国际形势的有利趋势。这些也是促使我们大跃进的重要因素。利用这一有利时机，适应广大人民要求，加速我们的建设工作，尽快改变我们一穷二白的落后面貌，创造更为有利的国际局面，是完全必要和正确的。

过去一个时期，在我们的思想方法和工作作风方面，也暴露出不少值得注意的问题。这主要是：

1、浮夸风气较普遍地滋长起来。去年北戴河会议时，对粮食产量估计过大，造成了一种假象。大家都感到粮食问题已经得到解决，因此就可以腾出手来大搞工业了。在对发展钢铁的认识上，有严重的片面性，没有认真地研究炼钢、轧钢和碎石设备，煤炭、矿石、炼焦设备，坑木来源，运输能力，劳动力增加，购买力扩大，市场商品如何安排等等。总之，是没有必要的平衡计划。这些也同样是犯了不够实事求是的毛病这恐怕是产生一系列

问题的起因。浮夸风气，吹遍各地区各部门，一些不可置信的奇迹也见之于报刊，确使党的威信蒙受重大损失。当时从各方面的报告材料看，共产主义大有很快到来之势，使不少同志的脑子发起热来。在粮棉高产、钢铁加番的浪潮中，铺张浪费就随着发展起来，秋收粗糙，不计成本，把穷日子当富日子过。严重的是相当长的一段时间，不容易得到真实情况，直到武昌会议和今年一月省市书记会议时，仍然没有全部弄清形势真象。产生这种浮夸风气，是有其社会原因的，值得很好的研究。这也与我们有些工作只有任务指标，而缺乏具体措施是有关系的。虽然主席在去年就已经提示全党要把冲天干劲和科学分析结合起来，和两条腿走路的方针，看来是没有为多数领导同志所领会，我也是不例外的。

2、小资产阶级的狂热性，使我们容易犯左的错误。在 1958 年的大跃进中，我和其他不少同志一样，为大跃进的成绩和群众运动的热情所迷惑，一些左的倾向有了相当程度的发展，总想一步跨进共产主义，抢先思想一度占了上风；把党长期以来所形成的群众路线和实事求是作风置诸脑后了。

在思想方法上，往往把战略性的布局和具体措施，长远性的方针和当前步骤、全体与局部、大集体与小集体等关系混淆起来。如主席提出的“少种、高产、多收”、“15 年赶上英国”等号召，都是属于战略性、长远性的方针，我们则缺乏研究，不注意研究当前具体情况，把工作安排在积极而又是稳妥可靠的基础上。有些指标逐级提高，层层加码，把本来需要几年或者十几年才能达到的要求，变成一年或者几个月就要做到的指标。因此就脱离了实际，得不到群众的支持。诸如过早否定等价交换法则，过早提出吃饭不要钱，某些地区认为粮食丰产了，一度取消统销政策，提倡放开肚皮吃，以及某些技术不经鉴定就冒然推广，有些经济法则和科学规律轻易被否定等，都是一种左的倾向。在这些同志看来，只要提出政治挂帅，就可以代替一切，忘记了政治挂帅是提高劳动自觉、保证产品数量质量的提高，发挥群众的积极性和创造性，从而加速我们的经济建设。政治挂帅不可能代替经济法则，更不能代替经济工作中的具体措施。政治挂帅与经济工作中的确切有效措施，两者必须并重，不可偏重偏废。纠正这些左的现象，一般要比反掉右倾保守思想还要困难些，这是我们党的历史经验所证明了的。

去年下半年，似乎出现了一种空气，注意了反右倾保守思想，而忽略了主观主义左的方面。经过去年冬郑州会议以后一系列措施，一些左的现象基本上纠正过来了，这是一个伟大的胜利。这个胜利既教育了全党同志，又没有损伤同志们的积极性。

现在对国内形势已基本上弄清楚了，特别是经过最近几次会议，党内大多数同志的认识已基本一致。目前的任务，就是全党团结一致，继续努力工作。我觉得，系统地总结一下我们去年下半年以来工作中的成绩和教训，进一步教育全党同志，甚有益处。其目的是要达到明辨是非，提高思想，一般的不去追究个人责任。反之，是不利于团结，不利于事业的。属于对社会主义建设的规律等问题的不熟悉方面，经过去年下半年以来的实践和探讨，有些问题是可以弄清楚的。有些问题再经过一段时间的学习摸索，也是可以学会的。属于思想方法和工作作风方面的问题，已经有了这次深刻教训，使我们较易觉醒和体会了。

但要彻底克服，还是要经过一番艰苦努力的。正如主席在这次会议中所指示的：“成绩伟大，问题很多，经验丰富，前途光明”。主动在我，全党团结起来艰苦奋斗，继续跃进的条件是存在的。今年明年和今后4年计划必将胜利完成，15年赶上英国的奋斗目标，在今后4年内可以基本实现，某些重要产品也肯定可以超过英国。这就是我们伟大的成绩和光明的前途。

敬礼！

彭德怀

1959年7月14日

【编后】据有关资料介绍：彭德怀在庐山会议上一直想找毛泽东面谈，但毛很忙，彭德怀难找到机会。于是，在庐山会议快要结束时，彭德怀将自己想和毛泽东面谈的内容写成信呈交毛泽东。

7月16日，毛泽东将此信引发到会的同志。尽管彭德怀的信写得还算委婉，但毛泽东生气了，最终将彭德怀打成 fan_党_集团的头目，而其他一些与彭德怀接触稍多或发表过类似意见的中央和省级相关领导，则被打成彭德怀 fan_党_集团成员，并且见诸《人民日报》，展开全国的批判运动。这样，大跃进、人民公社运动中的极左冒进错误不仅没有得到纠正，反而继续发展了，导致三年国家经济的极端危机和大饥荒的发生。

毛泽东撤了彭德怀国防部长的职务，彭德怀住到北京郊区“学习、反省”去了。在大饥荒过去以后，毛泽东似乎也看到了彭德怀当时意见的合理性，遂重新启用彭德怀，不过仅仅是调他担任“三线建设”副总指挥（所谓“三线建设”即备战的军工建设项目）。彭德怀服从安排，兢兢业业地工作。但好景不长，文革爆发了，而且仍然是以彭德怀被“罢官”之事为“开始曲”——及姚文元的《评新编历史剧<海瑞罢官>》，毛泽东则明明白白地说：“姚文元的文章很好……但是没有打中要害，要害的问题是‘罢官’。嘉靖皇帝罢了海瑞的官，1959年我们罢了彭德怀的官。彭德怀也是‘海瑞’。”于是，经过文革，所有在工作中没有百分之百支持和拥护毛泽东的某些意图的人（具体来说就是关于总路线、大跃进、人民公社这“三面红旗”的一系列政策），统统被扣上“走资本主义道路的当权派”和“反_dui 毛主席革命路线”等罪名，遭到无情斗争和打击，有很多则被折磨致死。彭德怀也在文革中多次被批斗、折磨致死。

DeepL translation

Peng Dehuai: My Little Opinion (1959 Letter to Mao Zedong)

Peng Dehuai 1959 Lushan meeting letter to Mao Zedong full text

Published: 2009-10-14 23:30 Author: Peng Dehuai Views: 1,415

Chairman:

This Lushan meeting is important. I have a few interjections in the Northwest Group, in the group meeting has not yet finished speaking some of the views, specially written to you for reference. But I am a simple man similar to Zhang Fei, indeed have its coarse, but not its fine.

Therefore, please consider whether there is any reference value. Where inappropriate, please instruct.

A, 1958 Great Leap Forward's achievements are certainly undoubtedly

According to a few verified indicators of the State Planning Commission, the total output value of industry and agriculture in 1958 increased by 48.4% compared with that of 1957, of which industry increased by 66.1%, agriculture and sideline industry increased by 25% (30% increase in grain and cotton production is certain), and the national financial income increased by 43.5%. Such a growth rate was unprecedented in the world. It was a breakthrough in the socialist construction speed rule, especially like our country's weak economic foundation, backward technical equipment, through the Great Leap Forward, basically confirmed that the general line of "faster, better and more economical" is correct. It is not only a great achievement for our country, but will also play a positive role in the socialist camp for a long time.

In 1958, it seems that some of the capital construction projects were overly hasty and excessive, dispersing some of the funds and postponing some of the necessary projects, which is a shortcoming. This is a shortcoming. The basic reason for this is the lack of experience, the lack of deep understanding of this point, and the late realization. Therefore, in 1959, not only did we not slow down the pace a little bit and put it under proper control, but we also continued the great leap forward, which made the imbalance phenomenon not be adjusted in time and added new temporary difficulties. But these constructions, after all, are needed for national construction, and will gradually yield benefits in the next year or two or a little longer. Now there are still some missing doors and weak links, resulting in production can not be complete sets, some materials lack of very necessary reserves, so that the phenomenon of dislocation and the emergence of a new imbalance will be

difficult to adjust in time, which is where the current difficulties lie. Therefore, in arranging the plan for the coming year (1960), it is all the more important to put it on a realistic and sound basis and to consider it carefully. In 1958 and the first half of 1959, some of the capital construction projects really can not be completed, but also must make the greatest determination to temporarily stop, in this regard, must have to give up, in order to have to take, otherwise serious dislocation phenomenon will be prolonged, some aspects of the passive situation is difficult to get rid of, will hinder the next four years to catch up with the British and the British speed of leapfrogging. Although the State Planning Commission had made arrangements, it was difficult to make a decision for various reasons.

The communization of the countryside in 1958 was of great significance, not only because it enabled the peasants of China to get rid of poverty completely, but also because it was the right way to speed up the building of socialism towards communism. Although there was a period of confusion over the question of ownership and some shortcomings and mistakes in the concrete work, this is of course a serious phenomenon.

But after a series of meetings in Wuchang, Zhengzhou and Shanghai, the situation has basically been corrected, the confusion has basically passed, and we have gradually embarked on the normal track of distribution according to labor.

In the Great Leap Forward of 1958, the problem of unemployment was solved, and in a country as populous and economically backward as ours, the fact that it could be solved quickly was not a small matter, but a great one.

In the national steel-making, more small clay blast furnaces were set up, and some resources (material and financial) and manpower were wasted, which was of course a big loss. However, a huge preliminary census of the country's geology was carried out, many technicians were trained, and the general cadres were trained and improved in this campaign. Although paid a tuition fee (subsidized more than 2 billion). That is, in this regard there are also losses and gains.

From the above points alone, the achievements are indeed great. But there are also a lot of profound lessons, seriously analyze, is necessary and useful.

B. How to summarize the lessons learned in the work

At this meeting, the comrades present are discussing the lessons learned from last year's work and have put forward many useful ideas. Through this discussion, our Party's work will be greatly benefited, and we will be able to turn passivity in certain areas into initiative, to further appreciate the laws of the socialist economy, to make timely adjustments to the imbalance that often exists, and to correctly understand the significance of "positive balance".

As far as I can see, some of the shortcomings and mistakes that appeared in the Great Leap Forward of 1958 were unavoidable. As in the case of the Party's leadership of all revolutionary movements over the past 30 years, there are always shortcomings in great achievements, which are two sides of the same coin. The outstanding contradiction we are now facing in our construction work is the tension in all areas caused by disproportion. By its very nature, the development of this situation has affected the relations between workers and peasants, between the various classes in the cities and between the various classes of peasants, and is therefore also of a political nature. It is the key to our future mobilization of the masses to continue to achieve the Leap Forward.

The reasons for some of the shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the past period are manifold. The objective factor is that we are unfamiliar with the work of socialist construction and do not have complete experience of it. We do not have a deep appreciation of the law of planned and proportional socialist development, and we have not carried out the policy of walking on two legs in all aspects of practical work. We are not yet as comfortable in dealing with problems in economic construction as we were in dealing with political problems such as the shelling of Kinmen and the pacification of the Tibetan rebellion. On the other hand, the objective situation is that our country is poor (there are still some people who do not have enough to eat, and last year the average cotton

cloth was still only 18 feet per person, which can be sewn into a single set of clothes and two trouser forks) and two white backwardness, and the people are urgently demanding a change in the status quo. Secondly, the favorable trend of the international situation. These are also important factors that prompted our Great Leap Forward. It is absolutely necessary and correct to take advantage of this favorable opportunity to adapt to the demands of the people, to accelerate our construction work, to change as soon as possible our backward state of pennilessness, and to create a more favorable international situation.

In the past period, many noteworthy problems have been revealed in our method of thinking and style of work. This is mainly:

1, boastfulness grows up more generally. At the Beidaihe meeting last year, the grain production was overestimated, creating a false impression. We all feel that the food problem has been solved, so you can free your hands to engage in industry. In the understanding of the development of steel, there is a serious one-sidedness, no serious study of steelmaking, rolling and crushing equipment, coal, ore, coking equipment, pit wood sources, transportation capacity, labor force increase, the expansion of purchasing power, how to arrange the market goods and so on. In short, there is no necessary balanced plan. These are also guilty of not being realistic enough, which I am afraid is the cause of a series of problems. The wind of boastfulness blew through all regions and departments, and some unbelievable miracles appeared in the press, which indeed made the Party's prestige suffer a great loss. At that time, the reports from all quarters showed that communism was coming soon, which made many comrades' minds hot. In the high production of grain and cotton, iron and steel doubled the wave, wastefulness along with the development of the fall harvest rough, regardless of cost, the poor days as rich days. Serious is quite a long time, not easy to get the real situation, until the Wuchang meeting and January this year, the provincial and municipal party committee secretaries meeting, still do not have all the situation of the true picture. Produce this kind of pompous atmosphere, is its social reasons, worth a good study. This is also related to the fact that some of our work has only task indicators and lacks concrete measures. Although the chairman has prompted the whole party last year to combine impulsive energy and scientific analysis, and the two-legged

approach, it seems that it is not comprehended by the majority of leading comrades, and I am no exception.

2. The fanaticism of the petty bourgeoisie makes us prone to make leftist mistakes. In the Great Leap Forward in 1958, I and many other comrades doubt, for the Great Leap Forward achievements and the enthusiasm of the mass movement confused, some left tendencies have developed to a considerable extent, always want to step into communism, preemptive thinking once prevailed; to the party's long-established mass line and seek truth from facts style to the back of the mind.

In the method of thinking, often the strategic layout and specific measures, long-term policy and current steps, all and local, large and small collective relationship confused. For example, the President's call for "fewer seeds, higher yields, and more harvests" and "catching up with Britain in 15 years" are strategic, long-term policies, but we lack research, do not pay attention to the study of the current situation, and organize our work on a positive but sound and reliable basis. We have organized our work on a positive but sound and reliable basis. Some of the targets have been raised level by level, and the number has been increased from one level to another, turning the requirements that could only be met in a few years or a dozen years into targets to be achieved in a year or a few months. As a result, they are divorced from reality and do not have the support of the masses. Such as the premature denial of the law of equal exchange, prematurely put forward to eat without money, some areas that food production, once canceled the policy of unified marketing, advocating the liberalization of food, as well as some technology without the identification of the promotion of some of the laws of the economy and the laws of science is easily denied, etc., are a left tendency. In the view of these comrades, as long as we put forward the idea of political marshaling, we can replace everything, forgetting that political marshaling is the way to raise the consciousness of labor, to ensure the improvement of the quantity and quality of products, and to give full play to the enthusiasm and creativity of the masses, thus accelerating our economic construction. Political marshaling cannot replace economic laws, let alone specific measures in economic work. Political marshaling and exact and effective measures in economic work must both be given equal weight, and must not be favored over or against each other. It is generally more

difficult to correct these leftist phenomena than to counteract rightist conservative thinking, as our Party's historical experience has proved.

In the second half of last year, there seemed to be an air of paying attention to the anti-rightist conservative ideology and neglecting the left aspect of subjectivism. After a series of measures taken after the Zhengzhou Conference last winter, some leftist phenomena were basically corrected, which was a great victory. This victory has not only educated the whole Party but also has not damaged the enthusiasm of the comrades.

Now the domestic situation has been basically clarified, especially after the last few meetings, the understanding of most comrades in the Party has been basically unanimous. The task at hand is for the Party as a whole to unite and continue to work hard. I feel that it would be useful to systematically summarize the achievements and lessons of our work since the second half of last year and to further educate all Party comrades. Its purpose is to achieve a clear right and wrong, improve thinking, and generally do not go after personal responsibility. On the contrary, it is detrimental to unity and to the cause. The unfamiliar aspects of the law of socialist construction and other issues, after the practice and discussion since the second half of last year, some issues can be clarified. Some problems can also be learned after a period of study and exploration. Belongs to the ideological method and work style of the problem, has had this profound lesson, so that we are easier to wake up and experience.

But to overcome them completely, we still have to make some hard efforts. As the President instructed in this meeting: "Great achievements, many problems, rich experience and a bright future." The initiative is with me, and the conditions exist for the whole Party to unite in hard work and to continue to leap forward. The plan for this next year and the next four years will certainly be accomplished triumphantly, and the goal of catching up with Britain in 15 years can be basically realized in the next four years, and certain important products can certainly surpass Britain. This is our great achievement and bright future.

Salute!

Peng Dehuai

July 14, 1959

[After editing] According to relevant information: Peng Dehuai in the Lushan meeting has been trying to find Mao Zedong interview, but Mao is very busy, Peng Dehuai difficult to find opportunities. So, near the end of the Lushan meeting, Peng Dehuai will want to interview with Mao Zedong content written into a letter submitted to Mao Zedong.

On July 16, Mao Zedong triggered the letter to the comrades at the meeting. Although Peng's letter was written in a fairly euphemistic manner, Mao Zedong became angry and eventually labeled Peng as the head of the Fan_Party_Group, while other central and provincial leaders who had had more contact with Peng or had expressed similar views were labeled as members of Peng's Fan_Party_Group and appeared in the People's Daily, launching a nationwide campaign of criticism. In this way, the extreme leftist and adventurous mistakes of the Great Leap Forward and the People's Commune Movement were not only not corrected, but continued to develop, leading to three years of extreme crisis in the national economy and the onset of the Great Famine.

Mao Zedong dismissed Peng Dehuai from his post as Minister of Defense, and he went to the outskirts of Beijing to "study and reflect". After the famine, Mao Zedong seemed to see the reasonableness of Peng's opinion at that time, so he reappointed Peng Dehuai, but only to transfer him to be the deputy commander-in-chief of the "three lines of construction" (the so-called "three lines of construction" is the military-industrial construction project to prepare for the war). Peng Dehuai obeyed the arrangement, Jinjin industry work. But the good times didn't last long, and the Cultural Revolution broke out, and it still started with Peng Dehuai being "dismissed from his post" - and Yao Wen yuan's Commentary on the New Historical Drama "Hai Rui Strikes Down His Post".

Mao Zedong said plainly: "Yao Wenyan's article is very good but did not hit the nail on the head, the key issue is 'dismissal'. Emperor Jiajing dismissed Hai Rui, and in 1959 we dismissed Peng Dehuai. Peng Dehuai is also 'Hai Rui'." Thus, after the Cultural Revolution, all those who did not support and embrace 100% of Mao's intentions in their work (specifically, the series of policies on the "three red flags" of the General Line, the Great Leap Forward, and the People's Commune) were labeled as "those in power who follow the path of capitalism" and "anti-Capitalist" and "anti-People's Commune". All of them were labeled as "power holders following the capitalist road" and "anti-Chairman Mao's revolutionary line," and so on, and were mercilessly fought and cracked down on, with many of them being tortured to death. Peng Dehuai was also repeatedly criticized and tortured to death during the Cultural Revolution.