

康生问题被揭露始末 Kang Sheng Issue From Beginning to End

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FN 60 – Cheng Guanjun on Kang Sheng Issue from Beginning to End

中共中央统战部原部长、全国政协原副主席阎明复曾撰文回忆说，他在上世纪 90 年代曾听原国家主席杨尚昆谈到过康生历史上的一些情况。毛主席曾对杨尚昆说：“康生这个人极‘左’。在抢救运动中极‘左’，现在也没改掉这个毛病。”

“康生是鬼不是人”——这是“文革”后陈云对康生的评价。

康生问题的揭露是彻底否定“文化大革命”的关键，更是拨乱反正的关键。

1976 年 10 月 6 日，中央一举粉碎“四人帮”。此后的一段时间内，全党全国上下虽然都在深揭猛批“四人帮”，但康生问题一直没有被揭露，这就给彻底否定“文革”、实现拨乱反正带来了一定障碍。

【康生把持中央党校 20 多年】

中央党校是“真理标准讨论”的发端之地，但“文革”时期却是重灾区。该校被康生把持长达 20 多年，破坏成了个烂摊子。1956 年八大后，康生被重新启用，当选中央政治局候补委员，并从 1957 年起分管党校。“文革”前

期和“文革”时期，康生在党校先后诬陷迫害中央党校原校长、著名哲学家杨献珍和曾任刘少奇秘书、后任中央党校校长和全国人大副委员长的林枫，制造了大批冤案。

在中央党校，康生被尊称为“康老”，他的妻子曹轶欧则被尊称为“曹大姐”。有时康生到党校视察，随时看到一个人，突然冒出一句：“我看你这个人不像个好人”，这个人很快就会被打成反革命。提起康生，曾担任过胡

耀邦秘书的中央党校原副校长陈维仁说：“康生的头上有‘两顶桂冠’；我也送给他三个称号，康生是‘四人帮’的教父，‘文革’的罪魁，党内最大的‘棍子’。”

“文革”期间，中央党校原副校长刘海藩与康生有过一次“狭路相逢”。

1966 年 6 月初，迫于康生的高压，林枫在党校成立了“文革”办公室。当时刚从中国人民大学毕业的刘海藩被调来负责写简报，主要是将党校开展“文革”的动态及时上报中

央。

在康生的一手策划下，林枫于1966年8月19日被造反派批斗。为煽动党校群众继续陷害林枫和刘少奇，1966年8月30日下午，康生在人民大会堂福建厅召开“50人座谈会”，康生讲话长达4个小时，反复讲党校阶级斗争的“盖子”又大、又深、又厚、又黑，说党校是反毛泽东思想的黑阵地，反无产阶级革命的“黑堡垒”，修正主义的“黑据点”，叛徒特务的“黑窝子”，资产阶级思想的“黑染缸”。讲了四个“黑”之后，康生突然话锋一转：“党校报来的70多期简报，完全是与无产阶级革命对抗的，我越看越生气。简报是什么人负责写的？”这时刘海藩正在台下听得发懵，突然听到康生在叫是什么人写的简报，着实吃了一惊。这时有人喊：“刘海藩写的。”康生问：“他来了吗？”“来了！”几个造反派齐声回答。“刘海藩站起来！”一个造反派吼叫。刘海藩坐的位子正好与康生妻子曹轶欧挨着。看到这情形，曹轶欧就说：“刘海藩，康老叫你，你站起来嘛！”刘海藩不情

愿地站了起来。康生厉声问道：“简报是谁叫你写的？”刘海藩有几分紧张地回答：“是组织上安排我写的。”“什么组织？”康生越来越严厉。“当然是党组织。”康生愤怒地反问：“哪个党组织？”刘海藩预感到灾难来临且已经躲不过去了，于是这位湖南青年的辣椒味冒出来了，他一字一句地回答：“中国共产党！”康生没想到这么个小人物竟然对自己大不敬，气急败坏地吼道：“你什么东西！”刘海藩强忍着没有再说话。康生抖动着手头的简

报接着说：“你写的这些简报是共产党的话吗？你执行的完全是资产阶级反动路线，你是替林枫说话的黑笔杆子、黑爪牙！”

当晚，刘海藩就被造反派抄了家。

【中央党校整风会议引燃康生问题“第一把火”】

1977年3月，中共中央决定：恢复中央党校，中共中央主席华国锋兼任中央党校校长，汪东兴副主席任第一副校长，胡耀邦任副校长。由于当时中央党校还是造反派掌权，胡耀邦到党校抓的第一件大事就是召开“整风会议”，实际上是进一步深入揭批“四人帮”，解决“文革”遗留问题。

1977年9月3日，在中央党校的“整风会议”上，王富长在发言中首次揭发康生和曹轶欧的问题。他揭露了康生的“十个问题”：

一、一直把持党校，说党校是“长期反毛泽东思想的顽固堡垒”，给党校的同志们套上叛徒、特务、走资派等精神枷锁。

二、对待党校群众组织问题上支持一派，打压一派，使很多干部群众受到摧残。

三、指使造反派在党校大骂朱德、叶剑英、陈毅等老师，并编辑出版《林彪选集》、《林彪语录》。

四、康生、曹轶欧在党校搞“清队”和“整党”问题上，颠倒敌我关系，致使大批的干部群众受到审查、关押、开除、遣送。

五、康生、曹轶欧在党校乱点名的问题。康、曹在党校动辄说某某是反革命、叛徒、黑帮、修正主义分子。（实际上与第四个问题是一回事）

六、康生在对待李广文（曾任中共山东省委书记处书记，中央党校一部主任、校务委员会委员等职）问题的处理上出尔反尔。

七、党校的“五七”干校的办校方向违反毛主席关于办好“五七”干校的精神。

八、党校的“五七”干校的办校方针有问题。（实际上与第七个问题是一回事）

九、康、曹包庇造反派头头。

十、康生把持党校期间，其亲信和党羽为“四人帮”篡党夺权大造舆论。

康生虽然于1975年12月16日因病撒手人寰，但在死后的悼词上，他却被封为“伟大的无产阶级革命家”和“光荣的反修战士”。当时这“两顶桂冠”还在，并且曹轶欧还活着，又在党的十一大上当选为中央委员。王富长的发言石破天惊，无异于在第一教室投下了一枚磅炸弹。对于王富长的揭发，胡耀邦是比较慎重的。他在会上说，一个党员对现在的领导，对过去的领导有意见，可以不可以提呢？我看有意见是可以提的。这是符合我们党的组织原则的……但是提意见必须遵守以下几条：第一，必须实事求是。为什么要提意见，主要是为了分清是非，要摆事实，讲道理，防止不实之词，污蔑更不允许，要把颠倒了的是非颠倒过来。第二，只在我们党的会议上提。党章规定，在党的会议上可以批评任何人。在党的会议上提意见是合法的，是党员的权利，是不可侵犯的，不可剥夺的。没有参加会议的同志怎么办？每个党员如有意见，可找组织谈，或者写材料交给组织。这一条我提议作为这个会议的纪律，不搞小广播，搞小广播性质就变了，是自由主义了。第三，只在会上讲，或写书面材料，不贴大字报。第四，意见提了后怎么落实，怎么办？如实向华主席，向几位副主席反映。请华主席、党中央去决定。

从目前公开的历史材料看，这是粉碎“四人帮”后第一次在公开场合提出揭发康生问题。会后，“整风会议”材料组的陈文斌、刘立中两位同志根据王富长的发言整理了一份书面材料，按照耀邦的要求上报中央。

王富长为什么敢公开揭露康生？他说，当时虽然“四人帮”被粉碎了，但康生问题依然是

禁区，对康生和曹轶欧依然要称康老和曹大姐。公开揭露康生，他心中也有一定顾虑。但他之所以敢挺身而出，主要有三方面原因：一是在经过一段时间“整风会议”的揭发和讨论后，逐步认清了“文革”的本质，同时感觉“文革”中党校问题的罪魁祸首就是康生。至于揭发康生会不会有风险，他认为风险是有，但大环境已改变了，“四人帮”毕竟倒台了，过去那一套站不住脚了，站出来揭发康生也不会被打成反革命了。第二个原因是，王富长曾被评为全国青年标兵，对曾在团中央工作的胡耀邦有感情。在发言前的一个月，王富长在电视和报纸上看到中央党校的造反派武某（康生的党羽）竟然还与华主席一起坐在主席台上，他就冒昧地给华主席写了一封信，揭发武某与江青有密切联系。后来，曾任中央党校副校长的李一非和副教育长牟泽衍对他说：“耀邦同志很关心你！”听了这话，王富长预感到是他写给华主席的信引起了耀邦同志的注意。第三个原因就是，王富长不是从事理论工作的，对康生问题没有更多的思想顾虑。王富长在“整风会议”上的揭发，成为引燃康生问题的“第一把火”，这把火正伴随着拨乱反正的罡风越烧越旺。

【胡耀邦在敏感时刻间接出手支持】

1977年12月3日，中央党校哲学研究室教员李公天去找哲学研究室副主任韩树英，告诉他从朋友处听来的曹轶欧去世的消息，并提议贴小字报揭发康生。

韩树英说：“应该揭发，但这不是个小事情，我们要去请示一下耀邦同志，况且在他的上边还有汪东兴和华国锋。”李公天找到胡耀邦的秘书梁金泉，对他谈了揭露康生的想法。梁表示要向耀邦同志汇报。据曾担任胡耀邦秘书的陈维仁说，对于康生这个人，耀邦非常厌恶。陈维仁记得，每当提起康生，耀邦从来不说其名字，而是用食指在鼻子下边一划说：“那个人”（康生的上唇一直留着胡子）。12月3日是星期六，本来胡耀邦已决定不回城里了，但听了梁金泉汇报后，当即决定回城里的家中。他的目的是回城里打听消息。

12月5日星期一，胡耀邦一到办公室就对梁金泉说：“这个李公天，不好好念书，却去打探小道消息，曹轶欧根本就没有死！”刚上班李公天就去找梁金泉打探消息，这时才知道自己得到的消息不准确。他问梁金泉：“那么小字报还可不可以贴呢？”梁金泉说：“你们自己看着办吧！”李公天又找韩树英，韩树英说：“为了慎重起见，你再去问问副教育长冯文彬，看他什么态度。”

12月8日早8点前，李公天就来到冯文彬家中说：“现在中央对康生没有表态，而且有人还要保他。在这种情况下，我们考虑到不给耀邦同志惹麻烦，打算不贴大字报，而贴小字报，不贴在室外，而贴在16楼室内走廊墙上。”

16楼是教务处所在的地方，学员常来常往，能看到小字报，这就能把康生问题端到全国去。不知这样做行不行？”冯文彬说：“我要征求耀邦同志意见。”中午一下班，李公天又来到冯文彬家中，冯文彬对他说：“耀邦同志讲了，贴康生的小字报这件事，我们既不提倡，也不反对。”李公天高兴地说：“这个态度就是对我们广大干部和群众的极大支持。我们决定贴出去了。中央如果怪罪下来，责任完全由我们来负。”李公天又找了哲学教研室的韩树英、吴秉

元、卢俊忠、吴义生、毛卫平，中午就把小字报写了出来。由于吴秉元表示自己要单独署名写一份，韩树英、李公天、卢俊忠、吴义生、毛卫平就五个人联合署名写了一份。当天下午，他们就把两份小字报都贴在了16楼的走廊里（哲学教研室就在16楼办公）。

小字报指出：所谓“康生路线”，实质上与林彪、“四人帮”的路线是同一路线。

当晚，有人向胡耀邦报告说16楼有人贴出了揭康生的小字报，胡耀邦当即兴奋地披起大衣对梁金泉说：“走，看看去！”梁金泉劝阻说：“耀邦同志，你不知道这件事啊！”耀邦听了，先是一怔，接着便会意地笑着说：“对对，我不知道！”

12月9日，到16楼观看小字报的人特别多，有党校教员，也有学员，许多高级班学员也纷纷来看，多数人看完后沉默无语。直到晚上，还有人打着手电筒来看。这天，胡耀邦不顾秘书的劝阻也去看了小字报。看完后，他对秘书说：“你懂我的意思了吗？我们来看小字报，这就是一种支持。贴‘那个人’的小字报，我不提倡，也不反对。我们要把被‘四人帮’颠倒的一切是非通通颠倒过来，对谁有意见你们都可以提，不写大字报，可以写材料，小字报找个地方贴，校内外同志都可以看。”

有人贴出了揭康生的小字报的消息在中央党校不胫而走，一连几天，不但观看的人络绎不绝，并且小字报越贴越多，墙上很快就贴不下了，大家就在走廊里面拉起铁丝，把小字报挂在铁丝上。一楼挂不下，就顺着楼梯向二楼挂，煞是壮观。

由于学员们纷纷前来观看，这个消息很快就传到了全国各地。这里有必要交代的是，李公天曾在团中央机关工作，是胡耀邦和冯文彬的老部下。他认为当时揭批康生问题难度最大的是胡耀邦的上面还有华国锋和汪东兴，另一个让人顾虑的是汪东兴曾在社会部工作，是康生的老部下。正是有这些因素，为了稳妥起见，才使得他与韩树英采取了上述措施。

如果说中央党校“整风会议”上的揭发，是引燃康生问题的“第一把火”，那么，中央党校公开揭批康生问题的小字报，则向康生打响了“第一枪”。这一批判，掀起了中央党校的揭批康生运动，并迅速扩及全党、全国，从而为党的十一届三中全会揭露康生问题及以后中央对重大问题作出正确结论作了思想上舆论上的准备。

【历史的审判：向全党公布康生罪行】

在1978年11月的中央工作会议召开前，胡耀邦指示根据中央党校的揭发材料、造反派头头的笔记和中央组织部、中央联络部提供的材料，把康生点名诬陷、迫害的人，按姓名、职务、点名的时间和场合，以及所加的罪名，整理出一个名单，铅印成册，报给中央。这个材料揭露了在“文革”中被康生点名诬陷的共603人。其中党中央副主席、政治局委员、候补委员，国务院总理、副总理，全国人大常委会委员长、副委员长，国家主席、副主席33人；八届中央委员、候补中央委员58人，三届人大和四届政协常委93人；中央和国家机关部长、副部长91人；中央局和省、市、自治区党委书记、副书记，省长、副省长51人；人民解放军大军区一级干部11人。以上共计337人。其余266人，大部分也是老干部和社会知名人士。

1978年11月10至12月13日举行的中央工作会议上，陈云在东北组的发言中提出了康生问题。据于光远记述，陈云说：“‘文革’初期，康生同志是中央文革的顾问。康生同志那时随便点名，对在中央各部和全国各地造成党政机关的瘫痪状态是负有重大责任的。康生同志的错误是很严重的，中央应该在适当的会议上对康生同志的错误给予应有的批评。”

陈漫远（解放军后勤学院院长）在发言中共阐述了七条意见。他说，我听到的关于康生的几个问题，希望中央能够查清：

一、康生知道张春桥、江青是叛徒，为什么在临死时才要把张、江的叛徒问题报告给毛主席（以“四人帮”罪证材料之一章含之的信为证）。

二、康生在苏联时，曾组织了一小部分人，反对毛主席当党中央书记，拥护王明当书记。王明《为中共更加布尔什维克化而斗争》的小册子，就是王明伙同康生炮制的。据说书名还是康生议定的。

三、康生在延安时搞抢救运动，搞错了很多人，毛主席提出的九条纠偏指示，就是纠正康生造成这些错误的。

四、康生推荐江青和毛主席结婚，当时有人提出江青历史有问题，可是康生却保证江青历史没有问题。

五、康生在上海工作时，曾被国民党特务突审了两个小时，就当了国民党特务，干了很多坏事。丁肇中的祖父曾保留着这方面的材料，这个材料听说丁肇中已交给了中央。

六、全国解放后康生曾派中央党校两个人到全国各地查找两个托派分子。后来听说这两个托派分子在延安时已被康生下令枪毙了，他放心了。

七、“文化大革命”，康生掌握中央宣传、组织大权，还掌握了一、二、三办，并抓了很多人。

陈漫远最后说：“康生究竟是什么人，最好在党内讲清楚。”吕正操在华东组发言：“有人说‘人之将死，其言也善’，我看康生是‘其人将死，其计也毒’。”程子华、金如柏、马文瑞、萧克、韩光等也从不同方面揭发了康生的问题。

谈到康生问题，胡耀邦说，康生在“文革”中做了大量坏事，民愤极大，他不但给许许多多的人戴上叛徒、死不悔改走资派的帽子，甚至把朱委员长、叶副主席都放到“有严重问题，未定性”的人里面，还指使天津南开大学搞所谓“南方叛徒集团”，反周总理。

十一届三中全会上，中共中央组建了纪律检查委员会，中纪委成立了对林彪、“四人帮”案件审理工作领导小组，开始了对林彪、“四人帮”和康生等的审查工作。

1980年9月26日，中共中央发出《关于审判林彪、江青反革命集团案的通知》。9月29日，五届人大十六次会议决定：成立最高人民检察院特别检察厅，对林彪、江青反革命集团案进行检察起诉。在起诉书中，已去世五年的康生排在林、江之后，位列第三。

1980年10月，中共中央根据确凿证据，查明康生在“文革”期间所犯下的严重罪行，指出康生“政治品质表现恶劣，在‘文革’期间，直接参与林彪、江青等人篡党夺权的反革命阴谋活动，犯下严重罪行”。中共中央郑重决定：向全党公布康生的罪行，撤销原悼词，开除其党籍。与此同时，康生被列为林彪、江青反革命集团案16名主犯之一，接受历史的审判。康生的骨灰也从八宝山革命公墓迁出。这时的曹轶欧也一下子从政治的巅峰跌落到谷底，从此过起了隐居生活，直到1989年去世。

康生，这个阴谋家终于被钉在了历史的耻辱柱上。

据中央党校教授沈宝祥介绍，“文革”期间，曹轶欧曾让人把党校办公楼后面的10棵白皮松移栽到了位于颐和园东侧的党校南院。粉碎“四人帮”后，白皮松又被移了回来。如今，这10棵松树仍然枝繁叶茂、蔚然挺立，守卫着党校“实事求是”的校训。时间是真理的女儿，被颠倒了的是非，最终还是会被重新颠倒过来的。

（作者系《学习时报》记者、中央党校理论网编辑）

Kang Sheng issue revealed from the beginning to the end

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Yan Mingfu, former minister of the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and former vice chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), once wrote an article recalling that he had listened to the former President of the State Council, Mr. Yang Shangkun, talk about some of the

circumstances of Kang Sheng's history in the 90s of last century. Chairman Mao once told Yang Shangkun, "Kang Sheng is extremely 'leftist'. He was extremely 'leftist' in the salvage movement, and now he has not changed this fault."

"Kang Sheng is a ghost, not a human being"-this was Chen Yun's assessment of Kang Sheng after the Cultural Revolution.

The revelation of Kang Sheng's problem was the key to the complete rejection of the Cultural Revolution, and even more so, the key to the reorganization of the country.

On October 6, 1976, the Central Committee crushed the Gang of Four in one fell swoop. For a period of time after that, although the whole Party and the whole country were deeply exposing and criticizing the "Gang of Four", Kang Sheng's problem had not been exposed, which brought certain obstacles to the thorough denial of the "Cultural Revolution" and the realization of the righting of the wrongs.

Kang Sheng held the Central Party School for more than 20 years.

The Central Party School was the starting point of the "Standard of Truth Discussion", but it was the worst-hit area during the Cultural Revolution. After the Eighth National Congress in 1956, Kang Sheng was re-instated as an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CCPC), and from 1957 onwards, he was in charge of the Party School. "Before the Cultural Revolution

Before and during the Cultural Revolution, Kang Sheng framed and persecuted Yang Xianzhen, a famous philosopher and former president of the Central Party School, and Lin Feng, who was Liu Shaoqi's secretary, then president of the Central Party School and vice chairman of the National People's Congress, creating a large number of wrongful convictions at the Party School.

At the Central Party School, Kang Sheng was honored as "Kang Lao", and his wife Cao Yio was honored as "Cao Da Sister". Sometimes when Kang Sheng visited the Party School, he would see a person and suddenly say, "I don't think you are a good person", and the person would soon be labeled as a counter-revolutionary. Speaking of Kang Sheng, Hu

Chen Weiren, former vice president of the Central Party School, who had served as Hu Yaobang's secretary, said, "Kang Sheng has 'two laurels' on his head; I also give him three titles: Kang Sheng is the godfather of the 'Gang of Four', the culprit of the 'Cultural Revolution', and the leader of the Party's 'Civic Revolution'. I also gave him three titles: Kang Sheng is the godfather of the 'Gang of Four', the culprit of the 'Cultural Revolution', and the biggest 'stick' in the Party."

"During the Cultural Revolution, Liu Haifan, former vice president of the Central Party School, had a "narrow encounter" with Kang Sheng.

In early June 1966, forced by Kang Sheng's high-pressure, Lin Feng set up a "Cultural Revolution" office at the Party School. Liu Haifan, who had just graduated from Renmin University of China, was transferred to write briefings, mainly to report the developments of the "Cultural Revolution" in the Party School to the central government.

On August 19, 1966, under Kang Sheng's planning, Lin Feng was criticized by the rebels. In order to incite the masses of the Party School to continue to frame Lin Feng and Liu Shaoqi, Kang Sheng held a "50-member symposium" in the Fujian Hall of the Great Hall of the People in the afternoon of August 30, 1966, in which Kang Sheng gave a speech lasting four hours, repeatedly saying that the "lid" of the class struggle in the Party School was big, deep, thick and dark, and that the "lid" of the class struggle in the Party School was big, deep, thick and dark. Deep, thick and black, he said that the Party schools were black positions against Mao Zedong Thought, "black forts" against the proletarian revolution, "black strongholds" of revisionism, "black nests" of traitors and agents, and "black dens" of bourgeois ideology. and the "black tank" of bourgeois thought. After talking about the four "blacks", Kang Sheng suddenly changed his words.

After speaking about the four "blacks", Kang Sheng suddenly changed his tone: "The 70-odd briefings from the Party school are completely antagonistic to the proletarian revolution, and the more I read of them, the angrier I get. Who was responsible for writing the briefings?" At this time Liu Hai-fan was listening in confusion on the stage, and suddenly heard Kang Sheng calling out who wrote the briefings, and was really taken aback. At this time someone shouted: "Liu Hai-fan wrote it." Kang Sheng asked, "Is he here?" "Coming!" Several rebels answered in unison. "Liu Haifan stand up!" A rebel yelled. Liu Haifan was sitting right next to Kang Sheng's wife, Cao Yio. Seeing this, Cao Yio said, "Liu Hai Fan, Kang is calling you, stand up!" Liu Haifan reluctantly

Liu Haifan reluctantly stood up. Kang Sheng asked in a stern voice: "Who told you to write the brief?" Liu Haifan answered nervously, "The organization arranged for me to write it." "What organization?" Kang Sheng grew stern. "The party organization, of course." Kang Sheng angrily asked back, "Which party organization?" Liu Hai-fan sensed that disaster was coming and could no longer be avoided, so the chili pepper flavor of this young man from Hunan bubbled up and he answered word for word: "The Chinese Communist Party!" Kang Sheng did not expect such a small man to disrespect himself, furious, yelled: "What are you!" Liu Hai Fan forced himself not to speak again. Kang Sheng shook his hand at the brief

newspaper and continued, "Are these briefs you write the words of the Communist Party? What you are carrying out is a bourgeois reactionary line; you are a black pencil and a black henchman who speaks for Lin Feng!"

That night, Liu Hai-fan was plagiarized by the rebels.

The Central Party School's Rectification Conference ignited the "first fire" of Kang Sheng's problem.

In March 1977, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) decided to restore the Central Party School (CPSC), with CPC Central Committee Chairman Hua Guofeng also serving as its president, Vice Chairman Wang Dongxing as its first vice president, and Hu Yaobang as its vice president. As the Central Party School was still in the hands of the rebels, the first big thing Hu Yaobang did when he arrived at the school was to convene a "Rectification Conference", which was actually to further expose and criticize the "Gang of Four" and solve the problems left over from the "Cultural Revolution". The "Cultural Revolution" leftover problems.

On September 3, 1977, at the "Rectification Conference" of the Central Party School, Wang Fuchang exposed the problems of Kang Sheng and Cao Yiou for the first time in his speech. He revealed Kang Sheng's "ten problems":

First, he kept control of the Party Schools, saying that they were "a stubborn bastion of long-standing opposition to Mao Zedong Thought", and that he had put mental shackles on the

comrades of the Party Schools, such as traitors, secret agents, capitalists, etc. Second, he treated the issue of mass organizations in the Party Schools as a problem.

Second, in dealing with the issue of mass organizations in the Party schools, he supported one faction and suppressed another, thus destroying many cadres and masses.

Third, he instructed the rebels to scold Zhu De, Ye Jianying, Chen Yi and other veteran marshals in the Party schools, and edited and published the Selected Works of Lin Biao and Lin Biao's Quotations.

Fourth, Kang Sheng and Cao Yio reversed the relationship between the enemy and us on the issues of "clearing the ranks" and "rectifying the Party" in the Party schools, resulting in a large number of cadres and people being scrutinized, imprisoned and expelled, deportation.

Fifth, Kang Sheng and Cao Yio named names indiscriminately in the Party school. Kang and Cao were quick to call so-and-so a counterrevolutionary, a traitor, a gangster, and a revisionist. (Actually, this is the same thing as the fourth question.)

Sixth, Kang Sheng went back on his words on the issue of Li Guangwen (who had been the secretary of the CPC Shandong Provincial Party Committee, the director of a section of the Central Party School, and a member of the school's board of governors).

The direction of the May 7 Cadre School of the Party School violated Chairman Mao's spirit of running a good May 7 Cadre School.

There are problems with the policy of running the May 7 Cadre School of the Party School. (Actually, this is the same thing as the seventh question.)

Nine: Kang and Cao harbored the rebel leaders.

During the period when Kang Sheng was in charge of the Party school, his cronies and henchmen created public opinion for the Gang of Four's usurpation of the Party and seizure of power.

Although Kang Sheng passed away on December 16, 1975, due to illness, he was named a "great proletarian revolutionary" and a "glorious anti-revisionist warrior" in his eulogy after his death. At that time, these "two laurels" were still in place, and Cao Yio was still alive and had been elected as a member of the Central Committee at the 11th Party Congress. Wang Fuchang's statement was a

shocking revelation, just like dropping a bomb in the first classroom. For Wang Fu Chang's revelation, Hu Yaobang is more cautious. He said at the meeting, a party member of the current leadership, the past leadership have opinions, can not mention it? I think it's okay to have opinions. This is in line with the organizational principles of our party but to mention opinions must comply with the following articles: first, it must be factual. Why do we need to mention opinions, mainly to distinguish between right and wrong, to set out the facts, reasoning, to prevent untruths, slander is even more impermissible, to turn upside down the right and wrong. Secondly, it should be raised only at our Party meetings. The Party Constitution provides that anyone can be criticized at Party meetings. It is lawful to express one's opinion at a Party meeting; it is the right of a Party member and is inviolable and inalienable. What about comrades who did not attend the meeting? Every Party member may approach the organization to talk about his opinions if he has any, or he may write materials and hand them over to the organization. This article I propose as a discipline of this meeting, do not engage in small broadcasts, engage in small broadcasts the nature of the change, it is liberalism. Third, only speak at the meeting, or write written materials, do not post large print. Fourthly, how to implement the opinions after they are mentioned? To reflect them truthfully to Chairman Hua and to several vice-chairmen. Please ask Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee to decide.

From the current public historical materials, this is the first time after the crushing of the "Gang of Four" in a public forum to expose Kang Sheng problem. After the meeting, the "Rectification Conference" material group of Chen Wenbin, Liu Lizhong two comrades according to Wang Fu Chang's speech to organize a written material, according to the requirements of the Central Committee to report.

Why did Wang Fuchang dare to publicly expose Kang Sheng? He said that although the Gang of Four had been crushed, Kang Sheng was still off-limits, and Kang Sheng and Cao Yiou still had to be called Kang Lao and Cao Daisy. He had some concerns about exposing Kang Sheng publicly. However, he dared to come forward mainly for three reasons: First, after a period of "rectification meetings" and discussions, he gradually recognized the nature of the "Cultural Revolution", and at the same time, he felt that the "Cultural Revolution" in the Party school issue was not the most important issue. "At the same time, he felt that Kang Sheng was the main culprit behind the problems of the Party schools during the Cultural Revolution. As for the risk of exposing Kang Sheng, he believed that the risk was there, but the general environment had changed, the "Gang of

Four" had collapsed after all, and the past set of untenable, and he would not be branded as a counter-revolutionary if he came out to expose Kang Sheng. The second reason is that Wang Fu Chang had been awarded the National Youth Champion and had feelings for Hu Yaobang, who had worked in the Youth League Central Committee. A month before his speech, Wang Fu-chang saw on TV and in newspapers that the rebel Wu Mou (Kang Sheng's henchman) of the Central Party School was still sitting on the podium with President Hua, so he took the liberty of writing a letter to President Hua, exposing Wu Mou's close ties with Jiang Qing. Later, Li Yifei, who was the vice president of the Central Party School, and Mou Zeduan, the deputy education director, said to him, "Comrade Yaobang cares a lot about you!" Hearing this, Wang Fu Chang had a premonition that it was his letter to Chairman Hua that had attracted Comrade Yaobang's attention. The third reason was that Wang Fu-chang was not engaged in theoretical work and had no more ideological concerns about the Kangsheng issue. Wang's revelation at the "Rectification Conference" became the "first fire" that ignited the Kang Sheng issue, and this fire was burning brighter and brighter along with the wind of rectification.

Hu Yaobang indirectly supported him at a sensitive moment.

On December 3, 1977, Li Gongtian, an instructor at the Philosophy Research Office of the Central Party School, went to Han Shuying, the deputy director of the Philosophy Research Office, and told him that he had heard from a friend that Cao Yiyou had died, and proposed to put up a small-print newspaper to expose Kang Sheng.

Han Shuying said, "It should be denounced, but it's not a small matter, we have to go and consult Comrade Yaobang, besides there are Wang Dongxing and Hua Guofeng on top of him." Li Gongtian found Liang Jinqun, Hu Yaobang's secretary, and talked to him about the idea of exposing Kang Sheng. Liang said he would report to Comrade Yaobang. According to Chen Weiren, who served as Hu's secretary, Yaobang was very disgusted with Kang Sheng as a person. Chen Weiren remembers that whenever Kang Sheng was mentioned, Yaobang never said his name, but used his index finger to draw a line under his nose and said, "That man" (Kang Sheng's upper lip always had a mustache.) December 3 was a Saturday, and Hu Yaobang had already decided not to go

back to the city, but after listening to the report from Liang Jinquan, he decided to go back to his home in the city immediately. His purpose was to go back to the city to inquire about news.

On Monday, December 5, as soon as Hu Yaobang arrived at his office, he said to Liang Jinquan,

"This Li Gongtian, instead of studying properly, he went to

to pry for gossip, Cao Yiou is not dead at all!" Li Gongtian went to Liang Jinquan to find out the news right after he started work, and only then did he realize that the news he got was inaccurate.

He asked Liang Jinquan: "Then can the small print still be posted?" Liang Jinquan said, "You can see for yourselves!" Li Gongtian went back to Han Shuying, who said, "For the sake of prudence, you should ask Feng Wenbin, the deputy education director, again to see what his attitude is."

Before 8:00 a.m. on December 8, Li Gongtian came to Feng Wenbin's home and said, "Now the central government has not taken a position on Kang Sheng, and some people still want to protect him. Under these circumstances, considering not to cause trouble for Comrade Yaobang, we intend not to put up large-character posters but small-character posters, not outdoors but on the indoor corridor wall on the 16th floor.

The 16th floor is where the Academic Affairs Office is located, and trainees often come and go, so they can see the small-character posters, which will bring the Kang Sheng issue to the nation's attention. I wonder if this will work?" Feng Wenbin said, "I have to consult Comrade Yaobang." At noon, Li Gongtian came to Feng Wenbin's home, Feng Wenbin said to him, "Comrade Yaobang said, posting Kang Sheng's small-print newspaper this matter, we neither advocate, nor oppose." Li Gongtian said happily, "This attitude is a great support to our cadres and masses. We have decided to post it. If the central government blames it, the responsibility will be entirely ours." Li Gongtian also sought out Han Shuying, Wu Bingyuan, Lu Junzhong, Wu Bing, and Wu Bing from the Philosophy Teaching and Research Center.

Yuan, Lu Junzhong, Wu Yisheng, and Mao Weiping, and had the small-print newspaper written by noon. Since Wu Bingyuan said that he wanted to sign a single copy, Han Shuying, Li Gongtian, Lu Junzhong, Wu Yisheng, and Mao Weiping signed a joint copy. That afternoon, they posted both copies in the corridor of the 16th floor (the Philosophy Department is located on the 16th floor).

The small print pointed out that the so-called "Kang Sheng line" was essentially the same line as that of Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four".

That night, someone reported to Hu Yaobang that someone on the 16th floor had posted a small-print newspaper exposing Kang Sheng, and Hu Yaobang immediately and excitedly put on his coat and said to Liang Jinqun, "Let's go and take a look!" Liang Jinqun dissuaded, "Comrade Yaobang, you don't know about this!" When Yaobang heard this, he was first stunned, then he smiled knowingly and said, "Yes, yes, I don't know!"

December 9, to the 16 floor to watch the small print is particularly large number of people, there are party school instructors, but also students, many advanced class participants have also come to see, most people read the silence. Until the evening, there were still people with flashlights to see. On this day, Hu Yaobang also went to read the small-print newspaper in spite of his secretary's discouragement. After reading it, he said to his secretary, "Do you understand what I mean? We come to read the small-print newspaper, which is a kind of support. I don't advocate or oppose the posting of 'that person's' small print. We want to be 'Gang of Four' inverted all the right and wrong through upside down, on who have opinions you can mention, do not write large print, you can write materials, small print to find a place to post, comrades inside and outside the school can see."

Someone posted a small-print news to reveal Kang Sheng in the Central Party School spread, for several days, not only to watch the endless stream of people, and small-print more and more, the wall will soon not be able to paste, we pull up the wire inside the corridor, the small-print hanging on the wire. The first floor could not be hung, so they hung along the stairs to the second floor, which was spectacular.

As the students came to watch, the news soon spread to all parts of the country. Here it is necessary to explain that Li Gongtian worked in the organs of the Central Committee of the Youth League and was an old subordinate of Hu Yaobang and Feng Wenbin. He believed that at that time the greatest difficulty in exposing and criticizing Kang Sheng's problem was that Hu Yaobang still had Hua Guofeng and Wang Dongxing above him, and another cause for concern was that Wang Dongxing had worked in the Ministry of Social Affairs and was Kang Sheng's old subordinate. It was these factors that led him and Han Shuying to take the above measures for the sake of safety.

If the revelation at the "Rectification Conference" of the Central Party School was the "first fire" that ignited Kang Sheng's problem, then the small-print newspaper of the Central Party School that openly criticized Kang Sheng's problem was the "first shot" fired at Kang Sheng. This critique set off the "first shot" at Kang Sheng by the Central Party School. This criticism, set off the Central

Party School of the unveiling and criticism of Kang Sheng movement, and quickly expanded to the whole party, the whole country, and thus for the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party to expose Kang Sheng and later the central government to make the correct conclusion on major issues on the ideological public opinion on the preparation.

[The Trial of History: Announcing Kang Sheng's Crimes to the Whole Party

Before the Central Committee Work Conference in November 1978, Hu Yaobang instructed that, based on the denunciation materials of the Central Party School, the notes of the rebel leaders, and the materials provided by the Central Organization Department and the Central Liaison Department, a list be compiled of those whom KANG Sheng had named for false accusation and persecution, according to their names, positions, times and occasions of naming them, as well as the crimes they had committed, and that the list be printed into a booklet and reported to the Central Committee. This material revealed a total of 603 people who were named and falsely accused by Kang Sheng during the Cultural Revolution. Among them were the Vice Chairman of the Party Central Committee, members and alternate members of the Politburo, Premier and Vice Premier of the State Council, Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC), President and Vice President of the State Council (33 people); members of the Eighth Central Committee, alternate members of the Central Committee (58 people) and members of the Third National People's Congress (3 NPC) and the Fourth Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (4 CPPCC) Standing Committee (93 people); ministers and vice ministers of the Central Committee and the State Council (91 people); secretaries and vice secretaries of the Party Committees of the Central Committee and the Provinces, Municipalities and Autonomous Regions (5 people), and the governors of the Provinces, 51 vice-governors; 11 cadres of the People's Liberation Army at the level of large military districts. The above totaled 337 people. Most of the remaining 266 people were also veteran cadres and social celebrities.

At the Central Working Conference held from November 10 to December 13, 1978, Chen Yun raised the issue of Kang Sheng in his speech to the Northeast Group. According to Yu Guangyuan's account, Chen Yun said, "At the beginning of the 'Cultural Revolution', Comrade Kang Sheng was an advisor to the Central Cultural Revolution. Comrade Kang Sheng casually named names at that

time, and was largely responsible for causing paralysis of party and government organs in the central ministries and throughout the country. Comrade Kang Sheng's mistakes are very serious, and the Central Committee should give due criticism to Comrade Kang Sheng's mistakes at an appropriate meeting."

Chen Manyuan (President of the PLA Logistics Institute) expounded a total of seven opinions in his speech. He said, "There are several things I have heard about Kang Sheng that I hope the Central Committee will find out:

First, Kang Sheng knew that Zhang Chunqiao and Jiang Qing were traitors, so why did he have to report the issue of Zhang and Jiang's traitors to Chairman Mao only at the time of his death (as evidenced by a letter from Zhang Hanzhi, one of the incriminating materials of the Gang of Four).

Second, when Kang Sheng was in the Soviet Union, he organized a small group of people to oppose Chairman Mao as the secretary of the Party Central Committee and to support Wang Ming as the secretary. Wang Ming's pamphlet "The Struggle for More Bolshevization of the CCP" was produced by Wang Ming in collaboration with Kang Sheng. It is said that the title of the book was agreed upon by Kang Sheng.

Third, Kang Sheng in Yan'an rescue movement, made a lot of mistakes, Chairman Mao put forward nine corrective instructions, is to correct Kang Sheng caused these mistakes.

Fourth, Kang Sheng recommended Jiang Qing to marry Chairman Mao. At that time, some people suggested that there were problems with Jiang Qing's history, but Kang Sheng guaranteed that there were no problems with Jiang Qing's history.

Fifth, when Kang Sheng was working in Shanghai, he was interrogated by Kuomintang agents for two hours, and then he became a Kuomintang agent and did a lot of bad things. Ding Zhaozhong's grandfather had retained the material in this regard, this material I heard that Ding Zhaozhong has been handed over to the central government.

Sixth, after the liberation of the country Kang Sheng had sent the Central Party School two people around the country to find two Trotskyist elements. Later, he heard that these two Trotskyists had been shot by Kang Sheng's order in Yan'an, and he was relieved.

During the "Cultural Revolution", Kang Sheng took control of the Central Committee's propaganda and organization, and also took control of the First, Second and Third Offices, and arrested many people.

Chen Manyuan concluded, "What exactly is Kang Sheng, it is best to speak clearly within the Party." Lu Zhengcao spoke in the East China group, "Some people say, 'When a man is about to die, his words are good,' but I think Kang Sheng is 'when his man is about to die, his plans are poisonous.'" Cheng Zihua, Jin Rupai, Ma Wenrui, Xiao Ke and Han Guang also exposed Kang Sheng's problems from different aspects.

Talking about Kang Sheng's problems, Hu Yaobang said that Kang Sheng had done a lot of bad things during the Cultural Revolution, and the public was extremely angry. He not only put the hats of traitor and unrepentant capitalist on many people, but also put Zhu, the chairman of the committee, and Ye, the vice-chairman of the committee, into the category of people who "have serious problems and are not yet qualified", and also put them into the category of people who "have serious problems and are not yet qualified". He even put Chairman Zhu and Vice Chairman Ye into the category of "people with serious problems, uncharacterized", and also instructed Nankai University in Tianjin to organize the so-called "Southern Traitor Group" to oppose Premier Zhou.

At the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee formed the Discipline Inspection Committee, and the CCDI set up the Leading Group for the trial of the cases of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, and began the examination of Lin Biao, the Gang of Four, and Kang Sheng.

On September 26, 1980, the CPC Central Committee issued the Notice on the Trial of the Counter-Revolutionary Group Cases of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, and on September 29, the 16th Session of the Fifth National People's Congress decided to set up a Special Procuratorate Office of the Supreme People's Procuratorate to prosecute the counter-revolutionary group cases of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. In the indictment, Kang Sheng, who had been dead for five years, was ranked third after Lin and Jiang.

In October 1980, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), on the basis of conclusive evidence, ascertained that Kang Sheng had committed serious crimes during the Cultural Revolution, stating that Kang Sheng had "demonstrated poor political qualities, and during the Cultural Revolution, he was directly involved in the usurpation of the Party by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing,

and others, During the 'Cultural Revolution', he was directly involved in the counter-revolutionary conspiracy activities of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others to usurp the Party and seize power, and committed serious crimes. The CPC Central Committee solemnly decided to announce Kang Sheng's crimes to the whole party, revoke the original eulogy, and expel him from the party. At the same time, Kang Sheng was listed as one of the 16 main culprits in the case of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's counter-revolutionary group, and was put on trial by history. Kang Sheng's ashes were also moved from the Babaoshan Revolutionary Cemetery. At this time, Cao Yio also fell from the political peak to the bottom, and lived a reclusive life until his death in 1989.

Kang Sheng, the conspirator, was finally nailed to the pillar of shame in history.

According to Shen Baoxiang, a professor at the Central Party School, during the Cultural Revolution, Cao Yio had 10 white pines behind the party school office building transplanted to the south courtyard of the school, which is located on the east side of the Summer Palace. After the "Gang of Four" was crushed, the white pines were moved back again. Nowadays, these 10 pines are still flourishing and standing tall, guarding the motto of the Party School "Seek truth from facts". Time is the daughter of truth. Right and wrong that have been reversed will eventually be reversed again.

(The author is a reporter of the Study Times and editor of the Theory Network of the Central Party School.)