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江泽民 执政安全思想研究

刘起军 著

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序

长沙的金秋，秋高气爽，令人陶醉。起军同志带着他的研究成果《江泽民执政安全思想研究》约我作序。作为他博士点的指导老师和答辩专家之一，我曾仔细阅读过该文，今天再读，仍感清新和亲切。故欣然下笔。

执政党执政安全问题研究属一方既热又冷的领域。说它热，是因为问题本身具有的重大意义和它越来越受到执政党自身的关注与重视。推动这种关注与重视的直接原因来自东欧剧变；来自诸多资本主义国家老牌政党相继丧失执政地位；这些事实充分说明，一个政党的执政地位不是与生俱来的，也不是一劳永逸的。江泽民同志指出：“如果长期执政以后，我们的干部丧失了当年夺取政权和建设初期那样一种蓬勃朝气，那样一种昂扬锐气，而变得明哲保身，事不关己，高高挂起，形势主义、官僚主义严重，以致滥用权力，使党和人民的利益受到损害，那么，我们最后必然失去最广大人民的拥护和支持。这是历史兴亡的规律，古今中外，概莫能外。对这个问题，各级领导干部一定要警醒。”说它冷，是因为面对中共长期巩固稳定的政权，相当多的人没有担心过我党执政安全问题，甚至认为担心是一种杞人忧天。同时，理论界学术界对党的执政安全问题研究起步较晚，研究者和研究成果屈指可数，就某位党的领导人的执政安全思想



系统进行深度研究的则更少了。这种既热又冷的状况表明，执政党执政安全问题可以并正在成为党建研究的一个新生长点。

起军同志曾长期在高校党务部门工作，他克服半工半读的重重困难，敏锐地抓住这个新生长点来学习和研究。新世纪初，他参与完成了一项国家课题的研究，其成果《中国共产党执政的国际环境与执政安全》一文在《湖南师范大学学报》发表后，《人大复印资料》予以全文转载，《高校社会科学文摘》予以摘录。2003年，他又以“江泽民执政安全思想研究”为题申请到湖南省社科基金课题，并将其作为博士学位论文选题继续进行研究。在这方领地，起军同志的研究是系统且有一定深度的，本书就是作者集数年学习研究所成，实乃厚积薄发。本书在阐述当前研究江泽民执政安全思想现状、价值、方法和基本框架后，从理论渊源、历史依据、现实条件、主要阶段等方面系统梳理了江泽民执政安全思想的形成过程。作者把江泽民执政安全思想的主要内容归纳为四个方面：一是江泽民对维护执政安全的重要性和紧迫性的阐述；二是科学论述了执政安全的根本要求；三是全面分析了影响执政安全的各种因素；四是明确提出了确保执政安全的战略举措。在此基础上，作者归纳并论述了江泽民执政安全思想的主要特色。即它的时代性、系统性、创新性、实践性。最后，作者集中阐述了江泽民执政安全思想的历史地位，明确提出江泽民执政安全思想是江泽民党建思想的核心，丰富发展了马克思主义党建理论，解决了中国共产党执政实践中的各种问题，为新一届领导集体维护党的执政安全打下了坚实的理论基础。综观全书，视角新颖、论述翔实、体系合理、方法有效。正因为如此，该文能在答辩时获全票通过，并被推荐作为优秀论文，今年作者又因其而获得湖南



省优秀社科学术著作出版资助，就在情理之中了。

记下以上文字时，已是灯火阑珊。掩卷推窗，皓月下的岳麓山安详静穆。党的十七大刚刚闭幕，我真诚地希望有更多的学者倾注更多的时间和精力来研究新时期执政党执政安全问题，为我们党永葆生机活力，为我们祖国不断走向繁荣富强贡献智慧和力量。同时，我也真诚地祝愿起军同志戒骄戒躁，不断取得新的成绩。

是为序。

徐晨光

辛亥年秋夜于长沙



中文摘要

执政，即执掌国家政权。执政安全是指政党执政不存在危险或受到内外执政风险影响下能保持执政地位。执政党执政安全问题，是关系执政党生存与发展的基本问题。江泽民作为党的第三代领导集体的核心，在领导我国经济社会发展过程中，紧紧围绕“建设什么样的党，怎样建设党”这个基本问题，围绕“不断提高党的领导水平和执政水平，提高拒腐防变和抵御风险的能力”这两大历史性课题，提出了一系列维护党的执政安全的思想，为中国共产党在实行改革开放和发展社会主义市场经济，全面建设小康社会这个大背景下，进一步提高执政能力和领导水平，积极攻克影响执政安全的障碍和难题，提供了科学的理论指导。

本书首先阐述了江泽民执政安全思想相关的一些基本概念，介绍研究江泽民执政安全思想的现状以及它的研究价值、研究方法和本书内容的基本框架。一是对政党、执政党、安全、执政安全、江泽民执政安全思想等一些基本概念进行了阐述。二是分析了江泽民执政安全思想的研究现状，表明目前国内对于党的执政安全的研究还比较薄弱，系统研究江泽民执政安全思想的很少。三是指明了江泽民执政安全思想的研究价值，对于进一步坚持和发展马克思主义党的建



设理论特别是执政党建设理论等具有重要意义,对于推动国际共产主义运动、迎接来自国际社会的机遇与挑战、切实加强党的自身建设,也有极其重要的现实意义。四是阐述了本书的研究方法。本书主要运用了理论指导与实践考察相结合、实证分析与规范分析相结合、历史分析与逻辑归纳相联系、纵向透视与横向比照相结合等方法。五是简要介绍了各章节的内容。本书共分导论、江泽民执政安全思想的形成、江泽民执政安全思想的主要内容、江泽民执政安全思想的主要特色、江泽民执政安全思想的历史地位等五大章节。

其次,分析了江泽民执政安全思想的形成。一是从阐述马克思、恩格斯、列宁、毛泽东和邓小平执政安全思想出发,揭示了江泽民执政安全思想的理论渊源。马克思、恩格斯对当时巴黎公社革命实践经验的总结,对无产阶级建立和巩固政权、维护执政安全等方面具有重要的指导意义。此外,马克思、恩格斯关于无产阶级政党的理论基础是辩证唯物主义和历史唯物主义的思想;关于民主与集中相结合的组织原则的思想;关于革命同盟军的原理;关于在实践中培养、选拔干部的方针等,都是江泽民执政安全思想的主要理论发轫。列宁作为布尔什维克党这个国际共产主义运动历史上的第一个执政党的缔造者,就社会主义政权建设首开先河地进行了艰辛的探索,提出必须坚持党对政权的领导、发展经济文化是执政党的一项长期的根本任务、无产阶级专政是新型民主和新型专政的国家、加强工人阶级执政党的建设等重要思想,对如何确保执政地位、维护执政安全具有重要的作用和意义,给江泽民执政安全思想的孕育和形成以有益启示。毛泽东作为中国共产党和中华人民共和国的主要缔造者,作为我党第一代领导集体的核心,始终重视执政安全问题,并从政治、经济、文化、军事、外交、党的建设等方面



对新生政权的巩固和建设,对国家安全和中共执政安全进行了全方位的、系统的思考和探索,创造性地提出了为实现“四个现代化”而奋斗、坚持人民民主专政和正确处理人民内部矛盾、建设现代化的强大国防、走独立自主的和平外交之路、党是社会主义事业的领导核心等大量维护执政安全的思想,成为江泽民执政安全思想的重要理论底蕴。邓小平作为党的第二代领导集体的核心,在改革开放不断深入和现代化建设不断取得成就的过程中,提出了发展是硬道理,必须使社会主义民主制度化、法制化,反对和平演变和资产阶级自由化、走科技强军之路,建立国际新秩序、坚持和改善党的领导等,成为江泽民执政安全思想最直接最重要的理论渊源。二是从把握社会主义国家执政党丧失执政地位、资本主义国家执政党丧失执政地位、国民党失去执政地位等执政党丧失执政地位的教训,以及中国共产党各个时期执政的正反经验总结出发,揭示了江泽民执政安全思想形成的历史依据。三是从中国共产党面临的执政环境更为复杂、执政任务更为艰巨、自身的变化更为深刻等方面,分析了江泽民执政安全思想产生的现实条件。四是阐述了江泽民执政安全思想形成的三个阶段及其形成过程的特点。“三个阶段”即1989年政治风波及东欧剧变等因素促使江泽民开始并侧重于从政治和意识形态领域思考执政安全问题;1992年以后,市场经济体制改革目标的确立等新情况促使江泽民进一步并侧重于从发展经济、增强综合国力方面思考执政安全问题;2000年以后,“三个代表”重要思想的提出及阐发,标志着江泽民执政安全思想的完全形成。与毛泽东、邓小平执政安全思想的形成相比较,江泽民执政安全思想的形成有其鲜明的特点:一是执政安全思想形成周期缩短;二是主要思想者本人所处的历史方位有异;三是执政安全思想形成的环境更复



杂；四是内容更加丰富。

再次，归纳总结了江泽民执政安全思想的主要内容。一是江泽民对维护执政安全的重要性和紧迫性的阐述。江泽民作为第三代中央领导集体的核心，对维护党的执政安全、巩固党的执政地位的重要性和紧迫性始终有着深刻而清醒的认识，他就此提出并阐述了党的执政安全关乎党和国家的生死存亡、维护党的执政安全已十分紧迫等一系列发人深省的思想观点。二是科学论述了执政安全的根本要求。江泽民主要从党在国内党际关系中处于执政地位，党在国家政治生活中是领导核心，党在全社会具有牢固的民众基础，党在意识形态领域牢牢掌握主导权，党在自身建设中具有强劲的自我创新和自我发展能力等方面，论述了执政党维护执政安全的根本要求，为维护中国共产党执政安全指明了方向。三是全面分析了影响执政安全的各种因素。江泽民认为，影响新世纪中国共产党执政安全的基本因素有国际方面的，也有国内方面的，还有党内方面的，这些因素给中国共产党执政安全埋下了严重的隐患，构成了巨大的现实的和潜在的威胁。四是明确提出了确保执政安全的战略举措。即坚持马克思主义的指导地位，夯实执政基础，优化执政环境，提高执政能力，攻克反腐这一执政难题，造就一支堪当重任的干部队伍和现代化正规化军队，为执政提供有力保证。

在此基础上，本书归纳并论述了江泽民执政安全思想的主要特色。一是鲜明突出的时代性。即江泽民的执政安全思想被打上了深刻的时代烙印。二是丰富完整的系统性。江泽民的执政安全思想涉及经济、政治、文化、社会、军事、外交、党建等诸多方面，内容丰富，思想深刻，并且构成了一个完整的体系。三是与时俱进的创新性。即强调共产党执政要科学执政、民主执政、依法执政、有效执政。四是理实交



融的实践性。江泽民执政安全思想是行动的指南，稳定了中国的政治局面，保持并扩大了改革开放的成果；经受了国内外各种执政风险的考验；开创了党执政的新局面。

最后，本书还阐述了江泽民执政安全思想的历史地位，明确提出江泽民执政安全思想是江泽民党建思想的核心，丰富发展了马克思主义党建理论，解决了中国共产党执政实践中的各种问题，为新一届领导集体维护党的执政安全打下了坚实的理论基础。

关键词：江泽民；执政安全；思想



ABSTRACT

Being at the helm of the state means holding power in the government. The security of ruling the country, a basic problem concerning the ruling party's survival and development, refers to that the ruling party can operate safely and maintain its ruling status despite the influence of risks from home and abroad. During the process of the economic and social development of our country, Jiang Zemin, the core figure of our Party's leadership group of the third generation, has put forward a series of ideas about how to ensure ruling security, focusing on the essential problem of "what kind of party to build and how to build it", and on the two historic subjects of "the improvement of the qualities of leadership and operation and the enhancement of the ability to defend the party itself against risks", which have provided scientific and theoretical guidance for the further development of those qualities and the successful removing of the obstacles under the background of the implementation of reform and open-up policies, the development of market economy and the comprehensive construction of a well-off society.

At first the thesis enunciates some basic concepts about Jiang's ideas of the security of ruling the country, the actual state, value and methods of the study of these ideas, and the framework of the whole thesis. Firstly, it sets forth such basic concepts as the party, the rul-



ing party, security, the security of ruling the country, Jiang's ideas of the security of ruling a country and so on. Secondly, it analyses the present study of Jiang's ideas of the security of ruling a country, showing that the national study of the Party's security of ruling a country is still weak, and the systematic studies seems not enough. Thirdly, it points out the value of this study which plays an important role in insisting and developing the constructive theory of the Marxist party especially the ruling party further, and in pushing forward the international Communist movement, meeting the opportunities and challenges from the international society, and reinforcing the party's self-construction. Fourthly, it analyses the studying methods, which have integrated the theoretical instructions with practical inspections, the analysis of evidences with models, historical analyzing with logical concluding, and longitudinal viewing with crosswise comparing. Fifthly, it introduces the five chapters briefly, including the introduction, the formation of Jiang's ideas of the security of ruling the country, the main contents, and the characteristics and the historic status of those ideas.

Then, the thesis analyses the formation of Jiang's ideas. Firstly, it reveals its theoretical source from Marx and Engels' theses on the ruling party's organization and Lie Ning's, Mao Zedong's and Deng Xiaoping's ideas of how to run a government safely. Marx and Engels had played a very important instructing role in concluding experience of the revolutionary practice of the Paris Commune, the proletariats' building and consolidating their political power, and maintaining their security of ruling the country. Furthermore, the theoretical foundation of Max and Engels' theory on the proletarian party is dialectic materialism and historical materialism. Jiang's main theory just comes from their ideas of combining democracy and centralization together, the



principlum of developing revolutionary confederations and the principle of selecting the cadres. Lie Ning, the creator of the first party in the history of the international communist movement, had worked hard to study the construction of the socialist regime; and put forward such important ideas as insisting the party's leadership of the regime, the ruling party's long-term essential task of developing economy and culture, the new democracy and dictatorship of the proletarian leadership and strengthening the construction of the proletarian ruling party, all of which have enlightened the forming of Jiang's ideas. Mao Zedong, as the leader of the CCP and PRC and the core figure of our Party's first leading group, had paid much attention to the security of ruling the country, and studied systematically the consolidation and construction of the new regime from the aspects of politics, economy, culture, military, diplomacy and the Party's construction. He had creatively brought forward the ideas of striving for "the Four Modernizations", insisting people's democratic dictatorship, solving the people's internal contradictions well, building modern powerful defense, insisting the independent and friendly diplomacy and that the leading status of the Party in the socialist course, which have formed the important theoretical basis of Jiang's ideas. With the development and achievements of the reform and open policy and the construction of modernization, Deng Xiaoping, the core figure of the second generation of the Party, has indicated that to develop is the absolute principle, and that we must institutionalize and legalize the socialist democracy, reject peaceful evolution and bourgeois liberalization, strengthen our army by science and technology, build the international new order, insist and improve the Party's leadership, which has been the very direct source of Jiang's ideas of the security of ruling the country. Secondly, it explains the historical grounds of Jiang's ideas



by reviewing the failures of foreign ruling parties and the experience of the CCP; thirdly, it analyses the practical conditions of those ideas by investigating the more complicated ruling environment, the more onerous ruling tasks and the more profound changes of the Party itself and so on; fourthly, it shows the three developmental stages of Jiang's ideas and their characteristics. The three developmental stages refers to: the political crisis of 1989 and the Soviet revulsion which caused his political and ideological thinking of the security of ruling a country; the new conditions and situation since 1992 the establishment of the goals of the market economy reform which made him re-thinking of it from the development of economy and comprehensive national power; after 2000 the three represents theory marks the complete formation of Jiang's ideas of the ruling security. Compared with the ideas of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, Jiang's ideas has the distinct characteristics: the forming period is short; the historical background is different; the circumstances are more complicated; the content is much more enriched.

Furthermore, the thesis generalizes the main contents of Jiang's ideas. The first one is the importance and the urgency of achieving the security of ruling a country. Jiang Zemin, as the core figure of the Party's leadership of the third generation, has known it well, thus putting forward and elaborating a series of ideas that cause people deeply thinking about. The second goes to the essential requirements for the security, which Jiang explains from the aspects of the Party's leading status, its ideological dominance, the strong self-innovating and self-promoting abilities in its self-construction. It has been the guide of the security work. The third one is about the probable elements affecting the security. Jiang thinks that the elements are from both home and abroad, and even the internal of the Party, which



threatens the Party's security of ruling our country. Fourthly, he brings forward the strategic measures of maintaining the security such as sticking to Marxism, consolidating the ruling foundation, improving the ruling environments, enhancing the ruling competency, fighting corruption, building a group of competent cadres and a modern and normalized army, so as to guarantee the Party in ruling safely.

Based on the above argumentation, the thesis expounds the main features of Jiang's ideas i.e. temporariness, systematicness, creativeness, and practicalness. Jiang's modern ideas concern many aspects, such as economy, politics, culture, society, military, diplomacy, and the Party's construction and so on. They have made up a complete whole system, which emphasizes that the Party should rule the country scientifically, democratically, legitimately and effectively. Jiang's ideas has been the guidance for the Party, which stabilizes China's political status, maintains and develops the achievements of the reform and open policy, goes through all kinds of ruling risks from both home and abroad, and initiates a new prospect of the party's regime.

In the end, after analysing the historical status of Jiang's ideas, it points out that Jiang's ideas of security of ruling the country is the core of Jiang's theses on the Party's construction, which have enriched Marx's theses on the party organization and construction, answered all the questions arising from the ruling practice of our Party, and laid a solid theoretical foundation for the operation of the fourth leadership group, in strengthening and safeguarding the Party's security of ruling the country.

Keywords: Jiang Zemin, the security of ruling the country, ideas



目录

中文摘要·····	(1)
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Abstract ·····	(1)
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第一章 导论·····	(1)
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一、江泽民执政安全思想研究的概念诠释 ·····	(2)
二、江泽民执政安全思想研究的现状和价值 ·····	(9)
三、江泽民执政安全思想的研究方法和基本框架 ···	(14)

第二章 江泽民执政安全思想的形成·····	(19)
-----------------------	--------

一、江泽民执政安全思想形成的理论渊源 ·····	(19)
二、江泽民执政安全思想形成的历史依据 ·····	(47)
三、江泽民执政安全思想产生的现实条件 ·····	(65)
四、江泽民执政安全思想的形成过程 ·····	(73)
