

# 1947至1948年于子三慘案 與國共兩黨、竺可楨三方的各自對策\*

賀江楓

南開大學歷史學院

1947年浙江大學學生自治會主席于子三身死牢獄，浙大學生掀起大規模的「反迫害、爭自由」運動，自10月26日延續至次年3月14日，不僅成為浙大學生運動的高潮，上海、北平等地學生更因此罷課請願。浙大中共地下組織稱于子三運動「作為一九四七年學運高潮的結束和一九四八年學運新高潮的開始，是有它深刻的意義的，因為于子三運動恰恰發生在歷史的轉捩點上，它本身就成為學生愛國民主運動的一個轉捩點」。<sup>1</sup>蔣介石也因于子三慘案震驚不已，在其日記中感歎道：「浙大于生自殺，匪又鼓動令圖大學罷課之，學潮一時聲勢洶湧，社會以物價與學潮更加動盪」。<sup>2</sup>

相較於于案在當時社會所產生的鉅大影響，學界對該案的關注相對有限，或認為于案是「浙江境內配合全國範圍內人民解放戰爭的第二條戰線」，或將于案定性為中共的「戰線化學潮」。過往研究受主客觀條件限制，即便于子三究竟是自殺抑或被害，仍舊是各執一詞，難有定論，所依據的史料均極為片面。至於浙大校方與國民政府對學潮的處理措施，更是知之甚少，史實的建構仍有待深化。<sup>3</sup>筆者利用多方檔案，重新探究于子三的死亡真相，重點展現中共、浙大校方竺可楨、國民政府等多方力量在于子三學潮期間相互博弈與運作的過程，試圖通過研究于案，深化對戰後學運史及國共內戰史多重面相的理解與認知。

---

\* 本文承蒙五位匿名審稿人提出富有建設性的修改意見，筆者受益匪淺，謹此致謝。

<sup>1</sup> 〈踏著血跡前進——于子三運動回顧〉，載國立浙江大學一〇二九慘案處理委員會（編）：《踏著血跡前進：于子三運動紀念刊》（內部刊物，1948年），頁1。

<sup>2</sup> 《蔣介石日記》，1947年11月30日，《上月反省錄》，美國史丹佛大學Hoover Archives藏。

<sup>3</sup> 涉及于案的論著主要包括袁成毅：《民國浙江政局研究（1927-1949）》（北京：中國社會科學出版社，2007年）；浙江大學校史編寫組（編）：《浙江大學簡史》（杭州：浙江大學出版社，1996年）；廖風德：《學潮與戰後中國政治：1945-1949》（臺北：東大圖書股份有限公司，1994年）；李景先等（編）：《于子三運動：于子三烈士殉難四十周年紀念文集》（杭州：浙江大學出版社，1987年）。

# After Death: A Study of the Yu Zisan Incident, 1947–1948

(Abstract)

He Jiangfeng

Yu Zisan, a member of the CCP's affiliated organization, was arrested and then tortured to death in 1947. After his death, the KMT authority of Zhejiang province not only delayed announcing the news, but also fabricated conversation transcripts and circumstances of death. Meanwhile, through the students' union of Zhejiang University, the CCP had been developing a student movement that boycotted classes. However, as the processes of the student movement began, the CCP's estimation of the initial situation was overly optimistic, and subsequently, it moderated the movement's strategy. Zhu Kezhen, as Zhejiang University's Chancellor, thought that university students should have the freedom of belief, but not of political activity. Zhu approved solving the Yu incident through legal channels, but faced a dilemma in reality as result of the confrontational KMT-CCP situation. Although Chiang Kai-shek demanded the Zhejiang authorities strictly punish students, he was reluctant to express his opinion openly. Zhang Chun asked Zhejiang authorities to make the truth known to the public. Thus, Zhejiang authorities were initial extremely careful, opening details of the Yu incident in order to change public ideas, adjudging other students in public, and announcing temporary martial law to suppress the student movement. The Ministry of Education mediated the difference of opinions between Zhejiang University and the local authorities. With the student movement continuing, regardless of the Zhejiang authorities or the Ministry of Education decision to suppress it, ultimately the beating death occurred. After the Yu Zisan student movement, these Zhejiang University students became more radical. This case study can clarify the historical facts, and also show the dilemma that universities faced in the period of civil war.

**關鍵詞：**于子三慘案 竺可楨 國民政府 中共

**Keywords:** Yu Zisan incident, Zhu Kezhen, The Nationalist Government, CCP