

黄金生：令人谈虎色变的“文革”专案组 The Terrifying Special Case Groups of the "Cultural Revolution"

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FN 041 – Huang Jinsheng on CCEG and Kang Sheng

“文革”时期的中央专案组是在 1966 年 5 月与中央文革小组同时成立的，如果说中央文革小组是文化大革命中煽起动乱的第一个环节，那么，中央专案组则是最后一个环节，它负责为中央文革小组发起的行动作最后的定案。其权力超越当时曾经存在过的中央监察委员会和中央组织部，更是远远大于公检法机构。

株连群众达 1 亿人

中央专案组发端于专案审查委员会。随着斗争的深入更名为中央专案组，而且制度化，变成一个半永久性的机构。中央专案组负责决定整人、揪斗、隔离、逮捕等等，超越于党章和宪法，凌驾于党组织和政法机构之上。

中央专案审查小组下面设立三个办公室，简称一办、二办、三办。一办主要负责中央、国家机关的负责人以及各省、市、自治区、直辖市的党政负责人的专案审查，一办下属彭真专案组、刘少奇专案组、“薄一波等六十一人叛徒”专案组、陶铸专案组、张闻天专案组等等。二办主要负责军队系统内部的高级将领的专案审查，下属贺龙专案组、彭德怀专案组、罗瑞卿专案组等等。三办主要负责公检法系统的领导干部的专案，下属“五一六反革命阴谋集团专案组”、“抓叛徒专案组”等等。

在“文革”时期，整个专案组(包含中央和地方各层)调查过大约 200 万个各级干部。据席宣、金春明所著《“文化大革命”简史》介绍，仅中央、国家机关副部长和地方副省长以上的高级干部，被立案审查的即占总人数的 75% 左右。在审查中，滥用专政手段，大搞逼供信，制造了数以百万计的冤假错案，加上受牵连的亲属和有各种社会联系的人，全国被株连的群众达 1 亿人。

不给任何申诉机会

在诸多专案组中，“刘少奇专案组”是最突出的一个。专案组最后将刘少奇定性为“叛徒、内奸、工贼”。专案组取证并审理的手段主要是弄虚作假、逼供信。1966 年 12 月下旬，在还没有进行调查取证的情况下，江青、康生等人在不同场合中提到刘少奇时总要毫无根据地冠以“反革命”、“大叛徒”等帽子。谢富治曾对专案组工作人员说：“对刘、邓、陶要作拼死的斗争，坚决打倒。办案就是伟大的革命，就是你死我活的斗争。”1968 年 3 月，江青在八个专案组会议上说：“刘少奇是个大叛徒、大内奸、大特务，小将整理的材料，比你们整理得好。你们现在的材料有进展，但有好多东西没有超过红卫兵的材料。”谢富治在中央专案小组办公室会议上说：“所有列入专案的，都是反对以毛主席为首的无产阶级司令部的人，要同这些人作坚决的不可调和的斗争，绝不能施仁政，不能妥协。”康生说：“现在打的是尖锐的隐蔽的国共战争，没有坚

强的阶级立场，专案是搞不好的。”当办案人员稍有不慎，或有不同意见，轻者被他们斥为“右倾”，重者逮捕入狱，有的受到处分或送回原单位挨批。“刘少奇、王光美专案组”的领导班子换了三次，有两人被关进监狱。

专案组还剥夺被审查人申辩、申诉的权利。无论是刘少奇、王光美本人，还是那些牵连进来的审查对象，都没有机会也不准许为自己辩护、申诉。专案组在存在的3年时间里，从未同刘少奇、王光美接触过，一次也没有听取过他们的申述。对其他受到牵连的人和“嫌疑人员”，一旦被列为审查对象、就只能交代问题，不能申辩和上诉。这些人只要一为自己辩解，便被斥为“不老实”、“翻案”，受到更加严厉的批斗。审讯时为自己辩护的供词，不写入审讯记录，不准写书面材料，写出了也被扣压，不让办案人员上报和转送。

为获取口供，专案组先后以莫须有的罪名关押了一批人。其中有很多是高级干部、高级知识分子、民主人士，也有普通的居民、炊事员、保姆。据不完全统计，被专案组直接关押的有64人。至于因专案需要或稍有嫌疑而由有关部门、单位收审的，那就更多了。

折磨手段花样百出

贺龙专案组是“二办”的第一要案，由康生亲自抓。这个专案组又下设十几个专案组，如“王尚荣专案组”、“许光达专案组”、“廖汉生专案组”等等，这些专案组采用刑讯、逼供、诱供和制造伪证等方式进行审讯。据贺晓明在《贺龙元帅的最后十年》一书中记述：廖汉生的专案人员在他的床头吊了一个三百瓦的大灯泡，不交代“贺龙乞降通敌情况”，就整宿整宿不能睡觉；王尚荣被整天罚站，不准解小手，硬逼他交代所谓的“贺龙罪行”；顿星云因拒绝参与诬陷贺龙和许光达，被专案人员猛一拳打瞎了一只眼；工程兵副司令员谭友林被连续几昼夜地突击审讯，险些死于狱中……

被迫害最惨的是许光达大将。打手们故意将面条倒在楼梯上，逼迫他趴下去舔了吃。他多次被打手们打得心脏病发作昏死过去。1969年许光达已报病危，专案组仍加紧审讯。5月31日，许已卧床不起，专案组还将他拖下地向毛泽东像请罪。在之后的第三天，许光达在既无医护人员看护，又未获准亲属陪护的情况下，惨死于病房厕所的马桶上。

与之类似，“文革”中其他专案组也大搞逼供信，制造了一批又一批的冤假错案。

“文革”结束后，主管中央级重大案件的领导以一些案件经过主席批准为由，拒绝向组织部交出这些案件的档案材料，在胡耀邦、陈云等努力下，在十一届三中全会召开之前，中央专案组终于不得不将管辖的所谓“大案要案”，全都转交中组部重新复查。一系列冤假错案开始被平反昭雪。党的十一届三中全会最终决定：过去那种脱离党和群众的监督，设立专案机构审查干部的方式，弊病极大，必须永远废止。不久，中央专案组被撤销。

DeepL translation

The Central Special Case Group "Cultural Revolution" was set up in May 1966 at the same time as the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and if one said that the Central Cultural Revolution Group was the first segment of the Cultural Revolution to incite unrest, then, the central special case group was the last link that was responsible for the final decision on actions initiated by the central Cultural Revolution group. Its power was beyond any that had ever existed with the Central Control

Commission or the Central Organization Department, and was far greater than the public security agencies.

The masses implicated were up to 100 million people

Central special case group originated in the special case examination Committee. **With the deepening of the struggle changed its name to the Central Special Case Group, and it was institutionalized, becoming a semi-permanent institution.** Central special case group is responsible for determining persecution, dragging out for struggle, isolation, arrests, etc., beyond the Party Charter and the Constitution, above party organization and law agencies.

Below the special case examination group were three central offices, abbreviated Office 1, Office 2, and Office 3. Office 1 was mainly responsible for special case examinations for Central and State Council responsible persons, and for party and government responsible persons at the provincial, municipal, autonomous region and directly subordinate city level, below Office 1 were the Peng Zhen Special Case Group, the Liu Shaoqi Special Case Group, the "Bo Yibo 61 Traitors" Special Case Group, Tao Zhu Special Case Group, Zhang Wentian Special Case Group, etc. Office 2 was mainly for special case investigations of internal military senior generals, and below it were the He Long Special Case Group, the Peng Dehuai Special Case Group, the Luo Ruiqing Special Case Group, etc. Office 3 was mainly for special cases among senior responsible persons of the security apparatus, below it were the "May 16 Counterrevolutionary Conspiratorial Clique" special case group, the "grabbing traitors special case group, etc.

During the "Cultural Revolution" period, the entire special case group (including central and local layers) investigated approximately two million cadres at all levels. According to the introduction to the book, *A Brief History of the "Cultural Revolution,"* by Xi Xuan and Jin Chunming, is only officials above the level of vice Minister of the Center or State Council, and deputy provincial governor of the local areas were investigated, which was about 75% of the total number. In the reviews, they abused the methods of dictatorship, did a lot of forced confessions, creating millions of miscarriages of justice, **additionally involving relatives and people with all kinds of social ties, the number of implicated masses nation-wide was up to 100 million people.**

Do not give any chance to appeal

Among the many special case groups, the "Liu Shaoqi special case group" was one of the most prominent ones. Finally, the special case group determined Liu Shaoqi as a "renegade, traitor and scab." The evidence heard by the special case group was mainly fraudulent, confession under duress. In late December 1966, when the investigation had not begun collecting evidence, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others when they mentioned Liu Shaoqi on various occasions always without foundation, labeled him as a "counter-revolutionary" and a "traitor." Xie Fuzhi told the special case group staff: "We must carry out a life-and-death struggle with Liu, Deng, and Tao and resolutely bring them down. The handling of this case is a great revolution, it is a struggle to the death." In March 1968, at a meeting of 8 special case groups, Jiang Qing said: "Liu Shaoqi is a big renegade, big traitor, big spy, the materials arranged by the little generals is better than yours. Now your materials has made some progress, but many things still don't exceed the Red Guard materials." At a Central Special Case Group meeting, Xie Fuzhi said: "All those who have been included on investigation lists, are opposed to the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, we must resolutely fight an irreconcilable battle with these people, we can never be benevolent, we cannot compromise." Kang Sheng said: "Now what we are fighting is a sharp, covert KMT-CCP war, if they don't have a strong class standpoint, the special case group might not do things well." When investigators made the slightest mistake, or had different views, the light punishment was dismissal as "rightists," severe punishment might get imprisonment, and some

were disciplined or sent back to their units for criticism." Liu Shaoqi, Wang Guangmei special case group" leadership changed three times, and two were jailed.

People examined by the Special case group also were deprived of the right of self-defense and the right of appeal. Whether Liu Shaoqi, Wang Guangmei themselves, or any of those subjected to investigation, they had no opportunity, nor were they permitted to defend themselves or appeal their cases. In the three years of the Liu Shaoqi special case group's existence, they had no contact with Liu Shaoqi or Wang Guangmei, nor did they hear their explanations even once. To other people implicated with the "suspects", once one is listed as a target of investigation, one can only explain a problem, one cannot defend oneself or appeal. As soon as these people defend themselves, it is dismissed as "not honest", "reversal of verdict", subject to even harsher criticism. The confessions defending oneself at the trial are not written into the trial records, are not allowed to write written materials, and those written down are withheld. They are not reported or transferred by the case handlers.

To obtain confessions, the special case group has detained a group of people rumped-up charges. Many of them are senior cadres, intellectuals, democrats, but also ordinary residents, cooks, nannies. **According to incomplete statistics, the special case group has incarcerated 64 people. But the number needed as a result of the special case or are a little suspect and remanded by the relevant departments and units, was much greater.**

Torture by Many Means

He Long special case group was "Office 2's" first important case, personally grasped by Kang Sheng. The case group had about a dozen sub-groups, such as the "Wang Shangrong special case group", "Xu Guangda special case group", the "Liao Hansheng special case group" and the like, these groups used physical torture, forced confessions, entrapment, false evidence and forgery to carry out their investigations. According to a description in He Xiaoming's book, *The Last Decade of Marshal He Long*: Liao Hansheng special case group staff hung a three hundred watt light bulb large at the head of his bed, if he did not give up "He Long collaborators requirements and circumstances" it would be turned on and off so he would not be able to sleep; Wang Shangrong was left standing all day, not allowed to urinate, and forced to explain so-called "He Long crimes"; Dun Xingyun, because he refused to entrap He Long and Xu Guangda, the special case group staff beat him fiercely, blinding him in one eye; Engineering Corps deputy commander Tan Youlin was brutally interrogated for several days and nights continuously, nearly died in prison

The one persecuted worst was General Xu Guangda. Thugs deliberately threw noodles down on the stairs and forced him to get down to lick and eat them. He was repeatedly beaten by thugs to the point that his heart disease caused him to faint. In 1969 Xu Guangda was reported in critical condition, the special case group still stepped up his trial. On May 31, Xu was bedridden, the special case group still dragged him to the floor to confess his crimes to Mao Zedong. After the third day, Xu Guangda was neither in medical care, nor was he given permission for his family to help him, and he died tragically in the ward toilet.

Similarly, during the "Cultural Revolution" other special case group also vigorously forced confessions under duress, manufacturing batch after batch of miscarriages of justice.

After the "Cultural Revolution" ended, the leaders in charge of major cases at the central level, on the grounds that the Chairman had approved them, refused to give the files and archival materials for these cases to the Organization Department, and under the efforts of Hu Yaobang and Chen Yun, before the 3rd Plenum of the 11th CC, the Special Case Group had to take all the "big and important cases" and turn them all over to the Organization Department for reinvestigation. A series of false and wrong cases

began to be rehabilitated. The Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party finally decided that in the past, the supervision of the Party and the masses to set up specialized agencies to review cadres was extremely unhealthy and must be abolished forever. Soon, the central special case group was revoked. always be annulled. Soon, the central special case group was abolished.