

CANNIBALISM IN COMMUNIST CHINA



LAOGAI RESEARCH FOUNDATION

OCT 2013

Contents

Introduction	1
Cannibalism during the Great Leap Forward	3
Anhui Province	5
Gansu Province	7
Shandong Province	10
Sichuan Province	12
Cannibalism during the Cultural Revolution	14
Conclusion	15
Attachment 1	16
Attachment 2.1	20
Attachment 2.2	23
Attachment 3.1	27
Attachment 3.2	34
Attachment 4.1	41
Attachment 4.2	46
Attachment 5	54
Attachment 6.1	56
Attachment 6.2	65
Attachment 7.1	72
Attachment 7.2	81

Introduction

December 26, 2013 marks the 120th anniversary of the birth of Mao Zedong, the communist dictator who was perhaps responsible for more deaths than any other contemporary or historical figure. Nevertheless, upcoming celebrations honoring Mao's life are planned to take place throughout China. As part of the festivities, on October 14th, officials from Mao's hometown announced the completion of a 1.9 billion RMB (\$310 million) project to commemorate Mao's birth.

This past January, President Xi Jinping declared that no one should doubt the veracity of Mao's achievements. On November 8, the Party's official newspaper the People's Daily published an article emphasizing that Mao's "legacy" cannot be ruined because it would sow the seeds of the Party's own destruction, and that negating events like the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, two projects that largely define Mao's legacy, "not only would go against historical facts and the will of the people, but will certainly lead to extremely serious political consequences."¹

Between 1958 and 1962, tens of millions of people starved to death as a result of the Great Leap Forward (GLF, 大跃进), an attempt by Mao to overtake Britain as an economic world power in less than fifteen years. During the GLF, private farming was entirely prohibited and households all over China were forced into state-operated communes. Anyone who dared challenge the practice or store their own food was violently persecuted, with many being beaten to death. The impact was catastrophic. An estimated 30 to 45 million died as a direct result of this man-made

¹ "Correctly Looking at the Two Historical Periods Before and After the Economic Reform," People's Daily, November 8, 2013, accessed November 8, 2013, <http://news.sohu.com/20131109/n389842029.shtml>

disaster. Almost all of them were peasants. Party cadres, due to their special access to confiscated food stored in grain houses, were rarely victims.

Not long after the GLF, between 1966 and 1976, the Cultural Revolution (文化大革命) ravaged China. The Cultural Revolution was a political campaign aimed at rekindling revolutionary fervor and purifying the Party. It resulted in “class struggles” across the country, during which millions of people were violently persecuted and subsequently forced to perform manual labor in rural areas. Tens of thousands were executed or tortured to death. Historical relics and artifacts were destroyed. Young people were forced to forgo any forms of standard education, receiving only propaganda teachings of the Communist Party. Intellectual development in all fields of study was brought to a complete halt.

The underlying circumstances and driving purposes of these two travesties were vastly different, but both resulted in unfathomable human suffering. Human rights abuses during these campaigns included arbitrary imprisonment, beatings, torture, rape, sustained harassment, seizure of property, deprivation of food and medical attention, and many other abuses. The worst of these abuses, however, was cannibalism. In both events, well-documented official records have shown that there were numerous cases of cannibalism.

Unlike the Nazis, the Soviet Union and the Khmer Rouge, the party responsible for the Great Famine and the Cultural Revolution remains in power and continues to actively conceal historical records, distort facts, and suppress the spread of relevant information, viewing exposure of historical realities as a threat to regime survival.

Cannibalism during the Great Leap Forward

In recent years, several books on the Great Famine were published outside of Mainland China. Most notable among these were Chinese journalist Yang Jisheng's (杨继绳) *Tombstone*, American journalist Jasper Becker's *Hungry Ghosts*, and Dutch historian Frank Dikötter's *Mao's Great Famine*. All of these books have been translated into Chinese, but are banned in China. Official archives and materials about the Famine have been made inaccessible since Yang's work became widely acclaimed in the West.

Until today, official documents and textbooks still use the term "Three Years of Natural Disasters" ("三年自然灾害") to describe the event. Students in middle schools and high schools are taught that extremely bad weather contributed to a large portion of the total loss of grain production and that policy failure was only a minor factor. With information about the true cause of the Famine floating around the Internet and gaining increased popularity, university professors have come forward to denounce this mounting evidence as "rumors." For example, Professor Sun Jingxian (孙经先) of Jiangsu Normal University characterized the cause of deaths during the Great Famine as "nutritional death" and claimed that fewer than 2.5 million people died during these three years.

In February 2012, the Laogai Research Foundation (LRF) and the Heritage Foundation jointly held a two-day event on the Great Famine. During the conference, international experts presented their latest research and Famine survivors shared their harrowing stories. The authors and presenters provided extensive information about the most deadly mass killing in human history.

The Famine's geographical scope and depth of suffering were unprecedented. The

lack of food was so severe that people consumed everything that might offer sustenance, including tree bark, mud and animal droppings. LRF Executive Director Harry Wu recalled that during the Famine, all inmates imprisoned in the camp where he was incarcerated searched for and stole wild vegetables and grass. It was only through catching frogs and snakes, skinning them, and stealthily using a chamber pot to cook them that Wu was able to live through the Famine. Wu witnessed one of his best friends in the camp die of starvation. Another friend tried to escape the camp to search for food, but only found that he had no place to buy, beg or steal food. He eventually came back to the labor camp because it at least offered consistent rationed food. Despite coming to the brink of death and witnessing his fellow prisoners perish, Wu never even considered cannibalism. Only many years later, after reading accounts by researchers and Famine survivors, did Mr. Wu begin to fully appreciate the gravity of the Famine.^I

On the contrary, high-ranking officials in the central government were clearly aware of the Famine from the beginning. According to Liu Yuan (刘源), son of Liu Shaoqi (刘少奇), then heir-apparent to Mao, on an afternoon in July of 1962, Liu went to the swimming pool where Mao was swimming to talk to him about the Famine. Liu said, “So many people have died from starvation. You and me will be in historical records. Cannibalism will be on the books!” (“饿死这么多人，历史要写上你我的，人相食，要上书的！”)^{II}

Through extensive research, LRF found that the following cases represent the most prominent and well-documented instances of reported cannibalism cases during the Great Famine.

^I See Attachment 1 for more details.

^{II} Jisheng Yang, *Tombstone* (Hong Kong: Comsmo Books, 2008), 1010.

Anhui Province

According to Yin Shusheng (尹曙生), former deputy chief of the public security bureau (PSB, 公安局) of Anhui province (安徽省) and author of the Original Record of Special Cases in Anhui Province, official records show that there were 1,289 cases of cannibalism from 1959 to 1961 in Anhui.^I Wang Guanqun (王冠群), head of the PSB of Yingshang County (颖上县) in Anhui, gave a more detailed account of the 49 cannibalism cases his bureau processed.^{II} Both authors believed there were many more cases that were never reported or recorded. The following is several examples:

- On Jan.12, 1960, a 48-year-old woman named Gao Shiyong (高士英) from Haizi Village (海子村) boiled her six-year-old daughter after strangling her to death.
- On Jan.14, 1960, a 33-year-old man named Chen Shixian (陈士贤) from Liu Shipu Town (六十铺乡) took a child's corpse from a tomb, and then proceeded to boil and eat it. What he did not consume he sold at the market.
- On Mar.12, 1960, a 48-year-old woman surnamed Liuchen (刘陈氏) from Jiangkou Town (江口镇) tricked her 4-year-old nephew, nicknamed Maju (马驹), "pony," with some peanuts and then proceeded to strangle him. After strangling him, Liuchen dismembered and cooked him. She ate part of the body, sold part of it and kept the rest under the bed.

After cases of cannibalism were reported to the county party committee, the PSB initially decided to call them "cases of damaging the corpses." They later changed the

^I Shusheng Yin, "the Original Record of Special Cases in Anhui Province," Yanhuang Chunqiu 10(2009): 62-63.

^{II} Guanqun Wang, "The 'Special Cases' I know in Yingshang County," Yanhuang Chunqiu 8(2013): 22-23.

terminology to “cases of political deconstruction,” since the word “corpse” sounded too harsh and unsuitable for the “current great situation.” Later it was changed to “special cases” because the term “cases of political deconstruction” sounded too “leftist.”^{III}

In 2012, Liu Yangshuo (刘洋硕) of the Chinese magazine Southern People Weekly (南方人物周刊) went to Fuyang Prefecture (阜阳市) to interview Famine survivors. He met the son of a person who committed cannibalism during the Famine. Lu Zhenbin (鹿振斌) said the fact that his father, Lu Shaozhi (鹿少致), had eaten human meat made him feel ashamed of himself among fellow villagers. Lu told He, “I understand him, but I won’t forgive him for doing that.”^{IV}

III See attachment 2.1 and 2.2 for the English summary of Yin’s article and Yin’s original article in Chinese.

IV Liu Yangshuo, “the Memory of the Great Famine from 1959 to 1961,” Southern People Weekly, Sheryl Gay Stolberg and Robert Pear, “Wary Centrists Posing Challenge in Health Care Vote,” New York Times, May 21, 2012, accessed October 22, 2013, http://business.sohu.com/20120521/n343690602_1.shtml.

Gansu Province

Gansu province (甘肃省) was one of the most severely impacted areas. One well-preserved document describes the situation in Linxia (临夏市), a city south of capital city Lanzhou. The document, issued by the Gansu Province General Office of the Communist Party Committee, recorded 45 cases of cannibalism in the city. Here are several examples:

Date: November 1959. Location: Chui Matan Commune (吹麻滩公社). Perpetrator: Zhu Wushi Qi (朱五十七) Class: Poor peasant. Name of Victim: Wang Yucheng (王玉成). Relation with the Perpetrator: Fellow villager. Method of Cannibalism: Killed the victim and ate the body. Reason: Livelihood issues (生活问题).¹

Date: January 1960. Location: Maiji Commune (买集公社). Perpetrator: Ma Waiyou (马外由). Class: Poor peasant. Name of Victim: Kong Zhaxi(孔扎希). Relation with the Perpetrator: Spouse. Method of Cannibalizing: Dug out the corpse and boiled it. Reason: Void.

Date: January 1960. Location: Thirty-Mile Commune (三十里铺). Perpetrator: Ma Mage (马麻个). Class: Poor peasant. Name of Victim: Void. Relation with the Perpetrator: Child. Crime/Method of Cannibalizing: Ate the body after the child died. Reason: Void.

Date: February 25, 1960. Location: Hongtai Commune (红台公社). Perpetrator: Yang Zhongsheng (杨忠生). Class: Poor peasant. Name of Victim: Yang Sanshun (杨三顺). Relation with the Perpetrator: Younger brother. Crime/Method of Cannibalizing: Killed the

¹ See Attachment 3 for the original official document in Chinese and its English translation.

victim and ate the body. Reason: Livelihood issues.

In 2012, Yi Wa (依娃), author of the Investigation of the Great Famine in Gansu, went to the villages in Gansu where her family was originally from and interviewed many Famine survivors. Here are two examples of the accounts those survivors gave Yi Wa:

Song Hongren (宋宏仁) from Jingning County (静宁县) recalled:

“One day, my two cousins, Song Dongchuan (宋东川) and Song Qinzheng (宋勤珍), came back from the worksite. They saw a person with a scythe chasing after them. Song Qinzheng ran fast so he got away. But Song Dongchuan didn’t have the energy to run, so that person snatched him from the behind. He killed Dongchuan and ate his meat. This whole scene happened in the daytime.”

Eighty-two year-old Ran Yuehua (染月花) from Tongwei County (通渭县) recalled:

“Because so many people were eating human meat, village cadres took some of the meat to the public square, educating members of the commune not to eat human meat anymore. Some people even pickled the meat as a way to preserve it. The color of the meat later turned black.”^{II}

In the book Jia Biangou Chronicle (夹边沟记事), author Yang Xianhui (杨显惠) documented the stories of cannibalism he collected from survivors of the Jia Biangou

II Yi Wa, “Investigational Report on the Great Famine in Gansu,” Mingjing History Net, March 31, 2013, accessed October 22, 2013, http://www.mingjinglishi.com/2013/03/blog-post_4602.html

Laogai Farm (夹边沟劳改农场) in Jiuquan County (酒泉县), Gansu province.^{III} During the Anti-Rightist Movement, thousands of “rightists,” most of whom had worked at universities, schools, hospitals and government offices, were sent to Jia Biangou.

One story, told by a surviving rightist prisoner Li Wenhan (李文汉), describes the fate of Dong Jianyi (董坚毅). Dong, a Harvard graduate, was a surgeon in Shanghai before being sent to Jia Biangou. He was a very healthy-looking man in his mid-thirties when he first arrived, but soon started to lose weight due to starvation and died in the winter of 1960. A few days after his death, other prisoners found that the blanket that was used to wrap his body and his clothes had been ripped off, leaving him naked, revealing two holes on his bottom. The flesh on his bottom had been carved away by a knife, as was the flesh on the calves, with bones exposed.^{IV}

III See Attachment 4.1 and 4.2 for the English summary of Li Lin's article and Li's original article in Chinese.

IV See Attachment 4 for more details.

Shandong Province

In the winter of 1960, with the death toll from starvation mounting to unprecedented levels, the central government issued a temporary policy to correct the “mistakes” made in the GLF. As part of this, the Shandong Provincial (山东省) Party Committee engaged in self-criticism and wrote a report in which widespread starvation and cannibalism was mentioned. The report admitted that there were about 70 cannibalism cases in Shandong province from 1958 through the winter of 1960. But Xiao Lei (肖磊), a prosecutor in Shandong for 38 years and author of *The Cannibalism I Knew during the Great Famine*, believed the actual number was much higher.¹ For example, based on an investigation conducted by Xiao Xiyi (肖锡宜) of the Shandong Provincial Party Committee, in one unit alone there were nine cannibalism cases from the winter of 1959 to the winter of 1960. None of these cases had been included in the Party Committee’s report.

Xiao described several cases in more detail:

One was from the archives of Laiyang County (莱阳县) Procuratorate. Two men who were neighbors in Chengguan Commune (城关公社) told each other during the day that they were going to starve to death soon. The same night one of them died, and the other man brought an iron shovel and a kitchen knife to the hillside where the dead man had been buried a couple of hours earlier. He dug up the body and cut off the legs, but fell down on his way back and was discovered dead the next morning by pedestrians. The PSB concluded that the culprit died because he was “too weak and scared.”

¹ Lei Xiao, “The ‘Special Cases’ I know,” *Yanhuang Chunqiu* 7(2010): 158-161.

Another case occurred in Laiyang County in the spring of 1961. In this instance, two men were found guilty of selling human meat on the market. During the investigation, one of them said, “I have dug out more than ten corpses in the last two years. I would choose the ones who died from starvation and had just been buried. Usually I could cut off about 15 pounds from one corpse. It started with eating the corpse to save my family and myself. I later began to steal the corpses and sold the meat as beef on the market for 5 Yuan per pound after boiling it. The meat was sold out very quickly every time.” The other man made a similar confession, saying, “In the last two years I have stolen 7 or 8 corpses and sold them as beef on the market after boiling them. I know several other men who did the same thing, and they have sold more corpses than I have.”^{II}

II See Attachment 5 for more details.

Sichuan Province

During the Great Famine, about 12 million people died in Sichuan province along, more than in any other provinces. In Xingjing County (兴经县), 53 percent of the population died of starvation, becoming the most deadly hit county in the country. In 2012, Shi Fenggang (石丰纲), a native of Xingjing, interviewed nearly 100 Famine survivals and among them, 21 people told him the cannibalism cases they witnessed.¹ The following is several examples:

Lin Junzhi (林俊芝), female, 93-year-old, originally belonged to the Xinghe production brigade in Xinghe Commune

Time of Interview: Jun. 19, 2012

Location of Interview: No.108 Rd., near Xinghe Town

Lin said: *“Yu Qizhen in our commune dug a child out, carried the child home, and cooked the child. I went to his house and saw the dead child’s clothes.”*

Li Zhengying (李正英), female, 76-year-old, originally belonged to the 11th production brigade in Fushun Commune (复顺公社)

Time of Interview: Jun. 27, 2012

Location of Interview: Anjing County

Li said: *“The family across the street had eaten human flesh. Her one-year-old child died. She boiled the dead body. She told me all these. She said she asked her daughter to eat the meat. Her daughter refused. She scolded her daughter, saying, ‘Bitch, if you don’t eat it, you will die!’ Her daughter asked her what this weird animal was. The daughter used her chopsticks to fetch it and then saw toes and nails. She freaked out and ran away. The one or two-year-old daughter of Wang chaozhen of the Nanba (楠坝) production brigade died. Wang already buried her child so*

¹ See Attachment 6.1 and 6.2 for the complete list of the cases and the original texts in Chinese.

she couldn't eat it. Then she dug the body out. I saw it by my eyes."

Wang Enfen (王恩芬), female, 71-year-old, originally belonged to the Shunhe production brigade in Shiqiao Commune (石桥公社)

Time of Interview: Jun. 27, 2012

Location of Interview: Shunhe Village in Xingjing County

Wang said: *"In 1959, in Guangming brigade in Mixi Mountain, the Wang Weifen family had a daughter, about eight or nine-year-old. She was so hungry that she cried. Neighbor Yang Guoli's sister said to her, 'come to our house and I will give you buns to eat.' So the little girl followed her to their house. When she was in the house sitting on the ground and eating the bun, Yang Guoli used the back of a knife to hit the girl and killed her. Then they boiled her and ate her. Then the girl's mother came to look for her and her family all came to look for her. They couldn't find her. Later, one day, some red beans in the production brigade had been stolen. The brigade thus investigated. Everyone was summoned to be together and nobody was allowed to return home. Then the brigade went to search each family's home. When they searched Yang Guoli's house, they found some children's clothes and a lot of bones under the ground. They asked the mother Wang Weifen to have a look. The clothes belonged to her daughter. Later, during a gathering in Huatan Middle School, Yang Guoli was executed by firing squad. We all saw him being shot."*

Li Huaifen (李怀芬), female, 83-year-old, originally from the Wannian production brigade in Shizi Commune

Time of Interview: Jul. 9, 2012

Location of Interview: near the road in Wannian Village

Li said: *"There was a child in Liuhe Dam. She was so starved and almost dead, but she was still breathing. Her mother cut the meat off her butt. We all heard her crying and saying, 'mom, don't touch me!' It sounded so heart-broken."*

Cannibalism during the Cultural Revolution

In 1993, writer Zheng Yi (郑义), after years of investigation, published a book titled *Scarlet Memorial*, detailing the cases of cannibalism in Guangxi province (广西省) during the Cultural Revolution. For example, in some high schools, students killed their principals and then cooked and ate the bodies to celebrate a triumph over “counter-revolutionaries.” One woman who participated in eating one of the principals was the ex-girlfriend of the man’s son. By eating the principal, she wanted to demonstrate that she had no sympathy for the counter-revolutionary, just like everyone else.^I

One of the important documents Zheng uncovered is the official investigation report titled *Significant Events During the Cultural Revolution in Wuxuan County* (武宣县“文革”大事件), issued in 1987 by the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Communist Party Committee’s Party Rectifying Office (中共武宣县委整党领导小组办公室). According to the document, 75 people in Wuxuan County had their hearts and liver extracted and flesh eaten after being killed. Some of those involved in the cannibalism received minor punishment. Ninety-one Party members were expelled. Thirty-nine non-Party members were suspended from their administrative positions, demoted or received a salary decrease. None of them faced criminal prosecution.^{II}

I Nicholas Kristof, “A Tale of Red Guards and Cannibals,” *New York Times*, January 6, 1993, accessed October 22, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/1993/01/06/world/a-tale-of-red-guards-and-cannibals.html>

II See Attachment 7 for the original official document in Chinese and the English translation of certain excerpts.

Conclusion

The documents LRF has researched and collected exposed the horrific reality of the Great Famine and the Cultural Revolution. Official records list the specific time, location and people involved in cases of cannibalism. These documents clearly show that the Great Famine was not only a time of widespread starvation, but also pervasive cannibalism. Cannibalism committed during the Cultural Revolution was motivated neither by hunger nor by psychopathic illness, but by an eagerness to prove one's loyalty to the Party and Mao. Officially sanctioned cannibalization in the name of political revolution and "class struggle" represents the pinnacle of madness under communist rule.

To think that government policies could result in widespread cannibalism among its people is mind-boggling. Many of the cannibalism cases actually happened within families - fathers ate sons, brothers ate sisters and husbands ate wives. The Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, these man-made calamities, destroyed basic moral principles of the Chinese society.

It is the duty of those who are aware of the atrocities, especially those who are in a country where the freedom of speech is guaranteed, to uncover and record the truth. We believe that after the fall of the Chinese Communist Regime, more official records about cases of cannibalism and other severe human rights violations during these two periods will be released.

Attachment 1

“Survivor of the Great Famine”

Harry Wu was born in Shanghai in 1937. In 1955, at the age of 18, he left home to study at the Beijing Institute of Geosciences. While Wu was studying in Beijing, Mao instituted the Great Leap Forward.

Believing rapid collectivization would drastically elevate China's economy, Mao shattered China's family structure and forced most rural citizens into large communes. Moreover, Mao forced ill-conceived and unscientific agricultural and industrial policies to be implemented in the communes. The results would prove to be catastrophic. Between 1958 and 1962, it is estimated that as many as 45 million Chinese died of starvation. This four-year period not only marked China's supposed Great Leap Forward, but also its Great Famine.

By 1960, some two years after Mao launched his Great Leap Forward, Harry Wu was still studying at the Beijing Institute of Geosciences. However, due to the revolutionary fervor of the movement, Wu began to be criticized and harassed by his fellow classmates on account of his class background. Eventually his name was placed on a Party black list. Wu tried to escape from China. On April 27th, 1960, one of Wu's classmates accused him of being a counter-revolutionary rightist and he was promptly arrested and sentenced to the Laogai for labor reform. It was in these Laogai labor camps that Harry Wu endured the Great Famine.

According to Wu, “Those of us in the Laogai had only two meals a day. Every meal had only two little wotous, a kind of steamed bread made from sorghum and devoid of the necessary calories for strenuous labor. Due to the fact that chaff was added, the wotous

tasted bitter and were rough to the tongue. We could also have a ladle of soup, which had a few floating vegetable leaves on top. Occasionally, there would be fermented mustard greens.”

The Great Famine was wreaked havoc in all regions of China. Even workers and peasants who were loyal to the Communist party were starving. Thus, the prisoners in the Laogai could only struggle to get by. According to Wu, “I was always hungry. I started to steal cucumber and Chinese cabbage from the police’s vegetable garden. My best friend, Mr. Xing, was in an even worse condition. He would blatantly steal and eat other prisoners’ food at meal times. He tried once to escape. However, faced with a place rampant with famine like China, he had no place to buy or even beg or steal food. Thus, he could only give himself up and come back to the labor camp in order to rely on the consistent rationed food to survive.”

The famine worsened throughout 1961 and did not begin to diminish until 1962. Wu recalled, “Before sleeping, we would all take turns to describe our favorite foods, and the exquisite meals we had in the past. Slowly, we began to starve. We began to steal and search for wild vegetables and grasses. We even found a mouse’s nest that contained food the mouse had stored for the winter. We all wrote letters to our relatives, asking them to send us food. Because the famine had ravaged every corner of China, most of the letters went unanswered.”

Famine was so rampant that even steamed breads were made half with chaff and half with crushed corncob. There was simply not enough grain to produce nutritious, and calorie rich breads. Even the guards of the Laogai camps were hungry, albeit not starving. According to Wu, “I was the weakest I had ever been. While studying at the Beijing Institute of Geosciences, I had weighed 150 pounds. During the autumn of 1961 I plunged to 80 pounds. Every prisoner was struggling on the brink of death. Almost all manual labor had

stopped. Prisoners were struggling to stay alive, let alone work.”

Slowly but surely, the prisoner population began to fade away. Meal time quickly became sacred for Laogai camp prisoners during the early 1960s. Harry Wu remembers his month of severe starvation vividly. “Every morning, the chef would use a ladle to serve into our bowls a thin porridge made from corn powder and crushed corncob. We would carefully count every spoon, because every spoon meant survival. Whenever we had meals, there would be some people lying on the bed, unwilling to get up. This would be the only way we know they were already dead. Their thin bodies were then lifted up and carried away, and new prisoners would arrive when night fell.”

In November of 1961, Harry Wu’s best friend in the labor camps, Mr. Chen Ming, did not get up from bed. He was sent to the cemetery, but as they were about to bury him, he awoke from his starvation induced coma. Despite intense emotion, Harry Wu recalled, “I told the security guards that he had missed a meal. Thus, the chef brought him two hot steamed breads made from real corn. These steamed breads were usually only given to the police chiefs. Chen Ming devoured the steamed breads in mere seconds. Almost instantly, Ming grabbed his stomach tightly, and screamed in agony and pain. Then he died. His stomach and intestines were very weak, so they could not digest the food. To this day I carry a deep sense of guilt. I felt that I had killed him.”

As with most survivors of famine, Harry Wu was forced to rely on his wits to escape death. It was only through catching frogs and snakes, biting their heads off, skinning them, and stealthily using a chamber pot to cook them that he was able to live through that winter of 1961. After the worst of the famine had passed, Wu was transferred to Tuan He Farm, a Laogai camp just outside of Beijing. According to Wu, “This Laogai camp was a grape farm, from which I could steal grapes. The nutrients I obtained through these stolen grapes helped me to recover from my starvation state.”

Even though the worst of the famine had passed by 1961, Harry Wu's hardships were far from over. Wu would spend every day until his release on February 16, 1979 toiling in Laogai labor camps. Because Wu spent the worst of the Great Famine locked away in labor camps, he was unaware of the scope of the disaster. In fact, before Wu had immigrated to the United States in 1985, he was unaware that the starvation he had endured shortly after his arrest was just another case in a nationwide phenomenon. Wu was unaware that every province in China experienced widespread starvation. Wu was unaware that Anhui, Gansu, Henan, and Sichuan provinces had unprecedented starvation. Wu was also unaware that the Famine had driven many peasants in Anhui, Gansu, Henan, and Sichuan provinces to the point of cannibalism. Wu was especially unaware that secret government reports of infants being eaten by their parents were being drafted in rural China.

Attachment 2.1

Cannibalism Cases in Yingshang County, Anhui Province

Like most places in China during the Great Leap Forward, the peasants of Yingshang County (颖上县), Anhui Province (安徽省), began to eat their meals in communal canteens starting in the autumn of 1959. There were 4,189 communal canteens in Yingshang County. Each person received half a pound of food per meal. With such inadequate rations, peasants began to die of starvation. According to “The ‘Special Cases’ I know of in Yingshang County,” published in Yanhuang Chunqiu (炎黄春秋) at the end of 1958, there were 703,940 people living in Yingshang County.¹ By the end of 1961, however, there were only 617,031 people left. In other words, 86,909 people, or 12.34% of the county’s population, died of starvation. Moreover, 4,844 families disappeared.

The Yingshang County Public Security Bureau processed 49 cases of cannibalism in 1960. There were 50 people involved, 34 men and 16 women. Wang Guanqun had given a detailed account of the age of culprits. The culprits’ ages are displayed below:

- 2 were 16 years old,
- 7 were between 20 and 29 years old,
- 13 were between 30 and 39 years old,
- 20 were between 40 and 49 years old,
- 6 were between 50 and 59 years old,
- 2 were 60 years old and above.

Furthermore, the article described in detail several cases of cannibalism. Those

¹ Wang Guanqun, “The ‘Special Cases’ I know in Yingshang County,” Yanhuang Chunqiu, August, 2013. The author, Wang Guanqun, had worked at the Yingshang County Public Security Bureau (PSB) from the 1940s to 1980s and was the head of the Bureau before he retired. He continued to work collecting, writing, and editing the annual publication of the Yingshang county PSB even after he retired.

detailed cases are mentioned below:

On January 12th, 1960, a woman named Gao Shiyong from Haizi Village, Lingui Town, Chengjiao District, who was 48 years old, boiled her six-year-old daughter after strangling her to death.¹¹

On March 12th, 1960, a 48-year-old woman surnamed Liuchen from Jiangkou Town murdered and ate her nephew. Specifically, Liuchen strangled her 4-year-old nephew, nicknamed Maju, and then proceeded to strangle him. After strangling him, Liuchen dismembered and cooked him. She ate part of the body, sold part of it, and kept the rest of it under her bed. Liuchen was later sentenced to death for murdering her Maju.

On January 14th, 1960, a 33-year-old man named Chen Shixian from Liu Shipu Town took a child's corpse from a tomb, and proceeded to boil and eat it. What little he didn't consume, he sold at market.

Wang Guanquan wrote that the Yingshang County PSB processed 10 cases similar to the Chen Shixian case. There were other cases of eating corpses that involved abandoning the partially eaten corpses in the fields after partial consumption. The Yingshang County PSB's records show that it had processed 37 such cases, but the author believed there were many more cases that were never reported or recorded.

After cases of cannibalism were reported to the county party committee and government, the PSB initially decided to label them "cases of damaging corpses." Later, however, the PSB decided to label them "cases of political deconstruction." Eventually, "cases of political deconstruction" was substituted in favor of "special cases." In effect, the PSB fundamentally altered the reality of cannibalism in Anhui. By changing the

¹¹ Gao was sentenced to death for cannibalizing her daughter. After investigating the case, the PSB concluded that Gao killed and ate her daughter in order to avoid starvation. This case also reflects the preference of boys to girls that families have in the Chinese countryside. For more on the killing, see Song Yongyi's article "An overview of Cannibalism during the Great Leap Forward and Great Famine," *The Great Famine*, Laogai Research Foundation, 2013, pages 117-118.

terminology from “damaging corpses” to “special corpses,” the reports became so vague that they no longer conveyed the reality of the situation.

The article went on to explain that when the author and his colleagues reported these cannibalism cases to their leaders, their response was, “Such cases were the result of our class enemy’s sabotage, which the PSB should investigate seriously and process strictly.” Those found guilty of cannibalism were punished accordingly. Among the aforementioned 50 people, two were sentenced to death (Gao Shiyang and the woman surnamed Liuchen), 22 were arrested, seven were sent to a fixed-term imprisonment, three were sent to reeducation through labor, five were sentenced to criminal detention, 20 were released after investigation and receiving reeducation, and 13 died during detention.

Eventually, the author and his colleagues received a phone call from their leaders, ordering them to remove records of cannibalism cases from the archives. If the records were unable to be removed, they were ordered to erase the contents of the records with an ink pen. Because of these orders, there are no written records in the PSB archives about such cases from 1958 to 1961.

The author asked for permission from the leaders at the Yingshang County Party History Office to put his writings about this history of cannibalism in the Yingshang County Party History and Yingshang County Chronicle. After making this request, the author received a bureaucratic response: “Such content is a very sensitive issue in our Party’s history. On order from the upper-level authorities, such history cannot be placed in the chronicles.” As an alternative to keep and save this history, the author decided to publish the article in Yanhuang Chunqiu.

Please see Attachment 2.2 for Ying Shusheng and Wang Guanqun’s original articles on Yanhuang Chunqiu.

安徽特殊案件的原始记录

尹曙生

最近十几年来,一些书籍、报刊、互联网,时不时披露上个世纪“大跃进”年代中国一些地方出现的人相食现象。大多数作者由于没有确凿的数据和例证,文章说服力不强,善良的人们不太相信,在社会主义的中国,怎么会发生这样的情况?

还是用事实说话吧。

安徽省在“大跃进”年代,人民群众吃尽了苦头,饿死了400多万人(有案可查,不是推测的),发生人相食(多数是吃尸体)的现象并不奇怪。1961年4月23日,安徽省公安厅向省委写了一个报告,题目是:《关于发生特殊案件情况的报告》。报告称:“自1959年以来,共发生(特殊案件——笔者)1289起,其中阜阳专区9个县发生302起,蚌埠专区15个县发生721起,芜湖专区3个县发生55起,六安专区5个县发生8起,安庆专区2个县发生2起,合肥市3个县发生201起。发生时间,绝大部分在1959年冬和1960年春。宣城县发生的30起特殊案件,有28起是1959年10月至1960年2月发生的;蚌埠专区的凤阳县等10个县1960年共发生此类案件619起,其中发生在第一季度的512起,发生在第二季度的105起,发生在第三季度的2起,第四季度的个别地方虽有发生,但为数极少。今年第一季度只发现肖县、砀山、嘉山、定远、肥西、巢县、泗县等8个县共发生10起。这类案件约有50%以上发生在三类(即坏人掌握领导权——笔者)社队,作案成员大多数是劳动人民,也有的是地富反坏分子。据蚌埠专区对819名作案成员调查,地富分子和历史上当过土匪的59人,敌伪人员、兵痞等49人,学生19人,农民764人。从作案性质和情节上看,据对1144起案件调查,其卖给别人吃的36起,其余1108起都是留作自食的。发生这类案件的原因,主要是由于一些地方生产没有搞好,口粮安排不落实,群众生活极度困难,特别是坏人当道的三类社队,干部为非作歹,停伙扣饭,群众出于生活所迫所致,个别的搞出去卖也是为了买回自己所需的食物和用品。各地对此类案件,一般都当成政治破坏案件处理,由党委责成公安部门领导直接掌握,确定专人办理。从处理情况看,面宽、过严、绝大多数是逮捕、劳教、拘留起来,把很多是人民内部矛盾问题,当成敌我矛盾处理,扩大了打击面。全省1289名作案成员中,就逮捕136名,劳教153名,拘留881名,判处死缓2名,合计占90.9%。这些人被逮捕、拘留后,由于他们本来身体就弱,有的还患有多种疾病。在投入劳改、劳教后,因生活管理不好,劳动过度,造成大批死亡,有的地方死亡率竟达70%以上。省公安厅已责成有关公安机关,对此类案件进行一次认真检查处理。处理的原则是:对地富反坏分子有意造成政治影响以及杀人犯和搞这种东西出卖的,应从严处理,其余都教育释放。”

安徽省公安厅的这份报告,总的来说是实事求是的,中肯的。我不想作过多解释,因为写的清楚明白。由于时代限制,个别观点值得商榷,如“地富反坏有意破坏政治影响”,不是饿的没办法,谁愿意吃包括自己亲人在内的尸体呢?需要补充的是,报告没有说明这里面有多少是杀害已经饿得奄奄一息、快要死的亲人而食肉的,就是报告上说的“杀人犯”。这种情况少,据我们在写公安史时的典型调查,这部分约占5%至8%。

下面用一个县的例子来论证省公安厅的报告。

安徽省凤阳县,改革开放后很出名,因为全国包产到户就是这个县的小岗村 18 户农民立下生死状搞起来的,得到当时的省委书记万里的默许,然后在全省推广、全国推广,很快解决了农民吃饭问题,万里也成了改革开放初期的风云人物,“要吃米,找万里”的口号传遍全国。江泽民、胡锦涛等很多中央领导人到凤阳县小岗村视察、参观。可是这个县在“大跃进”年代人民群众的悲惨状况却鲜为人知,说它是人间地狱一点也不过分。

先看看人口统计数字。1958 年凤阳县全县人口 402700 人,到 1961 年,人口下降到 245262 人,净减少 157438 人,和 1958 年相比,人口减少 39%。全县死绝的户有 2404 户,消失村庄 27 个,孤寡老人 1580 人,孤儿 3304 人。

为什么会出现这种情况?就是因为这个县的县委书记赵玉书为了“大跃进”,不顾人民死活,盲目蛮干造成的。为了“大跃进”,他动用专政工具残酷镇压人民群众。一个 40 万人口的县,他就下令公安机关逮捕、拘留 3154 人,管制 1400 多人,批斗 2000 多人,打击所谓反革命 366 人。1960 年 4 月正是该县饿死人最多的时候,赵玉书在公社党委书记会议上说:“凤阳本来就不是个好地方,过去也死过人,现在死两个人,有什么了不起!”会后他到武店公社了解浮肿病情况,问公社卫生院院长王善良:“为什么浮肿病治不好?

缺什么药?”王善良如实回答说:“少一味药,那就是粮食!”赵玉书大怒,马上组织人对他进行批斗,批斗后宣布逮捕。

由于饿死人的情况得不到控制,发生了人相食的惨剧。赵玉书知道后,对公安局领导说:“这是反革命政治事件,一律逮捕,关死为算,严格保密,不得外传。”结果公安局秘密逮捕食人案件当事人 63 人,关死在监狱里的 33 人。

安徽省公安厅的报告送到省委以后,省委书记曾希圣只批给几个书记传阅,严格保密,并指示公安厅,严格控制知情范围,有关档案销毁。幸好这份报告还保存着,笔者在主编《安徽省志公安志》时发现这份报告。这份报告使这一历史惨案不会石沉大海,无人知晓。

安徽省发生人相食案件是不是个案?不是的。全国不少省都发生过,只是严重程度不同而已。1960 年,我是青海省委书记兼省长王昭的秘书。1960 年 5 月 13 日,青海省公安厅给省委写了份报告,题目是《关于西宁地区当前治安情况的报告》,报告中说到西宁市和湟中县发生人相食案件 300 多起。

(本文作者为安徽省公安厅原常务副厅长)

(责任编辑 杨继绳)

更正

本刊今年第 8 期 19 页左栏倒数第 4 行提到的林润青应为中宣部科学处副处长;第 9 期 66 页左栏第 4 段中的人口出生率、死亡率应为千分比数。

(上接第 75 页)认为自己不方便参加,便建议中央另选代表出席,而且为这件事先后两次上书蒋介石,并函各方面提出意见。代表团团长郑彦棻临行前往戴季陶处请示意见,他指示郑等人要慎言行,要加强与亚洲各国代表的联系,关于西藏问题,最好能把他们列入中国代表团。后来,中国代表团赴印,正好和印度所邀的西藏代表同日同机抵达新德里。中国代表团抵达印度后,立即向印度提出交涉,表明中方立场,决不容许印度侵犯中国领土主权的完整。由于中方的义正词严,印度终于没把西藏列为独立国家,而只是以地方代表列席大会。

在正式开会之前,又发生一个插曲。当时,代

表团团长郑彦棻发现预备会议会场中所悬挂的世界地图,把西藏列在我国国界之外,便立即向尼赫鲁交涉,起初他敷衍推诿,后来答应予以改正。但开会当天的上午,还未改正。中方代表团便派叶公超找尼赫鲁再度直接交涉,表示如果不改正,中国代表团便不参加开幕式。印度方面知道中方立场坚定后,才同意由叶公超亲自将地图上中国国界改正过来,把西藏包括在中国国界之内。郑彦棻后来回忆说,戴季陶对此事处理的远见和指示,维护祖国统一,给他留下了深刻的印象。

(作者为南京大学历史系研究生)

(责任编辑 杨继绳)

我所知道的颍上县“特殊案件”

○ 王冠群

1958年到1961年,由于高举“三面红旗”,大刮“共产风”造成大饥荒。从1959年秋季开始,安徽颍上这个七十多万人口的农业县,绝大多数农民在4189个公共食堂就餐,每人每天的主食是“五大两”(即半斤原粮)的低标准,当时有这样的顺口溜“群众进食堂,两眼泪汪汪,打饭用盆罐,顿顿照影汤”。饥饿夺去了不少人的生命,有的全家死光,致使全县总人口急剧下降。1958年底,全县总人口为154691户、703940人,到1961年底全县还有149847户、617031人。与1958年相比,减少4844户、86909人,分别下降3.13%和12.34%。三年困难时期,全县农村妇女因长期饥饿而导致高度浮肿、子宫脱垂等疾病,基本上没有生育。

在生活极度贫困的情况下,一些人为了继续生存下去,以青苗野菜充饥,极少数人开始偷偷地吃死人肉,这种极其反常的情况通过各种渠道反映到党委和政府,公安机关为了掌握社会动态,出于职业习惯开展了调查。初期我们把食尸事件叫“破坏尸体案件”,因有“尸体”二字,一则听起来不雅,二则怕有损当时的“大好形势”,后改称为“政治破坏案件”,这个名称虽然把“阶级分析”的色彩包含了进去,但把这类事件作为“政治破坏”未免太“左”,而且与事实也不符,最后由上级统一定名为“特殊案件”。

1960年经县公安机关处理的这类“特殊案件”共49件50人,其中逮捕22人,判处死刑2人,判处有期徒刑7人,关押期间死亡13人(来时都有浮肿,看守所生活也困难),劳动教养3人,刑事拘留5人,扣留审查后教育释放20人。这50人中,男性34人,女性16人。其年龄情况是:16岁的2人,20-29岁的7人,30-39岁的13人,40-49岁20人,50-59岁的6人,60岁以上的2人。分析这49起案件,具体有以下四种类型:

1. 故意杀死自己的小孩而食其肉。城郊区林

拐乡洪海子村女社员高士英,时年48岁,于1960年1月12日将自己的亲生女儿(6岁)勒死后,将肉煮熟吃,发案后被依法逮捕,并以杀人罪判处了死刑。在上报的卷宗内,将生活困难,杀死小孩的目的,是为了保住其他家庭成员不被饿死的事实全部隐瞒,而罗列了重男轻女等不实之词,欺上瞒下。

2. 杀死别人的孩子,肢解尸体自食并出售。1960年3月12日江口镇居民刘陈氏(女,48岁),用花生米将其亲侄儿(乳名马驹,男,4岁),骗到自己家中,随按倒在地用手卡死并肢解了尸体,除自己食用外,又冒充煮熟的猪肉在街上出售。剩余的部分仍保存自家床下。马驹的父亲刘在志发现儿子走失后,向公安机关报案。经侦察破案后刘陈氏被依法逮捕判处了死刑。在上报的卷宗内,采取同样手法,隐瞒事实真相,谎称两家有私愤系报复杀人。刘陈氏的丈夫刘在祥涉嫌包庇罪,被依法拘留,教育释放后不久也饿死在家中。

3. 从乱坟岗拣回尸体食用并出售,1960年1月14日,六十铺乡农民陈士贤(男,33岁),从乱坟岗拣回小孩尸体一具,煮熟后自食又在集市上出售。发案后,陈被逮捕判处有期徒刑十年,后监毙;类似这种情况的案件县公安局办理10起。

4. 从旷野荒地拣回整个尸体或肢解部分,煮熟后充饥。属这一类的事件县公安局办理37起。当时未被发现的或发现后未向政府报案的,远远不止这些。

1962年初,中共中央召开了七千人大会。会后,县委领导向我们传达了会议精神,根据上级部署,颍上县对上述案件进行了复查。复查后认为,除高士英、刘陈氏两起故意杀人案应予以维持外,其余均属错案,尚在关押的一律释放并逐案进行了平反,对在关押期间死亡的13人,由政府出面除宣布平反外,还适当给予经济补助。

我已年过八旬,40年公安工作的生涯对我来说已经成为历史。上世纪80年代初我从县公

安局领导岗位上退下来后,又从事公安史志资料的征集和编写工作,对40年来颍上县公安工作在党委领导下取得的成就,通过编纂“专业志”、“大事记”、“组织史”和“专题材料”等,已作了真实的记述。

然而,作为一名共产党人、公安干部,对过去工作中的失误和教训,也应该有个正确的态度。本文所讲的几十起“特殊案件”,有的是经我亲自办理的,有的是局领导集体研究时,本人参加听过汇报做过表态。在上述错案中,我应当承担的责任也是不容推卸的。我在从事公安史志编写的几年中每当查阅历史档案时,总是经常想起1958年到1960年这三年困难时期,党在农村工作中犯了严重的错误,而我们公安工作不可避免地也犯了错误。其中最使我感到痛心的是1960发生的“特殊案件”。这类案件初发时,我们不敢相信能有这回事,查清几件后,当向领导机关汇报时,他们说:“这类案件的发生,是阶级敌人的蓄意破坏,公安局要认真调查,严肃处理。”当时公安机关刚刚结束“反右倾”学习运动,加之领导给定了这个“调子”,我们在调查这类案件时不敢如实反映情况,向领导汇报时不敢讲真话,结果我们只能违心地扮演着自欺欺人的角色,用一些含糊不清的政治术语,如“政治破坏”、“影响大好形势”等等,作为这类案件的代名词,实质上是在混淆矛盾,把专政的矛头指向饥饿将死的人民群众。

1962年对这类案件复查平反之后,上级电话通知说:中央有位宗教界的负责人(党外人士)要来安徽视察工作(实际没来颍上),要求我们组织力量把这类案件卷宗从档案中抽了出来,单独保管。(注:我写公安史时,已找不到这些档案)其他案件涉及类似内容的,能分出来的尽量分出,不能分出的用墨笔抹掉。如此一来,颍上县在困难时期发生的“特殊案件”的具体情况在公安档案中没有任何文字记载了。

幸好,当时我查阅1960年文书档案的统计资料中,遇到了一份当时的“特殊案件”登记表,这又引起了我对这段困难历史的痛苦回忆。我感到我既是这段历史的见证人,又是办理这些错案的执行者,我认为我有责任把颍上这段公安工作历史教训写清楚,载入史册;否则,我们的后代还不知道当年的“特殊案件”是怎么一回事呢!当我把本文初稿写成之后,未正式入编之前,请示了县党史、地方志、上级公安史办的负责人,他们异口同声地说:“这类内容(当时叫‘非正常死亡’)是我党历史上的一个重大敏感性问题,上级有规定暂时不能编入史志。”我只能带着遗憾把文稿收藏起来。

现在,我把原稿略加修改,将这段历史客观地记述下来,意在“以史为鉴”,教育后人。■

(作者为颍上县公安局原局长)

(责任编辑 黄 钟)

图书介绍

《国民党的联共与反共》:国民党与共产党的关系,始于孙中山的容共政策,孙中山为什么会采取容共的政策?是用以“联俄”的一种诱饵还是纯粹看重共产党人的才干,并予以重用呢?从孙中山接纳中共的初衷和后来孙中山对中共态度的两难可以看出,一方面允许共产党保持自身的组织独立性和批判自由,另一方面又要求共产党员像所有国民党员那样服从自己,对于孙中山而言过于困难。以至于国共两党之间的纠纷,他总是扮演调停人的地位和角色。愈演愈烈的两党纠纷,最后发展为“弹劾共党案”。在孙中山权威的震慑下,国共两党中的敌对情绪尚能受到约束,但当他去世后,两党关系走向破裂乃至全面对抗也就在所难免了。孙中山逝世后,随之而来的是国民党人在“容共”和“分共”政策问题上的进一步分化,伴随着戴季陶的转变与廖仲恺案,西山会议和另立中央的重大事件的发生,在相当程度上影响和推动了1927年蒋介石决心发动“清党”运动。“清党”运动的最大特征就是它的血

腥,它开创了中国20世纪历史上,夺取政权者用暴力,并辅之以群众检举的办法,在全国范围内残酷地清除异己的先例。国民党的“清党”并没有也不可能达到消灭共产党的目的,随着共产党人开始举起武装暴动的旗帜,国民党不得不任各地疲于应付。这场运动很快就转变成持续的镇压行动。从最初主要集中在城市中实行所谓“白色恐怖”,到逐渐转入偏远乡村进行“剿共”的战争,整个过程持续了十年之久。在这十年时间里,国共两党相互报之以血腥和暴力……

历史的研究,贵在真实。本书全面系统论述了国共两党关系的发展中一系列重大问题。大革命时期孙中山及国民党各派系对国共合作的态度;第二次国内战争时期国民党的“剿共”决策过程;抗战时期国民党对中共政策的演变;皖南事变前后国民党的态度;抗战后国民党发动内战的决策;1949年国共北平谈判……作者使用了国共双方大量可靠、翔实的历史档案和重要人物的日记、回忆录,透过这些材料,使人对国共两党历史有一个真实的理解。

共产党为何能够最终夺取政权?国民党失败的原因究竟何在?这本《国民党的联共与反共》无疑是对这一问题做了一个非常好的解答。

Attachment 3.1

Documents Received and to be Processed, Issued by Gansu Province Party Committee

Document sent by: Ningxia City Investigative Subgroup

Document received on: March 3rd, 1961

19 copies received. Copies have been sent to the following persons and working units:

Wang Feng, Jianjun, Zhongliang, Shitai, Zenggu, Pengtu, Bingxiang, Runhua, Dingjun, Zhongrun, Secretary General of the Party Committee, General Office of the Party Committee, Secretary's Office of Central Government Working Group, Linxia Autonomous Prefecture Party Committee, Archive Department of the Party Committee

Document issued by: Gansu Province General Office of the Communist Party Committee

Page 83

Lin Xia City Statistics and Analysis of Cannibalism Cases

Time	Location	Perpetrator(s)			Victim(s)			Crime/Method of Cannibalizing Crime/Method of Cannibalizing	Reason	Main Plot	Action Taken
		Name	Class	#	Name	Relation with the Perpetrator	#				
Jan 24, 1960	Ma Ji Commune	Tie Er'ge					2	Dug out the corpses and ate them	Life Style Choice		
Feb 25, 1960	Hong Tai Commune	Yang Zhongsheng	Poor	1	Yang Sanshun	Younger Brother	1	Killed the victim and ate the body	Same as Above		
Feb, 1960	Han Ji Commune	Yin Wucheng	Poor	1			4	Dug out the corpses and ate them	Same as Above		
Feb, 1960	Han Ma Temple Commune	Zhao Banreng		1		Daughter	1	Dug out the corpse and ate it			
Mar 13, 1960	Hong Tai Commune	Zhao Xiangxiang		1			1	Killed a child and ate the body			Arrested
Mar, 1960	Da Hejia Commune	Fan Renwu Cheng		1		Fellow Villager	1	Dug out the corpse and ate it			
Mar, 1960	Liuji Commune	A man with the surname Zhang		1			1	Dug out the corpse and ate it	Same as Above		
Mar, 1960	Shi Yuan Commune	Shi Wanshan		1			1	Dug out the corpse and ate it	Life Style Choice		

Time	Location	Perpetrator(s)			Victim(s)			Crime/Method of Cannibalizing Crime/Method of Cannibalizing	Reason	Main Plot	Action Taken
		Name	Class	#	Name	Relation with the Perpetrator	#				
Mar, 1960	Da Zhuang Commune	Fan Changpin cheng		1		Father	1	Dug out the corpses and ate them	Same as Above		
Mar, 1960	Liu Ji Village	Wang Guojiang cheng		1			1	Dug out the corpses and ate them			Arrested
Mar, 1960	Kai Xin Village	Fan Zhuomaji		1			1	Dug out the corpses and ate them			
Nov, 1959	Chui Matan Commune	Kang Shoupeng	Poor	1			1	Dug out the corpse and ate it			Arrested
Nov, 1959	Chui Matan Commune	Zhu Wushi Qi	Poor	1	Wang Yucheng	Fellow Villager	1	Killed the victim and ate the body			Arrested
April, 1960		Li Zhengyue Hua	Poor	1	Ma Hasan and five others	Outsiders of the village	6	Killed the victims and ate the bodies			Arrested
Jan, 1960	Han Ji Commune	Ma Wende	Rich	1	Ma Younu	Fellow Villager	1	Killed the victim and ate the body			Arrested
Jan, 1960	Han Ji Commune	Ma, Bareng	Poor	1	Ma, Gamai	Daughter	1	Ate the body after the victim died from disease			Diseased
Jan, 1960	Da He Jia Commune	Fan Cun Xiwa		1		Husband	1	Ate the corpse			
Mar, 1960	Nan Long Commune	Qiu Sande		1			1	Ate the corpse			
Mar, 1960	Hong Tai Commune	Zhu Shuangxi				Husband and the oldest son	2	Ate the corpse			

Time	Location	Perpetrator(s)			Victim(s)			Crime/Method of Cannibalizing Crime/Method of Cannibalizing	Reason	Main Plot	Action Taken
		Name	Class	#	Name	Relation with the Perpetrator	#				
1960	Yin Ji Commune	Ma Paishan		1			1	Ate the corpse			
1960	Yin Ji Commune	Shang Debao		1			1				
1960	Xi He Commune	Unkown				Stranger	1	Killed the victim and ate the body			
Feb, 1960	Hong Tai Commune	Yang Shengzhong				Son	1	Boiled the body after the son died			

He Zheng County Statistics and Analysis of Cannibalism Cases

Time	Location	Perpetrator(s)			Victim(s)			Crime/Method of Cannibalizing	Reason	Main Plot	Action Taken
		Name	Class	#	Name	Relation with the Perpetrator	#				
Dec.26, 1959	Mai Ji Commune	Yang Zhanlin	Poor	1	Wang Gahu	Fellow Villager		Boiled the body after the victim died			
1960	Mai Ji Commune	Yang Zhanlin, Yang Zhanming, Yang Zhanquan	Poor	3	Wang Gahu	Fellow Villager		Boiled the body after the victim died from disease			
Jan. 1960	Mai Ji Commune	Yang Zhanlin, Yang Zhanming, Yang Zhanquan	Poor	3	Wang Zhanzhu	Fellow Villager		Dug out the corpse and ate it			
Jan, 1960	Mai Ji Commune	Yang Zhanlin and his family	Poor	12	Luo Galu			Dug out the corpse and boiled it			
Jan, 1960	Mai Ji Commune	Kang Gamai	Poor	1	Ma Ha maiji	Fellow Villager		Killed the victim with a knife and ate the body			Arrested
Jan, 1960	Mai Ji Commune	Ji Wenzhong and his family	Poor	2				An aborted fetus			
Jan, 1960	Xin Zhuang Commune	Shui Wangying	Poor	1	Bao Yousu	Fellow Villager	1	Boiled the corpse			
Jan, 1960	Thirty Miles Commune	Ma Yi Dexi	Poor	2	Ma Er'sha	Fellow Villager	1	Dug out the corpse and boiled it			

Time	Location	Perpetrator(s)			Victim(s)			Crime/Method of Cannibalizing Crime/Method of Cannibalizing	Reason	Main Plot	Action Taken
		Name	Class	#	Name	Relation with the Perpetrator	#				
Jan, 1960	Thirty Miles Commune	Ma Junxiang	Poor	1	Daughter of Zhang Youcai	Fellow Villager	1	Dug out the corpse and boiled it			
Jan, 1960	Thirty Miles Commune	Ma Junxiang, Zhang Mage, etc.	Poor/land-load	3	Zhang Youcai	Fellow Villager	1	Boiled and ate the corpse			
Jan, 1960	Mai Ji Commune	Ma Waiyou bu	Poor		Kong Zhaxi	Spouse	1	Dug out the corpse and boiled it			
Jan, 1960	Yan Zhi Commune	Wang Liangxia	Poor		Sister of Wang, Liangxia	Sister	1	Burned and ate the corpse			
Jan, 1960		Ma HaKemu	Poor	1	Ma Fa Jimai and other 4		5	Dug out the corpses and ate them			
Jan, 1960	Friendship Village	Ma Se'erBu	Poor	1			8	Dug out the corpses and ate them			
Jan, 1960		Ma Maren and his family	Poor	4			2	Dug out the corpses and ate them			
Jan, 1960		Ma Ganu	Poor	1		Child	1	Dug out the corpse and ate it			
Jan, 1960	Thirty Mile Commune	Ma Mage	Poor	1			1	Ate the child's corpse			
Mar, 1960	New Mu Caotan Village	Yang Wenyi, Qi Shuying, etc.		8			1	A dead body of a child they found on the road			

Dong Xiang County Statistics and Analysis of Cannibalism Cases

Time	Location	Perpetrator(s)			Victim(s)			Crime/Method of Cannibalizing Crime/Method of Cannibalizing	Reason	Main Plot	Action Taken
		Name	Class	#	Name	Relation with the Perpetrator	#				
Mar, 1960	Da Shu Commune			1			1	Dug out the corpse and ate it			
Mar, 1960				1			1	Dug out the corpse and ate it			

甘收 012853

61 48 13

甘肅省委收文批辦單

來文機關 蘭州分團

收到時間 1961 年 3 月 3 日

本件共收到 19 份，已分發：

汪鋒、健言、仲良、世泰、曾固、顯圖、秉祥、潤華、定寧、
坤麟、秘書長、辦公廳、秘書辦公室并中央工作組，臨夏州委
• 存檔 •

中共甘肅省委辦公廳

80

22

临夏市

人吃人案件的统计和分析

发生时间	地点	作案人			被害人			方式	原因	主要情节	处理结果
		姓名	成份	人数	姓名	与作案人关系	人数				
0.元.24 二起	馬集公社 鉄亮村	鉄二个					2	挖吃尸体	生活問題		
0.2.25	紅台公社 腰合寨村	楊忠生	貧	1	楊三順	亲弟弟	1	杀死吃的	"		
0.2. 三起	韓集公社掌 子沟背后庄	尹五成	貧				4	挖吃尸体	"		
0.2.	韓麻寺沟 康家村	赵半乃				亲生女孩	1	"	"		
0.3.13	紅台公社 赵家大队	赵香香					1	杀吃小孩	"		逮捕
0.3.	大河家 省紅坪	范任务成				同村人	1	挖吃尸体	"		
0.3.	大河刘集 大队大庄人	張					1	"	"		
0.3.	大河石塬 生产队	石万山					1	"	"		
0.3.	大河大庄 生产队	范长貧成				自己父亲	1	"	"		
0.3.	大河刘集 大壮队	王國江成					1	"	"		
0.3.	大河开信坪	范清福吉					1	"	"		

临夏市

人吃人案件的统计和分析

发 生 时 间	地 点	作 案 人			被 害 人			方式	原 因	主 要 情 节	处 理 结 果
		姓 名	成份	人数	姓 名	与作案人关系	人数				
59.11	吹麻滩公社 林泉坪生产队	康守朋	贫				1	挖吃尸体	生活问题		逮捕
	队寨子村	朱五十七	贫		王玉成	同村人	1	杀吃	"		逮捕
60.4		李正月花	贫		马哈三	外地人	1	"	"		逮捕
					马拉比荣	"	1	"	"		
					锁非牙	"	1	"	"		
					安五十九	"	1	"	"		
					马喝掛	同村人	1	"	"		
					赵朵三	"	1	"	"		
60.元.2	葛家公社 曹家坡	马文德	富	1	马由奴	"	1	杀吃	"		逮捕
60.元.12	" 尹家坪	马八乃	贫	1	马朵麦	亲生女孩	1	病死后煮吃	"		已病亡
60.3	大河家公社 刘家	泊存细哇		1	丈 夫		1	吃尸体	"		

58

人吃人案件的統計和分析

临夏市

发生時間	地点	作案人			被害人			方式	原因	主要情節	处理結果
		姓名	成份	人数	姓名	与作案人关系	人数				
60.3.2	南龙公社 振华队	邱三德		1			1	吃尸体	生活問題		
60.3	紅台公社 小沟門	朱双喜		2		丈夫、长子	2	吃尸体	"		
60.	尹集公社 高家沟	馬排山		1			1	吃尸体	"		
60.	尹集龙虎湾	尙得保		1			1	吃尸体	"		
60.	西河公社					流窜人口	1	杀 吃	"		
60.2.17	紅台南胜 大队	楊生忠				自己儿子	1	死后煮吃	"		

和政县

人吃人案件的统计和分析

发生时间	地点	作案人			被害人			方式	原因	主要情节	处理结果
		姓名	成份	人数	姓名	与作案人关系	人数				
60.元.28	买集公社 新营村	馬外由卜	貧农		孙扎希	夫妻关系	1	挖屍煮吃	生活		
60.2.1	胭脂公社 普巴村	王良吓	"	1	王良吓妹	兄妹关系	1	死后燻吃	"		
5起 60.元		馬哈克木	"		馬法吉麦 馬的力馬卜都維		5	挖屍体吃	"		
60.2.7	友爱队 刘家山	馬色二不	"	1			8	"	"		
		馬麻乃	"	全家4人			13	"	"		
60.4.1		馬尕奴	"	1			1	"	"		
60.元.28	三十里 鋪大坪	馬麻个	"	1		自己孩子	1	病死吃的	"		
60.3.27	新草滩 乡西岩村	楊文义 關述英		等八人			1	捡到小孩 屍体	"		
东乡县											
60.5	大坑公社			1			1	挖吃屍体	生活		
60.3	百和公社			1			1	挖吃屍体	生活		

和政县

人吃人案件的统计和分析

发生时间	地点	作案人		被害人		方式	原因	主要情节	处理结果
		姓名	成份人数	姓名	与作案人关系人数				
59.12.26	买集公社 大阳洼	楊占林	貧农 1	王朵虎	同队人 1	病死煮吃	生活問題		
		楊占明	"				"		
		楊占全	"				"		
60.元.6	"	上述三人	3	王勳主	" 1	挖屍煮吃	"		
60.元.10	"	楊占林全家	" 12	罗永路	" 1	挖屍煮吃	"		
60.元.9	买集公社 市張酒麻村	康朵麦	貧农 1	馬哈买吉	同村人 1	用斧砍死 燒吃	"		逮捕
60.元.17	买集公社	焦文忠	" 全家 2		" 1	同社一流 产小孩煮吃	"		
60.元.27	新庄公社 团结队	水旺英	" 1	包由素	同村人 1	病死煮吃 大腿一条	"		
60.元.21	三十里鋪 大坪村	馬一的 系	" 2	馬二沙	" 1	挖屍煮吃	"		
60.元.28	三十里鋪 大川村	馬俊祥	" 1	張有才女儿	" 1	"	"		
60.元.28	"	馬俊祥 張麻个	" 地主 等3人	張有才	" 1	病死煮吃	"		

(送张秘书长、周：)
4.26

61 12 15

中共甘肃省委办公厅
收文 3995 号
1961年4月26日

两起吃人肉案件的情况报告

(61)公办究字第022号

秉祥同志并报省委书记处、西北局办公厅、中央公安部：

据西礼县、张掖市公安局电话汇报，近来发现两起吃人肉案件。具体情况是：

一、三月三十一日，西礼县西合公社孟家生产队群众反映社员孟正傑（老上中农，当过伪兵）家里煮肉。支部书记怀疑是偷宰了社里的羊，去他家查看，发现他家灶内有肉，炕洞里有女孩的发髻，扎头的花布，头巾等物，经辨认是本队三月二十日失踪的女孩孟闹闹（十三岁）的东西。支书和孟谈话后，孟正傑承认是他将孟闹闹掐死以后煮吃了肉。今年元、二月间孟正傑曾两次将埋在野地里的小孩死尸挖回煮肉吃，被社干发现阻止。这一事件的详情，西礼县公安局已派人前去调查。

二、四月四日，张掖市社员赵于银在张掖火车站，用一双皮鞋换回三斤肉，途中打开发现是人头肉，有鼻子和耳朵，报告了公安局，张掖市公安局正派人调查。

刘蔚亭

苏振荣

1961年4月15日

抄：本厅各厅长，研究科，共印28份

Attachment 4.1

Jia Biangou Laogai Farm

Jia Biangou(夹边沟), a village north of Jiuquan County(酒泉县), Gansu Province(甘肃省), lies at the foot of Qilian Mountain(祁连山) and is surrounded by the Gobi Desert (戈壁滩). Jia Biangou Laogai (reform-through-labor) Farm (夹边沟劳改农场) was established in 1953. In April 1957, during the Anti-Rightist Movement, the Farm became a laojiao (reeducation-through-labor) farm (劳教农场) hosting thousands of “rightists” from Gansu Province. Many of these rightists had worked at universities, schools, hospitals, and government offices.

One rightest, Si Jicai (司继才), was appointed as a captain of one of the Laogai teams because he had previously been a Communist Party leader. Si recalled that about 3,200 rightists were sent to Jia Biangou Laogai farm from 1957 to 1960. Hundreds of these prisoners committed suicide, died from a variety of diseases, or starved to death before the winter of 1959.¹

In 1960, the local government decided to build a new farm at Mingshui Village (明水乡) in Gaotai County (高台县). In September of the same year, the majority of the rightists at Jia Biangou and other farms were transferred to Mingshui. Many of them thought the living conditions at Mingshui Laogai Farm (明水劳改农场) would be better than those at Jia Biangou Laogai Farm. However, the inmates were soon disappointed when they arrived at Mingshui; there was virtually nothing there! The first thing the prisoners did was dig caves that could serve as shelter. The temperature had dropped below -10 centigrade

¹ Si Jicai recalled that the number of rightists at Jia Biangou Laogai Farm was 3,136 when the farm handed out winter clothes.

for most of the day. The food the prisoners received became at Mingshui was inadequate. Prisoners would receive less than 25 pounds of food per month. Most of their 25 pound food stipend was porridge made from vegetables and tree leaves. Inmates who had the energy would try to find wild vegetables and grass seeds. Lucky inmates even found lizards to boil and eat. But most of the inmates were too weak to even collect grass seeds, and inmates had no other choice except to wait for their deaths. Si Jicai recalled that among the 2,000 or so prisoners who were transferred to Mingshui, less than 300 had survived. In total, among the 3,200 rightists who were sent to Jia Biangou Laogai Farm, less than 600 of them survived. In January 1961, the surviving inmates were transferred out of the Farm.^{II}

II The existence of Jia Biangou and the starvation of the rightist inmates there were maintained as a secret by the Gansu provincial government. Si Jicai said in Oral Account of Si Jicai: My Memory of Jia Biangou (Phoenix Weekly issue 2: 351, 2010) that he believed the reason the remaining rightists could leave Jia Biangou in January of 1961 was due to Qian Ying (钱瑛). Qian was serving then as Minister and Party Committee Secretary of the Supervising Ministry. She was a woman of great integrity who understood the true reality of the situation in spite of the official propaganda she was subject to. Qian discovered the tragedy at Jia Biangou by accident. Her driver lost his way during one of her inspection trips to Gansu, and headed in the direction of smoke rising up from a ditch. She then saw there were at least 300 dead bodies piled up in the ditch. Qian called the public security bureau of Gansu Province and asked for five trains to take the rest of the rightist inmates out of Jia Biangou. Unfortunately, Qian herself was persecuted during the Cultural Revolution and died in 1973.

Cannibalism at Jia Biangou Laogai Farm

Jia Biangou was a name unknown to Chinese people until 2000, when a Chinese writer by the name of Yang Xianhui began publishing a series of articles called “Goodbye Jia Biangou” in Shanghai Literature and Fiction World (two Shanghai-based magazines). The articles were later published as a collection under the title Jia Biangou Chronicle by Tianjin Ancient Books Publishing House in 2002.

Some called Jia Biangou Chronicle China’s version of The Gulag Archipelago. Still, some even argue that it is more compelling than its Soviet counterpart.

In Chapter 1 of Jia Biangou Chronicle, titled “The Woman from Shanghai,” a rightist prisoner named Li Wenhan (李文汉) told a story of another rightist prisoner named Dong Jianyi (董坚毅), who had been a surgeon in Shanghai before the Anti-Rightist Movement. Dong was a very healthy man in his mid-thirties when he first came to Jia Biangou, but soon Dong started to lose weight. In the winter of 1960, Dong died of starvation. A few days after his death, Dong’s fellow prisoners found his clothes and blanket ripped from his corpse. His naked corpse had shown signs of cannibalization. Specifically, the flesh on his buttocks had been carved away by a knife, as was the flesh on his calves.

In Chapter 17 of Jia Biangou Chronicle, titled “On the Train,” another rightist prisoner, Li Tianqing (李天庆), told another story detailing the cannibalism at Jia Biangou. “On the Train” is summarized below.

Li noticed one prisoner, named Wei Changhai (魏长海), and two other prisoners, appeared to be unusually healthy compared to the other prisoners. Li had caught Wei and the two other prisoners boiling food, but they quickly hid the food when they saw him. Li thought their actions were very suspicious and informed Si Jicai, who was the captain

of the Laogai team. Because Si was the captain of the Laogai team, he was responsible to investigate the suspicious boiling. Si agreed to investigate the boiling.

A couple of days later, Si took Li to a mound at the foot of a mountain. Surrounding the mound was a wide desert, with many small mounds formed in the sand. These mounds were actually tombs where dead prisoners had been buried. Because the mounds were shallow, and had been covered by sand, some of the dead bodies had been partially exposed after strong winds had shifted the sands. Pieces of clothes and strands of hair blowing in the wind indicated that corpses lay below the desert mounds.

Li asked Si why he brought him to the sandy graveyard, Si didn't answer but walked further and pointed to a completely exposed dead body. Si told Li to lift up the quilt that was used to wrap the body. Li noticed that the body seemed to have been moved, and the ropes used to tie the quilt had been cut off by a sharp knife. Li lifted the quilt further, noticing that the buttons on the dead body's winter jacket were already unbuttoned. He was shocked by what he saw after he opened the jacket. A long, vertical cut marked the chest of the corpse. Si asked Li, "Did you take a good look? You wouldn't think it was a dog that did this, would you?" Li replied, "No, it doesn't look like a dog did this; this cut is indicative of a knife." Suddenly, Li realized the origins of the cut: "Oh, no, Old Si, you don't mean...." Si bent over and pulled open the cut on the chest to both sides, so that Li could take a better look. Li noticed that the chest was empty inside. Si covered the cut with the jacket and wrapped the body with the quilt, then buried it deep into the sand. Si cleaned his hands with the sand and burst into a rage, "Son of bitch! They have lost all of their humanity! Do you know what they were cooking? They were cooking the internal organs, the heart, liver, and lungs!" Si explained that Wei Changhai and the others had harvested only the internal organs. According to Si, only the internal organs were harvested because there was little flesh on the corpse due to the prisoner's long term exposure to starvation

and hard labor.

Si Jicai mentioned the cannibalism he had witnessed at Jia Biangou in his own testimony. This testimony was titled Oral Account of Si Jicai: My Memory of Jia Biangou (Phoenix Weekly, issue 2: 351, 2010). According to the testimony, Si smelled a strange scent and followed it with another prisoner. They found two other prisoners cooking and eating the internal organs and flesh of a corpse. That corpse was cooked in a washbasin made from lead.

Attachment 4.2

钱瑛解救了夹边沟的幸存者却救不了自己

作者：李凌

夹边沟农场位于甘肃省酒泉县城东北约30公里，在上世纪五六十年代，这里曾是安置右派进行劳改的场所。

据曾在此地劳改的右派分子司继才回忆：“夹边沟农场前前后后送来了大约3500名右派，1958年11月发冬季衣服时，具体人数是3136人……，在这之前很多人自杀了，夹边沟农场总的活下来的不足600人。”

这一段话发表在《凤凰周刊》总第351期的《司继才口述：我的夹边沟记忆》一文中。

先介绍司继才其人，司继才，1928年出生于山东，1943年去延安，参加了八路军，1944年入党，1956年任人民解放军第4军第10师宣传科长，1957年任兰州西北工程局党委宣传部部长，整风时曾任整风办公室主任，但不久他自己也被打成右派，被送到夹边沟农场劳改，幸亏当年他的一个下属薛占云在农场任管教人员，对他比较照顾，所以能幸存下来，他曾在农场搞过宣传，还能抽空记点日记，把所知的记下来，记下一些过去鲜为人知的事，另杨显惠的《夹边沟记事·在列车上》也有有关司继才的记载。

因为司继才当过领导干部，农场领导就让他当劳改队的队长，虽然当了队长，但他不伤同类，遇到不平的事还向农场管教人员据理力争，所以难友们对他比较信任，有问题愿意向他反映。

这时，夹边沟总部约一千多名右派已被转移到高台县明水乡。原来计划在明水开辟一个新农场。一千多名右派在这里辛苦劳动了半个多月，但后来可能是因为各种条件没有成熟，所以开辟新农场的计划撤销了。来到这里的右派因长期饥饿，农活又重，所以大批死亡，农场领导不得已，停止右派劳动。右派们每天吃完食堂供应的树叶和菜叶煮成的糊糊之后，只能在零下10几度的严寒中蜷缩在地窝子里。还有点力气的人到外面挖点野菜，捋点草籽，有的把抓来的蜥蜴煮一煮充饥，但大多数人连捋草籽的力气都没有，只能奄奄一息，等待死亡。

有一天，右派分子李天庆向队长司继才反映说：大家都饿的一点力气也没有了，可是从兰州铁路局送来的右派分子魏长海等三个人面色红润，行动敏捷。李还看见魏长海等人煮过什么东西吃，他们看见李走来，很快就藏起来了。李天庆感到这几个人形迹可疑，所以请司继才队长调查一下，司继才答应了。

几天后，司继才找到李天庆说：老李，你的怀疑还真对了，那几个家伙还真没干好事。我问他调查出什么情况了，他叫我跟他去看看。

我跟着他走到山水沟口。山水沟外边是一片广阔的沙滩，突兀起一峰又一峰的沙包。沙包的斜坡上散布着许多坟堆。这里掩埋着我们到明水后死去的右派的尸体，是农场组织的掩埋组干的。这埋尸的工作做得不好，也就是挖个浅浅的坑，把尸体拖进去，再覆上一层薄薄的沙土。因为大风刮走了沙土，有些尸体暴露出来，布条子和头发在寒风中簌簌飘动着。我问了一声，你叫我到里看什么？司继才不回答，领着我在坟堆中前行几步，指着一具完全暴露的尸体说，你把被子撩开看看。我知道掩埋尸体的程序：所有的尸体都是用自己的被子裹着的，脖子、腰和腿的部位用麻绳系紧，用马车拉到这里掩埋。眼前的这个尸体却像被人动过，脖子和腰里的绳子被利器割断了。我撩开松松垮垮盖着的被子，发现死者棉衣的纽扣也是解开着的。掀开衣

襟，我不由得呀了一声，吓了一跳：死者的胸脯上有一道长长的竖着的豁口。你看清了吧，这不是狗吃的吧？司继才问。我说，不像狗吃的，狗吃的伤口没这么整齐。说到这里，我突然明白司继才的意思了，我的头皮刷的一下麻了起来，我惊骇地问，老司，你是说……，后边的话我没敢说出来。司继才后退两步。司继才说，怕什么，你怕他什么呀。他走近一步，弯腰，双手拉了一下豁口，说，你看，你看看这里边。我从他的两手之间看下去，胸腔是个空空的大窟窿。司继才又说，看清了吗？我说看清了，他才松了手。他把死者的衣襟拉了一下，盖住豁口，又把被子拉过来盖上，把绳子系好，还刨了几下，把旁边的沙子盖在尸体上。然后，他像洗手一样，抓了把沙子，搓了搓手。接着他就大骂起来：这帮王八蛋，一点人性都没有啦！你当他们煮的什么？他们煮的是内脏呀，是人的心肝肺呀。这些死人的身上没肉了，长期的饥饿和劳累把身上的肉消耗干了，胳膊和腿就剩下干骨头了。没吃的，他们就想出开膛剖腹的主意来了！我没说话，我还没有从惊愕中挣脱出来，头皮还在发麻。我前几天向司继才反映情况，只是觉得他们行踪可疑、蹊跷，但根本没想出他们会干出这样的事来。

司继才领着我又看了一具尸体，也是被人动过刀子的。我还翻了翻尸体上拴的一硬纸牌子。纸牌子是掩埋组的人挂上去的，为的是将来死者的家属来找尸体便于辨认。牌子写着名字，并且是编了号的。至今30年过去了。但我还清楚地记得那个人的名字，他叫王夷悟。王夷悟原来是天祝县医院的医生。被打成右派，但他在劳改期间没有受太大的苦，因为来到夹边沟之后领导叫他在医务所当医生。由于他在医务所又有新的右派言论——他说夹边沟死亡那么多人是因为营养不足，饿死的——因此，在我们迁移到明水前被撤掉了医生职务，下队劳改。他是前几天死去的。由于突发感冒，他劳动的时间不长，死的时候身上的肉还没有耗干。还不像别人那样干。也正因为如此，他尻根子的肉被人用刀子割去了，那个部位呈现着两个窟窿，小腿肚子的肉也叫人剔去了，露出白色的骨头。……

后来，司继才分头找魏长海几个人单独谈话，连哄带吓，他们都承认了，魏长海等痛哭流涕表示要痛改前非。大家知道他们把死人的心、肝、肺挖出来煮着吃，都表示义愤填膺，痛骂他们道德丧尽。但等到讨论应该怎样处理时，有人说应该处以极刑，有人说应该判刑，但有人提出不同意见：魏长海犯了什么罪？他杀人了吗？他抢劫了吗？一个姓章的历史学教授引经据典说：“古人云仓廩足而后知礼节，民不足而可治者，自古至今，未尝闻之……”。

农场管教人员赵队长知道这件事，就带几个人来把魏长海五花大绑紧紧的捆起来毒打一顿后关了起来。李天庆知道如果紧捆时间一长，血脉不通，就会出人命。他感到自己是首先告发的，心里不安，于是在地窝子喊了两遍，求大家去向赵队长求情，把魏长海松绑，放出来，但没人应声。他又去求章教授，章教授只翻了翻眼皮没有动。李天庆明白了：经过长期的劳累和饥饿，他们已经看惯了同一个地窝的伙伴一个又一个的倒毙，一个个尸体被抬出去，他们连自己也不知道能不能活着走出明水。人们的同情心丧失殆尽了，他们没心管别人的事了。于是李天庆找到司继才，和他一起去求马队长，把魏长海松了绑，放了出来。

过了不久钱瑛来到这里。

司继才在他的《我的夹边沟记忆》中是这样写的：我们能够从夹边沟活着回来，多亏了当时的钱瑛。

钱瑛是《洪湖赤卫队》里韩英的原型。建国后，1954年钱瑛出任中华人民共和国监察部第一任部长兼党组书记。她坚持真理，不避风险，平反甄别了许多被定为“铁案”的错案。钱瑛有句口头禅：“不怕鬼！”我们都把她看作救命恩人。

钱瑛发现夹边沟农场的犯人，纯属一种偶然。夹边沟农场和其它关押右派的劳教

农场的情况，甘肃省对外一直是绝对保密的。钱瑛当时到甘肃张掖地区视察，检查灾情，准备到高台县去。那些日子她一个村一个村地查，发现有些村里人都死完了。现在才知道三年灾害时，甘肃饿死了140多万人。那天天上飘着雪花，司机开着车迷路了，车里坐着钱瑛和警卫员，还有一个张掖地区的干部，一共是4个人。他们突然发现前面沟里有烟轻轻飘出，就开着车往有烟的地方走去。到了沟边上一看，沟坎下面横七竖八的足有二三百具尸体，这些尸体被码着摞着。钱瑛的警卫员就在沟坎上面大声喊：“你们这里是什么单位？怎么这么多死人？”近处有个管教人员说：“我不知道，你问场长去。”当钱瑛他们继续往沟里走时，农场哨兵就大声喊：“不能下去！”我（司继才自称）和（另一个右派）官锦文听到喊声，赶快走了出来，因为我们的洞穴直接对着钱瑛他们。这时只见（农场管教人员）刘振玉往钱瑛他们那里走了过去，一边走一边吆喝着说：“把这些人给我抓起来。”

老太太钱瑛迎了上去，拿着拐棍就将刘振玉抽了起来。

钱瑛的警卫员一下把枪拔了出来，对着刘振玉说道：“你知道这是谁吗？这是钱瑛。”

刘振玉一听是钱瑛，一下慌了。官锦文此时大声喊了起来：“钱大姐，快救我呀，快救我呀！”钱瑛朝官锦文看了一眼，然后说道：“这是谁？”后来才知道这是官锦文。

钱瑛于是让官锦文领着在各洞穴和地窝子里查看，发现这里还躺着很多人。钱瑛问刘振玉，还有多少人？刘振玉说，还有五六百人吧，需要5个车皮。（实际明水这里根本没有五六百人，只剩二百多人了）。钱瑛于是马上给酒泉地区打电话让把那里的公交车全部调来，并且宣布第二天就全部放人，赶快救人救命。

接着她跟着刘振玉走进了他的房间，觉得屁股下面很软，让人查看，发现刘振玉的房间里28条毛毯，在他的箱子里搜出了200多个各式手表，在刘振玉老婆的房间也搜出了几十条毛毯（注：这些都应是农场的管教人员从死去的右派的尸体上扒下来的）。

但是，钱瑛走后明水和夹边沟又进行审查研究，拖延了差不多一个月，才将犯人放了出来。

司继才在文章中最后说：“反右运动给全国无数家庭带来的灾难是说不完的.....”。

“现在来看历史，《论联合政府》看起来是当时的权宜之计，主要为了夺取政权。可是，夺取政权后，权力过于集中和照搬苏联那一套，却最终酿成了这一场人间悲剧。”

（二）

“不怕鬼！”是钱瑛的常用口头禅。身为中央监委副书记的她，不畏权势，鄙视逢迎，不计个人得失，不顺风转舵，而是坚持实事求是，对于各种案件，凡是确实处理错了的就要平反。

大跃进期间，中国饿死了3700多万人。在1962年春，在七千人大会上，发动大跃进运动的毛泽东作了轻描淡写的检讨后，就离开北京，外出巡视去了。他把这一烂摊子推给了刘少奇、周恩来、陈云等来收拾。刘少奇他们认真贯彻“调整、巩固、充实、提高”的方针，半年多以后情况稍有好转。1962年秋天，在中央八届九中全会上，毛泽东又提出“阶级斗争要年年讲，月月讲，天天讲。”毛还大力批判所谓“

黑暗风、单干风、翻案风。”就在这种形势下，钱瑛和中央监委的同志分析了全国情况，认为无理闹翻案的人确实是有的，但只是少数，主要是该平反的没有平反。

安徽省，在大跃进期间，中共省委第一书记曾希圣强迫命令，大刮“五风”，使农业生产遭到严重破坏，饿死几百万人。当时，省委书记李世农提出不同意见，却被打成右派，另一个省委书记、副省长张凯帆因主张开仓赈济饥民，解散集体食堂，把刮共产风时没收农民的房屋和自留地还给农民，开放市场，因而被毛泽东点名批判为“混入共产党内的投机分子。”对于这样的“铁案”，钱瑛和中共监委的同志也大胆的给予平反，他们还平反了许多右派冤案，但是他们的这些正义行为却在文革中被说成是大罪。“四人帮”一伙以钱瑛和中央监委违反了毛泽东的最高指示，大刮翻案风为借口，撤消了经中央委员会庄严选举产生的中央监委，对中央监委的十五位常委，除书记一人外，都加以残酷迫害，其中被迫害致死和含冤逝世者八人。中央监委副书记钱瑛也被迫害，于1973年7月26日含冤去世。

（以上据1980年12月16日《人民日报》发表的王从吾、袁任远、郭述申、帅孟奇撰写的《刚正无私的共产党员钱瑛同志》。）

毛泽东在1947年5月30日为新华社写的一篇评论中，对蒋管区的学生运动给予高度的评价，说学生运动是伟大的、正义的，并称之为人民解放战争的“第二战线”。

钱瑛则是第二条战线的卓越领导人之一。在新中国成立前，她历任中共中央南方局、上海局的组织部长。在她的领导下，蒋管区的中共地下组织发动了多次以学生为主体的群众运动：一二·一运动、抗议美军暴行运动、反饥饿反内战运动、反美扶日运动等等。这些运动汹涌澎湃，参加的群众越来越多，数以几十万、几百万人计；参加的阶层越来越广泛，学生、工人、市民、商人、资产阶级、民主党派都卷进来了。这些运动充分揭露了反动派官商勾结，搜括民财，贪污腐败等等罪行，使反动派陷于

最大的孤立，众叛亲离，人心丧尽，因而加速了他们的灭亡。在这些群众运动中，钱瑛起到卓越的领导作用，反动派对她恨之入骨，多次派特务追杀她，出重金购买她的人头，都没有得逞。但解放后在文革中，她却被污蔑为“叛徒”、“特务”，被残酷迫害，于1973年7月26日含冤去世。

解放前，敌人没有做到的事情，解放后“自己人”却做到了。钱瑛曾平反了大批冤案，1960年，钱瑛曾解救了夹边沟幸存下来的600名右派，他们活下来了，但文革中钱瑛自己受到迫害，却没有人能够解救她。

她死了。

Attachment 5

In October 2009, Yanhuang Chunqiu (炎黄春秋) magazine published an article by Yin Shusheng (尹曙生), the former deputy director general of Anhui Provincial Public Security Department. Titled “The Original Records of the Special Cases in Anhui,” the article shed light on the controversy over whether or not cannibalism had occurred during the Great Famine. Yin quoted a report from the Anhui Provincial Public Security Department to the Anhui Province Party Committee, titled “Report on the Special Cases.” The report, dated April 23rd, 1961, detailed cannibalism cases in Anhui since 1959.

In July 2010, Yanhuang Chunqiu published another article by Xiao Lei (肖磊). Xiao, a curator in Shandong for 38 years, retired in 1990. Xiao Lei was moved by Yin Shusheng’s courage to expose this history of cannibalism to the public. Like Yin Shusheng, he believed the real history of the Great Famine should be kept and made known to the public. In the article, Xiao Lei provided additional evidence about cannibalism in Shandong Province (山东省) during the Great Famine.

In the winter of 1960, with the death toll from starvation mounting to unprecedented levels, the central government issued a temporary policy to correct the “mistakes” made in the Great Leap Forward. Thus, the Shandong Provincial Party Committee wrote a self-criticism report in which widespread starvation and cannibalism was mentioned. The report admitted that there were about 70 cannibalism cases in Shandong Province from 1958 through the winter of 1960. But Xiao Lei believed the actual number was much higher. For example, based on an investigation conducted by the Shandong Provincial Party Committee, in one unit alone (with a population of about 2,000) there were nine cannibalism cases from the 1959 to 1960. None of these cases had been included in the Party Committee’s report.

The article described several cases in more detail. One of these cases came from the archives of Laiyang County(莱阳县). The case detailed how two men, from Chengguan Commune(城关公社), told each other during the day that they were going to starve soon. That same day, one of them died. After the deceased man was buried, the other man that he had told of his impending death brought an iron shovel and a kitchen knife to the hillside where the deceased man had been buried. He dug up the corpse and cut off its legs, but after cutting off the legs, the man perished from exhaustion and was discovered dead the next morning by passers-by. The Public Security Bureau of Chengguan Commune concluded that the culprit was too weak and too scared to eat the corpse he had dug up.

The author investigated another case in Laiyang County in the spring of 1961. Two men were found guilty of selling human meat at a market. During the investigation, one of them said: “I have dug out more than ten corpses in the last two years. I would choose the ones who died from starvation and were just buried. Usually I could cut off about 15 pounds from one corpse. I initially began excavating corpses to save myself and my family. Eventually, however, I began to excavate corpses to sell at the market. I would advertise the boiled corpse meat as ‘beef’ and sell it for 5 yuan per pound. The ‘beef’ sold quickly every time I brought it to market.” The other man made a similar confession, saying “In the last two years I have excavated 7 or 8 corpses and sold them boiled and advertised as ‘beef.’ I know several other men who did the same thing, and they have sold more corpses than I have.”

In many cases, the party leaders embezzled food rations from the villagers, so they and their families would have enough food to eat. Nevertheless, many party leaders and their family members starved, especially at the village level. Xiao Lei mentioned such a case in his article. The party secretary of Huji Village (胡集大队), Jinxiang County (金乡县) and his family fed on his four-year-old son’s corpse after the boy had died of starvation.

Attachment 6.1

Interview: Cannibalism Cases in Xingjing (荣经) during the Great Famine

Interviewer: Shi Fenggang (石丰纲)

Preface:

From June to July in 2012, former professor at the Central Party School of the Communist Party Yu Xiguang went to Xingjing to interview Famine survivors. Because of this, I was lucky enough to meet and speak with Professor Yu. After he left, I felt I had a responsibility to continue to interview survivors of the Famine. Therefore, I interviewed nearly 100 survivors. Among them, 21 said they witnessed cases of cannibalism.

As the Chinese saying goes “vicious as a tigress can be, she never eats her own cubs;” Meaning, unless humans endured extreme desperation and helplessness, humans wouldn’t eat fellow humans. In ancient times, when facing such kind of desperation, people only “ate the flesh of each other’s son.” But in my hometown of Xingjing, during the Famine, not only did many people eat human flesh, but they also ate their own children. It is impossible for people who have not experienced the Famine to realize the power it has in driving people to cannibalize.

Looking at the recorded interviews, I don’t know what to do with them. In order to best record those tragic events, I basically kept the original wording. The following is the recoding:

1. Ju Ruming (巨汝明), male, 70-years-old, originally belonged to the 4th production brigade in Anjing Commune (安靖公社)

Time of Interview: Jun.18, 2012

Location of Interview: Anjing Retirement House

Ju said: “After the death of Zhu Guangjun, the son of our fellow commune member Zhu Renjun, Zhu Renjun carved his son’s meat off his body and ate it. All of us knew it.”

2. Zhang Xianyuan (张显元), male, 66-years-old, originally belonged to the 4th production brigade in Anjing Commune

Time of Interview: Jun.18, 2012

Location of Interview: Anjing Retirement House

Zhang said: “Yang Yunxuan and Yang Shiyuan went to bury the dead bodies. They cut the meat from the dead bodies’ legs and ate them raw. Other people asked them how it tasted. They said it tasted good.”

3. Chen Honglin (陈洪林), male, 70-years-old, originally belonged to the 2nd production brigade in Anjing Commune

Time of Interview: Jun.18, 2012

Location of Interview: Anjing Retirement House

Chen said: “Deng Tangyuan was so hungry that he dug out corpses from the tomb and ate them.”

4. *** (this person prefers that her name not be disclosed), female, 76-years-old, originally belonged to the 1st production brigade in Martyrs Commune(烈士公社)

Time of Interview: Jun.19, 2012

Location of Interview: No.108 Rd., near Fengjia Village

She said: “My mother’s production brigade’s cow disappeared, so we went to look for it. We searched Luo Cheng’s home and saw he had meat in his bowl. Gudao pressed him to tell what the meat was. He said it was human flesh and told us whose meat it was. He said he dug the corpses out from the tomb.”

5. Wang Wenfen (王文芬), female, 77-years-old, originally belonged to Xinghe production brigade in Xinghe Commune(荃河公社)

Time of Interview: Jun.19, 2012

Location of Interview: near the road along the river in Xinghe

Wang said: “On our street, there was an old woman who ate her grandson. The grandson died from starvation, so she ate him. She was too hungry. How was it possible for her not to eat him?”

6. Lin Junzhi (林俊芝), female, 93-years-old, originally belonged to the Xinghe production brigade in Xinghe Commune

Time of Interview: Jun. 19, 2012

Location of Interview: No.108 Rd., near Xinghe Town

Lin said: “Yu Qizhen dug a child’s corpse out of its grave, carried the corpse home, and cooked the corpse. I went to his house and saw the dead child’s clothes.”

7. Chen Hongfa (陈洪发), male, 65-years-old, originally belonged to the 2nd production brigade in Minjian Commune (民建公社)

Time of Interview: Jun. 27, 2012

Location of Interview: Shunhe Village

Chen said: “Chen Hongzhang’s daughter died. Her mother had nothing to eat, so she carved Chen Hongzhang’s daughter’s flesh off and ate it. She then buried the bones.”

8. Kang Xiqun (康习群), female, 66-year-old, originally belonged to the 2nd production brigade in Anjing Commune

Time of Interview: Jun. 27, 2012

Location of Interview: in the bus from Anjing Town to downtown Xingjing

Kang said: “We had people who ate human flesh in our commune. One male in our commune’s family had died. He proceeded to carve the meat off of his dead relatives and eat it. He was starving. He had no choice.”

9. Tao Guohua (陶国花), female, 59-years-old, originally belonged to the 4th production brigade in Huangyi Commune (凰仪公社)

Time of Interview: Jun. 27, 2012

Location of Interview: in Anjing Town

Tao said: “Yu Xiuzhen, a member of our commune, couldn’t find ways to deal with her hunger. After not being able to find any wild vegetables, she boiled a big pot of water. Her older son asked her, “mom, why are you boiling water?” She said, “I want to boil your bother and eat him.” Her older son said, “if you dare to boil him and eat him, I will beat you to death.” So she didn’t boil him. Now the younger son is still alive!”

10. Li Zhengying (李正英), female, 76-years-old, originally belonged to the 11th production brigade in Fushun Commune (复顺公社)

Time of Interview: Jun. 27, 2012

Location of Interview: Anjing County

Li said: “The family across the street had eaten human flesh. The matriarch of the family’s one-year-old child had died of starvation. She boiled the dead body. She told me this! She said she asked her daughter to eat the meat. Her daughter refused. She

scolded her daughter, saying, ‘Bitch, if you don’t eat it, you will die!’ Her daughter asked her what this weird animal was. The daughter used her chopsticks to fetch it and then saw toes and nails. She freaked out and ran away. Another small child, the daughter of Wang Chaozhen of the Nanba (楠坝) production brigade, had died. Wang already buried her child so she couldn’t eat it. However, she had a change of heart after the burial and proceeded to dig the body up. I saw it with my own eyes.”

11. Wang Enfen (王恩芬), female, 71-years-old, originally belonged to the Shunhe production brigade in Shiqiao Commune (石桥公社)

Time of Interview: Jun. 27, 2012

Location of Interview: Shunhe Village in Xingjing County

Wang said: “In 1959, in Guangming Brigade in Mixi Mountain, the daughter of Wang Weifen was eight or nine-years-old. She was so hungry that she cried routinely. Yang Guoli’s sister, a neighbor to Wang Weifen’s daughter, said to her, ‘come to our house and I will give you buns to eat.’ So the little girl followed her to their house. When she was in the house sitting on the ground and eating the bun, Yang Guoli used a knife to stab her to death. Then Yang and her sister boiled the girl and ate her. Eventually the girl’s family came to look for her, but couldn’t find her. Later, one day, some red beans in the production brigade had been stolen. The brigade launched an investigation. Everyone was summoned to together and nobody was allowed to return home. Then the brigade went to search each family’s home. When they searched Yang Guoli’s house, they found a child’s clothes and a lot bones buried under the ground. The brigade called on Wang Weifen to identify the clothes. Wang confirmed that the clothes had belonged to her daughter. Later, during a gathering in Huatan Middle School, Yang Guoli was executed by firing squad. We all saw him being shot.”

12. Zhang Qingzhen, female, 70-years-old, originally belonged to the 17th production brigade in Fucheng Commune (附城公社)

Time of Interview: Jul. 9, 2012

Location of Interview: a local restaurant in Yanxi Village

Zhang said: "This is what I heard from my sister-in-law. My nephew, my sister-in-law's son, died. My mother ate his corpse. My nephew, which was my mother's grandson, was the first to die of starvation. He was about six or seven-years-old when he died. My sister-in-law said, 'mom ate the little boy.' I said, 'really?' she said, 'yes.'"

13. Xiong Zhaofen (熊召芬), female, 90-years-old, originally belonged to the Fucheng production brigade in Shizi Commune (石滓公社)

Time of Interview: Jul. 9, 2012

Location of Interview: near the road in Yanxi Village

Xiong said: "I went to my in-laws' house in the 16th production brigade in Fucheng Commune, and I saw a tomb. They said, 'some cadres went to a house and found a corpse behind the door. The dead person was Qiu Guifang. She was buried in front of the house. My in-laws dug her up and ate her.'"

14. Yu Qizhao (余启照), male, 79-years-old, originally belonged to the 11th production brigade in Fucheng Commune

Time of Interview: Jul.9, 2012

Location of Interview: at the cross road in Yanxi Village

Yu said: "On our side of the mountain, there were three brothers. They found a child's corpse and ate it. The two younger brothers fought to eat their share of the meat from the greedier eldest brother."

15. Xie Mingqing (谢明清), male, 73-years-old, originally from the 4th production brigade in Wuxian Commune (五宪公社)

Time of Interview: Jul. 9, 2012

Location of Interview: at the cross road in Yanxi Village

Xie said: “ I have eaten human flesh. My fellow commune members and I went to stay with the Shi family for one night in Chengguan Commune. The five-member family all died of starvation except the old woman. She boiled some meat and asked us to eat, and said it was beef. I was puzzled because this old woman was incapable of theft, yet somehow she had beef at a time of starvation. I ate a piece of the “beef” and was bothered by the taste. One of my fellow commune members and I both said that it must have been human meat. We didn’t want to eat it. We wanted to vomit.”

16. Li Huaifen (李怀芬), female, 83-years-old, originally from the Wannian production brigade in Shizi Commune

Time of Interview: Jul. 9, 2012

Location of Interview: near the road in Wannian Village

Li said: “There was a child near Liuhe Dam. She was starved and almost dead, but she was still breathing. Her mother cut the meat off her buttocks. We all heard her crying and saying, ‘mom, don’t touch me!’ Her pleas were disheartening.”

17. Wu Jiazhen (吴家珍), female, 80-years-old, originally belonged the 5th production brigade in Martyrs Commune

Time of Interview: Jul. 12, 2012

Location of Interview: in the Miners’ Hospital in Martyrs Town

Wu said: “In Wujia Mountain, there were people eating human flesh. When adults went out to work in the field and left the children at home, other people would come to

eat the children.”

Another man added: “In Fengjia brigade, a woman remarried and moved to Da Mulin. Along with her new husband, she killed and ate her son who was just a young boy. I believe the woman’s name was Sun Guangzhen.”

18. Yang Rufen (杨汝芬), female, 81-years-old, originally belonged to the 2nd production brigade in Fengjia Commune (冯家公社)

Time of Interview: Jul.12, 2012

Location of Interview: behind the Miners’ Hospital in Martyrs Town

Yang said: “My aunt’s last name was Zheng. Her son had died of starvation during the Famine. She carved his flesh off, boiled it, and ate it.”

19. Huang Changqiong (黄昌琼), female, 85-years-old, originally belonged to the 6th production brigade in Xinmin Commune (新民公社)

Time of Interview: Jul. 12, 2012

Location of Interview: near the road of Miaogang Village

Huang said: “I knew a woman named Hong Ying. Her child died of starvation when the child was only about one-year-old. She didn’t bury the baby. Instead, she boiled the baby and ate it. Other people asked her, ‘why would you boil your baby?’ She cried and said, ‘I was too hungry. What else could I do?’”

20. Jin Chengwei (金成伟), male, 71-years-old, originally belonged to the 6th production brigade in Xinmin Commune

Time of Interview: Jul.12, 2012

Location of Interview: in a local retail store in Miaogang Village

Jin said: “The Child of Xu Hongjun died of starvation. Fearing starvation, instead

of burying the child's corpse, Xu Hongjun and the rest of his family boiled and ate the corpse. We all heard this."

21. Xian Yunxiang (鲜云香), female, 71-years-old, originally belonged to the 3rd production brigade in Qionglong Commune (青龙公社)

Time of Interview: Jul. 12, 2012

Location of Interview: in a local retail store in Miaogang Village

Xian said: "Some children who were cannibalized during the Famine were not even known to the commune's accountant. Our production brigade's accountant once conducted a census of our village. The accountant approached one family and saw that the family was boiling something and it smelled good. The accountant used chopsticks to pick at the food. Shortly after picking at the food, the accountant realized it was a human skull. The account then asked, 'where is your child?' Mr. Zhou, the family patriarch, said, 'dead and buried.' The accountant then went upstairs and saw half of the child's body was still there. The patriarch's full name is Zhou Huaibi. Thinking about this disturbs me."

Attachment 6.2

1958—1962年，四川荣经大饥荒“人吃人”采访实录

1958年—1962年的大饥荒，四川省饿死1200万人，成为全国死难人数最多的省，而四川省荣经县超过53%的人口死难，成为全国死亡率最高的县。2012年6月到7月，荣经县人士石丰纲先生采访了近百位大饥荒的幸存者，其中21位见证了人吃人的悲剧。

荣经大饥荒“人吃人”采访实录

采访者：石丰纲

前言：

今年六月到七月，原中央党校余习广教授到荣经采访大饥荒中的幸存者，我得以结识余习广教授，教授走后，我觉得我有责任继续进行采访，于是我又先后采访了近百位荣经大饥荒的幸存者，其中说到吃人肉的就有21人。

虎毒尚且不食子，不是在极度绝望、极度无助的情况下，人是不会吞食同类的，古代尚且要易子而食，而我的家乡荣经，在三年大饥荒中，却有很多人吞食同类，甚至吃自己的至亲骨肉。没有经历过那场劫难的人，是根本无法想象的。

面对摄像录音材料，我不知如何动笔。为了尽可能还原当年的悲剧事实，我基本上原汁原味的照录和受访者的对话。以下是采访实录。

1.巨汝明，男，70岁，（原属）荥经县安靖公社顺江4队。

采访时间：2012年6月18日。

采访地点：荥经县安靖敬老院。

我们队上朱仕军家儿子朱光军死了，他就把他儿子的肉拼（用刀割）来吃了，我们都晓得。

2.张显元，男，66岁，（原属）荥经县安靖公社民治3队。

采访时间：2012年6月18日。

采访地点：荥经县安靖敬老院。

杨云宣、杨实云两个去埋死人，他们把尸体腿腿上的肉拼（用刀割）来生吃了。其他人问他们好吃不？他们还说好吃。

3.陈洪林，男，70岁，（原属）荥经县安靖公社民建2队。

采访时间：2012年6月18日。

采访地点：荥经县安靖敬老院。

靖口站的邓汤圆饿慌了，就把别个的尸体从坟里刚来干（吃）逮。

4.XXX（不愿意写名字），女，76岁，（原属）荥经县烈士公社冯家一队。

采访时间：2012年6月19日。

采访地点：荥经县烈士乡冯家村108线路边。

我家娘屋头（娘家）生产队的牛不见了，就去清查，清查到罗成家去，就问他碗里头装的是啥子肉？古倒（逼）他说，他就说他吃人肉，是哪个哪个的，他把尸体从坟里掏起来吃的。

5.王文芬，女，77岁，（原属）荥经县荥河公社周家大队荥河队。

采访时间：2012年6月19日。

采访地点：荥经县荥河乡小河子路边。

我们街上有个奶奶把孙子吃了的，孙子饿死了，她就把他吃了。饿得很，她咋不吃嘛。

6·林俊芝，女，93岁，（原属）荥经县民建公社大坪山5队。

采访时间：2012年6月19日。

采访地点：荥经县荥河乡108线路边。

我妈（林李氏）、我家人些（丈夫蒲孝明）都是饿死的。（队上的）余启珍把死的娃娃背回家煮来吃，我去他家看到死娃娃的衣服。

7.陈洪发，男，65岁，（原属）荥经县民建公社顺河2队。

采访时间：2012年6月27日。

采访地点：荥经县民建乡顺河村。

陈洪章家女儿饿死了，她妈没得吃的，就把陈洪章家女儿的尸体割来吃，把骨头埋在地板下。

8·康习群，女，66岁，（原属）荥经县安靖公社民治2社。

采访时间：2012年6月27日。

采访地点：荥经县安靖乡到县城的汽车内。

我们靖口站就有吃人肉，他家的人死了，就把肉拼（用刀割）来吃了。饿得遭不住了，莫得办法。

9.陶国花，女，59岁，（原属）荥经县凰仪公社安乐大队4队。

采访时间：2012年6月27日。

采访地点：荥经县安靖乡（原凰仪乡境内）。

凰仪余秀珍家妈饿来没得办法，找野菜根都找不到，就用大砂锅烧起水，她大儿子问她：妈，你把砂锅烧来做啥子，她说：我把你家兄弟煮来吃。她家大儿子说：你把他煮来吃我不打死你，她就没敢煮。现在她家小儿子还在呢。

10.李正英，女，76岁，（原属）荥经县复顺公社上坝11队。

采访时间：2012年6月27日。

采访地点：荥经县安靖乡境内（原凰仪乡）。

对面这户人家，吃过人肉，她娃娃一岁多死了，她就把尸体炖来吃。她讲给我听的，她还喊她的女儿去吃，她的女儿不吃，她还卷（骂）她女儿：娼妇，你不吃，饿死你！她家女儿去看还说是炖的啥子野物（野味），用筷子一捞，看到脚指头、手指头，吓懵了，丢了跑都跑不赢。

这里下面场口上（楠坝大队下场口生产队）王朝珍家娃娃一两岁死了，她已经把她的娃娃埋了，没得吃的，她又把他（尸体）掏起来吃了。我是亲眼见的。

11.王恩芬，女，71岁，（原属）荥经县石桥公社顺河生产队（米溪山）。

采访时间：2012年6月27日。

采访地点：荥经县民建乡顺河村。

五九年，米溪山光明队王维芬家一个女子，有七、八岁，饿的惊叫唤，隔壁杨国礼家妹妹就说：跟我到我家去，我拿厥基根（一种野草）馍馍给你吃。这个女娃娃就跟她到她家去了。到她家后，女娃娃就坐在板凳上吃馍馍，杨国礼用大刀背把女娃娃打死，打死后就把她煮来吃了。娃娃的妈回来后到处寻娃娃，娘屋头都来寻，都寻不到娃娃。后来有一天，生产队红豆子被偷，生产队就清查红豆子，把大家集中在一起，都不准回去，就挨家挨户清查，清查到杨国礼家，发现了娃娃的衣服，地板下

好多人骨头哦。喊娃娃的妈王维芬去看，衣服就是她家娃娃的。最后在花滩中学开大会，枪毙杨国礼，枪毙的时候我都看到。

12.张庆珍，女，70岁，（原属）荥经县附城公社三大队十七生产队。

采访时间：2012年7月9日。

采访地点：荥经县附城乡烟溪村烟溪农家乐。

我听到我家嫂嫂说，我家侄儿（嫂嫂的儿子）死了，我家妈就把他弄来吃了，我侄儿子，就是我妈的孙孙。孙孙先饿死，死的时候有六七岁，我嫂嫂说：妈把朱胰子（小孩）弄来吃了。我说：当真喃？她说：是的。

朱家山的朱子潜，他婆娘（妻子）李权芬在医院没在屋头，她的娃娃要死不活的，有一两岁。他（朱子潜）就把娃娃弄来吃了。李权芬回来说娃娃，他不敢说娃娃。一说娃娃，他婆娘（妻子）就要给他卷（骂）起来。

13.熊召芬，女，90岁，（原属）荥经县石滓公社（铜厂沟）附城大队。

采访时间：2012年7月9日。

采访地点：荥经县附城乡烟溪村路边。

我到我亲家那里去（附城公社三大队16生产队），看到一座坟，他们就说：干部到一户人家去闻到非香（很香），就去查，在门后头看到（一个尸体）一身刚得只剩光骨头了。死的叫邱桂芳，埋在他家屋前头，他把人家从坟里挖出来吃了。

14.余启照，男，79岁，（原属）荥经县附城公社三大队11生产队。

采访时间：2012年7月9日。

采访地点：荥经县附城乡烟溪村路边。

我们山那边有三兄弟，从外面弄个娃娃的尸体来吃了，小的那两弟兄还争来吃。

15.谢明清，男，73岁，（原属）荥经县五宪公社四大队谢家山。

采访时间：2012年7月9日。

采访地点：荥经县五宪乡热溪沟村路口。

我都吃过人肉，我和我们生产队社员到城关公社南门上施家过夜，他们全家五个人死来只剩一个婆娘，她炖起肉来喊我们吃，说是牛肉。我觉得奇怪，她一个老婆子又不会去偷，咋会有牛肉，我拈了一坨放在口头（嘴巴里），感觉不正常，我给一起来的社员说肯定是人肉，不能吃了，想吐。

16.李怀芬，女，83岁，（原属）荥经县石滓公社万年大队芷柏队。

采访时间：2012年7月9日。

采访地点：荥经县龙苍沟乡万年村路边。

六合坝一个几岁的娃娃还没饿死，还有一口气活起在，他妈就把娃娃的屁股拼（用刀割）来吃了。我们听到她娃娃哭喊：妈，不要弄我嘛。听起来好伤心哦。

17.吴家珍，女，80岁，（原属）荥经县烈士公社王家村5生产队。

采访时间：2012年7月12日。

采访地点：荥经县烈士乡煤矿卫生院。

巫家山有吃人肉的，大人出去做活，娃娃自己在家，就被别人弄死了来吃。没得吃的，被逼的。

另一个男的插话：（烈士公社）冯家大队，一个女的改嫁到大木林，把她家娃娃吃了，没得好大点，几天就把娃娃吃了，还是活的，她就把他吃了。象是孙光珍嘛还是叫孙啥子名字。

18.杨汝芬，女，81岁，（原属）荥经县烈士公社冯家大队2生产队。

采访时间：2012年7月12日。

采访地点：荥经县烈士乡煤矿卫生院后面。

我家婶婶姓郑，她的儿饿死了，她就把他的肉拼（用刀割）来煮来吃了。

19.黄昌琼，女，85岁，（原属）荥经县新民公社庙岗6队。

采访时间：2012年7月12日。

采访地点：荥经县新添乡庙岗村路边。

有个女的叫洪英，娃娃一岁多饿死了，没抱起来埋，她把娃娃的肉煮来吃，别人问她：你咋个把娃娃煮来吃哦？她哭兮兮的说，说实在饿得很，咋个办哇？

20.金成伟，男，71岁，（原属）荥经县新民公社庙岗六队。

采访时间：2012年7月12日。

采访地点：荥经县新添乡庙岗村路边小卖部。

我们队上徐红军家人些（妻子），他们娃娃死了，他们饿得遭不住，就把娃娃煮来吃了。我们都听说了。

21.鲜云香，女，71岁，（原属）荥经县青龙公社三大队3生产队。

采访时间：2012年7月12日。

采访地点：荥经县新添乡庙岗村路边小卖部。

有些娃娃饿死后被煮来吃都不晓得。我们生产队会计去检查，看到有一家煮起碗豆尖在，闻起来好香哦，会计用筷子到锅里一夹就夹到个人脑壳。会计说你家娃娃呢？周某说死了，抱去甩了。会计上楼一看，娃娃还剩半边身子。这个人叫周怀碧。想起那个滋味都吓人。

Attachment 7.1

Significant Events During the Cultural Revolution in Wuxuan County (武宣县)

Compiled by the Wuxuan County Communist Party Committee's Rectifying Office (中共武宣县委整党领导小组办公室)

Issued May 28th, 1987

(Note: First published as Archival Materials of Guangxi (广西) "Cultural Revolution (volume 4) by the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (广西壮族自治区) Communist Party Committee's Party Rectifying Office in October 1987.

Content

I.Revolutionary Rebels Usurped the Party and Political Power ... (301)

January Storm in Shanghai, an inspiration for usurping power in Wuxuan County ... (301)

Those below followed the examples of those above ... (303)

Immense influence of Down With Everything, party organizations paralyzed ... (305)

II. Large-scale Factional Militant Fights Caused by the May 4th Incident ... (306)

The May 4th Incident and the origins of the Militant Fight ... (306)

Prelude to the Militant Fight, forces assembled ... (308)

Measures taken to stop the Militant Fight were ineffective ... (310)

The closing of lines and the beginning of the fierce attack ... (311)

Serious injuries and deaths, severe losses ... (312)

Breaking up the Militant Fight, yet no escape from disaster ... (313)

Punishing the culprits of the Militant Fight, and a warning for later generations ... (314)

III. The Disaster of the “Twelve-Degree Typhoon”; Violence took the Lives of Innocent People ... (314)

“Typhoon” began to blow from four corners ... (315)

Astonishingly cruel ways of killing ... (316)

The disastrous consequences of the absence of law ... (323)

Punishing the criminals to rectify law and order ... (323)

Preface

The Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution in Wuxuan County started on May 24th, 1966, and ended in October, 1976 with the downfall of the “Gang of Four.”

During the Cultural Revolution, the following four significant incidents in Xuxuan County caused huge losses and had long-lasting influences. First, revolutionary rebels usurped the Party and its political power. Second, large-scale factional militant fights broke out as the result of the May 4th Incident. Third, the “Twelve-degree Typhoon” disaster took the lives of innocent people. Fourth, cannibalism broke out during this period of time. The last incident led to widespread discussion and condemnation.

.....

To be faithful to the historical facts, this report used the real names of those involved in the abovementioned four significant incidents. Some of those individuals have been punishment accordingly. Some of the names of others who are still alive have been put in the Party records for breaking Party discipline. Because some of the humiliated victims are females who are still alive, we suggest that this report be distributed with pseudonyms, in consideration of the private nature of the misfortune they have suffered.

.....

Wuxuan County Cultural Revolution Significant Events Editing and Reporting Group

May 28, 1987

I. Revolutionary Rebels Usurped the Party and Political power

.....

II. Large-scale Factional Militant Fights Caused by the May 4th Incident

.....

III. The Disaster of the “Twelve-Degree Typhoon”; Violence took the Lives of Innocent People

The illegal killing in Wuxuan County (known as the “Typhoon Wind”) began on March 19th, 1968, reached its peak in the middle of June, and ended on July 17th, 1968. Five hundred and twenty-six people died during this period of time. Of those 526, 87 died in militant fights, and 439 were illegally killed in order to continue “the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.” Judging from the archival documents, most victims belonged to the classes of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, capitalists, and the children of capitalists. Some had historical stains, while others had damning overseas connections. This report doesn’t include all cases of illegal killings, but presents only some of the more noteworthy and especially representative cases.

.....

[The report mentioned many different ways of killing during the “Significant Events.” These included blunt injuries (usually conducted with a walking-stick), drownings, shootings, stabbings, draggings, choppings, cuttings, etc. The report included 11 examples of each type of killing. Examples of some of these cases mentioned in the report]:

.....

4. Death by Stabbing

On June 12, 1968, during a struggle session in Xuanwu District, Tan Qi'ou was beaten to death, and Huang Zhenji was beaten into a coma. Wang Chunrong ordered four men to drag the two bodies to Zhongshan Pavilion. On the way, Huang Zhenji woke up and begged to Wang Chunrong, "Comrade, please forgive me!" Wang took out a five-inch long knife and replied with a laugh: "I will forgive you for five minutes." He then ordered the others to drag Huang to the pavilion. There he stepped on Huang Zhenji's chest, cut out Huang's stomach, and removed the heart and liver.

5. Death by Chopping

On June 18, 1968, Chen Siting convened a meeting in Taicun Commune, Sanli District, to criticize Chen Hanning, Chen Chengyun, Chen Chujian and others. During the meeting, Chen Siting asked the audience: "What shall we do with these men?" The audience shouted: "Kill them!" Militiamen then rushed the three men out of the meeting. A man named Chen Zhiming chopped them to death with a big knife and cut out their stomachs and livers.

.....

7. Cutting Flesh from Living Victims

On June 17, 1968, a group of men took Tang Zhanhui to a parade to be publically exposed. A man named Long Ji shot Tang Zhanhui with a rifle in front of the Xinhua bookstore. Tang fell down on the ground but was still alive. Wang Chunrong cut out his stomach with his five-inch long knife and took out the heart and liver. The onlookers followed Wang and rushed to cut the flesh from Tang's body. The deputy head of the county militant office Yan Yulin witnessed the whole act but said nothing to stop it.

In July 1968, a struggle session was organized to expose Gan Dazuo at a village in Tongwan District. Gan Dazuo was pulled to a nearby field, where a man named Gan Yewei hit him with a stick. Gan Dazuo was still alive, and when another man named Gan Zuyang tried to cut off his genitals, Gan Dazuo begged him: "Please wait till I die!" Gan Zuyang

ignored his pleas, and continued with his castration. Gan Deliu cut out Gan Dazuo's stomach and liver, while other men fought to cut the remaining flesh from the body.

8. Death by Blunt Force

On June 21, 1968, Huang Peigang and Lei Guobao from Shangjin Village, Dongxiang District organized a struggle session to expose 18-year-old Zhang Fuzhan. Not long after the meeting started, 12 year-old Huang Haijun knocked Zhang down with a stick. Huang Peigang dragged Zhang to the foot of Nahuang Hill and stabbed a knife into Zhang's chest. When Zhang regained consciousness, Huang took a piece of nearby stone and pounded it on Zhang's temple. He then stabbed Zhang three times, cutting his stomach from the chest to the belly button, and then removed the heart and liver. Another man named Liao Yongguang cut off Zhang's penis, while other men rushed to cut off the remaining flesh from his body.

.....

10. Raping Daughters and Wives after Fathers and Husbands Perish

On the night of May 20, 1968, Wang Dehua and Wang Kaihua from Qiaogong Village, Luxin District were criticized at a struggle session. Wang Dehua was beaten to death by sticks and poles, while Wang Kaihua was stabbed to death. After the meeting, Tan Jinbi, Pan Xinde, Tan Hanmin, Tan Shisong went to Wang Dehuan's house and raped his teenaged daughter Wang Fanzhen.

At the noon on June 23, 1968, Li Binglong and others took three brothers named Li Mingqi, Li Zhongyuan, and Li Zhongjie (all chained by their feet with iron wire, and hands tied with rope) to the center of the county for a public exhibition. Upon their arrival at the county food market, Li Binglong ordered the three brothers to kneel down, asking the onlookers, "Do they deserve to be killed?" The onlookers answered, "They do!" Li Binglong and the others then beat the three men to death. Huang Qihuan and other men cut off the victims' penises and cut out their hearts and livers before they dumped the

bodies into the Qian River. The same night, Li Binglong, Wei Bingwen, Zuo Bohong, and Wei Zhihua raped Li Mingqi's wife and stole anything of value from the house.

Punishing the Criminals to Rectify Law and Order

.....

1. Fifty-two party cadres who killed or were involved in a killing received punishments ranging from imprisonment, official warnings from the Party, and administrative reprimands in their records.

2. Eighty-one peasants were found to have killed or to have been involved in a killing. The report did not mention whether those individuals were in fact punished, and if so, what terms of punishments they received.

3. Seven workers and 4 residents who killed or were involved in a killing were sentenced to 3 to 7 years in prison.

IV. Loss of Human Nature: Cannibalism (Excerpt)

75 people had their hearts and liver extracted and their flesh eaten after being killed in Wuxuan County during the Cultural Revolution.

.....

Punishing the Culprits as well as a Warning for Later Generations:¹

1. Twenty-seven Party members were expelled from the Party for engaging in cannibalism.

2. Eighteen non-Party members who committed cannibalism received one of the following punishments: significant administrative mistakes recorded, removal from leadership positions, or suspension from administrative positions.

3. Five Party member workers who engaged in cannibalism received one of the following punishments: expulsion from the Party, or placement on probation within the Party.

4. Twenty-one non-Party member who engaged in cannibalism received one of the following punishments: significant administrative mistakes recorded, salary decrease, or suspension from administrative positions.

5. Fifty-nine Party member peasants who committed cannibalism were punished by expulsion from the Party.

¹ Note: for the sake of brevity, the names of offenders are not included.

武宣县“文革”大事件

中共武宣县委整党领导小组办公室编

一九八七年五月二十八日

原载中共广西壮族自治区委员会整党领导小组办公室

办公室《广西“文革”档案资料》(第四册), 1987年10月。
297

目 录

第一、《造反派夺党政大权》	(301)
上海一月风暴 促成县内夺权	(301)
上行下效 竞相效尤	(303)
打倒一切遗患无穷 党政机关陷入瘫痪	(305)
第二、《“五·四”事件引发的大规模派性武斗》	(306)
“五·四”事件 武斗前因	(306)
武斗准备 调兵遣将	(308)
制止武斗 措施不力	(310)
紧缩包围 猛烈攻击	(311)
伤亡严重 损失重大	(312)
武斗突围 难逃厄运	(313)
武斗元凶 惩前毖后	(314)
第三、《“十二级台风”浩劫，无辜者惨死于非命》	(314)
“台风”四起 风源何方	(315)
杀人手段 残忍奇特	(316)
无法无天 栽下恶果	(323)
惩罚凶手 以正法纪	(323)

第四、《丧失人性人吃人》（节录）.....(325)

臭名远扬 影响久远.....(325)

惩前毖后 引以为戒.....(325)

前 言

武宣县无产阶级文化大革命，始于一九六六年五月二十四日，一九七六年十月以粉碎“四人帮”而进入尾声。

“文革”期间，《造反派夺党政大权》、《“五·四”事件引发的派性武斗》、《“十二级台风”浩劫、无辜者惨死于非命》、《丧失人性人吃人》等四件大事，损失严重，影响久远、波及范围是历史上罕见的大事。特别是吃人肉事件，舆论沸腾，蜚声一时。

大事件的资料源出《“文革”大事记》，在此基础上，加工、提炼、补充，本大事件成文约一万五千字。

沿着《“文革”大事记》的轨迹，筛选出四件《“文革”大事件》，“文革”中有的死者先被杀，后被吃肉，因此，在撰写《“十二级台风”浩劫、无辜者死于非命》和《丧失人性人吃人》两件大事，其临界关系必不可免重合。

为忠实于历史记载，记述的大事件是以事系人，采用指名道姓的写法，有的肇事者予以判刑，有的受党政纪处分，他们人还在。有的受害女性被蹂躏，目

前尚健在，随着时间的推移，她们的后裔已长大成人，这些女性的不幸遭遇属于“隐私”，付印下发此资料时，建议约束在较小的范围内，或且在打印时，采取隐姓埋名的手法处理为好。

编写大事件时，按照历史的真实面目，尊重史实，客观的加以记述。旨在存史、资政、教育后人，不“重蹈覆辙”，不再重演历史的悲剧，如果能达到此目的，将聊以自慰。

鉴于编写组的政治素质和方志学理论以及文化水平有限，还有在体例上，谴词造句中的文理和史实等方面，难免错误，期望审稿时，予以补遗纠正。

武宣县“文革”大事件编写组

一九八七年五月二十八日

第一、《造反派夺党政大权》

上海一月风暴 促成县内夺权

一九六七年一月，上海造反派，掀起对党政机关夺权的风暴，它涉及全国各地；柳州地区党政机关造反派已完成夺权行动。成了县内夺权的外因，县内造反派，已形成蠢蠢欲动之势。

同年一月二十六日，晚八时，县委机关干部，在东边会议室吃芭蕉时谈论着，话题是全国各地夺权问

题，我们也该夺权了……。廖汉科谈论中央广播电台，广播上海一月风暴夺权的消息。覃建学援引毛泽东主席诗词：“多少事，从来急，天地转，光阴迫，一万年太久，只争朝夕。”

“党群联司令部”头头韦德凡，提议研究我县夺权事宜，同志们表示赞同，并公推两人去“县文化大革命联络指挥部”汇报，试图争得“总部”支持。

“总部”应允他们的行动方案，并用电话通知县城属下造反派，敲锣打鼓集中到县委大院，参加夺县委领导权的大会。县广播站反复播送：“今晚，我县有重要消息广播，请注意收听。”

县联络总部成员廖福兴、陶显荣与韦德凡还有左少荣、黄恒夫、覃翰书、闭仲纯、韦矩模，组成《夺权行动委员会》，并派人布置会场，当晚十点左右，全县城锣鼓喧天，约三、四百人聚集县委门前。

韦德凡高叫“林光记滚出来！”林从二楼下来，之后，依次是高凌云、覃炳刚、黄达下楼进入会场。并用电话通知在三里锰锌矿蹲点的文龙俊、滕伯昆回来参加会议。

当晚午夜十一点，韦德凡宣布夺权大会开始，原定廖汉科讲话，廖见左少荣起草的讲稿，字迹潦草，转由左少荣读讲稿，他刚读不一会，被群众轰了下来，出于无奈，韦德凡接着讲话，之后逐个点名叫原县委常委成员和各部委领导在大门前一字列队亮相，并要县委领导表态交权。高凌云身着解放军服，造反派

对高斥责，并抓高的军帽丢在地上。高凌云悻悻的拣起军帽戴上说：“我是县人民武装部第一政委，军服是人民解放军发给我的。”韦德凡宣布夺了县委领导的权。不久，县人委、公安局的造反派与《夺权行动委员会》的成员争吵起来，无休止的争论毫无结果，夺权大会不欢而散。

有人提出要把原县委所属的各部委的公章交给《夺权行动委员会》县委机关的造反派，唯恐党权落他人手中，而坚决反对。

一月二十七日，县委墙上出现：“一·二六是宫廷政变”、“假夺权真保皇”，因而引起县委机关造反派和外单位部分造反派之间的一场大字报大辩论。为此，县武装部科长卢锦生主持在武宣中学“党群联司”和各单位造反派之间，喋喋不休的，辩论三个晚上。

县委机关造反派，为防止外单位再度夺县委的权，因而成立了“党群战线无产阶级革命造反联合司令部”（简称：“党群联司”）来掌权。其司令部成员是：韦德凡、闭仲纯、廖汉科、黄恒夫、韦矩模、赵锡良、廖新来、钱德昌、黄木昌。由韦矩模起草《夺权经过》闭仲纯修改后，付印发往各单位。

上行下效 竞相效尤

一月二十六日午夜，桐岭街造反派成员李志平等八人，从广播得知县委被夺权后，他们作出积极反应，“密锣紧鼓”的策划夺权，为防止桐岭区设在石岗大

队的武装基于民兵连干预夺权行动，派人剪断总机通往石岗大队的电话线。二十七日凌晨，李志平等造反派成员，责令桐岭区党政机关二十一人（含炊事员韦木帮），在区大院球场站队接受夺权。天亮后，桐岭街造反派以《桐岭地区夺权行动委员会》的名誉，通知各大队造反派参加庆祝夺权大会，中午，群众云集于桐岭墟亭夺权大会场，当李志平等人在主席台上宣布庆祝夺权大会开始时，台下的人如涌潮不多时约几十人蜂拥而上，与李志平展开激烈辩论，推桌砸椅，十一个大队造反派否认桐岭街造反派夺区党政的权，勒令李志平等人退还公章。李志平的夺权行动，逐告“流产”。

三月二日，由桐岭区副区长黄明光参与的造反派重新组织夺权，于三月十二日，印发《桐岭地区无产阶级革命造反夺权通令》。公布桐岭区委书记陈思堂、区长蒙治亨等人的所谓“罪行”：“是忠实执行刘（少奇）、邓（小平）路线和走资本主义道路的当权派；公开抵制党中央‘十六条’和‘二十六条’；挑动群众斗群众，血腥镇压革命群众”。责令当权派交权，今后一切权力归革命造反派。

县供销社造反派覃振球等人参加县委夺权会议后，当晚，在县社策划夺县社和经理部的权。一月二十七日八时，在县社球场召开夺权大会，会上覃振球向被夺权者宣布夺权令：

资产阶级的当权派们，在此向你们警告，必须严

守：1、彻底交待错误事实；2、交出文书、档案、文件、公章和一切权利；3、不准外出逃避运动；4、决定权由造反派行使；5、除正常经费开支外，其他开支均由造反派决定；6、必须服从造反派的监督做好工作。

夺权大会结束后，即将县社主任姚德林戴上高帽，令赵德锡敲锣，副主任苏宏强、经理部正副经理马玉昆、谭维权、陈显耀等人，押解到县城游街。

一月底，公检法三家的“政法兵团”造反派雷志良等人，在武宣县中学校礼堂召开会议，夺公检法三家领导权的“样板会议”，县直各单位造反派数百人参加了会议。会上夺了公安局长毛景山、检察院检察长张庆池，法院副院长杨凤寿的权。当公安局长毛景山交出印章时，甘振览把毛的私章砸坏，以示意彻底打倒毛景山。

二月七日，《政法兵团造反派》印发所谓“黄尚念是政法战线，坚持顽固执行资产阶级反动路线的首领和罪行”的传单。在批斗公安局负责人黄尚念时，责令高凌云、黄达、覃炳刚三位县领导参加，要挟县的领导，他们迫于无奈，停止黄尚念党内外一切职务。

打倒一切遗患无穷 党政机关陷入瘫痪

“四人帮”蛊惑人心，怀疑一切，打倒一切，罢官夺权之风遍及县境，内政混乱，法纪荡然，其造成恶果主要表现为：

1、无政府主义盛行，造反派的权力高于一切，

他们为所欲为，当此政风不振，法纪荡然乱世。

2、从县到生产队的领导，一律当作“走资本主义道路的当权派”被打倒，“靠边站”。

3、部分工厂停工、学校停课，商业停业，农民停产。

4、党政机关瘫痪，无法行使职能。

5、领导干部被夺权、捆绑、游街、斗打、监禁、甚至杀害，比比皆是，司空见惯。

6、“砸烂公检法机关”后，社会上造反派无法无天，私设公堂、监狱、刑讯、逼供，造反派掌握生死大权，草菅人命，乱杀无辜，有屈冤魂。

7、搜家、抄家、劫民财屡见不鲜。

实践证明，“文革”根本不是“乱了敌人”而是乱了自己，因而始终没有也不可能由“天下大乱”达到“天下大治”，“文革”给武宣的各族人民带来深重的灾难。昔韩非子言：“法乱则国乱”。

第二、《“五·四”事件引发 的大规模派性武斗》

“五·四”事件 武斗前因

一九六八年五月四日，武宣县“四·二二”造反大军中的“红七兵团”，成员钟统方、龚国锐等人，

在武宣港务站抓了桐岭区信用社会计梁达坚等三人，进入“四·二二”造反大军西楼据点关押，并搜去一百二十元二角八分和部份衣物。县革委常委闻讯后，立即召开会议，决定派员进据点做思想工作，当天放了两人，梁达坚仍扣不放。县革委多次敦促放人无效。至此成为“文革”中的所谓“五·四事件”。

五月六日，“联指”和“造反大军”双方拉开了武斗的帷幕，“联指”一方为“五·四”事件，老羞成怒，迁怒于造反大军一方，其动态如下：

“联指”一方：

以潘茂兰为首组织《武宣县贫下中农联合指挥部》，总负责人潘茂兰、蔡朝钧等人下辖：

作战部：由覃振球、胡月华、刘杰成、刘树江、赵鸿捷、晏书金等人组成；

政治部：由张虹一、韦德凡、何培贤组成；

后勤部：由蒋曙光、江顺芳、黎连枝组成。

“四·二二”造反大军一方：

“红七兵团”对《公开信》极为不满，并作出积极反应，张贴标语、大字报说：“县革委是‘派委会’，发表《公开信》是屠杀造反派的‘白色信号弹’”。

大军总部：由李淑宇、廖汉科、周金寿、罗和明、黄炳信、江聚双、黄流志、张俊、黎天贤、邓克飞组成，下辖：

作战部：由周伟安、陈石保、江聚双、蔡炳先、

黄流志组成。

后勤部：由周金寿、覃礼珍、张启芳、丘子兴组成。

组织部：由李淑宇、陶显荣、黄炳信、罗和明组成。

宣传部：由翁胜、廖汉科、廖燕来、甘家帅组成。

武斗准备 调兵遣将

五月七日，“联指总部”由潘茂兰主持召开各区武斗参战负责人会议，研究战斗方案。参加会议人员有桐岭区覃启飞、苏运昌；三里区刘杰成、王业周；东乡区廖汉生、张木荣；禄新区覃汉茂；通挽区黄伟亮；武宣区武桂发；二塘区何海军；黄茆区陈赞明以及指挥部的全体成员参加。会议确定各区参战人员进入战区的序列，并决定划为五个战区和任命各战区负责人：

一战区负责人：黄怡昌、梁德业、何银光；

二战区负责人：蒋中传、黄启焕、武启炎、韦新德；

三战区负责人：罗水经、臧东安、邓国安、龙集；

四战区负责人：陈彪、陆桂发、杨桂发、黄恩范；

五战区负责人：陈景福、刘忠发。

会后，进行战斗兵力部署。

五月七日晚，十点多钟，桐岭区“联指”总部由覃纪飞、龙志仁率领九十余人，分乘两辆汽车，开赴县城驻武中，并进入北街第一战区武斗。

五月八日，三里区和三里锰锌矿民兵开赴县城，进入战区，全城宵禁，武斗进入“张弓待发”状态。

五月九日，又一批三里和锰锌矿民兵再度进城，继而，黄茆、二塘、通挽、禄新的民兵陆续进入战区。截至九日，武斗准备工作已进入了“山雨欲来风满楼”的境地。

五月十日，东乡区带队参战负责人廖汉生，在农林水楼上巡视战区时，被冷枪击毙身亡，“联指总部”迅速作出反应。潘茂兰主持召开各战区、各区参战负责人紧急会议，以学生李汉南组成炮队，于同日中午，以小炸药包送大炸药包的办法，轰击造反大军防区制高点——北楼，派性武斗，愈演愈烈，武斗进入高潮。

五月十一日，“武宣县贫下中农联合指挥部”再度调整指挥机构和战斗方案，因此，在茆庙召开会议，参加会议人员：县直各兵团战斗队组织头头和各区带队负责人，三里刘杰成；二塘陆乐基；黄茆、黄太茂、覃明桂；禄新覃汉茂；桐岭覃纪飞；通挽韦高。

会议内容：

1、调整“武宣县贫下中农联合指挥部”成员如下：

前线总指挥：黄镇荣（原上柳州参加武斗被召

回)；

前线副总指挥：潘茂兰、黄元介；

负责武斗的：赵鸿捷、李汉南；

负责后勤的：蔡朝钧、蒋曙光、江顺芳、罗模忠、覃振球；

负责宣传的：张虹一、王朝显、何培贤；

负责财务的：李玉仁、龙贵权。

2、由前线副总指挥潘茂兰，下达作战命令，部署各战区作战任务。

3、发布向造反大军的总攻命令。

会后，各战区向各自目标，发起进攻，逐巷逐户逐墙爆破开路，紧缩包围圈，形成强大攻势，战况非常激烈。

制止武斗 措施不力

五月五日，县革委常委会开会，决定向“红七兵团”发出最后通牒如下：

- 1、放出梁达坚；
- 2、交出抢去的钱物；
- 3、交出抓人的凶手和幕后策划者；
- 4、交出枪枝弹药；
- 5、如再不放人就采取武力行动。

“红七兵团”于五月五日，午夜十一点，放出梁达坚，但不退财物。

五月七日上午，县革委在县城圩亭，召开县直机关职工大会，县革委主任，县武装部长文龙俊在大会

上讲话，宣读“致红七兵团的公开信”（张虹一起稿，黄元介修改）责成八日下午六时前退还钱物（最后仍未退钱物）。

五月十日下午一时，县革委召开紧急会议，旨在研究事态恶化的对策。会上县革委主任、县武装部长文龙俊说：“根据现实情况，怎样处理，打也好，教育也好，都是处理方法。”对于制止武斗态度暧昧。文部长发言后，常委们发言，内容大体一样。

同日下午三时，会后用电话向驻柳支左办公室汇报：“武宣酿成两派局势日趋恶化的原因是：四日下午两点，‘红七兵团’成员抓梁达坚；五日深夜放人不退钱物；九日中午造反大军开枪袭扰武宣粮所、财政局，当晚用炸药包炸毁农、林、水大院部份围墙；十日早上造反大军黄正中，开枪击毙廖汉生（“联指”派）；请指示。”对方是姓孙的接电话，答复核心内容是：“制止武斗，做好教育”。

在制止武斗问题上，县革委和县领导，态度暧昧，思想偏斜，决心不大，方法不当，措施不力，贻误时机，局势失控，致使武宣武斗，未能制止在萌芽状态之中。

紧缩包围 猛烈攻击

五月十一日，“联指总部”会议之后，会上下达了战斗命令，于当夜幕降临，各战区向各自目标发起进攻，采用逐巷逐户逐墙爆破开路的战术，紧缩包围圈。

五月十二日，柳州“联指”中的“一反到底”部份人员，从北方（柳州）来援，贵县县武装部副部长廖秀峰，率领民兵三百余人，乘汽车从南方横渡黔江驰援武宣“联指”，形成南北夹击的增援势态，增强了攻击有生力量。深夜，炸药包轰鸣，火光四起，枪声密集，震撼夜空，武斗形成胶着状态，造反大军处于孤立无援的境地，在强大的攻势下，力不能支，弃阵逃遁，打算从北门码头横渡黔江突围。岂料“联指”在对河沿岸设有埋伏。后突围丹楫行至江中，突遭袭击，生者弃船落江泅渡，“联指”又将车渡拖头开出，打开探照灯在江面来回搜索，发现逃者开枪射击，葬身黔江者难以计数。沈国师等五人被拦截上岸，何岩生、黄炳坤将其枪杀，弃尸江中。蔡友斌等五人，突围泅渡对岸，被韦玉锦、李炳龙等人，用铁线捆绑手脚，丢下河中溺死。有三十余人躲藏在石狗、石人坪（地名）的洞穴中，十三日打扫战场时，除刘树江护走一名十五岁小孩外，其余全部被打死。女学生马金秀逃时被抓住，下身被刀捅伤数处，被抛入江中后得救。

伤亡严重 损失重大

五月十三日上午，武斗结束，这场由“五·四”事件引发的大规模的派性武斗，兴师动众一千余人，历时约四十小时，双方共死亡九十七人，毁坏房屋六十七间，价值三万七千九百多元，有三十七户被抄家，抄去财务价值二万六千六百多元，吃掉国库粮食二万

八千多斤。

五月十三日上午武斗结束，“县联指”开会研究，组织成立办公室、保卫组等处理战后工作：

办公室负责人：覃振球；

保卫组负责人：韦新德、张超江、龙机；

政工组负责人：韦德凡、武桂发、兰荣明；

服务组负责人：吕祺奇、蔡朝钧、江燕、蒋曙光、江顺芳；

专案组负责人：张虹一、闭仲纯。

武斗突围 难逃厄运

“造反大军”突围逃遁无一难逃厄运，他们是：

武斗总指挥周伟安于五月十三日凌晨突围，同月十四日逃至禄新大榕被击毙，县“联指”头头潘茂兰专程至大榕将周的头颅和双脚拿到禄新为武斗死者覃汉茂、黄世放开的追悼会场，悬挂于树，当天又从禄新拿周伟安的头和双脚回县城食品公司售肉门市部侧畔悬挂于树。

副总指挥黄流志，五月十二日晚，黄随周伟安、江聚双、张金海突围，黄返回县经理部隐藏在伙房左侧房内，被人告密，抓捕关押在赏庙的私设牢房内，同月十五日晨被就地枪杀。黄流志生前是武宣县革命委员会委员、县经理部汽车司机。

红卫兵覃守珍、韦国荣两学生，于五月十二日深夜突围，逃散后，被古禄大队民兵抓住，押往禄新区“联指”总部，行至粮所附近覃汉茂、黄世放开的追

悼会场被打死。

五月十二日深夜，覃乃文突围逃到桐岭被抓，后押往武宣“联指”总部，在车上用一块木板压在身上，木板上坐有数人，覃乃文在途中被活活的压死。

覃乃武在突围中负伤，隐藏在县城郊大龙村亲戚家中养伤二十天后，逃往二塘被打死。

李志平突围逃到桂平县东岗大队，由桐岭“联指”领回关押数日，后被群众打死。

五月十二日深夜，江聚双突围后失踪，至今（一九八七年五月二十日）下落不明。

武斗元凶 惩前毖后

“处遗”期间，对“联指”总指挥黄镇荣羁押六个多月，免于刑事起诉，给予开除党籍处分。

第三、《“十二级台风”浩劫， 无辜者死于非命》

武宣非法杀人之风骤起，（社会上习惯用语“刮台风”），始于一九六八年三月十九日，终于一九六八年七月十七日，六月中旬进入高峰时期，当此政风不振，法纪荡然乱世，因“文革”事件死亡526人，除武斗死亡87人（武斗被俘遭杀10人不在内）其余

439人均是“文革”中非法杀害所致，这些死者是在“左”的“在无产阶级专政条件下继续革命”的理论指导下，“以阶级斗争为纲”和“专政是群众的专政”的思想指导下被非法杀害的，从档案资料看，这些死者大部是地富反坏右分子，资本家及其子女，有的是有历史污点的人，个别是有海外关系和造反派的成员。本文只记述比较突出的，有代表性的典型案例，“文革”中的非法杀人案件，不作——赘述，现从几个方面阐述：

“台风”四起 风源何方

1、组建特殊职能的武装力量。

一九六八年六月十一日，县革委决定成立纠察队，由县革委副主任，县武装部副部长严玉林负责，下设两个连，连长分别是孙兰发，王传义。纠察队组建后，在县边界的金鸡、通挽各十五人组成哨卡，检查一切过往车辆行人，对无证携带武器，弹药、凶器一律没收，无执照车辆一律扣留，各区相应建立二十至三十人组成的纠察队。生产队设加强班子，经实践证明，它是慑威武装力量，导致社会上形成恐怖气氛。

2、召开会议，上行下效。

同年六月十四日，县革委在县城召开县、区、大队、生产队四级干部会议，贯彻柳州会议精神，县革委会主任，县武装部长文龙俊在会上说：“对敌斗争要刮十二级台风。方法是：充分发动群众，依靠群众

专政，把政策交给群众。搞阶级斗争不能手软，在批斗中可采取多种形式，加上控诉会，诉苦会，游街等等”。

在“无产阶级专政继续下革命”的历史背景“对敌斗争”的概念即对地、富、反、坏、右分子等所谓“黑五类”和有历史污点的人，以及“走资本主义道路当权派”，个别人还将“敌”的概念随心所欲扩大到“黑五类”的子女，以及不同观点的人，在“专政是群众的专政”的口号影响下，抓、关、杀人的行为是“顺里成章”之事。

3、举办所谓“五·四反革命事件”展览。

四级干部会，与会者参观了多数派举办的展览会，此展览会展出武宣武斗“联指”一方缴获的物品，传闻还有一张女裸体像，后来不雅观才藏起来。此展览会在客观上，县革委给“五·四事件”挑起的一方的定性。

杀人手段 残忍奇特

“文革”中杀人，气焰嚣张、疯狂亡命；寡廉鲜耻，手段残忍，后果严重，影响极坏，其手段有：敲死、溺死、枪死、捅死、砍死、拖死、活割、砸死、被迫上吊，更有甚者，杀父奸女、杀夫奸妻、围捕杀害，演出了一幕幕腥风血雨，血迹斑斑的悲剧。

1、敲死

一九六八年五月四日，通挽圩日，陈汉考、臧世赏、蒙志高、覃家琼、黄瑞成、甘德班被押到通挽圩

游斗，行至邮电所门前时，均被棍棒敲死。

一九六八年五月×日，桐岭圩日，桐岭区新龙大队龚培民、龚培卫出于泄私愤，以龚姝颖是顽固地主分子为由，将龚姝颖捆绑押送到桐岭街游斗，边游边宣布龚姝颖的所谓罪行，当游到戏台前时，来赶圩的通挽大团村人臧东荡听到龚培民宣布龚姝颖怎样坏时，即用扁担打死了龚姝颖。

一九六八年七月一日晚八时在桐岭中学十丙班教室批斗黄家凭。校“革筹”副主任谢东主持会议并讲了话，批斗会持续约一小时后，谢东宣布散会，覃廷多等四人，各持棍棒押解黄出会场，行至电话室门前时，覃廷多喝令“打”，声落棍下，朝黄打了一棍，其他人不约而同地蜂拥而上，将黄家凭乱棍打死。

黄家凭同志，建国前参加中国共产党领导的革命，曾任一二一纵队第一支队第一中队政治指导员，桂中支队十八大队长，广西解放后，任过广西苍梧县副县长，桐岭中学副校长等职，“文革”中惨遭杀害，令人痛惜。

一九六八年七月十七日，三里区上江乡“文革小组”在乡政府门前广场召开群众大会，批斗廖天龙、廖金福、钟振权、钟少廷等四人，均被乱棍打死。

2、溺死

一九六八年五月十二日，蔡友斌等五人在武宣武斗中突围泅游横渡南岸时，被韦玉锦、李炳龙等人用铁线捆住手脚丢下河溺死。

一九六八年六月十八日，禄新圩日，古禄乡治保主任覃祖月指使民兵覃廷笋、黄天桃等人，抓覃太焕、江邓珍、钱家信三人上街游斗，游到十字街头，即令被斗者跪下，由乡民兵副营长秦大福宣布被斗者的所谓罪行后，覃廷笋用棍对被斗者三人的头部各打一棍，随着黄天桃叫覃以群、覃以耐、覃泽才、黄凤廷、肖冠朝、肖锦寿等人，将被斗者三人拖往古灵塘。覃、江、钱三人一路呻吟，到古灵塘边时，覃廷笋即令覃以群等六人，将被斗者三人丢下水，当江邓珍浮上水面挣扎时，覃廷笋又令覃以群用脚踩江下水，直至死亡才心甘罢休，被斗者三人均在水中命绝身亡。

3、枪杀

一九六八年三月十九日，三里圩日，陈北福等十五人，被押到三里绕街游斗一周，回至三里区公所球场，休息片刻，民兵陈立生、何才兴将陈北福枪杀于球场西侧三十余米的塘边田角处。陈文权（工人）随后用“五·四式”手枪对陈北福补打两枪，由此拉开了全县“文革”中目无法纪的乱杀人的帷幕。

一九六八年五月十四日，倾向造反大军观点的刘志远同志（生前任县交通局长），在武宣武斗期间被抓进“联指”总部私设在黄学的牢房关押，被梁春林等人拖到县城十字街枪杀，这位南征北战的老干部，当年曾在枪淋弹雨中出生入死，如今死于非命，实在令人痛惜。

一九六八年六月三日晚，李光伟、李春会、李光仁、李树兴、张兴昌以不服从管制为由，被集体枪杀于二塘街边果园内。

一九六八年六月十五日，李赞龙、李锦良、刘业龙、陈天掌在三里车缝社门前（旧称石排坊）游斗中被枪杀。

一九六八年六月十五日，黄礼康、黄荣昌、覃乃光、覃伟成、黄德安在黄茆街口游斗中被枪杀。

4、捅死

一九六八年六月十二日，武宣区在县城街上圩亭召开批斗会，王春荣亲自押送被批斗的周忠等十多人入场，在批斗会上谭启欧被打死，黄振基被打休克，王春荣令周忠等四人将谭启欧、黄振基往中山亭拖至途中黄振基醒来抬头向王春荣求饶说：“同志，原谅我嘛！”王春荣摇晃着闪闪发光的五寸刀，气焰嚣张的说：“嘻！嘻！原谅你五分钟”，随即令拖的人不停地向前拖，到达中山亭时，王即令停下，同时手持五寸刀，一脚踏上黄振基胸上，活生生地剖开腹部，挖出心肝而死。

5、砍死：

一九六八年六月十八日，三里区台村大队开会批斗陈汉宁、陈承云、陈除建等人。“文革”主任陈思庭主持会场并讲了话，材料员陈竟明宣读被斗人的所谓“罪状”后，群众批斗发言继续约半小时，陈思庭问群众，“这些人怎么办”？群众异口同声喊

“杀”！民兵即将被斗的人推出会场，陈志明用大板刀将这三人的砍死，并剖腹取肝。

6、拖死：

一九六八年六月×日，刘杰等8人在东乡李树岗村第二生产队刘达贵家开会，研究对练平的处理时，梁树明、刘杰提出把练平杀掉，会后交雷保英、刘达耀、蒙惠强等人，押练平到后山松林枪杀未死，次日练爬回村边，庾日明得知后，又叫刘国谋用绳套练平的脖子在地下拖，他在呼救，惨叫，呻吟声中活活拖死。

7、活割：

一九六八年六月十七日，正值武宣圩日，蔡朝成、龙凤桂等人拿汤展辉上街游斗，走到新华书店门前，龙基用步枪将汤击伤倒地未死。王春荣手持五寸刀剖腹取出心肝，围观群众蜂拥而上动手割肉，汤命绝身亡。当时在场的县革委副主任生产组长，县武装部副部长严玉林目睹这一残忍暴行，而一言不发。

一九六八年七月×日，通挽区大团村第七生产队甘克星组织开会批斗甘大作，后将甘大作拉到附近田边，甘业伟喝令甘大作跪下，当甘业伟一棍往甘大作的头上打去时，尚未死，甘祖扬即动手脱甘大作的裤割生殖器，甘大作哀求说：“等我死先嘛！你们再割”。甘祖扬却无动于衷，惨无人道的继续割去甘大作的阴部，甘大作在撕人肺腑的惨叫声挣扎，令人毛骨悚然。甘维形等人争着割大腿肉，甘德柳剖腹取

肝，其他人蜂拥而上将甘大作的肉割光，生割活人残忍至极，怵目惊心，惨不忍睹。

8、砸死：

一九六八年六月二十一日，东乡区上棉村黄培刚参与该乡雷国保召开的批判张富展（当时18岁系武宣中学应届毕业生）的大会。批斗未久，黄海军（当时12岁）用木棍敲打张富展的头部致使张昏倒在地。黄培刚即将张富展拖到一里多远的那凰岭放下，用五寸刀朝张的胸部捅一刀，张挣扎扭动着身子，黄培刚又在旁边拿一块石头砸张的太穴，接着又连捅了两三刀，从胸部直割到肚脐处，取出心肝，随着廖水光割去张的下阴，其他人即蜂拥而上把肉割完。

9、被迫上吊而死：

一九六八年八月十日，江乃生从广东海康县堂兄江毅生住处避乱返回桐岭老家，被桐岭区纠察队捆绑押进区公所院内，绑在树下。

自此之后，从当天上午九时起至午后三时许。曾三次对江乃生轮番刑讯逼供。区武装部长曾两次劝阻无效，肇事者坚持己见，一意孤行，江忍受不了皮肉之苦，在被关的房内被迫自缢。

10、杀父奸女、杀夫奸妻。

一九六八年五月二十日晚，禄新区大榕乡党支部书记石朝宝等人，在桥巩村召开批斗王德欢，王开华大会，在批斗会上被斗者王德欢遭乱棍打死。王开华被拖到会场外捅死。迨后，覃锦必伙同潘新德、覃汉

民、覃世松到王德欢家，轮奸正处豆蔻年华之次女王凡珍。

一九六八年六月二十三日，武宣街圩日，约中午时分，武宣镇对河生产队李炳龙等人用铁线把黎明启、黎中元、黎中杰的脚扣住（只能艰难的走动），还用绳子捆颈绑手。李炳龙带领左伯洪等十四人，各拿棍棒押送被斗者到县城区游街，游到菜市时，即令黎三兄弟跪下，李炳龙当场宣布这三人的所谓“罪恶”，并高喊：“该不该杀”，围观的群众答：“该杀”！李炳龙等人片刻即将被游斗者活活敲死。

将尸体拖至黔江边，黄启焕等人剖腹取肝，割生殖器后，弃尸于黔江。

同日夜間李炳龙伙同韦炳文，左伯洪、韦志华轮奸黎明启之妻，并抄家洗劫财物一空。

这种杀人夫，奸人妻，灭人族，劫民财罪行，惨无人道，违法犯罪，触犯刑律。

11、围捕杀害：

一九六八年六月二十九日，三里区“工农总部”常委周胜松对三里乡治保主任陈必洪观点倾向造反大军，以有驳壳枪为由，六月二十八日调兵遣将一百多民兵，于29日凌晨包围陈必洪家院，九点左右，陈爬上房顶被枪击重伤，不久死亡。

一九六八年七月十日，东乡区武装部长兼纠察队长覃忠兰，革委副主任兼纠察队副指导员李华天、授命纠察队副队长覃振权，率领纠察队3个班，并有金

岗乡加强班配合前往金秀，武宣、桂平三县交界的驾马山，以剿匪为名，追捕少数派刁其棠、刁其珊、刁其瑶等人，刁其珊死里逃生，刁其瑶坠涧身亡，刁其棠被击毙。

无法无天 栽下恶果

1、全县因“文革”事件死亡526人，占全县二十二万多人的万分之二十三，除武斗死亡87人外，（武斗被俘遭杀10人不在内），其余439人均是“文革”中非法被杀害。有五百零一户受害。

2、“文革”造成的孤老、孤幼、孤残48人，有的被非法杀害死者遗孀，为避免再遭横祸，被迫抛下孤儿幼女和年迈的公婆而改嫁他乡，弄得妻离子散，家破人亡。

3、安排受害干部、工人遗属子女就业五十六人。

4、“处遗”时发放给死者埋葬费和家属的抚恤费。“三孤”定期补助费，生产生活困难补助费二十二万八千九百多元，国家为处理善后工作，兴师动众、耗资伤财。

5、杀父之仇，慈母被辱，结怨难平。

惩罚凶手 以正法纪

1、因杀人或与杀人有牵连的干部被判刑1——14年，被党内警告处分以上，行政被记过以上，共有52人（具体被什么样的处理详见《“文革”处遗》案卷）他们是：

罗模忠、覃廷多、彭银金（女）、张国政、
 韦明惯、谭启高、韦武平、韦英瑜、韦善主、龙振党、
 覃太波、黄斗朋、李国华、韦德森、黄土硬、李世强、
 李耀基、张太保、覃许钰、龙正安、陈武康、朱绍康、
 廖宪祯、卢银田、吴胜芳、莫朗华、胡月华、李秀新、
 黄龙收、黄启明、黄开强、潘齐隆、陈彪、韦东欣、
 谭炳辉、韩步信、黎信珊、覃甫备、韦日光、吴梦禾、
 谭长苗、覃振权、韦文湘、韦荣忠、武桂发、覃世安、
 陈竟明、陈水春、华群、韦忠福、韦铁委、周胜松、

2、杀人或与杀人有牵连的农民81人，他们是：
 覃家成、黄太广、黄明海、韦旭芳、韦扬正、韦建
 升、覃兴强、覃敏瑶、李社光、李宏基、廖炳辰、廖
 天栈、梁少秋、廖炳勤、张榜刚、谭启界、谭长弟、
 谭建华、谭晨彰、谭正猛、苏志耿、陈锦福、陈木
 生、陈凤飞、陈有芬、方绪廷、方绪仁、周应桥、周
 达民、甘祖扬、雷保英、江超华、黄培刚、韦琼雅、
 韦善针、覃延笋、廖正年、潘造华、潘培龙、张崇
 桂、谭正蕊、陈木兴、陈日照、赵土金、卢启珠、江
 超云、黄宽宏、黄建赛、覃太松、李群、廖亮生、廖
 力玲、谭善志、谭正项、甘维亮、吴祖喜、梁树明、
 谭建田、林武祥、李炳端、方绪远、陈有信、甘德
 柳、张国命、梁家道、黄祥、陈志明、陈业雄、龚海
 龙、王春荣、覃风经、韦炳文、樊日明、龚培民、潘
 茂兰、梁春林、周善迪、谢朝荣、张德标、张其灶。

3、因杀人或与杀人有牵连被判刑3年以上——

7年的工人，居民4人，他们是：黄殿娥（工人）、居民是：黄炳坤、朱桂才、何岩生、

第四、《丧失人性人吃人》（节录）

臭名远扬 影响久远

纵观历史，原始社会生产力极不发达，对老死者或奴隶及战俘被杀吃肉的现象，随着生产力的提高，精神文明、社会道德日益发展，人吃人的不人道行为已绝迹。然而，十九世纪六十年代，人类精神文明、物质文明已高度发展的情况下，武宣县在“文革”期间，有七十五名死者被挖肝吃肉，这种丧失人性、愚昧无知的“返古”人吃人的离奇行为，县外国内曾蜚声一时，丑闻传奇”不翼而飞。

作为“文革”十年动乱，到一九七六年是结束了，但其不良影响却远没有结束。

参与吃人肉的人毕竟是少数，他却给武宣各族人民脸上抹黑，影响极坏，在武宣的史册上记下了极不光彩的一页。

惩前毖后 引以为戒

1、党员干部因吃人肉受开除党籍或清除出党的共二十七人，他们是：

韦善端	韦习梅	覃明贵	覃太浪	覃志田
黄启焕	覃天英	覃扬美	韦仁生	韦保胜

325

韦忠局	方健	韦荣昆	黄忠宽	黄春联
黄恩范	黄有福	傅屏坤	谭绍雅	罗茂熙
苏宏强	何振传	廖国荣	廖荣保	翁梅桂
何超	覃荣光			

2、非党员干部因吃人肉受行政记大过、开除干部籍、行政开除留用的共十八人，他们是：

甘兰光	甘绍典	李汉南	何德恩	韦世锐
何开美	梁干仁	覃克开	苏启明	潘业球
余悦荣	潘业仁	华灿勋	覃廉风	黄德才
黄祖流	韦德浩	雷迅培		

3、党员工人因吃人肉受开除（清除）出党、留党察看的共五人：

龙集	陈德星	梁家力	韦祖美	郭运虎
----	-----	-----	-----	-----

4、非党工人因吃人肉受行政记大过、降工资、行政开除留用的共二十一人：

谭振芳	林广发	钟桂华	覃素文（女）
苏炳芳	廖志明	雷桂源	陈振夫
赖锦池	黄元好	莫修理	万宝先
曾发扬	黄忠基	梁任兴	黄合意
原廉超	莫永兴	覃许穆	甘灵生
黄海初			

5、农民党员因吃人肉，受开除党籍或清除出党的共五十九人，他们是：

何少海	苏炳定	覃允雅	苏大促	潘宏珠
陆祖瑞	吴顺纯	黄有成	黄瑞有	黄善格

黄恒荣	黄炳甫	韦昌体	韦福固	韦可能
韦伦想	张大禄	覃定民	覃玉禄	覃纪更
覃善奎	李灿生	廖太成	梁瑞堂	梁家道
廖朝仁	陆文杯	张振荡	陆瑞明	陆瑞硬
陆瑞轩	罗先全	陆世调	赖永福	黎保清
罗文秀	方宽堂	何开少	何德南	何德英
樊明光	黄世福	甘贤炳	甘树昌	蓝太兴
莫桂	李·明	韦炳亮	韦昌喜	覃汉强
覃寿棉	樊汉安	张超旋	陆运初	陆瑞路
陆瑞说		甘家党	卢志运	



LAOGAI RESEARCH FOUNDATION

TEL: 202 408 8300

FAX: 202 408 8302

EMAIL: laogai@laogai.org

WEBSITE: laogai.org

1734 20th St NW, Washington, DC 20009

OCT 2013