

延安时期中国共产党 反腐倡廉建设研究

陈文胜 著



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摘 要

在中国共产党走过的 90 余个春秋的艰辛而辉煌的历程中，新民主主义革命占了 28 年。在这 28 年，延安时期占了近一半的 13 年左右。这是一段内涵丰富、地位独特、意义奇重的历史。在这一时期，中国共产党实现了从土地革命到全民族抗日战争的重大战略转折；在这一时期，中国共产党完成了马克思主义与中国革命具体实际相结合的第一次历史性飞跃，确立了毛泽东思想在全党的指导地位；在这一时期，中国共产党领导了敌后抗战，坚持抗日民族统一战线的方针和策略，最终取得了抗战的伟大胜利；在这一时期，中国共产党领导了解放战争头两年对国民党的作战，迎来了中国革命走向全面胜利的曙光。延安时期，在陕北艰苦恶劣的自然环境 and 经济条件下，在强敌环列、虎视狼眈的复杂险恶的政治环境下，边区政权何以生存、发展、壮大，边区经济和社会发展何以欣欣向荣，充满生机？在这种环境下，中国共产党又是如何开展反腐倡廉建设，并且又是怎样把反腐倡廉建设与党的任务和为实现总任务的斗争紧密联系起来的？这正是本书旨在探讨的问题。

腐败是一切政治共同体都会产生的现象，是公共权力伴生的毒瘤。因此，反对腐败，加强廉政建设，始终是世界各国政治生活中一个不衰的话题，成为关乎世界各国政治文明发展和经济社会可持续发展的重要政治任务。作为以马克思列宁主义为理论基础的中国工人阶级的先锋队的中国共产党，它代表中国人民的根本利益，以解放全人类，实现共产主义为奋斗目标。但由于其人员构成来源于现实社会，也注定无法超越历史局限与现实约束，不可能保证中国共产党内部成为绝对廉洁的真空。与一切剥削阶级政权和政党的反腐败本质不同的是，无论执政还是在野，中国共产党的反腐倡廉建设都是以为人民服务为根本宗旨的。在

陕北的13年里，中国共产党虽然只是在局部掌握政权，但始终以建立廉洁政府为目标，在边区和各根据地开展了长期的、连续的反腐败斗争，不仅克服了局部的腐败现象，使中国共产党始终保持着政治活力，为其赢得了中国社会各界的政治信任，也为中国革命的最后胜利奠定了坚实的政治基础。

综观以往的相关研究，通常是把中国共产党民主革命时期反腐倡廉建设的历史分为中央苏区时期、抗日战争时期、解放战争时期，这种划分方法显然是受中国革命史对历史时期的划分方法影响。这样，一是不利于把中共中央在延安这辉煌的13年历史作为一个整体来研究，结果很容易割裂这段独具特色的历史，并且陕北作为中国革命的“落脚点”和“出发点”的重要历史地位及其深刻寓意难以得到体现；二是容易掩盖延安时期的几个具体历史阶段中，中国共产党在反腐倡廉建设上所具有的不同的目标任务和特点。此外，从抗日战争胜利以后到全面内战爆发前，这段历史时期往往被研究者遗漏，或被模糊化处理。鉴于此，本书将延安时期的反腐倡廉建设分为三个阶段进行研究：

从1935年10月中共中央到达陕北至1940年底为第一阶段。重点是围绕建立和坚持抗日民族统一战线，以创建陕甘宁边区为抗日民主的模范根据地为目标开展反腐倡廉建设。而且这一阶段，除陕甘宁边区外，晋察冀、晋冀鲁豫、晋绥、山东、淮北、淮南、苏北、鄂豫皖，以及华南等地方根据地相继开辟和建立政权。这一阶段，中国共产党提出了建立廉洁政府的目标，发动了大生产运动和节约运动，充分发挥党员模范作用，创建惩贪制度，严惩腐败分子等。到第一阶段结束，把陕甘宁边区建设成为抗日民主的模范这个任务也大体完成。

从1941年起至1946年6月全面内战爆发前为第二阶段。重点是围绕贯彻“十大政策”开展反腐倡廉建设。这一时期边区处在一个相对和平的环境中，而且绝大多数的抗日民主根据地都在1941年前已创建起来。从1941年到全面内战爆发期间，可以说是各抗日民主根据地坚持、发展、壮大的时期。为把陕甘宁边区建设成为真正的抗日民主的廉洁政府，并使它成为各方面的模范，中国共产党一方面着重于党的理论建设，即开展整风运动，另一方面是建立健全反腐倡廉建设的各种法规、法令，以及采取相应的措施和监督机制，使反腐倡廉建设也成为全国的模范，使抗日民主政府成为中国有史以来最民主的政府、最廉洁的

政府。

从1946年7月至1948年3月中共中央离开陕北为第三阶段。重点是围绕夺取政权和巩固政权开展反腐倡廉建设。抗日战争胜利后，中国共产党所处的环境和在全国的政治地位发生了巨大变化。尤其是全面内战的爆发，使得国内外出现了新的政治形势。中国共产党及其领导下的革命力量在中国政治生活中所处的地位，比以往任何时期都显得突出和重要。针对党和政权建设中出现的新课题和新任务，反腐兴廉，成为全面内战爆发后党的建设和政权建设的重要内容。围绕这一重要任务，中国共产党适应战争形势的需要，改造政府机构，建立监察机构，加强军队建设，制定并执行了正确的城市政策等，为夺取全国政权、巩固新政权作好了思想上、政治上、组织上的充分准备。

延安时期的反腐倡廉建设，继承了党在苏维埃时期反腐倡廉建设的传统，适应深刻而广泛的民主政治建设的要求以及国共合作共同抗日的新形势，按照中国共产党和毛泽东“抗战一团结一民主”的战略设计，从实践到理论创造了许多反腐败斗争的政策、制度和措施。这些反腐倡廉的实践和措施，事实上取得了巨大的成效。它不仅培育了以自力更生、艰苦奋斗、实事求是、团结奋进和为人民服务为内涵的延安精神，而且凝聚了党心，赢得了民心，创造了一个新的社会，并最终创建了一个新中国。纵观延安时期的反腐倡廉建设实践，可以得出这些有启发意义的结论：中国共产党之所以在陕北这块贫瘠的黄土地上克服无数的艰难险阻，取得一个接一个的伟大胜利，是与中国共产党不断加强自身建设和不断开展反腐倡廉建设分不开的。要而言之，中国共产党以廉洁而赢得民心，因民心而赢得政权。

总之，历史不仅是前人的集体记忆，而且是前人的集体智慧。以史为鉴，总结和借鉴革命根据地反腐倡廉建设的历史经验，对于解决现实反腐败问题无疑是很有必要的。但是，在历史的借鉴中，既要反对那种简单认为只要继承和发扬根据地时期反腐倡廉的优良传统，就能消除当前的腐败现象的观点（因为昨天和今天毕竟是两个不同的时代），又要反对那种以各种借口，否认某些历史经验具有可借鉴性的历史虚无主义，尤其是要反对那种对历史经验的貌似继承、实则背离的错误做法，即嘴上一套，做又是另一套，只作表面文章的形式主义。领导带头，群众路线，注重思想教育，有令必从，艰苦奋斗，这是延安时期反腐倡廉建设最显著的特点，这

些特点及其所体现的精神和原则，对于中国共产党当前的反腐倡廉建设仍然具有重要的借鉴意义。

关键词 反腐倡廉建设；廉洁政府；中国共产党；延安时期

Abstract

During the morethan 90 years of difficult and magnificent course which the CCP have passed through, the New Democratic Revolution occupied 28 years. In the very 28 years, the Yenan period occupied about 13 years, nearly half of this period. The history of this section is rich on connotation, unique on status, and very significant. In this period, The CCP realized the significant strategic transition from the agrarian revolution to the entirely national anti-Japanese War; In this period, the CCP completed the first historical leap which the Marxism unified with the specifically reality of Chinese revolution, established the leading position of Mao Zedong Thought in party; In this period, CCP led the anti-Japanese war from the back of the enemy, insisted the policy and strategy of the national united front of anti-Japan, and gained great victory at last; In this period, the CCP led the war to Kuomintang for the first two years and welcomed the dawn of the whole victory of Chinese revolution. During the Yenan period, with severe natural environment and economic condition in North Shanxi, with the complex and dangerous political context of powerful enemy surrounding looking at us with fierce and covetous eyes, how did the political power of the border area survive, developed, strengthen, and how did the border area economy and the social become prosperous, vital? Under this kind of environment, how did CCP combat with corruption and build a clean government? And how did CCP closely combine combating corruption and building a clean government with the group's general task and the struggle to realize the general task? This is the question this article aims to discussing.

The corruption is the phenomenon which all political community produce,

it is the malignant tumor associated with public authority. Therefore, opposing the corruption, strengthening the cultivation of a clean government is always the topic which does not fade throughout the political life of various countries and it becomes an important political task concerning politics civilization development and the economic society sustainable development of every country. As a party who takes the Marxism-Leninism as the rationale and represents Chinese people's fundamental interests, and its goal is to liberate the universe, realize the communism. But because its personnel originate from the realistic society also doomed to be unable to go beyond the historical limitation and the reality restraint, and it is impossible to guarantee the interior of the Party becomes absolutely an honest vacuum. Marking off all exploiting class political power or party combating corruption, regardless being in power or out of office, the combating corruption and building a clean government of CCP all serve for people and take this as their basic purpose. In 13 years of North Shanxi, the CCP, although only owned the part political power throughout regarded establishing an honest and clean government as the goal, carried out long-term, continual struggle against corruption in border area and various bases, not only overcame partial corruption, causing the CCP to maintain the political vigor throughout, winning most Chinese people's political trust, also laid solid political basis for the final victory of Chinese revolution.

Making a comprehensive survey of former related research, we find that they usually divided the combating corruption and building clean government history of the CCP into three parts: a) the central Chinese Soviet areas period, b) the anti-Japanese War period, c) the war of liberation period. This kind of division method is obviously influenced by the division method of historical period of Chinese revolution history. Firstly, this method goes against the study which regards the magnificent 13 year history of Central Committee in Yenan as a whole. The result is easy to separate the characteristic history of this section, and North Shanxi, as "the foothold" and "the starting point" of Chinese revolution, it is difficult to embody its important historical situation and the profound implication. Secondly, it is easy to cover the different goals and characteristic of combating corruption and building a clean government in several concrete

historical stages during Yenan period. In addition, from the anti-Japanese War victory to the erupt civil war, this phase of historical period is often omitted by the researchers, or it is fuzzily processed. In view of this, this article will divide the history of combating corruption and building a clean government in Yenan period into three stages for research:

The first stage is from October, 1935, the Central Committee of the CCP arrived at North Shanxi, to the end of 1940. The key point was to establish and insist a national united front of anti-Japan. The aim of combating corruption and building a clean government is to establish the Shanxi, Gansu and Ningxia border area as the democracy model base of anti-Japan. Moreover this stage, besides the Shanxi, Gansu and Ningxia border area, Jinchaji, Shanxi, Shandong, Hebei and Henan provinces, the Shanxi-Suiyuan area, Shandong, Huaibei, Huai Nan, the northern Jiangsu, the Hubei Henan Anhui, and South China established political power one after another. In this stage, the CCP proposed the goal of establishing an honest and clean government, started the big production campaign and the saving movement, fully exerted the model role of party member, founded the system of punishing the corruption, and severely punished the badger hat and so on. Till the end of first stage, the duty to construct the Shanxi, Gansu and Ningxia border area of anti-Japan democracy model was finished roughly.

The second stagewas from 1941 to June of 1946 before the complete eruption of civil war. The key point was to implement "ten big policies". This time, the border area occupied a relatively peace environment, moreover the overwhelming majority democratic bases of anti-Japan were founded before 1941. From 1941 to the whole eruption period of civil war, we may say it is the period of each democratic base of anti-Japan to insist, develop, and strengthen. In order to construct the Shanxi, Gansu and Ningxia border area to the true clean and democratic government of anti-Japanese war, and cause it to become the model of various aspects, on one hand, the CCP emphasized the party's theory construction, namely attitude rectification movement; on the other hand, established each law and regulation of combating corruption and building a clean government, and took the corresponding measures and supervising

mechanism. All were to cause the combating corruption and building a clean government to be the model, and make the democratic government of anti-Japan become the most honest and clean government of Chinese history.

The third stage is from July 1946 to March 1948, the Central Committee leaving North Shanxi. The key point of combating corruption and building a clean government was to seize power and consolidated political power. After the victory anti-Japanese War, the environment and the political configurations of the CCP had immense changes. Especially the full civil war's eruption caused new political configurations both domestic and foreign. The CCP and its leading revolutionary strength's status in Chinese political life appeared more prominent and important than ever before. For the new task appeared in the party and political power's construction, combating corruption and building a clean government became the important content of the party and political power construction after the whole eruption of the civil war. Regarding this important task, in order to meet the need of the war's situation, the Communist Party transformed the government apparatus, established the censorate, and strengthened the modernization of the armed forces, formulated and carried out the correct urban policy and so on, which made full preparation in thoughts, politics and organization for capturing and consolidating the national political power.

The combating corruption and building a clean government of the Yanan period, inherited the party's combating corruption and building a clean government tradition in the Soviet period, adapted the profound and widespread democracy construction's request and the new anti-Japan situation of Kuomintang-Chinese communist cooperation, according to the strategic design of the CCP and Mao Zedong "anti-Japanese War-unity-democracy, it had created many struggle policies, systems and measures against corruption from practice to theory. These practice and measures of combating corruption made huge progress in fact. It not only cultivated Yanan spirit with the connotation: rely on one's own effort to revive, the arduous struggle, realistic, the unity to advance boldly and serve the people, moreover it condensed the party heart, won the popular sentiment, created a new society, and founded a new China finally. Looking over the combating corruption and building a clean government practice of Yanan

period, we may obtain these inspiring and significance conclusion: The reason that CCP overcame innumerable dangers and difficulties on the barren loess in North Shanxi, gained great victory one after another, can't be separate from the party strengthened itself and combating corruption and building a clean government unceasingly. In brief, the CCP won the popular sentiment by honest, won the political power because of the popular sentiment.

All in all, the history is not only predecessor's collective memory; moreover it is predecessor's collective wisdom. Reflect from the past, to summarize and learn from the historic experience of combating corruption and building a clean government of the revolutionary base, it is very necessary to solve the question of reality without doubt. But, when we learn from history, we must oppose the view: some people simply think if we inherit and carry forward the fine combating corruption and building a clean government tradition of the base period, we can eliminate the current corruption (it is because yesterday and today are two different times). We must oppose the history nihilism: who use some kinds of excuse to deny certain historic experience might be used for reference, and particularly we must oppose that kind of wrong deed: who parented to inherit the historic experience, in fact who is departed from it, namely their words do not match with deeds, only formalism. Leader taking the lead, the mass line, pay great attention to the ideological education, obey the command, arduous struggle, is the most remarkable characteristic of combating corruption and building a clean government in Yenan time. These characteristics and the spirit principles it manifested, still have important significance to CCP combating corruption and building a clean government today.

Key words: Combat corruption and build a clean government; An honest and clean government; CCP; Yenan period

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绪 论

自从人类社会产生私有制以来，廉与贪、腐败与反腐败，就成为世界各国政治生活中不朽的话题。延安时期是中国共产党领导新民主主义革命由低谷走向高潮、由第二次失败走向全面胜利的最光辉的时代。其间，中国共产党把“铲除贪官污吏，建立廉洁政府”作为政权诉求和目标，为党的反腐倡廉建设积累了许多宝贵的经验，也为中国新民主主义革命的胜利打下了坚实的基础。一位“老延安”说：“延安精神的重要内容之一就是廉政。”^①历史是一面镜子，“悟以往之不鉴，知来者之可追”。如果能从历史的真实中得出可以为今天反腐倡廉建设借鉴的经验教训，那不是比一般的议论更有意义？

一 研究意义与研究现状

（一）研究意义

一位亲历过延安时期这段历史的美国记者，曾意味深长地说：“历史会给人以启示，如果你理解它，洞察它，把握它。历史也会给人以嘲弄，如果你无视它，扭曲它，或者机会在手，而却熟视无睹，听而无闻。前者可以推动历史的向前发展，后者则只会阻碍甚至使历史发生倒退现象。”^②反腐倡廉建设一直是中共执政以来的重大挑战和难题。当前，它已成为关

① 中国延安精神研究会宣传委员会编：《延安颂歌》，新华出版社1992年版，第374页。

② [美] 约塞夫·W. 埃谢里克：《在中国失掉的机会》，罗清、赵仲强译，国际文化出版公司1989年版，第363页。