ASSESSMENT ON THE CHINA'S ANTI-CORRUPTION CAMPAIGN UNDER THE FIRST XI'S PRESIDENCY AND THE PROPOSAL OF THE SINGAPOREAN EXPERIENCE IN THE CONTINUATION PROCESS OF THE XI'S ANTI - CORRUPTION CAMPAIGN IN CHINA

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ABSTRACT: One year after his first accession at the head of the People's Republic of China and the General Secretary of the China Communist Party, Mr. Xi Jinping had initiated a vast program of fighting against corruption. Five years later, the China's President has reiterated his willingness to combat corruption as one of the top priorities of his second presidency, during the 19th National Congress of the China Communist Party in October 2017, when he stated "The people resent corruption most; and corruption is the greatest threat our Party faces. We must have the resolve and tenacity to persevere in the never-ending fight against corruption". In this article, the authors make an assessment of the Xi anti-corruption campaign of his first term, and suggest the Singaporean anti- corruption policy for the continuation process of the xi's anti-corruption campaign in China.

KEYWORDS: Assessment-China-Anti-corruption-Campaign-XiJinping-Presidency-Proposal-Singaporean-Experience-Continuation-Process

INTRODUCTION

Before Xi was elected at the head of the People's Republic of China and the China Communist Party (usually called CCP), following the 18th National Congress of the CCP in 2012¹, the rate of corruption in China had reached a worrying level. Indeed, following the Corruption Perception

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¹Affectionately called Xi, Xi Jinping is a Chinese politician currently serving as General Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CCP), China's highest decision-making body, and President of the People's Republic of China, and Chairman of the Central Military Commission. Born in Beijing in 1953, Xi is the son of revolutionary veteran Xi Zhongxun, one of the Communist Party's founding fathers. After winning two consecutive terms following the 18th and 19th National Congress of the CCP in 2012 and 2017, Xi has become one of the most important Chinese politician after Mao Zedong. Since his first term, as Mao, Xi has made corruption one of the priorities of his action at the head of China.

Index (CPI) of 2011, reported by Transparency International in 2012, China was the 80th least corrupt country with a score of 39 out of 174 countries². Reminding that according to the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index Rule, the country rank and score indicates the perceived level of public sector corruption on a scale of 0-100. 0 score means that a country is perceived as highly corrupt and 100 score means that the country is perceived as very clean. Thus, for many scholars, one of the main causes that increased corruption rate in China is the "Guanxi". In the Chinese society guanxi is understood as a network relationship among various parties that cooperate together and support one another³. This assertion can be shared insofar as this social practice is built on the basis of family ties, other familiar connections such as friends, peers, colleagues, or former classmates, and between strangers. Aside from family ties and friend connections, the guanxi can also be gradually developed and sustenaid through regular social meetings and activities such as dinners and other get-togethers and through a continuous cycle of mutual gift giving (Hardin, Jacob, Corruption or Guanxi: Differentiating between the Legitimate, Unethical, and Corrupt Activities of Chinese Government Officials, 2013). All this, creates an atmosphere of trust and a sort of moral debt between people, which force them to obligations.

This is why Winnie Tong (Analysis of corruption from sociocultural perspectives, 2014) maintains that the guanxi allows most of Chinese people to merge their public and private life by using their personal network and connections for their public interests and business transactions. This, has also had negative effects on the management of public funds because several government employees and CCP members have involved themselves in briberies, and embezzlements of public funds hopping that the connections built through their status were making them unpunishable before the law. This is how the law fallen into disuse because people who had the responsibility to enforce the law were finding themselves prisoner of the consequences of this social practice, and, breached the law to preserve their relationships and their own interests to the detriment of general interest. Considering corruption as a breach of country laws, an act of injustice and social

² Available at https://www.transparency.org/cpi2012/results visited on 10 July 2018. Transparency International e.V. (TI) is an international non-governmental organization which is based in Berlin, Germany, and was founded in 1993. Its nonprofit purpose is to take action to combat global corruption with civil societal anti-corruption measures and to prevent criminal activities arising from corruption. It publishes for example the Global Corruption Barometer and the Corruption Perceptions Index. Transparency International has the legal status of a German registered voluntary association (Eingetragener Verein) and serves as an umbrella organization. Its members have grown from a few individuals to more than 100 national chapters which engage in fighting corruption in their home countries.

³ In simple words, "Guanxi" (Pronounced "gwon-she" and wrote 关系 in Chinese character), which literally means connection or network, is a social network that represents one of the most powerful forces in Chinese culture and today commonly used in the Chinese business world. Guanxi does express the relationship of one person to another, or one party to another. The term also expresses an obligation of one party to another, built over time by the reciprocation of social exchanges and favours. If one has guanxi with another, one will be quick to do a favour, act on another's behalf and depending on the depth of the relationship, and do anything necessary for the other party. By establishing this type of relationship with someone, the other party is implicitly agreeing also to be available to reciprocate when the need arises. In such a way "guanxi" can be considered as a type of currency that can be saved and spent between the two parties. Available at https://www.commisceo-global.com/blog/guanxi-the-chinesecultural-concept visited on 12 June 2018.

discrimination, that increases poverty, violates human rights and brakes the evolution of rule of law, Xi decided to initiate a vast program against corruption in 2013, in order to fight poverty, to ensure social equality, transparency, to strengthen rule of law, and, to comply with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Convention Against Corruption, and the Chinese Constitution, that combat any acts linked to the anti-values. Five years later; after having noticed that the people still resent corruption most; and declared that corruption is the greatest threat the Party faces, Xi has reiterated his wish to pursue his combat against corruption as one of the top challenges of his second presidency, this time, by cracking down on "tigers and flies4". Hence, through this paper the authors attempt to make an assessment on the Xi's anti-corruption campaign under his first presidency and suggest to Xi administration to adopt Singaporean experience for the second phase of the Xi's campaign against corruption, given the renowned of Singapore in matter of fighting against corruption. For that, the organisation of this research has been elaborated on fourth main points namely the study of the measures put in place by the Xi's administration against corruption during his first presidency, including the results obtained (first part), the reasons of having chosen Singaporean experience to evolve the Xi's anti-corruption campaign, and the main means used by Singapore to combat corruption (second part), and, an analysis on the efficiency of the means used by Singapore against corruption, on the current state of the Xi's anticorruption campaign (third part), then a recommendation and conclusion (fourth part).

The Measures Set up by the Xi's Administration Against Corruption Under His First Presidency

The law was the starting point of the Xi anti-corruption campaign of his first presidency. Indeed, beyond the Chinese constitution that has always fought anti-values from its preamble, the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China and the Anti-Unfair Competition Law of the People's Republic of China in force since 1993, were the main legal texts adopted by the National People's Congress and promulgated by the State Council, punishing corruption crimes. Under the 2011 amendment of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China⁵, corruption crimes included embezzlement crimes and briberies. However, the sentences imposed to the perpetrators of these crimes varied according to the gravity of the facts. This is how certain offences were punishable of fixed-term imprisonment and confiscation of propriety, and life imprisonment or death penalty for the more flagrant cases⁶. About the Anti-Unfair Competition Law of the People's Republic of China, the provisions laid down by the legislator were punishing corruption crimes but only in business affairs. And, we note that the sentences provided by this Law were essentially based on

⁴ See the Xi Report delivered at the 19th National Congress of the China Communist Party (CCP) on 18 October 2017 at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing.

⁵ Established since 1979, the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China has been amended nine times of which the last amendment has been done in 2015. When Xi was arrived at the head of the office the criminal law was ruled by the amendment of 2011 that was composed of 452 Articles, and, is the eighth amendment before the current one of 2015. About the Anti-Unfair Competition Law of the People's Republic of China, this Law was enacted since December 1, 1993. The first amendment has been done on 04 November 2017 and come in force on 1 January 2018. ⁶ See the 2011 amendment of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China in the Chapter VIII, Article 383, adopted at the 19th Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Eleventh National People's Congress on February 25, 2011.

the fines, except case of gross corruption of which the provisions of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China were used to provide tougher sentences. In addition, political sanctions against the Party members involved in corruption affairs also were established, whose the tougher sanction was the expelling of the party members from the Party⁷.

The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection (abbreviated CCDI) in place since 1978, and reformed in 2002, following the 16th National Congress of the CCP, was the main anti-corruption body in place with the main mission to combat corruption by investigating and prosecuting every presumed guilty of corruption crime, but also by ensuring the respect and application of the measures against corruption acts and their guilty⁸. Hence, to make the commission stronger, Xi had brought important reforms, by giving more autonomy and freedom of action to the commission, but still remaining under the watchful eye of the Party. Thus, it is under this legal framework that the Xi's administration has led the first phase of the Xi's anti-corruption campaign with Wang Qishan as CCDI Secretary⁹. As expected by the people of China, the enforcement of the laws was the most important step of the Xi's anti-corruption campaign of his first presidency. In response to that, the Xi's administration has prosecuted an important number of corrupt offenders that have been punished in accordance with the laws in force during that period.

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⁷ In his program against corruption, Xi, also had noticed that it was urgent to take strict measures against Party members, many quoted in corruption cases as follows: "In this new environment, our Party is confronted with many severe challenges. There are many pressing problems within the Party that needs to be resolved urgently, especially the graft and corruption cases that occurred to some of the Party members and cadres, being out of touch from the general public, bureaucracy and undue emphasis on formalities – they must be resolved with great efforts. The whole Party must be vigilant against them. To forge iron, one must be strong. Our responsibility is to work with all comrades in the party, to make sure the Party supervises its own conduct and enforces strict discipline, effectively deals with the prominent issues facing the Party, earnestly improves the working style of the Party and maintains close ties with the people." Available at http://english.sina.com/video/2012/1114/526824.html visited on 22 September 2018. This is how Xi announced an "eight-point code" to impose restrictions on official behavior (baxiang guiding 八项规定) at a Party Central Committee meeting. The rules required government officials to reconnect with the masses, banned the use of luxury cars, eliminated lavish gifts, and reduced pomp, banquets, ceremony, bureaucratic visits, and meetings.

A catchy expression – four dishes and a soup (sicai yitang 四菜一汤) – which has been used by Party leaders since the Mao era to symbolize frugality

⁸ The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection usually called CCDI, was established in December 1978 following the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, and, has known a great reform in 2002 and also under the first Xi presidency. Note that the CCDI is not the first anti-corruption body of the history of China. Indeed, the first anti-corruption body was set up in 1927 under the name of Central Control Commission and has also known several reforms before its dissolution.

⁹ Wang Qishan (Chinese: 王岐山; born 19 July 1948) is a Chinese politician, and the current Vice President of the People's Republic of China. He was instrumental in carrying out General Secretary Xi Jinping's anti-corruption campaign between 2013 and 2017. Wang gained prominence in China's financial sector in the late 1980s. In 1994, Wang became the Governor of the China Construction Bank. Wang then successively served in three regional roles: Vice-Governor of Guangdong, Party Secretary of Hainan, and Mayor of Beijing. Wang then served as Vice-Premier in charge of finance and commercial affairs under premier Wen Jiabao from March 2008 to March 2013, during which he also gained a seat on the party's Politburo.

The Law Enforcement on the Field: Cases

The law against corruption has been strongly enforced during the Xi anti-corruption campaign of his first presidency. In particular, the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China was highly used to combat corruption. No complacency was noticed, confirming the slogan of "to exactly solve the problem of corruption, we must hit both flies and tigers" lunched by the Xi's administration at the opening of the campaign because even the seniors and Politburo Standing members of the CCP¹⁰, were prosecuted and punished in accordance with the provisions in force, breaking the custom and power of the guanxi. For instance, in 2013, Bo Xilai a former Chinese politician who served as Minister of Commerce from 2004 to 2007, and member of the Politburo Communist Party Secretary of Chongging between 2007 and 2012, was expelled from the party and convicted of life sentence for bribe-taking as well as fifteen years for embezzlement and seven years of abuse of power. According to the prosecutors Bo was taking advantage of his functions to enrich himself and his family illicitly. They also alleged that Bo received the equivalent of an amount of 21.79 million yuan (about US\$3.56 million) in bribes from two Chinese businessmen namely Xu Ming and Tang Xiaolin¹¹. Regarding Tang Xialin, Bo admitted having got some sums of money three times from him and adding that he did not know the purpose of that transaction as his mind was a blank. About Xu Ming, during the trial Xu testified that he gave Bo's wife Gu Kailai 21.65 million yuan (about US\$3.23 million) in 2000 to buy the villa Fontaine St-Georges in Nice, France, and that he paid for their son Bo Guagua's travel and credit card bills. These confessions had been rejected by Bo Xilai, who cross-examined Xu and denied knowledge of many of the payments and decided to make appeal against the decision made by the Intermediate Court of Jinan in Shandong Province. Unfortunately Bo appeal was rejected by the high People's Court of Jinan. One year after the trial, the Bo luxurious villa for a value of €6.95 million (about 53.49

¹⁰ Abbreviated (PSC) the Politburo Standing of the China Communist Party is also the Standing committee of the Central Political Bureau. Is a committee consisting of the top leadership of the Communist Party of China. Historically it has been composed of five to nine members, and currently has seven members. Its officially mandated purpose is to conduct policy discussions and make decisions on major issues when the Politburo, a larger decision-making body, is not in session. According to the party's Constitution, the General Secretary of the Central Committee must also be a member of the Politburo Standing Committee. Thus, the condemnation of this body members have had a positive impact in the collective consciousness of the Chinese people's because it expressed the willingness of Xi to combat corruption without any distinction braking the negative side of guanxi.

¹¹ Xu Ming (Chinese: 徐明; pinyin: Xú Míng; April 1971 – 4 December 2015) was a Chinese entrepreneur and onetime billionaire. He was the founder of the conglomerate Dalian Shide Group, and the chairman of Dalian Shide F.C., China's top football club in the 2000s. In 2005 Forbes ranked him the eighth-richest person in China, with an estimated net worth of US\$1.05 billion, but his net worth declined to \$690 million in 2011. The 2013 Hurun Report estimated his wealth to be around US\$490 million, ranking 676th in China Xu had close relationships with several high-ranking government officials and their families, especially the former Politburo member Bo Xilai. After Bo was implicated in a political scandal and fell from power in 2012, Xu was taken into custody, and testified in August 2013 at the trial of Bo, who was convicted and sentenced to life in prison. Xu was also sent to prison, where he died in December 2015, less than a year before his scheduled release. Less popular than Xu Ming, Xi Tang Xialin 席唐夏林 was also a businessman and the head of Dalian International Development company in Dalian city.

million yuan, US\$7.98 million) in France, in the city of Cannes was confiscated and sold by Chinese authorities¹².

The same year, Lui Zhijun a former member of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of Railways, was convicted to death with a two-year reprieve, for bribery and abuse of power. He was mainly accused for having accepted 52.754 yuan million in bribes (about US\$7.865 million) from 1986 to 2011, and using his position to help 11 people to win promotions or lucrative contracts, reported by the state newswire Xinhua. In its verdict Beijing No. 2 Intermediate People's Court also deprived Liu from his political right for life, and confiscated all his personal property, plus ten years of jail before his execution¹³.

Zhou Yongkang a former senior leader of the CCP, and Secretary of the Central Political and Legal Affairs Commission between 2007 and 2012, what made him the 3rd most powerful politician in China, was convicted to life sentence in 2015. According to the facts, Zhou Yongkang was convicted for having accepted bribes worth 731, million yuan (about US\$ 117 million) and abuse of power. Also, his family was said having received bribes of 129 millions yuan (about US\$ 1925 million). Zhou acknowledged the facts and pleaded guilty saying that "I have realised the harm that I have caused to the party and the people. I plead guilty and I regret my crime¹⁴".

In 2016, Guo Boxing a former general of the People's Liberation Army of China who served as Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission, China's top military council, and member of the Politburo of the CCP from 2002 to 2012, was condemned to life in prison at 74 years old for using his influence to seek promotions for others and getting bribes. Despite the fact that the trial was held behind closed doors and that the amount of money involved had not been disclosed by the court and the government, given some military secrets evocated by the trial, but, certain sources have revealed on BBC News that Guo was stripped of his rank of general and that the total amount of bribes that he got was estimated at 82.42 yuan millions (about US\$12.3millions). Guo had acknowledged the charges brought against him, and the court in its verdict mentioned that "the amount of bribes that Guo received was especially large, and circumstances of his crimes were especially grave¹⁵.

¹²Published by South China Morning Post on 22 December 2014,

Available at https://www.cnn.com/2013/09/21/world/asia/china-bo-xilai-verdict/index.html visited on 10 May 2018.

¹³ Published by The Guardian on 8 July 2013, available at https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/08/liuzhijun-sentenced-death-corruption visited on 16 August 2018

¹⁴ Published by BBC News on 11 June 2015 available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-33095453 visited on 12 July 2018

¹⁵ Published by BBC News on 25 July 2016, available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-36883608 visited on 24 April 2018

According to the China's Minister of Supervision, and Chief of the National Bureau of Corruption Prevention Mister Yang Xiaodu, from 2013 to 2017, about 2.674 million of officials including 440 senior officials have been investigated, of which 1.535 million punished and 58, 000 were on trial. He added that "this demonstrates our commitment to the principles that discipline must be strictly enforced and that all discipline violators must be punished¹⁶".

This rigor has served to warn all Chinese people from any social rank against any act of corruption, and, to combat poverty and social inequality, by promoting transparency, good governance and rule of law. This has raised strong reactions at the local and international level, coming from medias, civil society, scholars and politicians.

Public Reaction on the Xi Anti-Corruption Campaign of His First Presidency

The Public reaction on the Xi anti-corruption campaign of his first presidency was overwhelmingly positive at the local and international level. On the local level, particularly the 2.674 millions of officials including 440 senior officials investigated, and the condemnation of the more than 1.5 million officials has made Xi enormously popular in China because that has created a climate of confidence between China's President and his people insofar as Chinese people begun to feel the stigma of transparency, good governance and rule of law, aimed to combat intolerance, poverty and social inequality within the country.

Through the "Jù bàozhǐ ¹⁷" (which is a people's reporting system established by the anti-corruption services, that gives to any citizen, civil society organizations, medias, and even politicians the authorization to report all suspect cases of corruption to the authorities), we could note the motivation of the Chinese citizens to associate themselves with the President to catch both "tigers and flies." This is how the website of the CCDI has been a popular website always consulted by Chinese citizens not only to learn about corruption investigation (because almost every day, there was news about related investigations at all level of Chinese officials) but also to report

¹⁶ This speech was presented by Yang Xiaodu a day after the inauguration of the 19th Congress of the CCP available at https://www.efe.com/efe/english/world/china-punishes-more-than-1-5-million-officials-for-corruption/50000262-3412841 visited on 11 November 2018. Through the content of the speech we have noticed not only the will of the Xi administration to combat corruption at all the level but also the need to create a society governed by the law where everyone is equal before the law. This is how we share the words of all scholars and civil society organizations that believe that every countries should follow China policy in order to combat poverty, to strengthen social equality, transparency, good governance and rule of law.

¹⁷ In a simple way, "Jù bàozhǐ 据报纸" means to inform, report and denounce in Chinese language. It is commonly used in journalistic jargon saying "according to the newspaper" due to the fact that "Jù 据" means "according to" and "bàozhǐ 报纸" means "newspaper". This expression has been borrowed by Chinese authorities to express the citizen action and authorization to inform authorities about the suspect cases of corruption. Note that this authorization has been given to all citizen. This is made anonymously which means that the informer hides his identity. It is one of the measures that increased Xi popularity because Chinese people found that Xi really wanted to combat corruption in China. Cited on https://thediplomat.com/2014/07/why-chinas-anti-corruption-campaign-will-be-successful/ visited on 11 September 2018.

information's about suspect cases of corruption. For example, at the first months of its opening in 2013, the website had already received more than 24,000 reports. This has led many Chinese scholars to believe in Xi anti-corruption campaign. Among them Nancy Qian and Jaya scholars from Yale University, who said that "it is consistent with the view that Xi's efforts to root out corruption are sincere...Xi Jinping undertook one of the largest and most forceful anti-corruption campaigns in the post-1978 reform era" (The Impact of Xi Jinping's Anti-Corruption Campaign on Luxury Imports in China, 2015). For Hualing Fu from Hong Kong University (Wielding the sword: President Xi's New Anti-Corruption Campaign, 2015) Deng Xiaoping initiated his reform in the late 1970s and bought bureaucrats' acquiescence to his reform agenda by allowing cadres to enrich themselves; Xi Jinping seeks to achieve his policy goal by threatening to take away everything that they have acquired over the past decades. These allegations come to support the words of Samson Yuen scholar from Lingnan University (Disciplining the Party: Xi Jinping's Anti-Corruption Campaign and its Limits, 2014) saying that few could have thought that Xi words could grow into one of the largest campaigns against corruption and petty officialdom in China's modern history.

At the international level, China's anti-corruption campaign has been hailed by several observers who also think that the China's anti-corruption policy should serve as example for all countries in order to reduce corruption at the international scale. Among them Mr. Om Yentieng, the chairman of Cambodia's Anti-Corruption Unit who stated that the campaign has also boosted the global confidence in China's development, and, the effectiveness can be attributed to Chinese President Xi Jinping's zero-tolerance against corruption and the Chinese people's strong support. He added that with President Xi's unwavering political commitment, it seems that the culture of zero-tolerance against corruption has become ingrained in the psyche of the Chinese people; this is a role model for other countries, including Cambodia.

Alexey Maslov, a professor with the Oriental Studies Department at the Russian Higher School of Economics Research University, told Xinhua that China's anti-corruption campaign serves as a reference to Russia. Mahmoud Raya manager of Beirut-based news website pointed out that China's successful experiences in fighting corruption can be an example for all the other countries aspiring to get rid of corruption. As well, Luxman Siriwardena, Executive Director of Pathfinder Foundation from Sri Lanka said that with the proposed reform of the country's anti-corruption system, the CPC and the Chinese government are rapidly translating the resolve against corruption into realities. China's effective approach against corrupt officials offers a great lesson for Sri Lanka, which is also a developing country, and efforts should be taken to ensure that corruption will never be a stumbling block for the overall development of a country. This is how Xulio Rios, Director of Spain's Observatory of Chinese Politics, argued that judging by what China has achieved in fighting corruption the country is clearly in the front rank of the global cause against foul practices of abusing public posts for personal gains ¹⁸. For Andrew Wedeman (Xi Jinping's Tiger Hunt and the Politics of Corruption, 2014) the scale and scope of the high-level, heavily

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¹⁸These declarations have been Published by Xinhua and reproduced by Chinadaily available at http://europe.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201803/11/WS5aa4c878a3106e7dcc140e2d.html visited on 21 September 2018.

political portion of Xi's campaign differentiates the current campaign from its predecessors. The current campaign is clearly more sustained and intense...

Xi Jinping's anti-corruption campaign may well be the most sustained and intensive drive against corruption since the start of the reform era. This is why, by borrowing the words of Anthony Saich, Simon Denyer (Why a Communist Dictator May Be the World Most Popular Leader-At Home and Abroad, 2014) noticed that Xi's public approval comes from his anti-corruption campaign that makes him the most world popular leader. Based on all these allegations, we can take the risk to say that Xi's anti-corruption campaign of his first presidency was a real attack against anti-values, and, an opportunity for Chinese leader to express by the acts his willingness to strengthen rule of law in the country by strengthening transparency and good governance, which has largely contributed to his re-election in 2018 and made him the most world popular leader in these recent years. Nevertheless, the question asked beyond this action is that "Does Xi's anti-corruption campaign has succeed to reduce corruption rate in China'"?

The Corruption Statistical Data Progresses of China From 2013 to Now

From a rational way, the statistical data are the main material elements that allow to appreciate the progresses made, and the degree of efficiency of the means in place against corruption. In fact, as mentioned upstream, at the time that Xi had launched the anti-corruption campaign, China was the 80th last corrupt nation, with a score of 40, out of 175 countries, according to the Transparency International Corruption Index of 2013, reproduced below.

Transparency International

lank	Country/Territory	Score	Rank	Country/Territory S	core	Rank	Country/Territory	Score	Rank	Country/Territory Sc	core
1	Denmark	91	45	Malta	56	83	Zambia	38	136	Bangladesh	2
	New Zealand	91	46	Korea (South)	55	91	Malawi	37	136	Côte d'Ivoire	2
	Finland	89	47	Hungary	54	虹	Morocco	37	136	Guyana	- 4
	Sweden	89	47	Seychelles	54	91	Sri Lanka	37	1.36	Kenya	-
	Norway	86	49	Costa Rica	53	9.4	Algeria	36	140	Honduras	-
	Singapore	86	49	Latvia	53	94	Armenia	36	140	Kazakhstan	
	Switzerland	85	49	Rwanda	53	94	Benin	36	140	Laos	
	Netherlands	83	152	Mauritius	52	94	Colombia	36	140	Uganda	
	Australia	81	53	Malaysia	50	94	Djibouti	36	144	Cameroon	
	Canada	81	53	Turkey	50	94	India	36	144	Central African Republic	
1	Luxembourg	80	55	Georgia	49	94	Philippines	36	144	Iran	
2	Germany	78	55	Lesotho	49	9.6	Suriname	36	144	Nigeria	
2	Iceland	78	57	Bahrain	48	102	Ecuador	35	144	Papua New Guinea	
4	United Kingdom	76	57	Croatia	48	102	Moldova	35	144	Ukraine	
5	Barbados	75	57	Czech Republic	48	102	Panama	35	150	Guinea	
5	Belgium	75	57	Namibia	48	102	Thaifand	35	150	Kyrgyzstan	
5	Hong Kong	75	61	Oman	47	106	Argentina	34	150	Paraguay	
8	Japan	74	6.1	Slovakia	47	106	Bolivia	34	153	Angola	
9	United States	73	0.3	Cuba	46	106	Gabon	34	154	Congo Republic	
	Uruguay	73	4.3	Ghana	46	106	Mexico	34	154	Democratic Republic of	
	Ireland	72	44	Saudi Arabia	46	106	Niger	34		the Congo	
2	Bahamas	71	0.6	Jordan	45	1111	Ethiopia	33	154	Tajikistan	
è	Chile	71	67	Macedonia (FYR)	44	1111	Kosovo	33	157	Burundi	
	France	71	67	Mantenegra	44	1111	Tanzania	33	157	Myanmar	
2	Saint Lucia	71	60	Italy	43	114	Egypt	32	157	Zimbabwe	
r	Austria	69	60	Kuwait	43	1114	Indonesia	32	160	Cambodia	
	United Arab Emirates	69	655	Romania	43	116	Albania	31	160	Eritrea	
	Estonia	68	72	Bosnia and	42	116	Nepai	31	160	Venezuela	
	Qatar	68	100	Herzegovina	7	116	Vietnam	31	163	Chad	
	Botswana	64	73	Brazil	42	119	Mauritania	30	163	Equatorial Guinea	
	Bhutan	63	100	Sao Tome and Principa		119	Mozambique	30	163	Guinea-Bissau	
	Cyprus	63	7.7	Serbia	42	119	Sierra Leone	30	163	Haiti	
	Portugal	62	100	South Africa	42	1119	Timor-Leste	30	167	Yemen	
	Puerto Rico	62	100	Bulgaria	41	123	Belarus	29	168	Syria	
	Saint Vincent	62	44	Senegal	41	123	Dominican Republic	- TV-7	168	Turkmenistan	
	and the Grenadines	-02	100	Tunisia	41	123	Guatemala	29	168	Uzbekistan	
	Israel	61	80	China	40	123	Togo	29	171	Iraq	
	Taiwan	61	80	Greece	40	127	Azerbaijan	28	172	Libya	
	Brunei	60	8.2	Swaziland	39	127	Compros	28	173	South Sudan	
	Poland	60	83	Burkina Faso	38	127	Gambia	28	174	Sudan	
	Spain	59	83	El Salvador	38	127	Lebanon	28	175	Afghanistan	
	Cape Verde	58	83	Jamaica	38	127	Madagascar	28	175	Korea (North)	
	Dominica Dominica	58	83	Liberia	38	127	Mail	28	175	Somalia	
	Lithuania	57	83	Mongoša	38	B1250150	Nicaragua	28	11.3	- Servicina	
	The state of the s	57	1000	1000		157		28			
	Slovenia	37	83	Peru	38	127	Pakistan				
			8.3	Trinidad and Tobago	38	127	Russia	28			

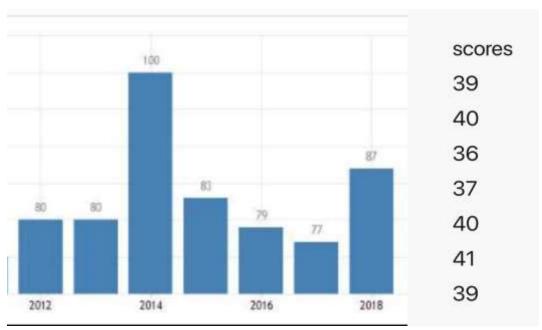
Corruption Index Of 2013

Thus, in 2014, meaning one year after the launching of the Xi anti-corruption campaign, China corruption rank had decreased a lot going from 80^{th} to 100^{th} rank, with a score of 36, still out of 175 countries. In 2015, with much efforts, China was mounted from the 100^{th} rank to 83^{rd} rank with a score of 37 out of 167 countries, but still remained at the bottom of the scale. It is between 2016 and 2017 that the Xi anti-corruption campaign has begun to give hope by propelling China at the 79^{th} rank, with a score of 40, out of 176 countries, then at the 77^{th} rank with a score of 41 out of 180 countries. Unfortunately the Xi's administration has failed in 2018 by bringing back

China at the 87th rank, with a score of 39, out of 180 countries, according to the Transparency International Corruption Index of 2018¹⁹.

Graphically it can be presented as follows

Ranks



Source: International Corruption Index 2012-2018 Years

This justifies the determination of the Chinese leader to pursue strongly his combat against corruption in his second presidency because he feels that corruption networks still exist particularly at the highest state level, and need necessarily to be dismantled in order to promote transparency in the management of the state resources, that will bring social equality through good governance and rule of law. He also thinks that given the reputation of China due to the progresses made by this country, and, to the role that China plays on the international stage, at different levels, it is not tolerable that China be a bad example in matter of fighting against corruption, which is not associated to the Chinese dream that aims to situate China at the center of the world as a model to

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¹⁹ These data from Transparency International can be found at https://tradingeconomics.com/china/corruption-rank?continent=europe and https://www.transparency.org/cpi2018 visited on 11 December 2018. Through these statics we can find that the Xi's anti-corruption campaigns still have enough difficulties to confirm itself. Honestly speaking, the current corruption level of China goes unwell than the period going from 2007 to 2012 during which China was ranked between the 72nd and 80th rank. To do better, the Xi's administration needs more rigor especially in matter of investigation and law enforcement to reach the Xi's purpose.

follow²⁰. This is how he has decided to still make corruption one of the top priorities of his second presidency. For that, it is necessary to strengthen the means in place by adopting more severe attitudes. It is under this angle that we have found better to propose some measures from the Republic of Singapore and for many reasons.

The Reasons of Choosing the Singaporean Experience in the Continuation Process Against Corruption in China

Cultural Raisons

As the People's Republic of China, the Republic of Singapore is also located in Asia. Although all the Asian countries do not have the same history, culture and social economic policy, and the same political vision, but, for the case of China and Singapore some cultural similarities and the old relations that exist between the two nations, and again the modern vision of the two countries justify the fact that both can and need to collaborate. From the cultural point of view some similarities are found because almost the majority of the Singaporean population are descendant from China. For example, the Cantonese (which is a variety of Chinese spoken in the city of Guangzhou and its surrounding area in southeastern China. It is the traditional prestige variety and standard form of Yue Chinese, one of the major subgroups of Chinese) constitutes 15% of the Singaporean population, originated from Hong Kong and the southern region of Guangdong province in (mainland) China, including Guangzhou, Foshan, Zhaoqing, Jiangmen, Maoming and Heshan, speaking several dialects belonging to the Yue family²¹. This made that some Singaporean dialects find their sources in the mandarin, hence, the mandarin is the second spoken language in Singapore after English. All this explains the understanding and friendship built between Deng Xiaoping with Lee Kuan Yew in the late of 1970s and the early of 1980s.

Economic, Social and Political Reasons

²⁰ In detailed way, the Chinese Dream (simplified Chinese: 中国梦; traditional Chinese: 中國夢; pinyin: Zhōngguó Mèng) it is a slogan lunched by Xi Jinping early after his first election, in November 2012, during a high-profile visit to the National Museum of China. According to the vision of Xi Jinping, the deep of the concept of Chinese dream consists to put all Chinese people together working to establish equality, well-being, prosperity and strong country. This dream goes a bit far by also willing to make China the locomotive of the world. Since then all Chinese have seized the deep of the message and have made it a central priority. But, this goal cannot be reached when the corruption is not well combated.

The vast population of Singapore is mainly made up of Indians, Malays and particularly Chinese (that have immigrated in Singapore) that make up almost the half of the population, which explains some cultural similarities such as languages, religion, cuisine etc. However, Yue Fei (24 March 1103 – 27 January 1142), courtesy name Pengju, was a Han Chinese military general who lived during the Southern Song dynasty. His ancestral home was in Xiaoti, Yonghe Village, Tangyin, Xiangzhou, Henan (in present-day Tangyin County, Anyang, Henan). He is best known for leading Southern Song forces in the wars in the 12th century between Southern Song and the Jurchen-ruled Jin dynasty in northern China before being put to death by the Southern Song government in 1142. He was granted the posthumous name Wumu (武穆) by Emperor Xiaozong in 1169, and later granted the posthumous title King of È (鄂王) by Emperor Ningzong in 1211. Widely seen as a patriot and national folk hero in China, since his death Yue Fei has evolved into a standard epitome of loyalty in Chinese culture. Thus, it has been proved and established that at least 15% of the Singaporean population are Cantonese.

On the social and economic plan, it is clear enough to understand that the two countries almost share the same vision which is to make their economy strong, to bring it at the height of the economic challenges that the world is facing today. An economy not only capable to face the concurrence from outside but also capable to respond to all economic exigencies of its people. This can be proved through the fast economic growth known by the two countries these twenty last years, its stability and the manifested will to progress again. On the social sphere, we can notice that as Singapore, China also is building a society where the distribution of the economic benefits should profit to everyone without any distinction through the fighting against poverty, social equality and well-being. Politically, we need to say that the two countries are creating a state where the law will fully rule the country by implementing the principle of zero-tolerance through good governance and rule of law. Therefore, all this cannot be obtained whether corruption is not strongly combated because corruption is one of the destabilizing phenomena of good governance and rule of law. This is why these two nations have invested themselves strongly in the fighting against corruption in order to reach their goal. However, better than China, since these ten last year's Singapore still among the ten world least corrupt countries with a score always above 80 that we have tried to present as follows:

Years	Ranks	Scores
2009	3	92
2010	3	93
2011	5	92
2012	5	87
2013	5	86
2014	7	84
2015	8	85
2016	7	84
2017	6	84
2018	3	85

Source: Transparency International Corruption Index 2009-2018

This also makes Singapore the Asian least corrupt country of these ten last years²². From this fact, it is clear to notice that this success is the result of an efficient policy of fight against corruption through the establishment of the effectiveness measures capable to face this phenomenon, and, that can be borrowed and implemented in the second phase of the Xi's anti-corruption campaign.

Singaporean Measures Against Corruption

²² However, as several scholars Jon.ST.Quah in "Learning from Singapore's effective anti-corruption strategy: Policy recommendations for South Korea." Asian Education and Development Studies 6.1 (2017)", available at https://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/abs/10.1108/AEDS-07-2016-0058 visited on 24 November 2018, has mentioned that it is rather since 1995 that Singapore is among the ten least world corrupt countries, which places Singapore the least corrupt Asian country, which confirms the effectiveness of its anti-corruption policy and determined political will of its leaders. But, we see try to see the history of Singapore after its independence we will find out that the will to combat corruption in Singapore begun in 1959 with Lee Kuan Yew who initiated the first basis of fighting against corruption that became an heritage for next generations.

A Strong Political Will

In Singapore, all begun with a strong political will aiming to fight corruption at all level. It is not a new initiative taken by the new political generation, but, it was initiated sixty years before by the old political class of the beginning of 1960s, led by Lee Kuan Yew, when the People's Action Party (PAP)²³ won the first election of the history of Singapore, in 1959, that brought them in power for the first time. Already at that time, the old political class decided to build a society founded on the respect of laws, transparency, social equality and social well-being, and meritocracy. So, they found out that to accomplish such a vision corruption should be considered as a main target. And, they realise that the main arm to combat corruption was first the political will, but, a true political will, that will bring an efficient legal framework and judicial autonomy. These means have allowed to Singapore to combat corruption efficiently and make it its battle horse. Since then, combating corruption has become a cultural heritage for the all next generations in Singapore, where, from now on doing a corruption act is strictly considered as having tarnished not only his own honor but also the honor of all the family. This creates a permanent consensus between Singaporean people to adopt and improve constantly the legal framework, meaning laws and institution, and to strengthen judicial autonomy in order to prevent any act of corruption and catch all corrupt offenders.

Effective Legal Framework: Laws and Organs

The laws are the first legal framework set up by the Singaporean authorities to combat corruption. In fact, apart from the Singaporean Constitution that combats anti-values in its all forms, the Prevention of Corruption Act (PCA) is the primary anti-corruption law in Singapore. Enacted since 17 June 1960, it governs and defines the principal offences of corruption and their punishments in public and private sector. However, it has been strengthen by the Corruption, Drug Trafficking and Other Serious Crimes (Confiscation of Benefits) Act, enacted in 1992, of which the last revision took place on 01 September 2014. It combats and provides the confiscation of benefits derived from corruption, drug dealing and other serious and connected crimes. These are the two Singaporean main anti-corruption laws.

To enforce these laws, Singaporean authorities have processed to the maintaining of the Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau (CPIB), an anti-corruption organ established by the British colonial government in 1952. Under the British colonial government the CPIB was sited in the Attorney-General's Chambers. To strengthen its influence and to allow the Prime Minister to have a close regard on the action of the CPIB and to prevent the CPIB to escape to the control of the Prime Minister, who is of the first responsible of the policy of the State in the parliamentary system, in 1959, Lee Kuan Yew decided to transfer the CPIB to the Prime Minister's Office where it is sited till up now. This clearly means that the CPIB carries out under the very watchful eye of the Prime

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²³ The People's Action Party abbreviated PAP, is a major centre-righ political party in Singapore. Founded on 21 November 1954, by Lee Kuan Yew as a pro-independence political party descended from an earlier student organization, the PAP has gone on to dominate the political system of the nation. It is actually leading by Khaw Boon Wan as General Secretary.

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Minister's Office (PMO), and report directly to the Prime Minister²⁴. So, the CPIB is mainly charged to investigate corruption and other criminal cases in which corruption may be involved. In addition, the CPIB is also mandated to conduct procedural reviews for government agencies which may have work procedures that can be exploited for corrupt practices. Since then, the efficiency of the CPIB in fighting against corruption is no longer to be proved, particularly these ten last years, also due to the autonomy of the judicial apparatus conferred by the political will.

A Real Judicial Autonomy

To face corruption better the Singaporean political will decided to practice without any manoeuvre the principle of separation of powers include in the Singaporean constitution²⁵, in order to allow judicial organs to act with freedom and independence against the corrupt offenders without any distinction nor tolerance. This allows a perfect collaboration between the executive and the CPIB, and the judicial apparatus, which makes the country anti-corruption policy more efficient. Note that, as in most countries, in Singapore, the highest judicial instance is the Supreme Court that consists of the Court of Appeal and the High Court that rule on both, civil and criminal matters including economic crimes whose corruption, with a large autonomy.

This is the major measures adopted by the Singaporean public authorities to fight corruption. These measures can be approved and accepted as the fundamental measures to combat corruption strongly because it has made Singapore today one of the experimented countries in matter of fighting against corruption, and become a model to follow for several countries, including developed countries.

Analysis and Recommendation

From our point of view the political will, legal frame work and judicial autonomy, all together are the main means to combat better corruption because without a strong political will, effective legal framework, and, a real judicial autonomy, whatever the number of the mechanisms in place no result can be obtained insofar as all these three measures grouped allow to take and enforce the laws, to discipline people by forcing them to adopt new behaviors imposed by the laws. This is why several countries still have many difficulties to combat corruption despite the multiple means put in place. The reason is that these three main means are not grouped. Either they have political will and judicial autonomy but they miss effective legal framework, or, they have effective legal framework but they miss political will and judicial autonomy. So, Singapore is among the rare countries which have understood that a good fighting against corruption must necessarily involve

²⁴ Reminding that the Republic of Singapore has inherited of the parliamentary system in which the Prime Minister is the head of government, and it is he who forms the government due to the fact that his party possess the majority in parliament. He is responsible for the day-to-day administration and all the policies of the country. See https://www.virtualkollage.com/2017/03/the-functions-and-powers-of-prime-minister-in-a-parliamentary-system-of-government.html visited on 17 September 2018. From this fact, by putting the CPIB under the Prime Mister Office, the first Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew showed to his predecessors that the principal lever enabling to combat corruption is the political will.

²⁵ The basic idea behind the separation of powers is that power should be distributed, and not concentrated within the hands of a select few. To achieve this, the Constitution of the Republic of Singapore splits the power to govern the country between three branches of government – the legislature, which makes laws; the executive, which executes them; and the judiciary, which enforces them.

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these three major measures. Yet, our analysis brings us to say that although the Xi's anti-corruption of his first presidency has put in place multiple mechanisms to combat corruption, and has known echoes coming from everywhere, the outcomes shows that much remains to be done because China still remained at the bottom of the scale.

Therefore, China needs to group these three major measures all together to give more chance to the second phase which is already in process. Nevertheless, at this stage we believe that legal means in place are well established but the political will needs to give more freedom of action to the relevant organs namely the National Supervisory Commission (NSC)²⁶, Central Commission for Discipline Inspection (CCDI) and the apparatus because we think as several analysts that the problem finds itself at this level. However, the amendment of the Anti-Unfair Competition Law of the People's Republic of China in 2017, and the setting up of a new and second anti-corruption organ called National Supervisory Commission (NSC) and the condemnation of Zhang Zhongsheng, former deputy and vice mayor for a decade in the city of Luliang, in Shanxi Province²⁷, both in the beginning of 2018, plus, the recent approval of Pakistan through its first mew prime minister Imran Khan to learn from China on the policy of fighting against corruption after having recognized the efforts made by China in this domain show that the Xi's anti-corruption campaign is giving hope and that the three major means adopted by Singapore against corruption will certainly be reached, in order to strengthen rule of law as strongly wished by the Chinese President.

CONCLUSION

Fight against corruption should be the top priorities of every governments because it allows to build a stable society, safe from the anti-values and social inequalities, by promoting transparency and meritocracy, and fighting against poverty. All this contributes to the respect of the law and to

²⁶ National Supervisory Commission of the People's Republic of China is the highest anti-corruption agency of the People's Republic of China, at the same administrative ranking as Supreme People's Court and Supreme People's Procuratorate. Its operations are merged with the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection of the Communist Party of China. The National Supervision Commission was formed at the first session of the 13th National People's Congress in 2018. The Commission includes the director, deputy director, and ordinary members and the director is appointed by the National People's Congress. Yang Xiodu is the current Director of the National Supervisory Commission of the People's Republic of China.

²⁷ As said previously, the National Supervisory Commission (NSC) was adopted since 2 September 1983 following the Third Session of the Standing Committee of the Eighth National People's Congress, has been revised at the 30th Session of the Standing Committee of the 12th National People's Congress on November 4, 2017. Available at http://www.qbpc.org.cn/inc/uploads/ckeditor/s%20Republic%20of%20China(1).pdf visited on 24 December 2018. For the Zhang Zhongsheng case, this deputy and vice mayor for a decade in the city of Luliang, in Shanxi Province, an area rich in coal. Nicknamed "godfather" because of the influence and power that he had on the city, Zhang was sentenced to death after the Intermediate People's Court of Linfen found him guilty of having got (estimated at 1.079.168 yuan million) (about USD160 million in bribes). The Court said that "what Zhang had committed was particularly grave and has caused huge losses to the country and its people" cited as follows Reported by South China Morning March 2018, available at https://www.scmp.com/news/china/policiespolitics/article/2139335/death-penalty-godfather-chinese-coal-mining-town-over visited on 15 August 2018.

the social economic development, which gives rise to the good bases of rule of law. This has been understood by Singapore several years before and has made Singapore today an example in the fighting against corruption. Hence, the idea pursued by the Chinese President deserves to be much encouraged. But, as Singapore, the Xi's administration needs to associate strong political will, effective legal framework and real judicial autonomy all together to hope to make China a real model of fighting against corruption at the image of Singapore, because as said previously as long as these three major measures are not grouped together whatever the mechanisms in place corruption cannot be fought efficiently.

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