

# 中国新世纪

## 惩治腐败 对策研究

---

A Study of  
Special Strategies and Measures  
to Oppose and Control Corruption  
in China in the New Century

---

王明高 等著

By Wang Ming-gao and  
His Research Group

---

湖南人民出版社

HUNAN PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE

国家社会科学基金课题

Topic of Study Sponsored by the National Social Sciences Funds

---

# 中国新世纪

# 惩治腐败

# 对策研究

A Study of  
Special Strategies and Measures  
to Oppose and Control Corruption  
in China in the New Century

王明高 等著

By Wang Ming-gao and  
His Research Group

湖南人民出版社

HUNAN PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE

## 图书在版编目(CIP)数据

中国新世纪惩治腐败对策研究/王明高等著. —长沙:  
湖南人民出版社, 2002. 10

ISBN 7-5438-3123-6

I. 中... II. 王... III. 廉政建设-研究-中国  
IV. D630.9

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2002)第 080395 号

责任编辑:唐长庚

装帧设计:胡薇薇

## 中国新世纪惩治腐败对策研究

王明高 等著

\*

湖南人民出版社出版、发行

(长沙市展览馆路 66 号 邮编:410005)

湖南省新华书店经销 湖南新华精品印务有限公司印刷

2002 年 9 月第 1 版第 1 次印刷

开本:787×1092 1/16 印张:29.5 插页:2

字数:330,000 印数:1—10,000

ISBN 7-5438-3123-6

D·450 定价:80.00 元

## Preface

*Hu Angang*

In China corruption has not only caused tremendous economic losses and seriously contaminated the atmosphere of the society, but also severely challenged the legality of the government. Investigations of various kinds show that corruption, unemployment and income disparity, are the three problems that the Chinese people most care about today. Besides, corruption has become an essential factor that is affecting the social stability of China. The problem of corruption has drawn the attention of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese government. What must be particularly noted is that in the past five years the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline put forward the strategy of opposing and controlling corruption from its sources—namely, on the basis of earnestly handling vital cases, preventing corruption through institutional construction. It has turned out to be very successful.

The study of corruption is challenging. Factors, such as shortage of data, political influence etc., have brought about many difficulties for the study of corruption. The book *A Study of Special Measures and Strategies to Oppose and Control Corruption in China in the New Century* is a sum-up of the research achievements of more than 20 experts. It is a systematic study of the issue of anti-

corruption, especially anti-embezzlement. The book consists of two parts. The first part summarizes and evaluates several important anti-corruption measures taken in recent years in China. An analysis is made of how those measures have been made, what approaches have been used to carry them out, and what have been the ends and results of carrying out the measures. In addition, some suggestions are also made to improve policy-making. Based on international experience, this part analyzes the possibilities and difficulties of collecting inheritance tax and donation tax. The second part deals with the chief measures to be taken to oppose corruption in the future, holding that we should further better our auditing system, perfect our income tax system, regulate the consumptive activities at the expense of the government, manage the extra income of the government functionary, and reform the supervising system within the Communist Party. An analysis is also made of the issue of academic corruption. The meticulous analysis of these anti-corruption measures has laid the foundation for anti-corruption in practice.

The key point of the book is in its institutional consideration of anti-corruption from a financial point of view. The research is deep, meticulous and significant. The functional institutions concerned may refer to the results of the research in their decision-making.

The study of anti-corruption in China is now in a transitional period of time marked by a gradual transformation from ideological education and case analysis to institutional designing. With the deepening of the anti-corruption struggle, the academic circles are required to reach more theoretical results to provide references for decision-making, too. Having devoting themselves to the study of the

---

topic for three years, the research group for the topic “A Study of Special Strategies and Measures to Oppose and Control Corruption in China in the New Century” with Mr. Wang Ming-gao as its organizer, succeeded in finishing its research task. I do hope the research group can extend its research scope incessantly to further its study of the issue of anti-corruption. Meanwhile, I also hope more and more scholars and experts will join in the study to make intellectual contributions to the cause of opposing and controlling corruption in China.

# Introduction

Xiao Hao – hui; Lo Xiao-fan; Tang Kai-lin

This book is a collection of the achievements resulting from the study of the topic “A Study of Special Strategies and Measures to Oppose and Control Corruption in China in the New Century ” sponsored by the National Social Sciences Funds. It turns out to be a sum-up of the effective research of the theoretical workers and practical workers engaged in the study of the topic. They summarize historical experience earnestly, analyze the current situation of anti-corruption in China, learn the effective ways of foreign countries to oppose corruption comprehensively, and bring forth new ideas. The study of the topic started four years ago. With the care and instruction of the Central Government and the provincial government, with the wide-spread support of the academic circles and with the persistent efforts made by the researchers, the study of the topic has produced periodical achievements, which have been continuously amended and deepened after being published or being applied to practice. The study is characterized by its tight combination between theory and practice, which proves to be the fundamental reason for the great success of the book.

## I

Corruption generally refers to the conduct of the government

functionary to embezzle and to take bribes, with the former being its most comprehensive and serious expression. Strictly speaking, what this book chiefly deals with is the issue of anti-embezzlement. Embezzlement means that the government functionary make use of the public power in their hands to occupy public property by breaking the law and violating institutional regulations. There exist some difference between embezzlement and bribery, but both of them are in essence nothing but the evil conduct of the government functionary to seek private gains at public expense and to harm others to benefit themselves, so in a sense we may treat them as one thing. This kind of conduct is of comprehensive implication, which needs to be explained specifically on the basis of the law. We may summarize the general features of corruption as follows: the special identity of the subject; the misuse of power; the greediness on the psychological ground; the great harm to the public. In short, corruption threatens the society.

The conduct to occupy public property and others' property occurred prior to the appearance of public power. In a sense, the necessity for the appearance of public power serves the purpose of avoiding the collapse of the society because of the fierce conflicts aroused in the process of struggling for property. When public power is in the hands of the minority of the society, it will become a two-blade sword. In other words, public power may play an important role in restricting the wide-spread disorderly exploitation of property on the one hand, and may provide a powerful instrument for its owners to occupy property (public and private) on the other. Especially when the so-called instrument falls in the hands of the representa-

tives of the exploiting classes, there will appear intergrowth of political bureaucracy and economic rent-seeking. As Engels once put, state is a kind of force that comes into being in the society but goes beyond the society and gradually breaks away from the society, so public power in the hands of the bureaucrats is doomed to have the incurable disease——bureaucracy. Embezzlement is not only the worst expression of bureaucracy, but also the evil outcome of the failure to control bureaucracy. History tells us that the prevailing of embezzlement and corruption among the government functionary has always been the direct cause of the collapse of a society and a regime.

## II

The establishment of the regime with the people as the masters of their own country has brought about a fundamental change to the nature of the country, which is no longer a tool for the minority to oppress the majority. With economic development and social progress, the number of the majority has been enlarged to cover 95 percent of Chinese citizens, almost including all the members of the society who have Chinese citizenship without being deprived of political rights. There no longer exist violent benefit contradictions between state and society. The socialist political system is not in essence that of bureaucracy any more, so that it provides an important prerequisite for us to restrict, overcome and wipe out corruption. Nevertheless, with the limitation of economic and cultural conditions, public power cannot be completely given to the society and the autonomous organizations of the people yet, but to some representatives of the people. These representatives can only be the minority in the society. Theoretically speaking, these representatives

should do everything at the will of the people. However, what the measures in decision-making and personnel-employment reflect is nothing but the subjective will of the individual or the collective of the government functionary. If their ways of thinking are improper or if their thoughts are impure, especially if they do things only for private interest instead of public interest, their will is sure to diverge from or contradict the will of the people, for they tend to make use of the power in their hands to seek power-renting in one way or another. In form, the new state organs are somewhat similar to the old government offices in feudal China, so the manners and customs of the latter are ready to influence the leaders of the leading organs, which may find its best expressions in the idea of the official standard. Ancient and modern, to become an official has proved to be a most admirable profession in the eyes of most people, for to become an official means gaining both benefit and fame, bringing honor to ancestors, bringing happiness to other family members and relatives; means gaining whatever one wants to gain, whatever one wants to occupy and whatever one wants to possess; means being respected, being flattered, being feared and being worshiped. Given individual benefit, to become an official is a profession better than any other professions. This standpoint has provided the background for the growth of the idea of the official standard, whose content includes—attaching importance to the official standard and doing everything for the purpose of becoming an official; holding that the masses are humbler than officials, so the former should sustain and support the latter without conditions; holding that officials are privileged, so they may be rude to the masses; holding that officials are authorized,

so they can act as an overlord and do whatever they like; holding that officials form a class marked by a strict hierarchy. In the exploiting societies, this idea was widely regarded as a kind of comprehensive truth and became the deep-rooted idea of the society. These ideas have been incessantly criticized after the establishment of the people's regime, but they exist in one way or another. Once our officials are influenced by them, they are sure to become corrupts. In 1954, when analyzing the causes for some officials to become corrupted at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party, Mr. Chen Yun pointed out that those corrupts used to be revolutionaries and then they became official revolutionaries. With the rising of their rank they were finally reduced to nothing but officials without any memory of their revolutionary identity. What Mr. Chen Yun said vividly and clearly pictured the great harm that the idea of the official standard can exert. In 2000, Chairman Jiang Ze-min pointed out further on the Third Plenary Session of the Fifteenth Committee of the Communist Party that "bureaucracy results largely from the idea of the official standard formed in the feudal society of China. Some Party members and leaders have become the slave of the idea consciously or unconsciously, so there appears serious bureaucracy that arouses a lot of complaints among the people". What Chairman Jiang said disclosed the direct cause of the corruption of some officials. Meanwhile, seen from the scope of the whole world, the thinking style and life style of the bourgeoisie also have great impact on our officials, finding their expressions in egoism, hedonism and money cult, which poisons the social atmosphere of China and provides the soil for the birth and growth of cor-

ruption. In one word, the struggle against corruption still has a long way to go.

### III

Marxists have always thought that combating corruption to advocate uprightness and honesty is a fundamental issue concerning the life and death of a party and a state. Marx once said that when the proletariat carried out a socialist revolution they had to break down the state machinery of the bourgeoisie in order to set up a government of uprightness and honesty. When Lenin talked about the Soviet Union formed through the October Revolution, he described it as one with the disease of bureaucracy. He even added that if there was anything that could destroy the Soviet regime, it would be bureaucracy. Even though bureaucracy could not be wiped out when the power of the state had to be given to the minority, we had to stop bureaucracy so as to maintain the vitality of a regime. It is a pity that the subsequent leaders of the Soviet Union gradually forgot what Lenin said, so the prevailing bureaucracy destroyed the Soviet regime in the end.

Mao Ze-dong warned all the members of the Communist Party on the eve of the liberation of the whole country that with the victory such moods as that of being proud within the party, that of being proud of achievements, that of stopping seeking progress, and that of pursuing extravagance would be sure to rise and spread. The flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-minded of our team. Some Party members who hadn't been conquered by armed enemy were conquered by flattery. We had to avoid this kind of thing. What Mao Ze-dong said turned out to be true after the establishment

of the People's Republic of China, for some Party members gave in before flattery and there appeared serious corruption and waste in state organs and institutions of various kinds. Considering this situation, Mao Ze-dong warned all the Party members again that great attention should be paid to the corruption of the officials caused by the influence of the bourgeoisie, that we had to try to find out, disclose and punish corrupts as if it was a campaign. Then according to Mao Ze-dong's suggestion, there broke out the movement against three evils (i. e. corruption, waste and bureaucracy within the Party, government, army and mass organizations), and the movement, begun in 1952, against the "five evils" (bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing of economic information, as practised by owners of private industrial and commercial enterprises). In the two movements, a number of corrupts were detected and punished. In a long period of time after that, the state organs and enterprises and institutions remained upright and honest, with the spirit of serving the people being widely advocated, which won the praises among progressives of the whole world.

With the policy of reform and opening to the outside world, the economy and society of China have been activated. In the meantime, there has appeared corruption in one form or another. In this case, Deng Xiao-ping warned the whole party in time that in the process of reform and opening, some evils of the capitalist society were sure to come in, and that it remained a problem that we should vitalize our economy, but we were not sure about the degree to which we were supposed to vitalize it. It was no problem that we had to stick to the

policy of reform and opening to activate our economy on the one hand; on the other hand, we had to make sure that the policy should be carried out to facilitate the construction of the four modernizations, so we had to punish economic criminals. Later on, he restated again and again that economic and legal construction were equally important, that reform and the punishment of corrupts were equally important. In Deng Xiao-ping's eyes, we must oppose corruption throughout the course of reform and opening. It is particularly true of the officials and Party members. The Central Government with Jiang Ze-min as its center holds on to and develops Deng Xiao-ping's standpoints. Jiang Ze-min once said that advocating uprightness and honesty among the Party members was a life-and-death problem to the Party and the Country. If the issue of corruption could not be solved successfully, there would be no political guarantee for reform, development and stability, so that the Party and the government were sure to break away from the masses. Therefore, Jiang Ze-min called on all the members of the Communist Party of China to fully realize the great harm and danger of corruption in order to bring the struggle against corruption to a full end. In practice, a series of measures have been taken to strengthen the force to fight corruption to advocate uprightness and honesty. A number of corrupts got punished, among whom were Cheng Ke-jie, the former vice-president of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress, and Hu Chang-qing, the former vice-governor of Jiangxi Province, who were sentenced to death. What have already been done has played a role in restricting corruption. What still has to be noted is that to wipe out corruption needs a lot of efforts. In other words, the work to oppose

corruption is of duality, difficulty and complexity, which is reflected in the whole process of reform and opening to the outside world. We should make up our mind to fight a prolonged war on the one hand, and feel pressed about the work on the other. The above-mentioned theories and practice have led us to a right direction in the prolonged struggle against corruption.

#### IV

In order to fight corruption, we must adhere to the strategy of treating corruption by looking into both its root cause and symptoms, the strategy of unifying education, legality and supervision, to show the importance of combining prevention and punishment. That is to say, so far as the majority of officials and Party members are concerned, they should be educated and prevented to stop corruption. As for those few most dangerous corrupts, severe punishment should be resorted. Education is the basis for the strategy of treating corruption by looking into both its root cause and symptoms. A person's actions are controlled by his thoughts. If one official has become a corrupt, it results from the evils in his mind. Why some officials who were able to do good to the people, even to sacrifice themselves for the people, but become corrupts eventually? We may attribute it to the fact that they used to have the ideal of communism and the spirit of serving the people whole-heartedly, but they later give up the ideal and spirit. In their mind, money cult, hedonism and extreme egoism occupy a dominant position and spread without limitation. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out widespread education among all the officials and the masses to equip their minds with scientific theories, correct world outlook, proper life attitudes and right

values. Only in this way can they first think of the benefit of the people, the Party and the country. What has to be emphasized is that requirements should be made of the officials to make them hold on to the requests of the "Three Represents". They must attach importance to education, study, politics and justice. They are supposed to be faithful to the cause of the Party and the people to become models in struggling against corruption. Legality is the guarantee for the application of the strategy of treating corruption by looking into both its root cause and symptoms. To develop democracy, to construct the law and to govern the state by the law are not only the basic strategy for us to govern the country, but also a sharp weapon to oppose corruption. Chairman Jiang Ze-min restated that the work of opposing corruption should be gradually systemized and legalized. On the one hand, we must punish corrupts and criminals according to the law and hold on to the principle of equality before the law. Those officials, no matter how high ranks they are on, should be punished so long as they are corrupts. On the other hand, we must perfect the socialist democracy to prevent corruption. We are supposed to carry on the construction of socialist democracy and legality. Sepecifically speaking, we should perfect the system of making public the affairs of the village, the enterprise and the government, the system of democratic evaluation, and the system of consultation, in order that the masses are really able to play their roles in the process of democratic election, decision-making, administration and supervision to make sure that power is used in a proper way. Besides, we should push forward institutional construction, whose main content is the construction of democratic centralism, to gradually perfect the

administration and supervision of humans, property and materials to establish the working mechanism to oppose corruption to advocate uprightness and honesty, to stop up the loopholes and to reduce the possibility of the exchange between money and power. And we should also reform our administrative mechanism so as to further change the functions of the government. All the problems suitable for the solution of the market mechanism should be left to public and fair competition. All those problems suitable for legal and economic solutions should not resort to administrative means. Even if there is the necessity for us to use administrative means to solve some problems, the solution must be open and fair. Supervision is the key to the strategy of treating corruption by looking into both its root cause and symptoms. Supervision, either from above or from below, will decide whether we can carry out the work of opposing corruption successfully. If there is forceful supervision, the conduct of breaking the law and violating discipline will be restricted. In this case, our cause will flourish; otherwise corruption will prevail and our cause will fail. As Lenin once put it, if we don't supervise the production and distribution of goods, the regime and freedom of the labourers cannot be maintained and the restoration of the capitalist exploiting system will be inevitable. Therefore, we should fully realize the importance of supervision to improve the effect of supervision. Our supervising system include the supervision of power by the People's Congress, and the supervision of democracy by the Political Consultative Conference, the supervision of discipline by the Party Committee, and the hearing and statistical supervision of the government and the supervision of the masses and public opinions etc. What re-