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林 喆 著

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1992年, 20世纪的年历只剩下最后几页。

一场席卷整个意大利政界的受贿丑闻将冷战后依旧纷乱的世界惊得 目瞪口呆。

意大利米兰市的一家小型清洁公司的老板马尼为获得打扫市立养老院的合同,被迫向管理该院的社会党政客基耶萨支付了10%的回扣。当愤愤不平的马尼向米兰警方提出控告时,无论是他,还是受理此案的执法官迪彼得罗,都不曾料到这一回扣案件会引发一场暗号为"MP"的波及全国的反腐败的廉洁行动,更不曾估计到由这场高潮不断迭起的丑闻所引发的政治地震,最终导致了意大利选举制度的改革。①

米兰贿赂案所暴露的一连串政界内幕令人震惊。据都灵市艾纳乌迪研究中心的估计,意大利各政党每年的非法收入高达10万亿里拉(约合83亿美元),最近15年中,共吞噬了150万亿里拉(约合1250亿美元),相当于全国的国债总金额。②

一位执法官员在法庭辩论总结时说: 当人们用刀刺透官方记录的表层时,腐败便显露出来了,人们甚至在没有看到时也能闻到它们的气息,回扣风气渗入社会生活的每个角落——政府各部、公司、办公室、建筑工地、街道……无论白天或深夜,在天空中或地面上,都有人在支付回扣。

仅 1991 年,贿赂和回扣就使这个国家的公共开支增加了 30 亿至 40 亿美元,占当年国家预算赤字总额 (1000 亿美元)的 15%。

类似4年前日本里库路特股票丑闻所引发的大瘟疫在亚平宁半岛蔓延。

米兰贿赂案波及罗马、那不勒斯、威尼斯等 10 多座城市。短短一年时间, 受牵连者约达 2500 人,被警方逮捕者有 1350 多人,其中被卷入

① 黄昌瑞:《米兰丑闻曝光纪实》,《参考消息》1992年6月26日。

② 《瞭望》1992年第13期。

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或受审查的议员近80人,占议员总人数的8%以上。到1993年3月,已有近1480多名文职人员和工业界人士被传讯。①

大众传媒变得异常敏感和激奋,电波将每日重大新闻传遍世界各地 ——政府高级官员卡斯泰拉里因贪污嫌疑受到调查后在其住宅附近自杀, 成为因这场丑闻事件而自杀的第7人。

意大利 ENI 公司前董事长加布里埃莱·卡利亚里因涉嫌行贿入狱后,被头套塑料袋,不明不白地死于圣维多雷监狱。②

米兰市长因市议会一半成员受到起诉而辞职。

- 5 名内阁部长辞职。
- 8个政党卷入丑闻,其中,除了联合政府的4党成员外,另有4个反对党也在劫难逃。社会党总书记克拉克西、共和党书记拉马尔法、自由党领袖阿尔蒂西莫先后辞职。阿马托四党联盟政府面临战后"最深刻的危机"。
- 4月18日,意大利选民在全民公决中以压倒性多数的票数支持选举制度的改革,强烈要求以简单多数选举制取代比例代表制,以及取消国家对各党派的资助。

全民公决的结果预示着旧的政治体制的崩溃,而后来频繁不断的丑闻升级更是加速了这一进程。7月26日,拥有百万党员的执政党天民党宣告解散。③

11月, 意大利总统斯卡尔法罗被情报局前财会官员指控在1983~1987年担任内政部长期间, 曾领取月薪1亿里拉(约8万多美元)。总统本人对此矢口否认,并下决心在下一年春季解散议会,实行大选。

到该年底,已近 L/3 的国会议员和5 名主要政党的首脑被捕或拘押, 1000 多名政府高级官员和1900 多名企业家受到司法审讯。此外,前总理 福拉尼和德米塔受到司法调查。^④

与政界的"净手"行动相呼应,意大利体坛也开始了"净脚"大清洗。足球界比赛交易的丑闻被一一曝光。新闻、司法乘胜追击,各种丑闻渐渐浮出水面。

意大利的反腐败浪潮在世界各地激起一连串涟漪。美国、德国、法

① 《瞭望》1992年第13期。

② 《解放日报》1993年7月22日。

③ 《中国行政管理》1994年第4期。

④ 《北京日报》1994年1月16日。

国、俄国……先后传出指控总统或政府高级官员或军事高级指挥官在税收、住宅或金融方面腐败行为的消息。更有甚者,90年代间丑闻不断的日本政界终于爆发了一场"政治地震",在野党七党联盟一举推倒了自民党苦心经营38年之久的"权力大厦"。以细川内阁为首的新班子迅速出台了旨在遏制权力腐败、改革选举制度的政改法案。

与此同时,发展中国家先后展开了肃贪清廉的行动。

巴西建立了一个调查涉及诸多议员洗钱丑闻的委员会,并颁布了防止高级官员利用职权非法致富的法律。总统科洛尔因被控贪污而辞职。

玻利维亚开始追查最高法院院长受贿行为。

肯尼亚政府建立了反腐败小组,以遏制高级官员中盛行的腐败之风。 秘鲁、哥伦比亚、阿根廷、危地马拉、委内瑞拉、印度、韩国等国 也都先后开始清洗行政、立法、司法体系中的腐败现象。其中韩国的反 腐倡廉的风暴令各国惊叹。韩国总统金泳三大力推行《公务员道德法》, 国会议长、法务部长、警察总监、国防部长、汉城市长等高级官员在反 腐风暴中纷纷落马。仅到 1993 年 6 月底,因各种腐败行为而受到免职、 停职、降职等惩处的官员便已高达 3635 人。这场"清洗"政府运动的高 潮的标志是前总统全斗焕的被捕和 1995 年 12 月 18 日汉城地方法院对前 总统卢泰愚收受巨额秘密政治资金案的开庭审理,及次年 8 月 5 日他们 被分别作出死刑或无期徒刑的判决。①

其实20世纪因腐败而引发的最大的地震早在1991年就已发生。

1991年8月24日,苏共中央总书记戈尔巴乔夫宣布辞去总书记职务,建议苏共中央"自行解散"。25日圣诞节夜19时32分,俄罗斯联邦三色国旗取代苏联镰刀锤子旗升上了克里姆林宫上空,强大的苏联不复存在。

这是国际共产主义运动史上发生的令世界各国——无论是社会主义国家,还是资本主义国家——感到震惊的大事。

这个曾在最艰难的岁月中面对不可一世的德国法西斯侵略者都不曾屈服的第一个社会主义国家,这个曾孕育过诸如保尔、卓娅、舒拉、古丽雅等民族英雄,且以他们的英雄事迹感动了几代人,甚至邻国中国两代人的,此时还拥有2000万党员、执政70年的政党竟然会倾刻解体,强大的政权大厦居然未经任何枪弹攻击便轰然倒塌。

① 《中国行政管理》1994年第3期。

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之前虽然有诸如"8·19"事件那样的试图力挽狂澜的政变,但是在生死存亡之时,广大的苏联人民,包括2000万苏共党员,表现出了极大的冷漠,而且连"军队也拒绝执行命令,甚至发生倒戈"。有学者如此分析:"事变失败后,苏联解体,苏共解散,其财产被没收……令人震惊的是,查封者不仅没有遇到任何有组织的反抗,在有关的历史档案中,也没有发现当时哪里有工人、职员、苏共党员们自发地集合起来,去保卫自己的区委、市委和州委,或举行大规模抗议活动的记载"。可以说,导致苏共亡党的一个决定性因素是,她已"被她一直代表的工人阶级和苏联人民抛弃"。①

从表面上看,苏联亡党亡国局面的出现是由个别人的意志造成的, 其实深层次的根源则在于国家官僚集团日益远离人民,割断了与广大人 民群众的血肉联系,蜕变腐败,最终失去了广大人民的支持和拥护。

苏联解体前,苏联社会科学院曾进行过一次问卷调查,被调查者认为苏共仍然能够代表工人的占4%,认为代表全体人民的占7%,认为苏共代表全体党员的只占11%,而认为苏共代表党的官僚、代表干部、代表机关工作人员的、却占85%。②

所以,在亡党亡国后,"最大的赢家不是黑市倒爷,也不是持不同政见者,而是过去党和政府的各级领导成员,他们摇身一变成了今天俄罗斯的新显贵。据俄国《消息报》报道,到1996年前苏联官员出身的人员,在总统周围占75%,政党领袖中占7.1%,地方精英中占32.3%,政府中占74.3%,经济领域精英中占61%"。对此,美国的一位专门研究俄罗斯问题小组的负责人费兰克·奇福德说:"苏联共产党是唯一一个在自己的葬礼上致富的政党"。③

政权大厦的基石一旦被抽空,政党健康的肌体一旦被蛀虫侵蚀得百孔千疮,它的轰然倒地和消散就具有了某种必然性。

苏联因腐败而没落的教训给予世人的警示是深刻的,特别是对于她的邻国中国,这个与它一样有着广阔的国土面积,悠久的历史,且由共产党长期执政的共和国来说,这种教益可谓是刻骨铭心。

在意大利反腐败浪潮的蔓延期间,社会主义国家也加大了反腐败措施的力度。越南共产党总书记杜梅号召企业以股份制的方式使工人参与

① 黄苇町:《苏共亡党十年祭》,《南方周末》2001年8月17日。

② 王长江,文引自黄苇町:《苏共亡党十年祭》,《南方周末》2001年8月17日。

③ 季正矩:《腐败与苏共垮台》,《当代世界社会主义》2007年7月22日。

生产管理过程,以在社会中建立起一种有效的反腐败机制。

中国共产党中央纪律检查委员会、国家监察部要求对广大党员和国家机关工作人员"集中"进行反腐倡廉教育。①最高人民检察院检察长在中宣部等组织机构联合举行的报告会上指出,少数腐败分子的犯罪行为已相当严重,党和国家决心根除腐败现象。②中纪委、监察部要求开展反腐倡廉教育。中纪委五次全会发表公报,称反腐败斗争不能有任何松懈,并做出廉洁自律四项补充规定,确定五项监督检查重点。③中共中央办公厅、国务院办公厅通知各地"清理党政机关及其工作人员利用职权无偿占用企业钱物"。④司法部制定一系列措施,纠正行业不正之风和腐败现象。⑤

1992年,邓小平在视察南方时提醒人们:"中国要出问题,还是出在共产党内部。对这个问题要清醒"。⑥ 他强调:"要坚持两手抓,一手抓改革开放,一手抓打击各种犯罪活动。这两只手都要硬。打击各种犯罪活动,扫除各种丑恶现象,手软不得。""对干部和共产党员来说,廉政建设要作为大事来抓。还是要靠法制,搞法制靠得住些。"⑦

1992年10月,在党的十四次代表大会上,江泽民总书记指出:"廉洁奉公、勤政为民要从各级领导机关和领导干部做起,党员领导干部首先是高中级干部,要严以律己,以身作则,教育好子女,并且带头同腐败现象作斗争。"®

1993年8月,中纪委召开了第二次全会,明确提出了包括领导干部廉洁自律、查处违纪违法案件、纠正部门和行业不正之风的反腐败三项工作格局,提出了反腐败"标本兼治、重在治标,着力治本"的方针。之后,中纪委制定了一系列党风廉政制度。

从1992年至1996年,全国反腐斗争取得了重大成果,据中国国家 反贪总局局长罗辑所言,仅1995年一年,全国办理的贪污受贿案件便达 6万起,其中部级领导2名(不含王宝森),厅局级领导128名,处级干

① 张思卿语。《解放日报》1993年7月22日。

② 《解放日报》1993年7月27日。

③ 《解放日报》1995年1月24日。

④ 《文汇报》1994年7月16日。

⑤ 《解放日报》1993年7月22。

⑥ 《邓小平文选》(第3卷),人民出版社1993年版,第380页。

⑦ 《邓小平文选》(第3卷),人民出版社1993年版,第378~379页。

⑧ 《江泽民文选》(第1卷),人民出版社 2006年版,第249页。

部 2000 多名。①

2004年2月,中共中央颁布《中国共产党党内监督条例》(试行)和《中国共产党纪律处分条例》,决定对省部级党的组织进行巡视。

2004年9月19日,中共中央十六届四中全会向全党提出:"党风廉政建设和反腐败斗争关系党的生死存亡。党越是长期执政,反腐倡廉的任务越艰巨,越要坚定不移地反腐败,越要提高拒腐防变的能力。各级党委要把党风廉政建设和反腐败斗争作为提高党的执政能力、巩固党的执政地位的一项重大任务抓紧抓实。"②。大会首次明确提出解决腐败问题的基本方针和总体思路:"坚持标本兼治、综合治理,惩防并举、注意预防,抓紧建立健全与社会主义市场经济相适应的教育、制度、监督并重的惩治和预防腐败体系。"③

2005年1月,鉴于在2000年中央组织部于全国30万名党员思想状况调查中所发现的问题(部分党员存在的理想信念动摇、宗旨观念淡薄、组织纪律涣散),中共中央决定在全党开展以实践"三个代表"重要思想为主要内容的保持共产党员先进性教育活动。中央认为,在新的历史条件下,继续保持党的先进性,关系到党执政能力的提高和执政地位的巩固,党和人民事业的兴旺发达和长治久安。中央希望通过这次活动,达到提高党员素质、加强基层组织、服务人民群众、促进各项工作的目标。④1月15日,中共中央颁布了《建立健全教育、制度、监督并重的惩治和预防腐败体系实施纲要》。《实施纲要》对中国建成惩治和预防腐败体系基本框架的年限作了预示,即2010年。

2005年10月27日,十届全国人大常委会第十八次会议通过了一年前(2004年12月9日)中国签署的全球第一部打击腐败的国际公约——《联合国反腐败公约》,批准了关于加入《联合国反腐败公约》的决定。2006年1月13日,中国政府代表向联合国秘书长正式递交了批准书和政府声明。2月12日,中国正式成为该公约的缔约国。6月13日,中纪委会同有关部门,召开了实施《公约》第二阶段工作会议,就中国

① 《新民晚报》1996年4月30日。

② 《中共中央关于加强党的执政能力建设的决定》,《保持共产党员先进性教育读本》(中央保持共产党员先进性教育活动领导小组办公室编),党建读物出版社 2004 年版、第82页。

③ 《中共中央关于加强党的执政能力建设的决定》,《保持共产党员先进性教育读本》(中央保持共产党员先进性教育活动领导小组办公室编),党建读物出版社 2004 年版,第 82 页。

④ 《30万党员思想大调查惊动中央,党内教育将启动》,《瞭望东方周刊》2004年11月23日。

法律制度与公约相衔接需要完成的20项工作进行了全面部署。①

加入《公约》, 表明中国政府与国际合作力度的加大。

2006年2月22日,中共中央政治局常委、中央纪律检查委员会书记吴官正在中央统战部举行的党外人士情况通报会上指出:"从源头上防治腐败的工作,涉及政治、经济、文化和社会等各个方面,是一个互相渗透、互相作用的复杂的系统工程。我们要突出重点,统筹兼顾,整体前进。要在保持查办案件强劲势头的同时,进一步加大预防腐败的力度,努力拓展从源头上防治腐败的领域。"②

2007 年 5 月 30 日,中纪委印发了《中共中央纪委关于严格禁止利用职务上的便利谋取不正当利益的若干规定》。严禁以交易形式收受财物、干股,由请托人出资,"合作"开办公司或者投资,以委托理财名义获取收益,通过赌博方式收受财物,使特定关系人不劳而获,将赃款给予特定关系人,在职时"栽树",离职后"乘凉"等八种行为。并提出:"本规定发布后三十日内主动说清问题的可考虑从宽处理;对拒不纠正或者本规定发布后违反本规定的,要发现一起,查处一起,严肃处理,绝不姑息。"③

同时,各地检察机关加大力度查办涉及42个罪名的渎职侵权类案件。

与此同时,中国惩治腐败的力度逐年加大。

从 2003 年至 2005 年的两年间,中国检察机关共查办贪污贿赂等腐败犯罪分子近 5 万人。^④

2004年,各级纪委处分了11万名共产党员,其中因贪污贿赂行为, 11071人受到开除党籍处分(其中因贪污贿赂行为受到开除党籍处分, 并移送司法机关处理的为7279人)。⑤全国检察机关查办职务犯罪工作 力度明显超出以往:仅上半年就共立案侦查涉嫌贪污贿赂、渎职侵权等

① 《财经时报》2006年12月30日。

② 引自中纪委办公厅、中纪委研究室编写:《拓展从源头上防治腐败工作领域,深入推进党风廉政建设和反腐败斗争》,方正出版社 2007 年版,第 46 页。

③ 引自《中纪委八项禁令剑指权钱交易,主动交代可从宽处理》,"荆州国安"2007年6月10日。

④ 《检察机关两年查处腐败分子近 5 万 正制定反洗钱法》,《人民日报》2005 年 12 月 13 日。

⑤ 《中纪委介绍中国政务公开情况: 2005 年处理11 万党员》,《海口晚报》2005 年9月26日。

₹ 权力腐败与权力制约(修订本)

职务犯罪案件 2.12 万件、2.42 万人,其中县处级以上领导干部 1690 人,百万元以上贪污贿赂、挪用公款等大案 713 件。先后有云南省委副书记、省长李嘉廷,贵州省委书记刘方仁,河北省委书记程维高,国土资源部部长田凤山,贵州省副省长刘长贵,辽宁省高级人民法院院长田凤岐,河北省委常委,常务副省长丛福奎,浙江省副省长王钟麓,辽宁省副省长刘克田,中国建设银行行长王雪冰,广东省高级人民法院院长麦崇楷,安徽省副省长王怀忠等一批省部级官员被判刑或查处。并抓获在逃职务犯罪嫌疑人 291 人,涉嫌贪污、挪用公款 4.8 亿美元的中国银行广东开平支行行长余振东等重大案犯从境外被缉捕归案。①

2006年,各级纪委共立案 123489件,结案 122777件;给予党纪处分 97260人,占党员总数的 1.4‰。其中,受到警告处分的 37434人,严重警告的 27185人,撤销党内职务的 2744人,留党察看的 8777人,开除党籍的 21120人,对涉嫌犯罪的及时移送司法机关依法处理。在受党纪处分人员中,因安全事故、生产经营管理等失职渎职问题受到处分的3196人,占 3.3%;妨害社会管理秩序的 31218人,占 32.1%;违反廉洁自律规定和财经纪律的 15350人,占 15.8%。涉嫌犯罪被移送司法机关依法处理的 3530人,占受党纪处分人员的 3.6%。②其中,国家药监局局长郑筱萸、北京市副市长刘志华、青岛市委书记杜世成、中央政治局委员、上海市委书记陈良宇及国家统计局局长邱晓华等高官先后落马,天津大学校长单平被罢免全国人大代表资格。

同年9月,中央政治局常委、中纪委书记吴官正在《求是》杂志上撰文表示,将"继续保持查办案件的高压态势,要深挖腐败分子,震慑腐败分子,让他们政治上身败名裂,经济上倾家荡产,思想上后悔莫及"。

该年4月12日,在亚太经合组织的反腐败研讨会上,中美双方发表了一项联合声明,呼吁亚太经合组织各经济体进一步加强交流与合作,共同努力遏制腐败。10月22日,国际反贪局联合会第一次年会暨会员代表大会在北京开幕。中国国家主席胡锦涛表示,中国政府将继续旗帜鲜

① 王科、裴智勇:《上半年我国查办逾两万职务犯罪案,余振东等落网》,《人民日报》 2004年8月7日。

② 引自《各级纪委去年开除 2 万多党员,从源头防治腐败》,"中新网"2007 年 2 月 14 日。

明、毫不动摇地开展反腐败斗争。①

2007年6月25日,在中央党校,胡锦涛再次强调,要充分认识反腐败斗争的长期性、艰巨性、复杂性,把反腐倡廉建设放在更加突出的位置。②

腐败,正在渗入各国政治、经济、文化生活的各个领域,日益成为社会改革的阻碍和腐蚀剂。腐败,使得每一种财富在生长之际便已成为多数人可望而不可及的奢侈品。它将富有者转为堕落,使贫困者陷入绝境;它动摇国家权威的基石——法律,威胁政治制度的稳定,弱化国家的经济实力,削弱教育的示范作用,引发社会伦理的种种危机。

与此相对应,反腐败已成为国际社会及各国政府坚定不移的信念。腐败与反腐败的较量使关于权力腐败与权力制约问题的研究成为自 20 世纪末以来的一个世界话题,成为人们挥之不去的精灵。它紧紧地缠绕在人类社会的肌体上,并随同历史前进的步伐进入 21 世纪。

什么是权力?它的渊源、性质、特点、功能和类别怎样?权力是怎样异化的?它与市场经济、法律制度的关系如何?

什么是腐败、腐败犯罪?它们发生在什么领域,有哪些表现形式?各个领域内的腐败有何表现形式和特点,它们是怎样发生的?近些年来,中国腐败与反腐败的状况怎样?

中外历史上有哪些权力制约的模式和反腐败的模式?廉政法制的策略是什么,施行情况如何?廉政建设在制度上存在什么缺陷,如何才能克服?

诸如此类的问题, 便是本书所试图作出回答的。

① 《财经时报》2006年12月30日。

② 《胡锦涛在中央党校发表重要讲话》,"新华网"2007年6月25日。

Preface

1992, only a few year from the turn of the century.

A scandal of bribery sweeping the whole Italian political circle astonished the world which still turmoiled after the end of the Cold War.

Mr. Mani, the owner of a small cleaning company in Milan, Italy, in order to gain a contract to clean the city nursing – home had to pay 10% discount to Jiyesa, a Social Party politician, who was in charge of the management of the nursing – home. When Jiyesa anrily brought charges against him to Milan Police, neither he nor the trying judge, Debidero, could expect this discount case could trigger marked as "MP" a clean action to combat corruption, spreading to the whole country, neither could they conceive the political earthquake caused by this constantly climaxed scandal would finally lead to the reform of the Italian election system.

A line of inside stories within the political circle revealed by the Milan bribery case was shocking. According to the estimate made by the Dulin Enawudi Research Center, the illicit income of the various Italian political parties was as high as 10,000 billion Italian Lira, about 8.3 billion U. S. Dollars. In the past fifteen years, they had totally swallowed 150,000 billion Lira, about 125 billion U. S. Dollars, amounting to the total national debt of the country.

In summarizing the arguments made at court, a trying judge stated that when the appearance of the official records was pierced by a sword, corruption was revealed and you could smell it before you see it. The practice of accepting discount was infitrated into every corner of the social life. People are paying discounts at government departments, companies, officies, work – sites, streets...

and no matter it is in the day or at night, in the air or on the ground.

Only in the year of 1991, bribery and discounts increased the public

spending of Italy by 3 to 4

billion U. S. Dollars, amounting to 15% of the total annual budget deficit of the country.

The epidemic liked that caused by the Likurute Stock Scandal in Japan spread in the Italian pennincular.

The Milan bribery case spread over to more than ten cities such as Rome, Naples and Venes, etc.

Within a short period of one year, about 2500 people got invoved and 1350 were arrested, among those involved 80 were parliment mumbers, about 8% of total number of legislators, who were investigated. As of 1993, there were about 1480 civil servants and business people arraigned.

The mass media became extremely excited and sensitive. Radiowaves spread a large among of news each day to all parts of the world. . .

Casterrila, a high government official, being suspected of embezzlement was examined. After that he committed suicide, becoming the seventh person died in this scandal.

Carburrielai. kaliyali, the former chairman of the board of directors of the Italian Corporation, ENI, was sent to prison for accepting bribery, who was found dead mysteriously in St. Weidurei Prison, with his head covered with a plastic bag.

The mayor of Milan resigned due to the prosecution of more than half of the city legislators.

Eight parties were invovled in the scandal. Four were parties in the coalision government and four were opposition parties. Klukci, General Secretary of the Social Party, Malffa, Secretary of the Republic Party and Aldicimo, leader of the Liberty Party, resigned one after another. Armato's four party coalision government faced with the deepest crisis since the Second World War.

On April 18, in a referandum the Italian people overwelmingly supported a reform of the Italian election system, and strongly demanded the pro rata system be replaced by a system of simple majority so as to eliminate government finacial assistance to the various parties.

The returns of the referandum heralded the collapse of the old political system, and the later continual escalation of the scandal only accelerated this process. On July 26, the ruling party, Tianming Party with over one million

party members declared that it was dismissed.

In November, President Scalfaro was charged by the former accountant of the Information Agency for taking a monthly pay of 100 million Lira, about 80 thousand U. S. Dollars, from 1983 to 1987 while he was Minister of Internal Ministry. The President denied all the charges and was determined to dissovle the parliment in the next spring and to hold a new election.

By the end of the year, near one third of parliment members and five leaders of the main parties had been either arrested or detained, and more than 1000 high officials and 1900 enterpreneurs had been arragined. Besides, the former Prime Minister, Flani and Demita were also investigated.

Echoing to "the clean hand action" in the political circle, the Italian sports world also started a "clean feet" purge. Scandals of inside trading in sports competitions were exposed one after another. The mass media and judiciary followed a victory with a hot pursuit. More and more scandal gradually came to the surface.

The waves of Italian fight against corruption had repercussions in various parts of the world. News spread from the United States, Germany, France and Russia... that presidents or high officials or high military commanders were charged for corruption in the areas of taxation, housing and finance. What is more was that a "political quake" finally broke out in Japanese circle which was haunted by endless scandals. The coalision of seven opposition parties at a stroke toppled the "powere pillar" which had been built up by the Zimin Party over the past 38 years. The new cabnet lead by Xichuan quickly put forward a political reform bill to contain power corruption and to reform election system.

At the same time, developing countries one after another started anctions to eliminate corruption and promote honesty and cleaness.

In Brazil, a committee was set up for the investigation a money laundry scandal which involved of duzen thousands of U. S. Dollars and many legislators as well. Laws were passed aiming at prevention high officials from getting rich illegally by taking advantage of their offices. President Klur resigned due to a charge of embezzlement.

In Bolivia, the President of its Supreme Court was investigated for accepting bribery.

Kennya government set up a task force to combat corruption in order to

contain corruptions prevalent among high officials.

Peru, Columbia, Argentina, Guademala, Venesula, India, South Korea, ect, also started purges corruptions in their excutive, legislative and judicial branches. Of them, storm of fight against corruption in South Korea was the most amazing one. President Jin Yongsan implemented with all efforts the Act on the Ethics of Public Servants. President of the legislature, Minister of Judicial Ministry, the Police Chief Inspector, Defense Minister, Mayor of Souel and other high officials all lost their offices or positions due to corruption. Only by the end of June, 1993, there were as many as 3635 officials who were either removed from office, suspended from duties or reduced in rank as penalty. The mark of the climax of this government purge was obviously the arrest of the former President Quan Douhuan and the 1995 public trial of the former President Lu Taiyu at the local court of Souel for accepting secretly a large among of political funds and their respective sentences to death and life in prisonment on August 5, the next year.

Actually, the largest political quake in the 20th century caused by corruption had occurred as early as one year before.

On August 30, 1991, Korbachev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declared his resignation and proposed the dissolusion of the Central Committee of the Party. At 19: 32, in the eve of Christmas of the 25th, the three – colored national flag of Russian Federation rose over the Kremlin Palace. The once powerful Soviet Union came to its own end.

This is a great event in the history of international Communist movement, shocking socialist countries as well as capitalist countries.

This first socialist country, which did not frown, and bow even in hard times when facing Nazi aggressors, which fostered many national heroes such as Paul, Soia and Shula and Gulia, whose heroic deeds moved two generations, including their neighbor, the Chinese, and this party which had been in power for more than 70 years and still had over 20 million party members then, should have suddenly dissolved and its strong power pillar should have collapsed even without single shot fired. Although a few days before "on August 18 there was a coup – de – ta to save the Union and the Party from stake, at the time of thier life and death, the Soviet people, including the party members, were extremely apathetic. Forthermore, the army refused to follow orders and even fought

back." The coup - de - ta was abortive. With its abortion, the Soviet Union was divided and the Party dissolved and its property confiscated... What was shocking was that the confiscators did not meet any organized resistance. In relevan files there is no record showing that wokers, officials and party memebrs anywhere automatically organized to protect their district committees, city committees and state committee, or held a large scale demonstration to protest such confiscation. It is safe to say that the decisvie factor which lead the demise of the Party was that it was abandoned by the working class and the people whom it claimed to represented.

From the appreance, the demise of the Soviet Union and the Party was caused by the will of some individuals, but its deepest root lied in the fact that the interest group of the state bureacracts had alienated from the people, their close ties with the masses were cut off and they themselves became degenerated. It was no wonder they finally lost people's support.

Before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Social Science Academy of the country had made an inquiry. Among those inquired, 4% held that the Party still represented the working class, 7% held that it represented the whole people, no more than 11% held that it represented whole party memers, however, there was 85% holding the Party represented bureaucrats, cardres and officials.

Accordingly, after the demise of the Union and the Party, the biggest winners were neither the illegal traders in black market, nor those political dissedents, but former leaders at various levels in the Party and the Government. They overnight became the new rich people in today's Russia. According to a report from News Daily, as of 1996, 75% of the former Soviet Union government officials are now working around the Presidency, 7.1% are leaders of parties, 32.3% are local elites, 74.3% are in governments and 61% are elites in the economic area. For this, the leader of an American research group specialized in Russian issues, Mr. Frank. Chiford commented that "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the only party which got rich at its own funeral."

When the foundation stone of the pillar of the ruling power of the Party was removed, body of the Party was afflicted with all kinds of ills by corrupted officials, its sudden collapse was doomed and was of certain necessity.

The Soviet Union fell because of corruption. Its lessen calls for deep