

# 中共“自力更生”的語義變遷與中蘇關係的演變（1946-1960）

## ——主要基於《人民日報》的相關表述的分析

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【摘要】中共向來有通過輿論工具以表明自己的政治立場的傳統。在中華人民共和國成立前後，“自力更生”等政治話語的構建和使用，是中共判斷當時的國際形勢，尤其是在把握中蘇關係變化的基礎上主動表明立場的表現。通過主動改變“自力更生”的使用語境和含義，中共展現出應對中蘇關係轉變的主動性。

中共對“自力更生”政治話語的建構在建國前即已開始。彼時，中共對“自力更生”的語義詮釋處於摸索階段，一方面向民眾宣傳“自力更生”的觀念，另一方面逐步構建“自力更生”應用於特定語境的基本語義，但尚未到達政治話語口號化的程度。在中華人民共和國成立初期，一方面要爭取蘇聯的援助，另一方面又要維護國家的獨立自主，中共通過《人民日報》等官方媒體和領導人的發言，漸次表達了“自力更生”一詞的具體使用語境及其相應的語義，同時加強向民眾宣傳“自力更生”的觀念。在“自力更生”話語的語境構建過程中，中共尤其注意梳理“自力更生”與蘇聯援助之間的關係。通過論證蘇聯援助是中國實現“自力更生”的重要條件，從而達到在“自力更生”的基礎上為爭取蘇聯援助提供正當性的目的。在此背景下“中蘇友誼”成為“自力更生”的附屬語義之一，蘇聯對中國的援助因此在輿論宣傳中成為再合理不過的事。

隨著中蘇關係的變化，“自力更生”在對蘇聯使用的時候其語義也發生了變化。受赫魯曉夫在蘇共二十大上作的政治報告和1956年發生的匈牙利事件等衝擊，中共開始探索自己的社會主義發展道路，在話語表達上則可見“自力更生”和“爭取外援”之間的矛盾關係越發被強調，此後更演變為“自力更生”和蘇聯大國主義之間的矛盾。1957年後，“自力更生”和“蘇聯援助”之間的關係越發疏遠，取而代之的是“自力更生”和“大躍進”的捆綁。雖然《人民日報》仍然宣傳“中蘇友誼”，但其與“自力更生”語義的附屬關係已經消失。1960年後，蘇聯撤回援華專家，“自力更生”和“蘇聯援助”之間的關係再無提及。

【關鍵字】《人民日報》 自力更生 蘇聯援助 中蘇關係

【Abstract】 Chinese Communist Party has a long tradition of considering public opinion as a tool to clarify its political statement. Around the founding of the People's

Republic of China, such political discourses as "self-reliance" were constructed and used, which is the manifestation of the CCP's judgment of the international situation of that time, especially its proactive stance on the basis of grasping changes in Sino-Soviet relations. By actively changing the context and meaning of "self-reliance", the CCP showed its initiative to cope with the challenges brought by the transformation of Sino-Soviet relations.

The CCP had constructed the political discourse of "self-reliance" long before the People's Republic of China was founded. At that time, the semantics of "self-reliance" were being explored. On one hand, the CCP was aimed at promoting the concept of "self-reliance" among people. On the other hand, it constructed the basic semantics of "self-reliance" in specific contexts, but not yet using it as a slogan of politics. At the early stage of the founding of the People's Republic of China, winning over Soviet's support while protecting national independence meanwhile were of necessity for China. Consequently, through official media such as the People's Daily and leaders' speeches, the CCP constructed "self-reliance" as a political discourse and gradually defined the specific contexts in which it can be used and its semantics towards different contexts. At the same time, by doing so, the CCP strengthened the public education of this concept. During the period of construction, the CCP paid special attention to the relationship between "self-reliance" and Soviet's support. In order to make acknowledged the legitimacy for Soviet's support on the basis of self-reliance, the CCP by all means demonstrated that Soviet's support was critical for the realization of self-reliance of China. In the context of such situation, "Sino-Soviet Friendship" was turned into one of the subordinate semantics of "self-reliance". Hence, Soviet's support to China had become reasonable in political publicity.

With the change of Sino-Soviet relations, the semantics of "self-reliance" also changed when it came to the Soviet Union. Such incidents as the report made by Khrushchev at the 20th National Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and Hungarian Crisis in 1956 led to impacts on the People's Republic of China. Therefore, the CCP began to seek its own path to development and became estranged with Soviet. In terms of expression, the contradiction between "self-reliance" and "winning over foreign support" was increasingly emphasized, and it later evolved into the contradiction between "self-reliance" and great-nation chauvinism of Soviet. After 1957, "self-reliance" loosed its links with "Soviet aid", instead being bound with "Great Leap Forward". Although the People's Daily still promoted "Sino-Soviet friendship" for

the purpose of China's development, this term was no longer one of the subordinate semantics of "self-reliance". Since the Soviet Union withdrew experts from China after 1960, the relationship between "self-reliance" and "Soviet aid" hadn't been mentioned any more.

**【Keywords】** The People's Daily self-reliance Soviet Union's Aid to China Sino-Soviet relation