



**Anticorruption policy  
in modern China: basic  
principles and directions**

## ANTICORRUPTION POLICY IN MODERN CHINA: BASIC PRINCIPLES AND DIRECTIONS

### LA POLÍTICA ANTICORRUPCIÓN EN LA CHINA MODERNA: PRINCIPIOS BÁSICOS Y DIRECCIONES

#### ABSTRACT

The proposed study includes systematization and analysis of the theoretical and conceptual interpretations of “corruption” and “corruption interaction”, discussion of the reasons and conditions for the development of corruption interaction in China, as well as consideration of the official assessments of anti-corruption activity and the main directions of prevention and combating corruption in Chinese society by Chinese scientists. Within the framework of this article, we analyze mainly current official positions, analytical materials, theoretical and conceptual versions and research approaches, in which the modern forms and practices of corruption interaction in China are being problematized. The work mainly uses Chinese sources and empirical data, which have been obtained by the authors during interviews (mainly an expert survey). The authors argue that both the scientific community, political analysts and public figures, as well as official representatives of the party, demonstrate unity in understanding the key characteristics of corruption and the main priorities of anti-corruption policy. At the same time, the very corruption phenomenon is treated as a socially negative phenomenon of the modern life of Chinese society, which is of complex nature.

**KEYWORDS:** anti-corruption policy, power, extra-legal relations, state, doctrines, Chinese society, corruption, culture, law, legal regimes, shadow practices.

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#### RESUMEN

El estudio propuesto incluye sistematización y análisis de las interpretaciones teóricas y conceptuales de “corrupción” y “interacción de corrupción”, discusión de las razones y condiciones para el desarrollo de la interacción de corrupción en China, así como consideración de las evaluaciones oficiales de anticorrupción. Actividad y las principales direcciones de prevención y lucha contra la corrupción en la sociedad china por parte de científicos chinos. En el marco de este artículo, analizamos principalmente las posiciones oficiales actuales, los materiales analíticos, las versiones teóricas y conceptuales y los enfoques de investigación, en los que se están problematizando las formas y prácticas modernas de interacción de la corrupción en China. El trabajo utiliza principalmente fuentes y datos empíricos chinos, que los autores han obtenido durante las entrevistas (principalmente una encuesta de expertos). Los autores argumentan que tanto la comunidad científica, los analistas políticos y las figuras públicas, como los representantes oficiales del partido, demuestran unidad en la comprensión de las características clave de la corrupción y las principales prioridades de la política anticorrupción. Al mismo tiempo, el mismo fenómeno de la corrupción se trata como un fenómeno socialmente negativo de la vida moderna de la sociedad china, que es de naturaleza compleja.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** política anticorrupción, poder, relaciones extra-legales, estado, doctrinas, sociedad china, corrupción, cultura, ley, regímenes legales, prácticas en la sombra.

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## INTRODUCTION

Of course, corruption as a social phenomenon has a fairly long development history, accompanies humanity at every stage of the evolution of the state-legal organization of society. The social systems are changing, the new fields of social relations are emerging, the traditional practices of governmental interaction are becoming more complicated, and together with these general transformations this phenomenon is mobilely changing and becoming more complex. At different times, the corruption interaction was differently called and characterized, changed its socio-cultural “masks”, but maintained a common direction. It is no coincidence that in this respect, in studying corruption, the universal, specific historical and socio-cultural characteristics and features are always distinguished, without regard to which the theoretical and conceptual description and practical forms of counteraction to corruption interaction will be incomplete, and the programs for its political and legal prevention - inadequate.

However, with all this, corruption began to be discussed as a fundamental challenge of our time only in the XX century. Many associate the latter with the development of a special form of socio-economic life (capitalist) and the dissemination of specific models of relations (market) that permeate all the levels and types of social interaction, including governmental space. Others associate the latter with the “weakening” of value-normative regulators and spiritual and moral standards of social interaction (religion, customs, traditions, morals, etc.), traditionally holding back human vices (greed, gain, usury, etc.). Still others talk about “reformatting” the fundamental links of social integrity, for example, the basic systems - social trust and duty or socio-political unity - the ideocratic, national, cultural foundations of the human and society life and activities.

Without entering into this discussion, which requires a separate and complex study, we should note that the problem of corruption today, both within the framework of research practice, and in the context of political dynamics and legal development of society, are leading. The fundamental nature of the latter in the governmental organization reflects also both the political agenda of almost any society and the current doctrinal and legal acts of most modern states where combating corruption, the forms of legal and other prevention of corruption interaction are identified as priority areas of legal policy, “the main care” of public institutions.

All of the above can be fully attributed to combating corruption in China, which has recently become a key area of public policy, an unchanged (stable) official political agenda. It should be noted that it is possible to allocate conditionally two stages of an anticorruption policy in modern Chinese society.

Firstly, it is a stage associated with the manifestation of political will and the “public-legal labeling” of the corruption topic as a fundamental problem of the dynamic development of Chinese society and its various fields of life (“economic leap”, “improvement of public administration”, “political stability” “changing the geopolitical status”, etc.).

At this stage (2012-2015 - the adoption of new anti-corruption course at the XVIII Congress of the Communist Party of the PRC and the coming to power of Xi Jinping before his report at the XIX Congress of the CPC, at which the “updated program for combating corruption” was adopted), corruption is officially declared as a challenge the whole Party, the state and the people. It is formed a political metaphor here, reflecting the key principle of combating corruption - “simultaneously beating both tigers and flies”, that is, the unprecedented determination of the Chinese leadership to identify, oppose and punish corruption relations carried out both by the representatives of the highest echelons of power structure, and middle and lower-level officials.

It was the political will that facilitated the essential transition from meta-legal (prevalence of ideocratic dominants in governmental thought activity, first of all, the Confucian value-normative system) and moral (moral

condemnation, ethical codes of conduct, etc.) prevention of the corruption interaction development to the rigid institutional-normative restriction; as well as from temporary (episodic and fragmentary practices of combating corruption) to systemic practical actions, the formation of a holistic anti-corruption course in the country, as well as specific programs and activities contributing to the implementation of this course.

At this time, giving the expert assessment of the change in the corruption agenda of the Chinese government, the Professor of Law of the People's University and the member of the Special Advisory Committee of the Supreme People's Prosecutor's Office of China, He Tziahun, states that there has been a sharp "shift from calls for morality to strict regulation". If the policy of the Chinese leadership, the professor continues, traditionally "called on the state officials to serve honestly for the benefit of the Chinese people through lectures and moralizing", then it has been taken a course for active action with the advent of Xi Jinping: "the country's top leadership has issued a whole set of rules limiting all kinds of expenses on officials and designed to inculcate a modest and provident way of life for officials" [1]. In addition, this stage is associated with a series of reforms of the civil service and administration, the system of state supervision and control; the rules and norms for spending public funds, etc., have been changed.

Secondly, it was the stage connected with the "updated" anti-corruption course and new priorities, strategic goals and current tasks of combating corruption, which were announced by Xi Jinping in his report at the XIX Congress of the CPC. The main part of this article is devoted to the precise consideration of this stage of anti-corruption policy in China, discussion of key priorities, basic principles and directions of combating corruption, as well as forms and technologies of social and legal prevention of corruption interaction. At the same time, the main emphasis will be placed on research approaches, proposed doctrinal and programmatic provisions of Chinese scientists, as well as official positions and assessments of anti-corruption activities, key areas of prevention and combating corruption, recorded in the official documents.

At the same time, we should immediately emphasize that the designation of the current stage of anti-corruption policy as a "new" one is rather provisional, since this "new stage in combating corruption" is not conceivable without the ideological-conceptual and organizational-practical continuity with the preceding stages and the general ideocratic basis of the development of Chinese society, as will be discussed below.

## METHODS AND MATERIALS

So, corruption, as a social, legal, political, economic and cultural phenomenon, is the main problem of a modern governmental organization. In this respect, we can agree with the famous French historian and philosopher M. Foucault in the fact that the thing, which is systematically problematized in a particular society, is the basis of its political outlook and state rationality, a key element of public discourses and public practice. This methodological principle means that the researcher analyzes "not the behavior, not the ideas, not the society and their "ideologies", but the problematizations through which the being is given as what can and should be thought, as well as the practices from which these problematizations are formed" [2, 228].

In this respect, the place corruption takes in public discourse, the way it is thought, scientifically interpreted, fixed in legal definitions, and the forms of practical struggle and social and legal technologies used to prevent the corruption interaction, all this in aggregate characterizes our style of legal, political, economic and other thoughts/activities, reflects the basic characteristics of a specific historical worldview and the type of state rationality [3].

In addition, during the research we relied on the theoretical and methodological provisions of new institutionalism, developed in the works of such authors as: P. J. Dimaggio, J. March, D. Norton, J., Olson, R. Taylor, J. Wallis, O. Favorot, P. Hull, F. Emar Duverne, et al., which consider the political, legal, economic and other institutions in a "broad", interdisciplinary research context. Thus, on the one hand, they are treated as formal rules, regulatory models, procedures and norms; and, on the other hand, as complex symbolic systems, philosophical attitudes and cognitive scenarios, specific socio-cultural and spiritual-moral models, standards and patterns

that organize and control the mental activity of the actors. This approach is most appropriate for an adequate (complex and interdisciplinary) description of the universal and sociocultural characteristics of a particular phenomenon of social life.

It should also be noted that within the framework of this article, we consider mainly current official positions, analytical materials, theoretical and conceptual versions and research approaches, in which the modern forms and practices of corruption interaction in China are being problematized. The article mainly uses Chinese sources and empirical data, which have been obtained by the authors during interviews (mainly an expert survey).

### MAIN PART

1. Theoretical and conceptual interpretations of “corruption” and “corruption interaction” by Chinese scientists:

Corruption interaction is interpreted by Chinese researchers as a socially negative phenomenon, which is of complex nature.

In general, corruption is considered in two main aspects: in the broad - as a negative socio-political and extra-legal phenomenon; and in the narrow - the illegal and anti-popular acts of public authority, that is, contradicting not only the current legislation of China, but also the interests of the state and society.

1.1. In the first aspect, the corruption interaction is meaningfully interpreted as a system of diverse forms and practices aimed at transforming, or more accurately, deforming public authority, that is, distorting the essence, role, purpose and tasks of governmental activity. In other words, corruption leads to an essential deformation of public authority and to serious institutional distortions, when the governmental institutions do not implement their basic functions, legal powers and social expectations.

The distortion of governmental dynamics lies in the fact that the basic features and social functions of government institutions, conditioned by the need to consolidate, represent and implement popular interests [4, 35-53], are transformed into illegal, anti-popular and shadow activities related to the implementation of personal and (or) corporate interests, benefits, advantages, etc., causing

significant damage to the individual, society, state, and socio-political unity as a whole.

In the narrow sense, corruption is treated as an “act of state power” (implemented, for example, by an official) to obtain private (personal or group) benefits, violating the rule of law and damaging the state [5, 115]. This aspect reflects the current world practice of investigating corruption interaction, in the context of which the attention is focused on the formal-legal (violation of the rule of law, the state and level of law and order in society) and institutional-regulatory features of the governmental activity of individual bodies, officials, their interaction with the public institutions.

Zhu Fuen, Cao Wei believe that corruption refers, first of all, to a governmental minority, the political elite, that is, those having public power and the potential to make socially significant management decisions. Chu Wenkai, on the other hand, proves that corruption should be viewed in a broad public context, involving all actors, who are somehow connected with the administration of public authority, in the analysis of corruption interaction. According to the Chinese researcher, such an approach will ensure the effectiveness of the anti-corruption mechanism, social and legal prevention of the conditions for the development of this negative phenomenon [5, 116].

In the corruption studies, a number of Chinese scientists and political analysts focus on negative (from the point of view of normal and fair development of the society and the state) communicative exchange forms, into which the power sources (of material and symbolic nature) are involved through illegal and shadow practices. Thus, Huang Bai Liang believes that any corruption is a form of abuse of state power associated with improper (socially negative, illegal) exchange of personal or group interests, causing significant damage to the society and the state [5, 116].

At the same time, the corruption practices are analyzed on the institutional and non-institutional (network, informal, shadow) levels. On the one hand, this view of corruption allows comprehensively formulating the programs to counteract the development of the extra-legal and shadow interaction space of various actors that are “weakly perceptible” at the level of forms and schemes of corruption

interaction that are not established (as stable shadow institutions).

On the other hand, it allows effectively combating corruption at the level of already stable and reproducing forms and methods of corruption relations in the state power system, which are often used not only for the individual or collective (group) purposes, but for the political struggle as well. For example, the Professor of Law of the People's University He Jiahu states in this context that: "one should understand that corruption has always been a very serious problem in China. And it is not just about corruption on the individual level, but on the social and institutional levels as well. There are corrupt officials who, perhaps, will begin to spin intrigues by using anti-corruption campaign in the political struggle and covering their accomplices and accusing opponents in all echelons of power structure" [6].

1.2. Another group of Chinese scientists problematize the quality of the governmental and managerial relations themselves. In this regard, it is noted that the key problem in the corruption spread is primarily related to the functioning of state power system itself, formed and developing within the framework of the latest negative power practices.

The development of these practices, in the opinion of this group of Chinese researchers, is mainly due to the distortion of professional and moral activity standards, as well as the deformation of legal consciousness of officials, the value-normative and party-ideological foundations of governmental activity. Liu Yulan believes that corruption is first and foremost a deterioration in the quality of the government itself, where the negative practices of power exercise are spreading (from the point of view of the development of the society and the state) in the public administration system, and the authority: on the one hand, is transformed at the level of intersubject or group interaction into the private law of mercenary persons; on the other hand, is a convergence (mixing, merging) of power, economic and status (symbolic) opportunities and resources [5, 115].

1.3. In turn, the corruption complexity as a socio-economic and political-legal phenomenon is justified by the fact that the latter is constantly changing. Corruption interac-

tion is a fairly dynamic practice, which takes the form of networking now. Its combating is very difficult due to the fact that the changes in modern society are rapid, therefore, the anti-corruption activity should always take into account the constant evolution of forms, types and practices of corruption relations. This evolution is activated both under the influence of modern socio-political transformations, and due to the development of innovative forms of social communication, interactive exchange technologies, etc.

In this regard, the rapid and dramatic transformations in the governmental management system that characterized the last decades of the development of the state power system and Chinese society as a whole aggravated both a number of "classical" problems and formed a set of completely new contradictions in the governmental relations. For example, Wang Junin believes that the recent institutional transformations in the system of power relations have generated "new corruption challenges" and "non-standard trajectories" for the development of corruption interaction [7, 7].

2. Reasons and conditions for the development of corruption interaction:

According to many researchers, the insufficient level of effectiveness of the anti-corruption mechanism is a key factor of corruption development in Chinese society. This assessment relates both to functioning official anti-corruption agencies and state mechanisms of institutional and regulatory prevention of corruption interaction, and to the systems and technologies of public control, especially social control and public supervision.

2.1. Guo Yun notes that in terms of the low effectiveness of official publicly-owned anti-corruption mechanisms, the current anti-corruption agencies have a number of shortcomings that significantly reduce the effectiveness of their functioning: firstly, the complaint receipt and processing system is not ideal, it is not closed, and the informants are easily identified; secondly, the system of internal supervision and audit control over the governmental work is quite poorly implemented [8, 840-41].

Wen Jianming believes that the administrative and legal regimes and the procedural law



of China are still not perfect, they demand their development and perfection at present. Moreover, in his opinion, it is necessary to carry out a purposeful and systematic activity to improve the current Chinese legislation (both substantive and procedural law). He notes that there is a need to develop regulatory and legal acts that clearly fix the “border of power functioning”, “the limits of state intervention”, “the areas of state regulation” and also establish “a public interaction mode”, “the areas of openness and awareness modes” (modes of state power transparency [9, 59]), etc. In this aspect, Wen Jianming offers to adopt a whole anti-corruption set of laws and regulations - the “Law on Public Information of the People’s Republic of China”, the “Law on Prevention of Conflicts of Interest”, the “Law on Press”, the “Law on Clean Government”, etc. [10].

Many Chinese researchers note the fragmentation and lack of a coherent strategy. Thus, Zhang Huysin believes that there is still a systemic gap in some fundamentally important areas of anti-corruption policy implementation in China at present [11, 5]. Di Xiaohua, considering various forms and mechanisms of Chinese anti-corruption policy, states that there is no correlation between them and a systemic effect of the latter’s actions [12, 95].

2.2. In turn, another well-known Chinese researcher Li Jingzhi notes that there is no comprehensive activity to oversee the implementation of public authority both vertically (top to down and bottom to top) and horizontally (social forms of combating corruption) of interpersonal and intergroup mutual and responsible public supervision at the moment.

According to Li Jingzhi, the spread of corruption requires the need to improve not only the horizontal mechanisms of supervision and control (the activity of official anti-corruption mechanisms), but also the public technologies of “parallel observation” (forms and technologies of public supervision). Only the harmonious and systemic interaction of these two elements, according to the conclusion of the Chinese researcher, can “keep corruption in its source” and to effectively “resist the causes and conditions of its proliferation” [13, 4-6].

It should be made an important theoretical and practical comment here, which is connected with the fact that Chinese scientists make a key emphasis not on the technologies of comprehensive and total administrative oversight of public authority, but on the contrary, on the formation and implementation of the system, first of all, of meta-legal standards and requirements (ideological, moral, spiritual, social) to such activity, and, what is important, to its socially significant results.

This system of social control and public supervision unites (harmonizes, provides assistance for achieving a common goal) both the official forms and technologies of legal and political prevention of corruption interaction, and the public anti-corruption forms that “fit” into the overall strategy of building a just society. “Parallel supervision” is rather a social form of general “service” to the people’s good, as well as a technology of control and public supervision of the implementation of public functions for the sake of people’s interests and revival of Chinese nation (the era - Fu Xing or the Renaissance - the wording is taken from Confucius, his idea of the “Chinese dream of a great revival of the Chinese nation”, is the official “ideocratic foundation” for the development of the state-legal organization of Chinese society in the XXI century [14]).

It seems that the idea of mutual action (“parallel supervision”) and general service (to people’s welfare and revival of Chinese nation), implemented both in self-control/self-discipline in the implementation of public authority, and in public supervision/control over the functioning of state authority and persons, is the key. It forms a complex system of combating the rapidly evolving forms of corruption together with the official anti-corruption mechanism.

In this aspect, Sy Yang justifies the need to form an “integrated strategy” and “complex actions” aimed, on the one hand, to prevent corruption and, on the other hand, to combat existing corruption. According to the Chinese analyst, the latter should be implemented in three interrelated directions:

- firstly, the strengthening of legal and deontological regulation of public authority, including the responsibility of government officials in case of conflicts of interest, the de-

velopment of extra-legal or shadow relations, etc.;

- secondly, the creation and development of effective mechanisms for public control and supervision of the functioning of public authorities and the social results of its activities;

- thirdly, the formation and strengthening of a responsible style of behavior and culture of intolerance towards corrupt officials, to shadow (informal, extra-legal and other types) issues, contradictions and conflicts [15].

The Chinese researchers and political analysts are in agreement that the formal legal control mechanism as a whole is rather limited in combating corruption interaction (as a complex social phenomenon). And in some cases, according to Hu Angan, a high degree of state control and regulation can cause corruption in itself [16].

3. Official assessments of anti-corruption activities and the main areas of prevention and combating corruption:

In general, despite the shortcomings and critical assessments of certain areas of anti-corruption policy, China has achieved significant results in combating corruption, improved the distribution of financial resources, improved the system of spending and control of public funds, significantly increased the responsibility of state apparatus and officials to the people in recent decades.

3.1. In general, the combating corruption has become systemic and massive in recent years. Thus, according to the statistical data and analytical reports of the Bureau for Combating Corruption and Bribery under the Supreme People's Prosecutor's Office, the thousands of officials are annually prosecuted. In recent decades, more than 10 thousand people have been sentenced to the highest degree of criminal punishment. However, it should be noted that according to the current Chinese legislation, to appoint the highest measure does not mean to "automatically" sentence the corrupt official to the execution [17].

In addition, since 2013, the main focus in the criminal prosecution of corrupt activities has been postponed from the strictness of legal consequences to improving the investi-

gative activities and the procedural aspect of a case, that is, from the severity of criminal punishment to the thorough investigation of crimes and compliance with the procedural norms. As noted by Professor He Jiahong, in modern China "the higher penalty is used much less often, the authorities conduct instead a thorough government investigations to identify the facts of corruption and prevent similar crimes in the future. The authorities often send inspection commissions and carry out inspections in many government institutions - factories, universities, hospitals" [18].

Therefore, the image of mass executions of officials in China is more of a "media myth", which only partially corresponds to the real practice of combating corruption. For example, the sentence execution may be postponed for a very long period (the Chinese procedural law does not regulate such terms) or replaced by a life sentence. Over the past 10 years, for example, no one high-ranking official has been executed for theft, the highest measure is usually applied in exceptional cases of causing significant damage to the state's and people's interests [18].

3.2. At the moment, a new stage in developing the system of social and legal prevention of corruption interaction in the society, as well as the priorities for combating corruption itself, are being formed in Chinese society. This stage is due, first of all, to new guidelines for the development of Chinese society and the key strategic and current tasks related to them (for the next five-year period). Thus, Xi Jinping proclaimed the beginning of a "new era", the "Fu Xing era", which marks a new model of socio-economic and state-legal development at the XIX All-China Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. It is aimed at "the great victory of socialism with Chinese features in a new era" and the relentless struggle "for the implementation of Chinese dream of a great revival of Chinese nation" [14].

Within the framework of this stage, new principles for combating corruption are specified and formulated in detail. Of course, these are not fundamentally new, but "updated principles", with a different emphasis. Here the emphasis is made not only on the tough forms of combating corruption, but it is also offered a whole range of socio-ethical and meta-legal forms of prevention of corrup-



tion manifestations within the framework implementing the public authority. It should be noted that, in general, these principles and accent correspond to the particular directions of combating corruption developed in the framework of research projects, as well as the doctrinal and programmatic provisions of Chinese scientists and political analysts.

At this stage, the key anticorruption principle is as follows: “there should be no restricted areas in combating corruption; full coverage and zero tolerance are necessary”. At least three key strategic orientations are obvious here:

- firstly, the formation, on the one hand, of a transparent mode for the functioning of public authorities, aimed at minimizing shadow relations in the activities of public authorities, openness in the functioning of state bodies and officials; on the other hand, the implementation of anti-corruption policies and, in general, the “state management through laws” [14].

- secondly, the systemic and total (“full coverage”) monitoring and control over the implementation of public authority, the latter involves not only improving the political and legal forms of state control and “concretizing the political responsibility of each instance for the internal party management” [14], but also developed technologies of people’s supervision over the publicly-authoritative activity and its socially significant results, which forms a complex system of counteraction to various corruption forms;

- thirdly, “zero tolerance” is designed to form the intolerance mode to any corruption manifestation, “to transform” the social tradition of gratitude, encouragement for help, shadow stimulation of a certain form of behavior, etc. Thus, for example, Hu Jintao notes on this occasion that many corruption manifestations “were spread from the Chinese mentality”. And if we do not take into account, and do not work with these stable pre-legal guidelines for interaction and people’s traditions, then the combating corruption will not be effective, the society and the state will constantly “step” on the “mines laid down by the social foundations themselves” [18].

In this regard, the meta-legal (value-normative and socio-ethical) standards and require-

ments both to the most publicly-authoritative interaction in society, and to the results of the activities of specific bodies and officials acquire key importance in the development of “zero tolerance”. In particular, the latter presupposes strengthening of a responsible style of behavior and culture of intolerance towards corrupt officials and to shadow (informal, extra-legal and other types) issues.

3.3. The responsible behavior and social intolerance to corruption, as noted above, are associated with a general ideological focus on the revival of Chinese nation, the creation of favorable socio-economic conditions for the life of Chinese society, the “service character” of public authorities and officials (“the ultimate goal of the Communist Party of China is selfless service to the people”). This is common “historical responsibility for national revival”, which allows “jointly enjoying the greatness and glory of a prosperous, rich and powerful Motherland” [19], 35 - 53].

The latter also defines a complex system of responsibility within the framework of the implementation of the Chinese anti-corruption policy, which is not limited to typical formats of the rule of law in the implementation of public authority and the legal responsibility of officials inherent in many foreign legal states. This system is presented in separate but overlapping forms of social responsibility, which form relatively independent modes of “responsible behavior”, converging together at the level of general ideocratic principle - the “Fu Xing era”.

Moreover, the “delimitation of responsibilities” not only leads to the formation of social, political, legal and other guarantees of the revival and grandeur of Chinese society, but also promotes the development of various areas that “ensure sustainable development” in certain spheres of governmental cooperation, reaches a joint cumulative effect, that is, strengthening each other and contributing to the stable “power of the Motherland”.

Such modes of responsible style of behavior include ideological responsibility and party discipline, political and legal responsibility, socio-cultural and ethical duty. In their distinction and interaction, they form a “system of responsibility for ideological work, intensify the development of ideological positions and strengthen their management”, ensure

the “delimitation of issues relating to political principles, ideological consciousness and scientific points of view”, counteract to various “negative social phenomena” and “erroneous views” [14].

An example of this mutual reinforcement is the justice system, which not only implements the legal liability regime for unlawful behavior, but also social and ethical condemnation for the anti-people behavior that violate moral standards. In the world outlook of Chinese society, the legal responsibility in the field of justice should lead to justness, where the latter is treated more broadly than the rule of law (legality is the highest form of justice), but also expresses social and ethical requirements to the human and society. These different modes of “responsibility in the field of justice” are aimed at “efforts to ensure that the masses feel equality and justness in the solution of each case” [14].

### MAIN CONCLUSION

Thus, the combating corruption in China retains its official vector, focused on “the effect of severe deterrence, high tension and constant intimidation” [14], as well as the continuation of the overall strategic “anti-corruption line” of China’s development: “the combating corruption will never end. The principle of “zero tolerance” for corruption will never change. Our determination, courage and seriousness in combating corruption will not weaken” [20].

However, at the same time, emphasis is placed on the institutional and legal foundations of the anti-corruption policy and against the formation of political groups using tough tools to solve their narrow group interests: “firmly stand on the position of simultaneous investigation of the facts of bribery, resolutely suppress any attempts to form the groups of interests within the party” [14].

The development and improvement of anti-corruption legislation and “sites for exposing” offenses in the field of governmental interaction are proclaimed as a priority. It includes the adoption of a set of laws stimulating the system of practices of constant control over public authority, as well as taking into account, as noted above, various forms (state and national) and levels (nationwide and provincial): “It is necessary to stimulate

the state anti-corruption legislation, create grounds for exposing them in offending acts and submitting relevant reports, covering the whole system of disciplinary verification and control. It is necessary to build up the intimidation force, whose power will compel not dare to become a corrupt official” [21].

Consequently, these sites are designed to implement both disciplinary checks and party control, as well as various forms of people’s control that promote the formation of responsibility (social, party and legal) and a transparent mode for the functioning of the state, individual party structures and officials: “it is necessary to strengthen the organizational control “from top to bottom” and improve democratic control “from bottom to top”... It is necessary to deepen the political inspection... establish a control network in which it is established the interaction between higher and lower inspection bodies. To deploy pilot projects throughout the country in the context of deepening the reform of the state control system, at the state, provincial, city and county levels, to establish control commissions that work on the basis of combining official duties with party discipline inspection bodies, thus ensuring full control over all civil servants performing public authority” [14].

The report of Xi Jinping, the various official documents and public speeches often and clearly indicate the problems of meta-legal bases of anti-corruption policy, the moral standards and requirements for governmental activity and its socially significant results: “I have two comments on the institutional construction in the field of combating corruption. The first one: it is necessary to put power in the cage of institutions, and the second one - “sunshine” - is the best precaution against corruption” [19, 53].

These meta-legal bases that strengthen and direct the development of institutional and legal forms and fill “four forms of discipline” (discipline in following the principles of honesty, integrity, discipline in relation to the masses, labor and domestic discipline) can be divided into three groups: 1) social (the interests of Chinese nation and state interest); ideocratic (party-ideological standards of activity and responsibility); 3) moral and spiritual (moral, ethical, etc.).

The development of these deontological foundations of governmental interaction in the system of personality - society - state should provide six fundamental principles of the political, legal and socio-economic development of society: “three strictures and three honesties”. Three strictures are strict adherence to the way of self-improvement and self-development, strict and responsible forms and practices of using power, strict self-discipline and self-control. In turn, “three honesties” imply - “honesty in planning the case, honesty in creative work and honesty in dealing with people” [14].

In general, both the scientific community, political analysts and public figures, as well as official representatives of the party, demonstrate unity in understanding the key characteristics of corruption and the main priorities of anti-corruption policy. Corruption is treated as a socially negative phenomenon of the modern life of Chinese society, which is of complex nature and which, as a rule, is analyzed in three directions: 1) the anti-popular and anti-state socio-political and extra-legal phenomenon; 2) the unlawful act that inflicts substantial harm on the interests of the state and society, the stability of Chinese society; the factor deforming publicly-authoritative dynamics, basic characteristics and social functions of government institutions, manifested in the illegal and shadow activities related to the implementation of personal and (or) corporate interests, benefits, advantages.



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