

## 40年前胡耀邦与中央专案组的一场斗争 Forty Years Ago, Hu Yaobang's Battle with the Central Special Case Group

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FN 108 Anon on Hu's Battle with Wang and Special Case Group

1978年6月9日，胡耀邦和陈野苹、公安部部长赵苍璧按中央指示，接收中央专案组档案材料。

中央专案组是“文化大革命”初成立的特殊机构，先后关押和“监护”的干部达一千一百二十四人。中组部准备复查“六十一人案件”，经胡耀邦要求，华国锋、叶帅等中央领导同意，中央作出决定：中央专案领导小组下属第一办公室、第三办公室和五一六专案联合小组办公室案件全部移交给中央组织部。

在移交的过程中，工作受到了阻碍。中央专案组的主要负责人把着不交，认为专案组没有“四人帮”的干扰。这就意味着专案不能复查平反。专案组负责人汪东兴说，中央专案组的第一办公室和第三办公室是“文革”初期党中央决定成立的，由华国锋同志和我们三个人（指汪、国务院副总理纪登奎、北京市委第一书记兼北京军区政委吴德）直接负责的。结论材料可以交给组织部，而文书档案不能交。另外，关于一、三办的所有其他案子，属于人民内部矛盾的，也可以交给组织部，属于敌我矛盾的，都不能交。汪东兴说，“组织路线犯了错误，第一个是我负责，第二个是你胡耀邦负责！”并训斥胡耀邦：“你还要不要工作”？胡耀邦说：各种案件的真正材料都在文书档案里。比方说这个案子缘何而起，调查所得的旁证材料究竟如何，结论中引用的材料是否有失偏颇？都要看文书档案才能弄清楚。胡耀邦又说：我们今天复查这些案件，比方“六十一人”的案子，那个“启事”是有的，但是这个“启事”是怎么来的？只有摸清这些背景，才能真正地分清是非功过，分清组织与个人的责任。指出：“六十一人”问题，早在七大时就已作过正式结论。当时我们很多人都在延安，记忆犹新。事隔三十年，为什么又要翻开这本已经一清二楚的旧帐？对这本帐，康生本人也是清清楚楚、明明白白的，他是惟恐天下不乱，蓄意整人，抬高自

己，浑水摸鱼。他说：至于中央专案组第一、第三办公室的案子，几乎都是“叛徒”、“特务”之类的敌我矛盾，哪有什么人民内部矛盾？为了对党对同志负责，我们的意见还是交给组织部复查，还是应当统统交。汪东兴说：“六十一人”的问题是经过毛主席和党中央批准才定案的，不能随便翻过来。还有彭德怀、陶铸等人的问题，也不能随意翻过来。中央专案组的人盛气凌人，以命令的口气对胡耀邦和陈野苹说，中组部不得为“六十一人案”翻案，并说，帅孟奇的“叛徒”案也绝对不能翻。胡耀邦当即针锋相对地说：还是有错必纠，全错全纠，不错不纠，部分错部分纠的好。谈话时纪登奎、吴德在座。

移交会议结束，但专案材料一直没有移交。邓小平批示予以平反的几位高级干部的档案材料，经多次交涉后，也只交了其中一个人的三页材料，而且基本上是结论性的。干审局天天接到受诬陷同志的申诉，却因没有原始材料，无法着手复查。胡耀邦知道多说无用，同时也想到，中央专案审查小组过去虽然也做过一些调查，但大部分是实用主义的，不符合他们口味的东西是绝不会写到结论上的，即使他们把专案材料移交过来，也没有多大价值，僵持下去只是浪费时间。胡耀邦下决心抛开中央专案审查小组的材料，另起炉灶。他对来诉苦的干审局负责同志说：“急也没有用，不等了，我们自己干”。

在党的十一届三中全会上，许多同志尖锐地批评了中央专案组主要负责人的错误做法。全会决定撤销中央专案机构，将所有档案全部移交中组部。

为了贯彻执行全会的决定，1978年12月19日，原中央专案负责人汪东兴和纪登奎、吴德等同志召集中央专案组和中组部的同志讨论交接工作。中央组织部部长胡耀邦、副部长陈野苹，公安部部长赵苍璧等同志和3个专案办以及中组部干审局的负责同志参加了会议。会上宣布，中央专案审查小组第一办公室、第三办公室、“五·一六”专案联合小组办公室，自即日起撤销、停止办案；所有专案工作，一律交中央组织部办理；在移交过程中，不准销毁材料，已送交中央档案馆的专案材料，全部调出，统一交中组部。12月20日上午，陈野苹同志在中组部厅、局长会上，传达了交接会议精神，并对中央专案材料接收、复查工作，做了具体部署。会议决定从中组部有关局抽调和从外面借调几十名干部成立3个组：一组是案件组，负责清理一办、三办和联办的案件；二组是材料组，负责清理借阅材料等；还有一个组负责文书档案处理工作。专案材料交接的日常领导工作由陈野苹同志负责。这项工作于1979年2月底全部完成。 In order to implement the decision of the

plenary session, on 19 December 1978, Wang Dongxing, Ji Dengkui, Wu De, and other comrades, former responsible persons of the CPC Central Committee project, convened comrades of the CPC Central Committee Special Task Force and the CPC Central Organization Department to discuss the handover work. Hu Yaobang, head of the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee, Chen Yeping, Vice Minister of the CPC Central Committee, Zhao Cangbi, Minister of Public Security, and other comrades, as well as responsible comrades of the three special case offices and the Bureau of dry Review of the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee, attended the meeting. It was announced at the meeting that the first Office, the third Office, and the "May 16" Joint Project Group Office of the Central ad hoc review team will withdraw and stop handling cases from now on, and all project work will be handed over to the Central Organization Department. In the process of transfer, no destruction of materials shall be allowed, and all the project materials that have been submitted to the Central Archives shall be transferred and handed over to the Organization Department. On the morning of 20 December, Comrade Chen Yeping conveyed the spirit of the handover meeting at the meeting of the organizational departments and directors of the CPC Central Committee, and made specific arrangements for the reception and review of the materials for the special projects of the CPC Central Committee. The meeting decided to set up three groups, drawn from the relevant bureaus of the CPC Central Organization Department and seconded from outside, to set up three groups: the first group is the case group, which is responsible for cleaning up the cases of the first Office, the third Office, and the Joint Office, and the second group is the material Group, which is responsible for cleaning up borrowed materials, and so on. There is also a group responsible for the processing of documents and files. Comrade Chen Yeping is responsible for the daily leadership of the transfer of project materials. The work was completed at the end of February 1979.

中组部接收原中央专案组移交的专案材料 17349 卷。391363 件，涉及受审查人员共计 669 人。据中央专案组 1975 年的一个(报告)，上述被审查的人员，定为“问题性质严重或敌我矛盾”的就有 320 人，占被审查人员的 47.8%。被审查的人中，有党和国家的领导人，有南征北战的元帅和将军，有原中央各局领导，有省、市、自治区党委书记和省长，有中央机关和国务院各部委的部长、司局长，以及一大批专家、教授、作家、工程技术人员，甚至还有少数居民和学生(其中相当这一级的干部)，以上干部 213 人，其中八届中央政治局委员 10 人，中央书记处成员 10 人，中央委员和中央候补委员 71 人(不包括

省、市审查的), 国务院副总理 7 人。The Organization Department received 17349 volumes of materials handed over by the original Central Special Case Group. 391363 items, involving a total of 669 persons under review. According to a 1975 report of the Central Task Force, 320 of the above-mentioned persons under review were classified as "serious in nature or in contradiction between ourselves and the enemy", accounting for 47.8 per cent of the persons under review. Among the people examined were leaders of the party and state, marshals and generals of the war between the south and the north, leaders of the former central bureaus, party committee secretaries and governors of provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, and ministers and directors of departments of the central organs and ministries and commissions of the State Council. As well as a large number of experts, professors, writers, engineers and technicians, and even a small number of residents and students (among them cadres at this level), 213 cadres and above, including 10 members of the political Bureau of the eighth CPC Central Committee and 10 members of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee. There are 71 members and alternate members of the CPC Central Committee (excluding those examined by provinces and municipalities) and 7 vice-premiers of the State Council.

过去, 中央专案组的情况是被严密封锁的, 很少有人了解全貌。在一次中组部办公会上听取了专案材料接收人员对上述情况的全面汇报后, 大家无不感到震惊和愤慨。中组部领导和承办局室昼夜不停地抓紧这些案件的复查平反工作。这么多的大案、要案, 加上受他们株连的家属、亲友和工作人员, 也要随着他们本人冤案的复查平反一并加以解决, 案件的数量之多、工作量之大、情况之复杂是空前的。在这种情况下, 要想在短时间内对这些案件实事求是地作出复查平反结论, 只靠中组部的力量显然是不可能的。鉴于此, 中组部采取了以下措施: 首先, 把被中央专案组下放到外地仍在监督劳动的领导同志全部接回北京和有关单位。十一届三中全会以后, 中组部在这个问题上, 有了更大的主动权。当时回到北京的有彭真、张洁清夫妇, 原被关押的王光美同志被接了出来, 其它同志也由各有关单位陆续接了回来。其次, 对一部分同志采取了先分配工作, 后作复查平反结论的办法, 使这些领导同志陆续走上工作岗位。再次, 按照全党办案和群众路线的原则, 采取转请本人原单位进行复查, 然后送中组部审理, 转报中央审批的办法, 这样就大大加快了复查平反的进度。实践证明, 这些措施取得了良好的效果。从 1979 年到 1980 年, 由中央组织部直接作出结论并报中央批准的就有 445 人, 其中包括彭真、陆定一、陶铸、刘澜涛、习仲勋、安子文、钱瑛、胡乔木、帅孟奇、赵毅敏、林枫、谭震林、李立三、王任重等一大批

高级领导干部。中组部受中央委托从 1978 年开始到 1980 年 12 月底，先后对 453 名副省长、副部长以上干部的结论进行了复查或审理。“文化大革命”中被定为敌我矛盾的 85 人，全部平反，恢复名誉；过去有历史问题结论，“文化大革命”中又加码定性处理的，大多数维持了“文化大革命”前的结论。经过复查，这些同志中身体好、能工作的都走上了领导岗位，身体不好的做了妥善安置，含冤逝世的进行了昭雪，对因这些同志的冤假错案受到株连的同志、家属子女，做了消除影响的工作。

胡耀邦在邓小平、陈云等老一辈革命家的支持下，据理力争撤销了中央专案审查小组，为众多的高级干部平反昭雪。

DeepL translation

#### **40 years ago Hu Yaobang's fight with the Central Special Case Group**

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On June 9, 1978, Hu Yaobang and Chen Yeping, and Minister of Public Security Zhao Cangbi received instructions from the Central Government to receive archive materials from the Central Special Case Group.

The Central Special Case Group was a special institution established at the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution". There were 1,124 officers who had been detained and "monitored" one after another. The Central Organization Department is preparing to review the "61-person case". After Hu Yaobang's request, the central leaders of Hua Guofeng and Marshal Ye agreed, the central government made a decision: the first office, the third office, and the 516 joint project of the Central Special Case Group and all Special case office cases were handed over to the Central Organization Department.

In the process of transfer, work was hampered. The main person in charge of the Central Special Case Group did not communicate and believed that the Special Case Group did not interfere with the Gang of Four. This means that the project cannot be rehabilitated. The Special Case Group leader Wang Dongxing said that the first office and the third office of the Central Special Case Group were decided by the party Central Committee at the beginning of the “Cultural Revolution” . Comrade Hua Guofeng and the three of us (referring to Wang and Vice Premier Ji Dengkui, Beijing Municipal Committee first secretary and political commissar of the Beijing Military Region Wu De, were directly responsible. The conclusion material can be handed over to the organization department, but the document files cannot be delivered. In addition, all other cases related to the one or three offices, which are internal contradictions among the people, may also be handed over to the Organization Department. Wang Dongxing said, “The organizational line has made mistakes. The first one is for me to be responsible. The second is for you, Hu Yaobang, to be responsible for!” and reprimanded Hu Yaobang: “Do you still want to work?” Hu Yaobang said: The real materials in various cases are in the archives. For example, why did the case come from, what exactly did the circumstantial evidence obtained from the investigation, and whether the material cited in the conclusion was biased? We must look at the paperwork to make it clear. Hu Yaobang also said: We review these cases today, such as the "61 people" case. That "advice" is there, but how does this "advice" come from? Only by understanding these backgrounds can we truly distinguish the merits and demerits and distinguish the responsibilities of organizations and individuals. It was pointed out that the issue of "61 people" had already reached a formal conclusion as early as the Seventh National Congress. At that time, many of us were in Yan'an and still remembered. After thirty years of separation, why do you want to open this old account that is already clear? For this account, Kang Sheng himself is also very clear and concise. He is afraid that the world is not chaotic, he deliberately arbitrates himself, raises himself, and fishes in troubled waters. He said: As for the cases of the first and third offices of the Central Special Case Group, they are almost all contradictions between the enemy and the ourselves, such as "traitors" and "special agents." What contradictions among the people are there? In order to be responsible to the party and the comrades, our opinions are still submitted to the Organization Department for review, or should they all be handed over. Wang Dongxing said: The issue of "61 people" was finalized only after the approval of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. It cannot be turned over. There are also problems with Peng Dehuai, Tao Zhu, and others, and they cannot be turned over at

will. The people in the Central Special Case Group were arrogant and instructed Hu Yaobang and Chen Yeping in an peremptory tone, saying that the Central Organization Department could not reverse the verdicts for the "61-person case," and said that Shuai Mengqi's "traitor" case must not be turned over. Hu Yaobang immediately said tit for tat: There are still mistakes that must be rectified, all mistakes are corrected, not correct, and some wrong parts are correct. Ji Dengkui and Wu De were present during the conversation.

The handover meeting ended, but the project materials were not transferred. After archiving Deng Xiaoping's dossier for redressing several high-ranking cadres, after only a few rounds of representations, he also submitted only one of the three pages of material, and it was basically conclusive. The Bureau of the People's Procuratorate received complaints from comrades who had fallen victim to the crimes every day, but because there was no original material, it was impossible to proceed with the review. Hu Yaobang knows to use more than words. At the same time, he also thinks that although the central project review team has done some investigations in the past, most of them are pragmatic. Things that do not meet their tastes will never write conclusions, even if they put projects in. There is no great value when the materials are handed over, and the stalemate is only a waste of time. **Hu Yaobang made up his mind to set aside the materials of the central project review team.** He said to the responsible comrades who complained to complain: "Being worried is useless. We have to do it ourselves."

At the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party, many comrades sharply criticized the mistaken practice of the main responsible person of the Central Special Case Group. The Plenary decided to withdraw the Central Project Agency and transfer all the files to the Central Organization Department.

In order to implement the decisions of the plenary, **on December 19, 1978, the former Central Project Leaders Wang Dongxing and Ji Dengkui and Wu De convened the comrades of the Central Special Case Group and the Central Organization Department to discuss the handover.** The Central Organization Department Minister Hu Yaobang, the Deputy Minister Chen Yeping, the Ministry of Public Security Minister Zhao Cangbi and the three special case offices and the responsible officials

of the Central Organization Department's Interference Bureau attended the meeting. The conference announced that the first office, the third office of the Central Special Case Group, and the joint office of the “May.16” project will be cancelled and stop case from this very day; all project work will be handled by the Central Organization Department; during the transfer process, the materials that have been sent to the Central Archives are not permitted to be destroyed. All project materials are transferred to the Central Organization Department. On the morning of December 20, Comrade Chen Yeping conveyed the spirit of the handover meeting at the meeting of the Central Organization Department, the Director General, and made specific arrangements for the receipt and review of central project materials. The meeting decided to redeploy several dozen cadres from the relevant bureaus of the Central Organization Department and **formed three groups**: one group is the case group and is responsible for cleaning up the cases of the first, third and joint offices; the second group is the material group responsible for cleaning up the borrowing materials. Etc.; There is also a group responsible for file processing. The **daily leadership of project materials handover is the responsibility of Comrade Chen Yeping**. This work was completed at the end of February 1979.

**The Central Organization Department received the 17349 volumes of project materials handed over from the original Central Special Case Group.** 391,363 cases involving 669 people under review. According to a report of the Central Special Case Group in 1975, the above-mentioned personnel were identified as having “a serious problem or a conflict between the enemy and ourselves” with 320 persons, accounting for 47.8% of the personnel under review. **Among the people examined were the leaders of the Party and the country, the marshals and generals of the North War, the leaders of the former Central Bureaux, the party committee secretaries and governors of the provinces, cities, and autonomous regions, and the central organs and ministries and commissions of the State Council.** The minister and secretary, as well as a large number of experts, professors, writers, engineers and technicians, and even a small number of residents and students (including a considerable number of cadres), 213 of them were above, including 10 members of the Central Politburo. There are 10 members of the Central Secretariat, 71 members of the Central Committee and the Central Committee (not including provincial and municipal inspections), and 7 vice premiers of the State Council.

**In the past, the situation of the Central Special Case Group was severely sealed, and few people understood the whole picture.** After listening to the full report of the recipients of the project materials at a conference of the Central Organization Department, **all of us were shocked and indignant.** The leaders of the Central Organization Department and the Bureau of Undertakings kept abreast of the review and rehabilitative work of these cases. So many major cases and important cases, plus the families, relatives, friends, and staff who are connected with them, must also be redressed along with the reconsideration of their own case. **The number of cases, the workload, and the complexity of the cases was unprecedented.** In this case, if it is necessary to make a review of the factual reconciliation of these cases in a short period of time, the power of the Central Organization Department is obviously impossible. In view of this, the Central Organization Department took the following measures: First, all the leading comrades who had been sent down by the central Special Case Group to work in the field were all brought back to Beijing and relevant units. After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, the Central Organization Department had greater initiative on this issue. At that time, there were couples of Peng Zhen and Zhang Jieqing who were returning to Beijing. Comrade Wang Guangmei, who had been detained, was taken out. Other comrades were also picked up by the relevant units. Second, some of the comrades took the task of assigning jobs first, and then rechecked the conclusions of reconciliation, so that these leading comrades gradually embarked on their work posts. Again, in accordance with the principles of handling the case and the mass line of the whole party, the transfer request was made to the original unit for review, and then sent to the Central Organization Department to be heard and reported to the central government for approval. This greatly accelerated the progress of the review and rehabilitate. Practice has proved that these measures have achieved good results. **From 1979 to 1980, there were 445 people who came to the Central Organization Department directly to make a conclusion and reported to the Central Government for approval.** Among them were Peng Zhen, Lu Dingyi, Tao Zhu, Liu Lantao, Xi Zhongxun, An Ziwen, Qian Ying, Hu Qiaomu, Shuai Mengqi, Zhao Yimin, Lin Feng, Tan Zhenlin, Li Lisan, Wang Renzhong, and a large number of senior leaders. The Central Organization Department was commissioned by the Central Committee from 1978 to the end of December 1980 to conduct review or review of the conclusions of 453 deputy governors and deputy ministers. In the “Cultural Revolution”, 85 people who had been identified as conflicts between the enemy and me, all rehabilitated and restored their reputation. In the past, when there were historical issues and the “Cultural Revolution” was given additional qualitative

treatment, most of them maintained the pre- “Cultural Revolution” . After reviewing, these comrades were in good positions and were able to work. They all took the leadership position, properly placed their bodies in bad health, and Zhao Shaoxue, the culprit of his death, was accompanied by the children of the comrades and family members who were involved in the wrongful and wrong cases of these comrades. , do the work to eliminate the impact.

Hu Yaobang, with the support of Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun and other older generations of revolutionaries, strongly argued that the central special case group be abolished and that many high-level cadres be rehabilitated.