

**BUILDING GOOD CONDUCT AND POLITICAL INTEGRITY
AND
FIGHTING CORRUPTION**

XI JINPING



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Compiled by

The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection
of the Communist Party of China

The Party Literature Research Office
of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Translated by

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of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China



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EDITOR'S NOTE

As Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), has put it, "Corruption is a cancer of our society." The endeavor to improve Party conduct, promote integrity, and combat corruption is directly related to the very survival of the CPC and of China itself. Opposing corruption and preventing moral decline in the country's long-serving Party is, therefore, a major political task to which the Party must remain committed.

It is widely recognized that since the 18th National Party Congress, Xi Jinping has attached great importance to improving Party conduct, promoting integrity, and fighting corruption. He has emphasized that the Party must exercise effective self-supervision and practice strict self-governance, and introduced new concepts, approaches, and measures to ensure that major progress continues to be made in these respects.

This book is a translation of a book compiled by the CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection and the Party Literature Research Office of the CPC Central Committee. It brings together 216 excerpts from Xi Jinping's expositions on improving Party conduct, promoting integrity, and fighting corruption. The excerpts are grouped into nine themes. They have been selected from more than 40 of Xi Jinping's speeches, writings, and directives, dating between November 15, 2012 and October 23, 2014.

The purpose of this book is to help readers gain a better

understanding of the CPC's efforts to improve Party conduct, promote integrity, and combat corruption through the eyes of China's top leader.

The Compilation and Translation Bureau of
the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

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I

AN IMPERATIVE POLITICAL TASK

Under the new circumstances, our Party is confronted with many serious challenges and pressing internal issues. This is particularly true of the cases of corruption, formalism, bureaucratism, and detachment from the people occurring among Party members and officials—every effort must be made to solve such problems.

—*Excerpt from “Our Aim is to See the People’s Aspirations for a Happy Life Fulfilled,” November 15, 2012, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 70*

It has always been a clear political stance of the Party to fight corruption and build political integrity to keep itself in good health. Improving Party conduct and ensuring clean government has long been a major political issue of concern to both officials and the public. As the saying goes, “Infestation is preceded by decay.” In recent years, tensions that have long been building in some countries have led to public resentment, social unrest, and even the collapse of governments, with a major cause being corruption. Many real-life cases have proven that if corruption is allowed to spread unchecked, the ultimate outcome will be the demise of the governing party and country. We must take this as a warning.

—*Excerpt from “Studying, Communicating, and Implementing*

the Guiding Principles from the 18th National Party Congress with a Focus on Upholding and Developing Socialism with Chinese Characteristics," November 17, 2012, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. 1, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 81

If we are to attain the objectives set forth at the Party's 18th National Congress, including the Two Centenary Goals,* and realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, we must ensure Party building is carried out successfully. At the 18th National Congress, clear requirements were set for making all aspects of Party building more effective, with particular emphasis on the need for the Party to uphold the principle of exercising proper self-supervision and practicing strict self-governance, to continuously improve its leadership and governance capabilities as well as its ability to resist corruption and prevent moral decline, and to raise its capacity to self-purify, self-improve, and self-reform, so as to ensure the Party always remains the firm leadership core for socialism with Chinese characteristics. Improving Party conduct, upholding political integrity, and combating corruption are the major tasks of Party building.

* To finish building a moderately prosperous society in all respects by the time the CPC celebrates its centenary in 2021 and to turn the People's Republic of China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious by the time it celebrates its centenary in 2049.

...

Upholding integrity in governance and exercising power impartially is the key to earning the trust and support of the people—this is a principle that has long been articulated by our Party. In August 1926, a circular adopted at an enlarged meeting of the CPC Central Committee stated that the Party must guard against corrupt individuals making their way into the Party and “must eliminate them and fight these negative tendencies in order to consolidate our camp and ensure the Party is held in high regard by the people.” Shortly before the founding of the People’s Republic of China, Mao Zedong warned all Party members at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee that they must remain modest, prudent, and committed to working hard, and must not be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. In the early years of the People’s Republic, our Party investigated and prosecuted Liu Qingshan and Zhang Zishan for corruption and moral decline; this was a lesson to all officials and helped establish among the people the reputation of the Party as an unshakable enforcer of the law. Over the past 30-plus years of reform and opening up, the second generation of the Party’s central collective leadership with Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the core, the third generation of the Party’s central collective leadership with Comrade Jiang Zemin at the core, and the Central Committee with Comrade Hu Jintao as General Secretary, have always treated improving Party conduct, upholding political integrity, and combating corruption as tasks of great importance. They have done this with an unequivocal stance,

powerful measures, and unmistakable results, making an important contribution to the continuation and development of the advanced and pure nature of the Party, and providing powerful guarantees for efforts to reform and open up and conduct socialist modernization under the leadership of the Party. It is fair to say that if our Party had not consistently attached importance to improving Party conduct, upholding political integrity, and combating corruption, then such great achievements in China's economic and social development and the consolidation of the overarching framework of reform, development, and stability would not have been possible.

...

Corruption is a cancer of our society; if allowed to spread unchecked, it could lead to the collapse of the Party and country. The reason our Party has understood improving Party conduct, upholding political integrity, and combating corruption to be vital to the survival of the Party and country is that we have drawn lessons from history right up to the present day, in both China and abroad. In Chinese history, examples abound of severe corruption within ruling factions which led to the fall of governments, and likewise in the modern world, there are innumerable examples of state power being lost because of the governing party's corruption, moral decline, and detachment from the people.

...

Problems with work conduct are no trivial matter. If we are not firm in correcting harmful practices, and instead allow them to develop, they will become like an invisible

wall cutting our Party off from the people, causing the loss of the Party's foundation, lifeline, and strength. Improving conduct means cleaning up our political ecosystem and creating a favorable environment for clean governance.

—Excerpts from a speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection under the 18th CPC Central Committee, January 22, 2013

We are all familiar with Comrade Mao Zedong's response in 1945 to Huang Yanpei's question about how the CPC would break free from the historical cycle of the rise and fall of governments in China. He stated that only when the people were allowed to oversee government would the government not dare fall into laxity, and only when everyone came forth to do their part would the government be able to endure. Our Party is the vanguard of the Chinese working class, the Chinese people, and the Chinese nation; its purpose is to serve the people wholeheartedly. As long as we never stray from the nature and purpose of the Party and never abandon socialism and allow our state power to deteriorate, we will break free from this historical cycle.

At the heart of the issue is the necessity for the Party to always rely on the people and maintain an intimate bond with them, making sure it does not become detached from them for a moment. To this end, we must be unshakable in deepening our efforts to improve Party conduct, ensure clean government, and combat corruption. The things most

detestable to the people are corruption, other forms of misconduct, and forms of special privilege; these are the things that are most lethal to the bond between the Party and the people. For a party or a government, their future and fate are determined by whether they enjoy popular support. We must do our utmost to eradicate corruption and other forms of misconduct and ensure that the Party and the people share one heart, one purpose, and one destiny.

—Excerpt from a speech at the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee's fifth group study session, April 19, 2013

Our Party enjoys the support of the greatest possible majority of the Chinese people; no other political force can take its place. The foundation for governance of our Party is solid; however, if misconduct is not properly addressed, then like the fall of Hegemon-King Xiang Yu we too may collapse. We must be aware of this danger.

—Excerpt from a speech during a visit to Hebei to inspect and give guidance on the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party's mass line, July 11-12, 2013

The greatest damage to our Party is that, inflicted by corruption, and so the due punishment of those who are corrupt is a desire shared by the Party and the people. The

Party must never allow itself to become a haven where the corrupt can hide. If the Party is to maintain an intimate bond with the people and consolidate its foundation of governance and its position as governing party, it is only natural that it must see that these things are done.

—Excerpt from a speech at the Third Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection under the 18th CPC Central Committee, January 14, 2014

Combating corruption and preventing moral decline in the country's long-serving Party is an imperative political task that must be carried out effectively.

—Excerpt from a speech at the Third Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection under the 18th CPC Central Committee, January 14, 2014

In this time of reform, opening up, and development of the socialist market economy, the danger of our Party becoming detached from the people is far more serious than in the past. It is for this reason that the Party's 18th National Congress underscored the need for all Party members to stand up to the "four major tests" and prevent the "four dangers." Since that congress, this has become the starting point and ultimate goal of the Central Committee's decision to make a determined effort toward better conduct. One

prospers in worries and hardships, and perishes in ease and comfort. If we are without a sense of crisis or urgency, or fail to see where problems and critical issues lie, then danger is already not far off.

—Excerpt from a speech at an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the CPC Lankao County Committee, Henan Province, March 18, 2014

The conduct of the Party is the image of the Party, and has a bearing on its popular support and its survival. A governing party that neglects conduct, and tolerates the corroding influence of improper practices, risks losing popular support and forfeiting power. As a Marxist party that has long been in power, our Party can at no time afford to take lightly the issue of conduct.

—Excerpt from a speech at the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee's 16th group study session, June 30, 2014

For us as Communists, our sense of disquietude is formed of concern for our Party, our nation, and our people; it is a responsibility, but more than that, it is a mission. We must be aware of the long-term and complex tests faced by the Party in terms of the governance of the country, reform and opening up, the development of the market economy,

and its response to changes in the external environment; we must be aware of the intensity and severity of the dangers faced by the Party due to a lack of motivation, inadequate ability, detachment from the people, and corruption and other forms of misconduct; we must also be aware of how important and urgent it is for the Party to self-purify, self-improve, and self-reform. We must think in preparation for worst-case scenarios and be fully prepared even in times of smooth sailing to deal with whatever should arise. We must guide all Party members, especially officials at all levels, in putting the “two imperatives”^{*} into practice and in willingly working tirelessly for the Party and the people. No Party member should become content with the status quo or have blind optimism; pay excessive attention to short-term results at the expense of long-term interests; hide disagreements or shy away from problems, or become preoccupied with pleasure-seeking or make comparisons with others to see who lives more luxuriously.

—Excerpt from a speech at the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee’s 16th group study session, June 30, 2014

We must ensure the Party exercises proper self-supervision and practices strict self-governance, improves its ability to self-purify, self-improve, and self-reform, and never

^{*} 1) to be modest, prudent, and free from arrogance and rashness in one’s work and 2) to continue to work hard and live plainly.

wavers in its convictions or becomes detached from the people. Any issue that affects the creativity, cohesiveness, or competence of the Party must be overcome; any malady that undermines the advanced and pure nature of the Party must be corrected; and any malignant growth that threatens the Party must be removed. This should ensure that the Party's heart beats with the heart of the people and that the Party shares with them a common purpose and future.

—Excerpt from a speech at a reception to commemorate the 65th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, September 30, 2014, People's Daily, October 1, 2014

II

THE SERIOUSNESS AND COMPLEXITY OF THE SITUATION

The majority of our Party members and officials have always conducted themselves well. Yet we need to be keenly aware that some sectors remain prone to corruption and other forms of misconduct, that the impact of major law and discipline violations is serious, that the fight against corruption still poses a grave challenge, and that there remain many aspects of the fight that fall short of public expectations. Building good conduct and political integrity and fighting corruption is a long-term, complex, and demanding task that cannot be accomplished all in one go.

—Excerpt from a speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection under the 18th CPC Central Committee, January 22, 2013

We must recognize that as profound changes take place in global, national, and Party conditions, the Party faces increasingly acute dangers of a lack of drive, inadequate ability, detachment from the people, and corruption and other forms of misconduct. Instances of detachment from the people are common in the Party, and there are some problems, primarily the Four Malfeasances—formalism, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance—that remain very serious.

—Excerpt from a speech at a work conference on the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party's mass line, June 18, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist

Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, *vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 310*

Formalism is mainly seen in inconsistency between knowledge and action, failing to work toward real results, issuing endless documents, holding innumerable meetings, valuing style over substance, seeking undeserved recognition, and practicing deception. Some officials stop studying the theories of the Party and acquiring the knowledge needed to carry out their work effectively. If they do study, they do it just for window dressing, scratching at the surface and being content with a superficial understanding, and they neither intend nor have the ability to apply their learning to their work. Some are in the habit of responding to higher-level meetings with more meetings and documents with more documents; are fond of creating hype and seeking the limelight; and make it their priority to arrange for appearances by leaders and to ensure press and TV coverage, while neglecting real work. Some make no attempt to solve problems and address issues through pragmatic work, their only aim is to ingratiate themselves with their superiors, generate influence, or look good in their work reports, and they arrange event after event, report after report, and award after award. We call this Krikun style. Some visit communities to carry out research but do little more than take a cursory look around in cars, their only objective being to smile for the cameras, as if separated from the world

outside by a pane of glass. They see the facades and the window displays but never take a real look inside. No wonder the people complain that a partition of papers keeps officials shut off from real life, and a mountain of formalism keeps policies from their implementation. There are those who know perfectly well that the reports they are hearing involve falsified “facts,” figures, and model examples, yet they listen and do nothing or even attempt to corroborate the lies.

—Excerpt from a speech at a work conference on the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party’s mass line, June 18, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 310-311

Bureaucratism is reflected mainly in a divorce from reality, detachment from the people, a sense of superiority and indifference to facts, conceit, and inflated egos. Some officials don’t understand or concern themselves with actual conditions; they are reluctant to go to areas experiencing harsh conditions, unwilling to help local communities and people solve problems, and unwilling to even engage with the people because it could mean more effort for them; they work perfunctorily, pass the buck, or do just enough to get by.

Some, regardless of the people’s wishes and the circumstances that apply in their localities, make thoughtless

decisions and empty promises. They blindly launch expensive projects, and when it comes time to leave their posts, they just get up and walk away, leaving behind an unresolved mess. Some curry favor with their superiors, but rudely order their subordinates around. People in need of their services find them difficult to access, hard to talk to, and impossible to get to act. They even demand bribes before doing things that are part of their duties, and when they've got their bribes they'll handle the matter as they please. Some carry out plans from above unthinkingly, or take things out of context, some implement decisions from above word for word without concern for the content, and some miscopy others, acting as if on autopilot, doing something in the same way it's been done in the past, or how other people do it, without a thought for the specific conditions of their own localities or departments. Others behave utterly bureaucratically or are high-handed and arbitrary in their approach, intolerant of any alternative view. They reject criticism and offers of help, and refuse to listen to different viewpoints.

—*Excerpt from a speech at a work conference on the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party's mass line, June 18, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 311-312*

Hedonism is evident in a lack of motivation and drive, the pursuit of money and fame, a craving for pleasure, and a penchant for ostentation and fun. Some have become demoralized and their conviction has been lost; their philosophy on life is to live for the moment—as long as you have wine in your cup drink your fill and when life is good get all the pleasure you can. Some have abandoned their ideals in favor of material comforts, vulgar amusements, revelry, drinking, and a life of luxury. Others take on easy tasks and shirk hard work, are content with the status quo, and are unwilling to exert themselves; they are happy with what they have already learnt and wrapped up in what they once achieved; they lack new goals and don't seek new motivation, and they “Sip tea and flip through newspapers in the office, chatting and idling away time.”

...

Extravagance is manifested mainly by waste, squandered resources, expensive building programs, excessive festival celebrations, and luxurious and debauched lifestyles; and even the abuse of power and other forms of corruption and moral decline. Some have built luxurious and imposing office complexes filled with extravagant facilities for feasting, drinking, and amusement, covering hectares of land and costing hundreds of millions of yuan. Some are devoted to festivals and ceremonies, floods of them, easily squandering millions of yuan or more on a single event. It is the blood and sweat of the people they are tossing away!

For some who seek comfort and pleasure their residences can never be too numerous nor too grand, their

cars never too luxurious, their banquets never too exquisite, and the brands they wear never too high-end; they don't bat an eyelid at spending beyond what the rules allow, yet they still complain they don't get enough. Some demand excessive receptions, stay at high-end hotels, feast on delicacies of every kind and quaff back fine wines and liquors, and even after all that dining, they take bribes. Some, with big-money membership and prepaid expenses cards lining their pockets, lose themselves in pleasure-seeking at elite clubs, and in high-end sports facilities, in availing themselves of free domestic and overseas travel, and even in squandering cash at overseas casinos. Some even glory in their misconduct, moral corruption, and dissolute lifestyles, instead of feeling shame.

—Excerpts from a speech at a work conference on the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party's mass line, June 18, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 312

A loss of political conviction among our Party members and officials is an issue that requires our full attention. Some think it's cool or amusing to pick holes in and deride Marxism. Some have a sense of emptiness, believing that communism is nothing more than a delusion; they believe more in ghosts and gods than in the people, resorting to

fortunetellers, gods and Buddhas, and “Qigong masters” for help with their problems. Some have begun showing doubt about their Communist convictions, and have sent their families and savings abroad, preparing a way out so they can leave at any moment. Others have become slaves to money, fame, gain, and hedonism; there is no reverence in their hearts and no limit to their actions.

—*Excerpt from a speech at a national conference on publicity and theoretical work, August 19, 2013*

Cases of corruption continue to occur frequently and the soil for them to grow remains fertile, so the situation we face in improving Party conduct, upholding political integrity, and combating corruption remains serious and complex. We must intensify anti-corruption work and take more sound and effective measures to prevent corruption.

—*Excerpt from a speech at the first full assembly of the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, November 9, 2013*

Some of our city and county leading bodies and officials will launch vanity projects and projects to boost their track records, and when the person in charge changes, a new set of projects will be launched. This results in heavy debts for their localities and adversely affects future development.

Some defy orders or prohibitions, selectively implementing the Party's policies, bending or adapting those that don't sit well with them. Some make careless decisions and want to be the only one with a say and won't tolerate dissenting views. Some don't have the courage or are unwilling to take on responsibility, and seek to see out the duration of their time in office in ease and comfort. Some impatiently maneuver for promotion, foraging for and cultivating connections to exploit. Some have a poor sense of the Party's organizational principles and are slack in observing discipline, and often shoot their mouths off and make irresponsible remarks. Some are caught up in indulging in gluttony and pleasure-seeking, never tiring of the pursuit of pleasure. Some, under the pretext of improving hospitality, have built palatial buildings with luxurious reception rooms, which have ended up being used for their own enjoyment. Others bully the people or ignore their wellbeing, and even abuse power for personal wealth and gain.

...

In departments directly under the city and county authorities, some officials are dilatory, argue and pass the buck, and do just enough to get by. During office hours they can be found playing cards, cracking sunflower seeds, messing around on their smartphones, or browsing online shopping sites; some even let themselves off duty whenever they feel like it. Some take a superficial approach to their work, not getting things done properly; they're unclear about what is really required of them and have a poor understanding of the communities they serve, and while they

talk the talk, their work fails to deliver; some are less than eager to serve the people; they don't get things done, they drag their feet, and they seek to do only a passable job, not a good one; others don't get anything accomplished, searching for reasons to stay away from the tasks they are assigned and ignore the people's problems.

...

In departments charged with law enforcement and oversight, government departments that directly serve the public, and the service sector, you'll find some officials difficult to access, hard to talk to, and impossible to get to act. Their slogans are rousing, but their service is frosty and slow. It is extremely difficult to get them to properly attend to ordinary people. Some officials in these departments extort whatever they can from the people, impose arbitrary fees, fines, and quotas, and even take kickbacks. Some are lazy, showing up for work but doing very little; they don't visit their local communities or stay in touch with the public, and they frequently come to work late and knock off early. Some abuse their powers, engaging in rent-seeking, trading benefits, or running their own businesses on the side. Some enforce laws unjustly, selectively, or arbitrarily, and let social connections, personal favors, or bribery affect their handling of cases.

...

In other lower-level organizations such as town and township governments, sub-district offices, and villagers' committees and community organizations, there are officials who care little about the wellbeing of the people. They have

only a faint sense of responsibility or initiative, and would rather wait for the people to come to them than take the initiative and go to the people; they'd rather use the internet or make a phone call than visit people in person and speak face-to-face, and they try to skirt around difficulties that must be resolved. In implementing government policies meant to help the people, some dilute or adulterate the content, or do things mechanically, resulting in less benefit for the people. Some approach their work halfheartedly; they're more like "day students" than "boarders" and never seem to be around; when something is needed of them, they are nowhere to be found. Some behave duplicitously, attempting to deceive those above them, hide things from those below, and fool the people. Some take a simple and unreasonable approach and a dismissive attitude toward the people, becoming quickly disgruntled if someone disagrees with them. Some are weak and undisciplined, lacking the will and ability to serve the people, and handling matters unfairly. Others, violating public interests, embezzle funds and materials that belong to the people; and in some places, Party and government bodies, or individual officials, defer payments, issue IOUs, or even repudiate debts owed to the people.

—Excerpts from a speech made at a meeting to review the first stage of the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party's mass line and plan for the second, January 20, 2014

The Central Committee requires that inspection tours focus on uncovering problems and creating a sense of fear among officials who abuse power and engage in corruption, practice formalism, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance, violate Party discipline, or practice nepotism. The two rounds of inspection tours have achieved remarkable results. Some findings need to be verified, but the facts will be easy to check. In certain localities and organizations, officials jockey for promotions, buy and sell official positions, and trade power for money and sex; in some places there are serious instances of Party and government bodies exceeding staff size limits. The findings of the inspection tours have again proven correct the judgment of the Central Committee that the fight against corruption remains serious and complex, and that there is a pressing need for the Party to exercise proper self-supervision and practice strict self-governance. We need to confront what is a grave situation, enforce Party discipline and punish corruption, and see to it that Party committees are held responsible for improving Party conduct and ensuring clean government while commissions for discipline inspection carry out their oversight responsibilities. There is no need to fear problems: what we should fear is indifference toward them. We must put in place concrete solutions: it is never too late to mend the pen, even if there are some who have already slipped out.

—Excerpt from a speech at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central

Committee to hear the report on the work of central discipline inspection teams during the second half of 2013, January 23, 2014

The discipline inspections have uncovered both clues to problems involving a number of officials and a significant number of prominent problems, some of which are particularly serious in nature. This has proven correct the Central Committee's judgment that the fight against corruption remains challenging and complex, and that the task of practicing strict self-governance is an urgent one that allows no room for laxity. In this case we have not just seen a part of the whole; on the contrary, we have seen many parts: many of these problems are common in nature. We must confront these issues rather than ignoring them or brushing them aside. The alternative is that they build up and become incurable.

—Excerpt from a speech at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to hear the report of the Central Leading Group for Discipline Inspection on the first round of inspections by central discipline inspection Teams in 2014, June 26, 2014

For some time now, unacceptable conduct within the Party has been a serious problem. It is high time this problem was resolved; we cannot afford to fail to resolve

it. While there is a big difference between addressing and not addressing the problem, there is also a big difference between addressing it halfheartedly and wholeheartedly. Only by making purposeful moves in the battle against unacceptable conduct can we solve this deep-rooted problem and achieve real results that will satisfy the people.

...

We need not be reticent about the fact that as a result of complicated factors, both inside and outside of the Party, and both in China and abroad, the healthy body of the Party has become infected with no small number of “pathogens.” Some Party members and officials are in an unacceptable state as far as their ideals, convictions, political integrity, competence, and conduct are concerned, resulting in no shortage of complaints from the people. Since the Party’s 18th National Congress, as we have stepped up efforts to improve Party conduct, ensure clean government, and combat corruption, many cases of the Four Malfeasances have been exposed, and a number of officials have been prosecuted for violating Party discipline and state laws. On the one hand, this demonstrates our determination and confidence in solving problems in the Party, but on the other, it reveals the severity of these problems.

—*Excerpts from a speech at the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee’s 16th group study session, June 30, 2014*

There is no denying that as we develop the socialist market economy the principle of commodity exchange is inevitably finding its way into intraparty activities. This trend is not something we can change by will alone. In society, all kinds of temptations await Party members and officials, so that some are unwittingly lured into the clutches of those with ulterior motives, like the proverbial slow-boiled frogs unaware of the warmth of the water. Improving Party conduct is a tough and long-term battle. We have been working to improve Party conduct all these years, and still many of our problems not only remain unsolved, but have actually become worse; some, like chives that shoot up again once cut, return after they have been addressed. The reason for this is that we have underestimated the stubborn nature of these problems and the likelihood of their coming back, and thus did not establish a long-term system to address them at the root.

—Excerpt from a speech at a review meeting on the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the mass line, October 8, 2014, People's Daily, October 9, 2014

Strengthening work to track down corrupt persons who have fled overseas and recover the state assets they have stolen is an important move made to uphold the principle of the Party exercising proper self-supervision and practicing strict self-governance and to curb corruption. In recent years, there have been frequent cases of Party members

and officials fleeing abroad with embezzled money. Some corrupt officials sent their spouses and children abroad while they themselves remained at their posts; the moment they got wind of possible exposure, they made a run for it. Some have run off abroad and squandered embezzled money on fancy cars and big houses and go unpunished. Some have assumed new identities abroad and run for local positions through elections. We have apprehended a number of fugitives in recent years, but those evading arrest far outnumber those captured, and pursuing them remains a formidable task.

—Excerpt from a speech on tracing and apprehending suspected criminals and recovering illegal assets outside China's mainland at the 78th meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee, October 9, 2014

Our effort to combat the Four Malfeasances will likely meet with an initial resurgence of these behaviors. We have taken building better Party and government conduct as our starting point, formulating and taking the lead in implementing the eight-point decision. We have initiated a campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the mass line focusing on the Four Malfeasances, and have achieved remarkable results in the current stage of our efforts, winning the support of the Party and the people. But old habits die hard. These are not behaviors that have formed overnight, and thus it will take continued and

unrelenting efforts to prevent their return. The campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the mass line has come to a close. We must investigate and prosecute those who have persisted in committing transgressions in violation of Central Committee policy, and publicize typical cases throughout the country. As an ancient Chinese saying goes, "Security comes from standing alert, while laxity leads to failure." He who has courage, wins. Combating the Four Malfeasances is a long-term, demanding task; this is a battle we must win.

...

Curbing the spread of corruption is a formidable task. The discipline inspections have uncovered innumerable problems. There are problems in every locality of the Party taking a lax, weak approach to self-supervision and self-governance, Party committees not being held responsible for building good conduct and political integrity and commissions for discipline inspection not carrying out their oversight responsibilities. Corruption is present across different localities and different fields, and both concentrated and connected cases are on the rise. Corruption is found both in personnel decisions and the exercise of power, and power is frequently traded for power, money, and sex. Collusion is found between officials and business people, and between superiors and subordinates, with an array of covert means being employed to transfer benefits. Some openly confront and obstruct Party organization investigations, acting as an obstacle to justice. We will resolutely prosecute corruption cases discovered during discipline inspections,

and in doing so honor our promise to the Party and the people of our country. No one, without exception, is to cross the line of Party discipline and state law.

...

In less than two years since the conclusion of the 18th National Party Congress, the central discipline inspection teams have inspected 31 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government, as well as the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps. The intensity, strength, and effects of the inspections have been unprecedented. The problems discovered during the inspection tours have proven correct the Central Committee's judgment that the fight against corruption remains serious and complex. As vice rises one meter, virtue rises ten; virtue will prevail. It is an urgent task, and also a long-term one, to ensure that the Party exercises proper self-supervision and practices strict self-governance.

—Excerpts from a speech at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to hear the report of the Central Leading Group for Discipline Inspection on the second round of inspections by central discipline inspection teams in 2014, October 16, 2014

Since the 18th National Party Congress, the situation faced in the fight against corruption has remained serious and complex. Some fields have been prone to corruption; some corrupt persons are continuing to cling stubbornly

to their old ways, and some have even stepped up their corruption. Looking at the cases we have investigated and prosecuted so far, and the leads we have been provided, the greed of some corrupt persons, the enormity of the amounts involved, the length of time they have been at it, and the repugnance of their dealings are all very shocking. Corruption has been so serious in some localities that it has involved almost entire bureaucracies.

...

Our fight against corruption seems to have been misunderstood to some extent. Some believe this is a gust of wind that will soon pass and that they just need to lie low to avoid being struck down while the fight is going on. Some hold that the fight will hurt too many and shrink consumer demand and negatively affect the economy, and some even blame our intensified fight against corruption for downward pressure on economic growth. Others believe it will intimidate officials into playing it safe and making no attempt to achieve anything in their work. These are all misunderstandings.

...

Commending all meritorious deeds and punishing all crimes encourages people to do more good and less evil. If the Party were to fail to fight corruption it would face collapse. By fighting corruption, not only will the Party avoid such a fate, but it will also strengthen its ability to purify, improve, and reform itself; become better able to maintain close ties with the people; and thus become stronger and more resilient.

—Excerpts from a speech at the second full assembly of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, October 23, 2014

III

STRICT SELF-GOVERNANCE AND DISCIPLINE

To work metal well one needs strength oneself. It is the responsibility of the five of us here today to work together with all Party members to see that the Party exercises effective self-supervision and strict self-governance, solve prominent problems within the Party, improve Party conduct, and maintain a close relationship with the people so that our Party always remains the strong core leadership for socialism with Chinese characteristics.

—Excerpt from *“Our Aim is to See the People’s Aspirations for a Happy Life Fulfilled,”* November 15, 2012, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 70

The Party Constitution is the general charter of the Party. It reflects the Party’s nature and purpose, its theories, line, principles, and policies, and its position on major issues; it sets forth the important systems, institutions, and mechanisms of the Party; and it functions as the basic code of conduct that all Party members must abide by. Nothing can be accomplished without rules and standards. The Party Constitution is the Party’s fundamental law and contains the general rules which must be observed by all Party members.

...

In accordance with the six basic requirements laid out in the Party Constitution, Party members in leadership positions need to improve their overall quality and competence and

regularly self-reflect and remedy their shortcomings. In particular, they need to set a good example for ordinary Party members in terms of deepening commitment to the ideals and convictions of the Party, seeking truth from facts, pursuing sound development, remaining closely in touch with the people, cultivating morality, and strictly observing Party discipline. Leading officials need to fully implement the provisions of the Party Constitution on democratic centralism and ensure these provisions are upheld in decision making, personnel appointments, and all other aspects of their work as Party members in leadership positions. They must take the lead in maintaining the Party's political discipline, consciously uphold the authority of the Central Committee, strictly follow work regulations and procedures, and make sure all orders and prohibitions are complied with and all Central Committee policies are implemented. Officials must ensure strict enforcement of the regulations contained in the Party Constitution on intraparty political life, show courage in upholding principles and bravery when conducting criticism and self-criticism, and lead the way in cultivating healthy trends and opposing unhealthy trends and undesirable practices.

—Excerpts from “*Studying and Observing the Constitution of the Communist Party of China*,” November 16, 2012, People’s Daily, November 20, 2012

Our Party is a Marxist party organized on the basis of

revolutionary ideals and iron discipline—its strict discipline is both an honorable tradition and a unique strength. Our Party has more than 85 million members and is the governing party of a developing country with vast territory and a large population. Without rigorous discipline, the Party's cohesion and capability would be greatly diminished, as would its capacity for leadership and governance.

—*Excerpt from "Observing Political Discipline and Upholding Party Unity and Solidarity," January 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 131*

In ensuring Party discipline is strictly enforced, we must start by strictly enforcing political discipline. Although there are many aspects to Party discipline, political discipline is the most important, fundamental, and crucial. Observing this political discipline serves as the basis for observing all other aspects of Party discipline. Political discipline comprises rules that Party organizations at every level and all Party members must abide by in terms of political direction, stance, views, and behavior, and provides a fundamental guarantee for safeguarding Party unity and solidarity.

—*Excerpt from "Observing Political Discipline and Upholding Party Unity and Solidarity," January 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has*

Produced since Its 18th National Congress, *vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 131-132*

In observing Party political discipline, those things which are most central are upholding the leadership of the Party; adhering to its basic theories, line, program, lessons, and requirements; maintaining a high degree of unity with the Party Central Committee; and acting consciously to uphold the authority of the Central Committee. Maintaining unity with the Central Committee is not an empty slogan but a hugely important political principle. With respect to guiding philosophies, lines, principles, and policies, and major issues of principle of overarching significance, the entire Party must maintain a high degree of unity with the Central Committee ideologically, politically, and in action. Party organizations at every level and all Party members in leadership positions need to adopt a big-picture perspective and develop the consciousness to see situations in their entirety, and properly balance efforts to guarantee smooth implementation of Central Committee policies with those to work innovatively according to specific realities; putting into action Central Committee guidelines is a prerequisite for all plans for work tailored to the specifics of a locality. We need to guard against and overcome protectionism and departmentalism and must never allow localities or departments to take measures that circumvent Central Committee policy, to disregard orders and prohibitions, or

to implement Central Committee policy partially, selectively, or in modified form. If a Party member disagrees with a resolution or policy of the Party, he or she can, on condition that they resolutely implement that resolution or policy, make a statement of reservation to their Party organization and present their views to the Party organization at the next level up, up to and including the Central Committee. This is a Party member's right. Party members are not, however, permitted to spread ideas that deviate from the Party's theories, line, principles, or policies, publicly express views that contradict Central Committee decisions, disclose Party or national secrets, participate in illegal organizations or activities, or produce or spread political rumors or views that discredit the Party or the country.

—*Excerpt from "Observing Political Discipline and Upholding Party Unity and Solidarity," January 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 132*

Party members must strengthen their consciousness of following procedure, reporting anything that must be reported, informing their superiors of anything they must be informed of, performing all duties that must be performed, and assuming all responsibilities that must be assumed. We want less of the going over superiors' heads and reporting things higher up and less of the coming up with bright ideas

only when it's too late. They need to be ready to shoulder responsibility; when problems arise, they must be truthful with their Party organizations and have the courage to take responsibility, rather than avoiding and shirking responsibility and telling lies.

...

When it comes to observing and maintaining political discipline, the vast majority of our Party organizations, members, and officials are doing well. There are, however, a small number of Party members and officials who are only weakly conscious of political discipline, fail to maintain a firm stance on issues of principle and major significance, and publically express views that oppose those of the Party on major political issues, including the Party's theories, line, principles, and policies. Some localities and departments fail to pay sufficient attention to maintaining political discipline, and there are even occasional cases of compliance with Central Committee principles, policies, and major decisions being feigned. Some Party members and officials say and do whatever they please. Others deliberately choose to use political principles already clearly stipulated by the Party to make a point, running off at the mouth with not a scrap of compunction to showcase their so-called competence; when praised by antagonistic forces, they feel not shame but pride. These behaviors have a seriously detrimental effect within both the Party and society and do great damage to the cause of the Party. The Party will, under no circumstances, allow for there to be any privileged members who are exempted from the constraints of Party discipline and state law, or

put themselves above the Party Constitution and their Party organization.

—*Excerpts from “Observing Political Discipline and Upholding Party Unity and Solidarity,” January 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 133*

As Party members, we must maintain the Party’s iron discipline. Comrade Mao Zedong once said the line is that of *wangdao*; discipline is that of *badao*, and both are indispensable. If Party political discipline were to become nothing but ornamentation, a broken windows effect would follow, causing the Party’s Constitution, principles, institutions, and plans to lose their inviolability and authority and our Party to be reduced to no more than a “private members club” where members take what they want and act as they please.

—*Excerpt from “Observing Political Discipline and Upholding Party Unity and Solidarity,” January 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 134*

To strengthen Party building under the new

circumstances, we must fulfill the tasks and objectives on Party building proposed at the Party's 18th National Congress and take action to ensure the Party is exercising effective self-supervision and strict self-governance. If we fail in this regard, if we have lax Party discipline and weak organizations, if the righteous cannot prevail over the corrupt, and if serious problems inside the Party that have caused public resentment are not resolved promptly and effectively, then sooner or later our Party will face big problems.

—Excerpt from a speech at the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee's seventh group study session, June 25, 2013

Proper self-supervision is the only way to manage the Party well; strict self-governance is the only way to govern the Party to good effect. Ours is a party with over 85 million members that has long been the governing party of a large country with a population of 1.3 billion; for such a party, self-supervision and self-governance cannot, even for a moment, be allowed to slip. If our Party fails to exercise effective self-supervision and strict self-governance, and prominent problems in the Party that prompt strong public indignation are not solved, sooner or later it will lose its eligibility to govern and will inevitably be consigned to the pages of history. This is no exaggeration.

—*Excerpt from a speech at a national organizational work conference, June 28, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 349-350*

We need to ensure strict and impartial discipline is upheld in organizational work and personnel arrangements, allowing no violation to go unpunished, and no leniency to be shown to those involved in jockeying for promotions or buying and selling official posts. We must see that such behavior is investigated and punished immediately. Some localities tend to intensify efforts to punish such behavior during extensive personnel changes as terms of office come to an end, while ordinarily they pay it little attention. Officials appointed when this is not going on are every bit as important as those appointed when it is; we can't just let down our guard. Organization departments should carefully examine representative cases of such maneuvering for promotion and of official post trading, then deal with them strictly, and see they serve as a deterrent to all.

...

Over the years, leading bodies at all levels have developed procedures for discussion, and most officials have acquired an understanding of the basic principles and requirements of democratic centralism. However, instances of asserting paternalistic leadership, showing intolerance of dissenting views, holding discussions without making

decisions, and making decisions without taking action occur time and again within certain leading bodies. Some leading officials think only of themselves or their departments and stress only the democracy part, forgetting about centralism. During leading body discussions, some become unhappy if their ideas are not adopted, allow their thinking to be dictated not by sound judgment but by what position they hold, and become wrapped up in interminable arguments with other members for the sake of their own bit of power. Some officials in top posts, stress only the centralism part, forgetting about democracy. They have a habit of setting the tone for every matter that comes up and make decisions on major issues without allowing for proper contemplation and discussion among leading body members, and in some cases, even ignore majority opinions. These two types of behavior have a serious impact on the practice of democratic centralism. On top of this, some Party committees fail to regularly analyze and assess the implementation of democratic centralism by the leading bodies and the members of these bodies under their charge, resulting in insufficient targeted guidance and inadequate corrective organizational measures.

...

Upholding the authority of the Central Committee and implementing the Party's theories, line, principles, and policies are matters of political discipline and must never be violated. At the same time, officials must also consciously uphold the authority of their Party committees; they must refrain from always seeing themselves as the one in charge

regardless of whether they are an administrative head or a Party committee secretary. This type of behavior is classic individualism. It's common that as they continue to progress in their careers officials will transfer from chief to deputy chief, or from deputy chief to chief, and move between Party and administrative roles; they can't go around thinking everyone else is below them, and that they're always going to be the one in charge. Every one of us must do things by the rules; just because you are strong-willed or have character it does not mean you get to call the shots. Where would anyone get that idea from? Ultimately, all of this reflects the moral integrity and Party spirit of a Party member. Without reverence in our hearts, eventually we're bound to take a big tumble. All officials must faithfully perform their duties within their Party organizations—this is a rule.

—Excerpts from a speech at an internal Party meeting of the Standing Committee of the CPC Hebei Provincial Committee, September 23-25, 2013

The Party must exercise effective self-supervision and strict self-governance, but what do we rely on to do it? Strict and impartial discipline. In October 1964, in a report at a meeting with performers of the dance epic *The East Is Red*, Comrade Zhou Enlai spoke of how Comrade Mao Zedong had once said our Party is “a well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses

of the people.”* Comrade Zhou explained that it was no coincidence that Comrade Mao put discipline first. This was because discipline was the primary determinant of whether or not the Party could continue with the revolution, defeat the enemy, and achieve victory. If officials find themselves in trouble, it is always because they have breached discipline. We must tighten Party discipline, and tighten every aspect of it. Observance of Party discipline is unconditional: we must do what we say we will do, implement all aspects of Party discipline, investigate all discipline violations, and never just implement what suits us and ignore the rest. Discipline must not be treated as a set of non-binding constraints or as words worth no more than the paper they’re written on that can be put on a shelf and forgotten.

—*Excerpt from “Maintaining and Strengthening the Party’s Organizational Discipline,” January 14, 2014, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 764*

Reform, opening up, and development of the socialist market economy have changed the way resources are allocated and the models used to manage organizations, resulting in more and more “members of the work unit” becoming “members of society.” All kinds of complex relations between people and between interests, which

* *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, Eng. ed., Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975, p. 422.

are impacting on life in the Party in ways we cannot underestimate, have given rise to all sorts of problems. Weak Party organization consciousness and laxity within Party organizations is one that demands our serious attention. For instance, in some cases, individualism and liberalism are a serious problem, with Party members displaying contempt for organizational discipline, and bargaining over or refusing to obey their Party organization's arrangements. Some Party organizations and officials, when dealing with important matters that should be decided on by the Central Committee or higher-level organizations, take measures without first requesting instructions and afterwards fail to submit required reports; others deal with a matter first and report on it later; and still others report only as they're handling a matter or don't report on it at all. Some look for ways around reporting, taking one serious matter that should be reported and breaking it down into smaller ones they can get away with not reporting, thus bypassing organizational procedure altogether. Some leading bodies are not only insufficiently democratic and let individual members have the final say, but also fail to adequately practice centralism, with every member doing things their own way and treating the fields under their charge as their "private territory," refusing to accept the opinions of fellow members, and engaging in serious infighting. Some behave as if responsible only to individual leaders not to their organizations, and turn relations between superiors and subordinates into ones of dependency. Some turn to acquaintances or connections rather than their Party organization to get things done, weaving ever-denser nets of

connections and becoming increasingly expert at exploiting every unspoken rule. Some Party organizations are lax in managing their members and officials and fail to take seriously and properly carry out regular intraparty activities. The list goes on. Lax organizational discipline is now a matter of great concern for the Party. We must see that Party members become more organization conscious and tighten up on organizational procedures and discipline; failing to do so could see the Party fall into utter disunity.

—*Excerpt from “Maintaining and Strengthening the Party’s Organizational Discipline,” January 14, 2014, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 765*

If a Party member observes the Party’s organizational discipline, and reports to and listens to the opinions of their Party organization, many problems can be avoided. When are people most likely to make mistakes? When they assume everything is going their way smoothly. When you feel like you’ve got everything under control, you’re likely to act as your inclination takes you; acting as the mood takes us and failing to stop ourselves from overstepping the rules, gives rise to problems. As the saying goes, the moon waxes only to wane and water brims only to overflow. An official, regardless of how senior, must be conscious of organizational discipline; and the higher their position, the

stronger their consciousness must be. Only by catching issues early and preventing their worsening can we avoid major problems.

—*Excerpt from "Maintaining and Strengthening the Party's Organizational Discipline," January 14, 2014, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 766*

At present, many problems exist in the implementation of our system for requesting instructions and submitting reports. Some officials demonstrate a lack of respect for their Party organizations, not bothering to let their organization know where they are or what they're up to; they could vanish into thin air and there'd be not a word to their organization. When they are needed for something, the Party organization has to spend time and energy tracking them down. As Confucius said, before one's journey begins, one must declare one's destination. If our officials, especially high-level officials, can't even do this, then we really have problems. Party organizations need to pay particular attention to officials who do not request instructions or submit reports, as this could be a sign of problems to come. Some officials have somehow developed remarkable sleight of hand, acquiring several different identity cards, obtaining private passports in violation of regulations, or even possessing permanent residence cards for other countries;

others have several Hong Kong and Macao passes; still others have sent their wives and children to live abroad. They never bothered to tell their Party organizations about any of this; they just don't take their organizations seriously. All such matters must be investigated and all involved must be punished; just warning officials not to let it happen again simply won't do. Officials who come and go as they please treating the world as their playground will run into trouble sooner or later.

—*Excerpt from "Maintaining and Strengthening the Party's Organizational Discipline," January 14, 2014, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 768*

Party members must be careful not to equate individual officials with Party organizations. Loyalty means loyalty to the Party, not to individual officials, and cultivating relationships of dependency is forbidden within the Party. All officials are officials of the Party, not somebody's attendant. Some officials have embraced a "clique culture" of fostering factions, and spend all day ruminating over how to establish personal relationships and get people to be of use for them, analyzing who so-and-so has connections to, who so-and-so was promoted by, and who they should get close to and cultivate relationships with, and figuring out

whose coattails they may be able to ride on. Some leading officials like to play the patriarch, and look for unquestioning compliance from others, believing that anyone who shows them obedience is a good official, but being completely indifferent as to how they treat others, resulting in intraparty life becoming abnormal. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said years ago, “Comrades at higher levels should not imperiously order about those at lower levels, and they certainly must not make them do anything in violation of the Party Constitution or the country’s laws. No one should fawn on his superiors or be obedient and ‘loyal’ to them in an unprincipled way. The relationship between a superior and a subordinate must not be the one repeatedly criticized by Comrade Mao Zedong, the relationship between cat and mouse. Nor should it be like the relations in the old society between monarch and subject, or father and son, or the leader of a faction and his followers.”* Forming feudal dependencies is forbidden within the Party, as is forming circles, cliques, or factions and recruiting hangers-on, followers, and lackeys. For those involved in such practices the day will come when they find themselves in trouble. Sometimes, in one case a whole string of people are found to be involved and end up being caught, like clumps of soil coming up with a radish; an important reason for this is the formation of relationships of practical dependency. Within the Party, all members should be treated as equals, equally enjoying all rights to which they are entitled and fulfilling all obligations to which they are bound.

* “On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership”, *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. II, Eng. ed., Beijing: P.L.P., 1995, p. 330.

—*Excerpt from “Maintaining and Strengthening the Party’s Organizational Discipline,” January 14, 2014, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 769-770*

Discipline standards are formulated to be enforced. As the old Chinese sayings go, “Without a compass and ruler, one cannot draw circles and squares,” and “wood when cut with a chalk line is straight and metal when ground on a whetstone is sharp.” What these sayings express is exactly the point I want to make. Party rules must be observed by Party organizations, members, and officials, with no privileges or exceptions. Party organizations at every level must ensure rigorous enforcement to see that discipline becomes a live high-voltage power line.

—*Excerpt from “Maintaining and Strengthening the Party’s Organizational Discipline,” January 14, 2014, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 770*

The enforcement of organizational discipline requires clarity: it should be made clear what can be done and

what cannot, what should be done this way and what that way, which matters can be handled between individuals and organizations and which must be handled between organizations, when matters can be handled according to simplified procedure and what can be handled only according to regular procedure, when democracy should be promoted and when centralism should be upheld, and when decisions are left to our discretion and when instructions are to be requested and reports submitted. All of this should be stipulated clearly. Prompt criticism and guidance must be given to Party members who violate the principle of democratic centralism, who refuse to implement, or alter without authorization, the decisions of Party organizations, and who make decisions on major issues by themselves or as part of a minority; to members who carry out activities within the Party that violate organizational principles or procedures, or undermine Party unity and solidarity; to members who fail to strictly implement organizational systems such as the system for requesting instructions and submitting reports; and to members who for long periods fail to participate in regular intraparty activities or are unable to fulfill their obligations as Party members. In cases where violations are serious, they must be dealt with through organizational action or disciplinary measures.

—*Excerpt from "Maintaining and Strengthening the Party's Organizational Discipline," January 14, 2014, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I,*

*Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014,
pp. 770-771*

To enforce discipline, we must have the courage to criticize sternly those who commit violations. We cannot wait until major mistakes are made to give criticism; we must give prompt criticism in the general run of things whenever problems arise. A lot of officials worry that criticism will offend people or result in the loss of support; some not only lack the courage or willingness to offer criticism, but often substitute criticism with praise. These phenomena must be addressed.

...

In the past, organizational and financial discipline were like high-voltage lines that no one dared touch; now, in some localities and departments, they are more like low-voltage lines that have come loose. What does a breach of organizational or financial discipline matter? It can be laughed off and be put behind you, can't it? Whenever it's a public holiday, or even if it's not, you'll find some officials going off on trips all over the place, the whole family in tow, to enjoy good food, stay in luxury hotels, and find the best forms of entertainment; all over the country, wherever the best tourist spots are, that's where they'll be headed. Many of them travel at the public's expense, treating government funds as their family wallet and the head of the finance bureau as their private bookkeeper. Funds for social security, poverty relief, and improving the wellbeing of the people

concern the immediate interests of hundreds of thousands of families. The embezzlement and misappropriation of these funds has long been subject to the strictest punishment; yet still there are those daring enough to do such things. We must strengthen the management and oversight of the use of all funds and strengthen auditing work, especially auditing in major fields, and of major programs and funds, so as to prevent the embezzlement, misappropriation, and diversion of public money.

—*Excerpts from "Maintaining and Strengthening the Party's Organizational Discipline," January 14, 2014, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 771*

The Party serves as the core leadership in all undertakings. The kind of unity described by our ancestors would not be possible in today's China without the leadership of the Party. The Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau are the Party's leadership and decision making core. The plans and decisions made by the Central Committee must be implemented by the Party's organizational, publicity, united front, judicial, procuratorial, and public security departments, by Party organizations in the people's congresses, governments, CPPCC committees, courts, and procuratorates, and by Party organizations in public

institutions and people's organizations—Party organizations must play their role. Party organizations in all areas should be accountable and report on their work to Party committees. Some comrades have developed a habit of treating whatever work is under their charge as their exclusive domain, thinking that as responsibility has been assigned to them there's no need to report to anyone about it, and not wanting others to ask them about it; some are even reluctant for their Party committees to ask how their work is going, and if they do they'll deem it to be a lack of separation between the Party and government. These ways of thinking are mistaken. Party committees play the role of leadership core, and comrades in all fields should take the initiative to report to them on any work or situation of major importance and do their utmost to perform well within the scope of their duties under the unified leadership of their Party committees. Reporting on their work also has the advantage of bringing a combination of wide knowledge and expertise and collective energy to the task to help them do a better job. Party committees and leading Party members' groups in all localities and departments must do better in providing reports on their work to the Central Committee. This is also a rule.

—*Excerpt from "Maintaining and Strengthening the Party's Organizational Discipline," January 14, 2014, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 772*

We cannot afford to be ambivalent in implementing Party discipline, and must not allow Party discipline and rules to become paper tigers or scarecrows that give rise to a broken windows effect. No activity that violates the Party Constitution or Party discipline, especially political, organizational, or financial discipline, can be allowed to go unaddressed, and most certainly must not be condoned.

—Excerpt from a speech made at a meeting to review the first stage of the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party's mass line and plan for the second, January 20, 2014

A number of unspoken practices have taken hold within the Party in recent years and have gradually spread to the extent that some members have even begun to boast of their adeptness at using some of these practices. We need to remain highly vigilant. The following are some examples:

Politically, some insist that others adhere to Marxism-Leninism, while they themselves embrace liberalism. These people speak out of both sides of their mouths and behave hypocritically.

In Party life, some believe that self-criticism is just about recounting facts, and criticizing others means suggesting areas of potential improvement. There is a tacit understanding that if people are not criticized, they will not criticize others, but if criticized, they too will criticize. It is also believed that superiors should encourage and protect subordinates, subordinates should flatter and show reverence

to superiors, and peers should shield and indulge each other.

When it comes to implementing policies, some think that they need to act quickly to get in there before forthcoming regulations and find ways to skirt around existing ones, and that only the approval of leaders matters, not the satisfaction of the people.

Regarding the appointment of officials, some believe that failure to curry favor and give gifts will lead to demotion, currying favor but not giving gifts will keep you stuck where you are, and both currying favor and giving gifts will ensure swift promotion. In terms of interpersonal relationships, some live by the notion that an official stamp is not as useful as an informal note, an informal note is not as useful as “face,” and that anything is attainable if you have a vast social network, whereas everything is a struggle if you don’t.

These unspoken practices may be invisible, but they are ubiquitous. They sound preposterous, yet they can go unstoppable. They are a cancer eating away at the integrity of Party members and officials and undermining the Party’s values. If we allow such practices to spread unabated, what chance will we have of improving the Party, government, and social conduct? To eradicate them, it is imperative we strengthen our official practices, enabling integrity to prevail and deprive these unspoken practices of the conditions and means they need to grow, both within the Party and in society as a whole. All organizations at every level and all Party members and officials must strictly observe the Party’s organizational systems, rules, and discipline, be loyal to the

Party, and be honest, impartial, and upright.

—Excerpt from a speech at an internal Party meeting of the Standing Committee of the CPC Lankao County Committee, Henan Province, May 9, 2014

For all things in life, to do requires assiduousness; to succeed requires rigor. Rigor provides an important guarantee to ensure all our work is done well. As Communists, we emphasize being earnest above all else. Being earnest begins with taking a rigorous approach—never adopting a perfunctory attitude to our work or behaving half-heartedly, but instead treating all our work seriously. This goes for Party building; it goes for improving Party conduct; it goes for all our work for our Party and our country. Never taking anything seriously, thinking a cursory go at something will do, or aiming for passable—these are attitudes that have a great damaging effect on the cause of the Party and people and must be completely uprooted.

...

Intraparty political life serves as the main platform for Party organizations to educate and supervise Party members and for Party members to cultivate their Party spirit; the Party's strict self-governance must therefore start with intraparty political life. The kind of political life we have inside our Party determines the kind of conduct we see among our members and officials. Whether or not a leading body is strong and competent is closely related to

whether or not it takes seriously intraparty political life; whether or not an official is competent and of high standing is closely related to whether or not he or she has been through the training of earnest intraparty political activities. Most fundamental in practicing strict self-governance is ensuring Party organizations at every level and all Party members and officials act in accordance with the code of conduct for intraparty political life and all Party regulations. In recent years, liberalism, decentralism, nice-guyism, and individualism have come to be prevalent in some localities and departments, and some officials have come to behave paternalistically or act arbitrarily, in some cases to the point that they've forgotten what intraparty political life is about and their sense of right and wrong has become clouded. To a certain extent this problem has been addressed through the campaign, and we will continue to expand on these results, ensuring intraparty political activities are being carried out in earnest throughout the Party.

...

Most crucial to earnest intraparty political life is that all activities are carried out regularly and taken seriously, and that attention is paid to detail. The whole Party must consciously uphold the authority of the Central Committee and we must all see that this is reflected in every aspect of our own work; it is unacceptable to profess to be maintaining unity with the Central Committee while in reality not taking it seriously, or even to deviate from the Central Committee's guiding principles and policies and do things our own way. Important intraparty relations—including those between

Party organizations, between Party organizations and individual members, between Party members, and between collective leadership and individual responsibility—must be defined and handled in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. We must not ignore or mishandle these relations or incorrectly prioritize one over the other. Both intraparty political life and organizational activities must emphasize politics, principles, and rules; they must not allow for falsities, exaggeration, or empty talk, or casual or lax attitudes, and must never be treated as a form of entertainment or held in an inappropriate way. Superior-subordinate relationships, interpersonal relationships, and working environments should stress unity, harmony, purity, and wholesomeness, and promoting good conduct, and should permit no engaging in factional activities, vested interest groups, or favor exchanging.

...

We must strictly enforce Party discipline. As the old saying goes, “Unfair rules engender chaos, while rule by law brings order.” Without strict discipline, there would be no way to practice strict governance of the Party. Since last year, Party organizations at all levels have been taking the opportunity presented by this campaign to make good progress in improving discipline regulations and strengthening enforcement of discipline and accountability. At the same time, the great number of cases of defiant discipline violations we have dealt with so far show that some Party members and officials still pay no heed to Party discipline, have no qualms about engaging in formalism,

bureaucratism, hedonism, or extravagant behavior, and seem to believe luck is on their side and their corruption won't get them caught. This means we need to further tighten Party discipline.

...

Party organizations at all levels should explore ways to make education on Party discipline more regular and institutionalized. They should do more to impress on Party members the importance of discipline and remind of the need to observe it, and ensure that all Party members and officials genuinely come to understand that Party discipline is a code of conduct to be followed by all members, and that observing and upholding discipline is a basic condition to qualify as a Party member or official.

...

To strictly enforce Party discipline, there must first be well-defined discipline standards to follow. Our discipline standards must be constantly improved based on the circumstances and the needs of Party building to ensure that they form a systematic and coordinated set of provisions and are practicable and effective, and to prevent them from becoming divorced from reality, being ambiguous in content, or being left behind by practice. Party organizations and leading officials at all levels must fully perform their duties concerning discipline enforcement, remain unyielding when faced with intercessions, networks of connections, or chains of interests, and adopt effective measures to improve organizational management, ensuring that discipline violations are immediately discovered and dealt with as

they occur. This will help us nip problems in the bud and educate officials to prevent them from engaging in gross misconduct. The first thought that occurs in some localities and departments when a problem arises is to cover it up; in some cases, those attempting to cover up mistakes have even come to outweigh those standing up for justice. This must be seriously addressed. When dealing with discipline violations, we must thoroughly investigate whatever the problems are that exist, and whatever problems are discovered, and not feign ignorance of our problems, avoid major problems and deal only with minor ones, or trivialize serious issues and then wholly dismiss them. No one is to conceal, trivialize, or make allowances for problems.

—Excerpts from a speech at a review meeting on the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the mass line, October 8, 2014, People's Daily, October 9, 2014

We need to improve our institutions and mechanisms for formulating Party regulations, pay careful attention to the links and coordination between Party regulations and state laws, form a system of internal Party regulations and institutions built with the Party Constitution as its underpinning and intraparty regulations as its pillars, and increase the enforceability of our internal Party regulations. The Party Constitution and regulations place higher demands on Party members than state law; Party members must strictly abide by both the laws and regulations of the

state and the Constitution and regulations of the Party, and place higher demands on themselves.

...

Since the 18th National Congress, the Party Central Committee has repeatedly emphasized that Party members, officials, and especially leading officials, must observe political discipline and political rules. Over the past few years, in carrying out oversight over officials many Party organizations have developed the habit of only establishing defenses to fight corruption, thinking that as long as officials are not engaging in corruption, any other problems can be overlooked; they believe there's no need for further investigation, and are unwilling to carry it out. Some officials also think that as long as they're not corrupt everything will be fine, and any other problems they have are trivial, so there's nothing to fear.

Influenced by such ideas, some officials disregard the Party's political discipline and political rules, and in trying to further their "official careers" and expand their "influence," make appointments based on favoritism and discriminate against anyone who's not one of their own; form cliques or foster factions; hide their identity to make false accusations or create rumors; use money or manipulation to gain support; promise posts and other favors, as their cronies revel in the prospect of joining them in promotion; do things their own way while feigning compliance with orders; or bulk themselves up and challenge the Central Committee. Some have become presumptuous and reckless to the extent they no longer feel they have anything to fear. Most of these

problems have not even attracted the attention of Party organizations in certain localities and departments, and when discovered are not viewed as violations which must be understood in relation to and handled in accordance with Party discipline and state law. This is wrong and must be put right.

...

Corruption and political problems often go hand in hand. Can you foster factions and buy support without material means? Of course you can't, which means you have to resort to dishonest means to find the money for it. Then turn it around: if you're corrupt, you're going to want to find yourself a safe exit or an umbrella to protect you, so you start forming factions, or even try to influence the Party organization's decisions on leading body arrangements for your own benefit.

...

Ours is a Marxist party, and the emphasis we place on politics is a prominent feature and strength of ours. Without a strong political guarantee, Party unity and solidarity would just be empty rhetoric. Our country once went through a period in which politics was allowed to take over and "class struggle was the focal point," and that was wrong. But we can't just say let's not speak at all about, or speak less about, politics. Is a communist party that does not place importance on politics still a communist party? As the old Chinese saying goes, "The absence of political discipline leaves the door open to an array of problems." Here, I would like to make clear that everyone must pay close attention to political

discipline and political rules; problems with corruption are one thing, and political problems are another; we can't just emphasize corruption and ignore political problems. Politically incorrect officials do no less harm to the Party than corrupt officials, and in some cases do even more. On issues of political importance, nobody is permitted to cross the red line; if they do, they will be held politically accountable. Certain things are forbidden by political standards; anyone who does these things must accept the consequences. No one is to be permitted to take a cavalier attitude to political discipline or political rules.

*—Excerpts from a speech at the second full assembly of the
Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee,
October 23, 2014*

IV

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF PARTY COMMITTEES AND DISCIPLINE INSPECTION COMMISSIONS

Party committees at every level must be clear in their opposition to corruption, taking sounder and more effective steps to prevent and combat it, and seeing to it that officials are honest, government is clean, political integrity is upheld, and that the honest and upright political character of Communists is kept forever alive.

—Excerpt from *“Studying, Communicating, and Implementing the Guiding Principles from the 18th National Party Congress with a Focus on Upholding and Developing Socialism with Chinese Characteristics,”* November 17, 2012, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 81

Party organizations at every level should take it upon themselves to see that Party political discipline is observed and upheld, strengthening their efforts to educate members about observance. We must take a firm stand on major issues of principle; we must make our position clear on words and actions of Party members that go against the Party spirit; turning a blind eye or trying to stay out of things is unacceptable. We must immediately issue warnings and adopt corrective measures upon discovering the early signs of trends that involve violations of political discipline, and fight resolutely against violations of political discipline. Party commissions for discipline inspection at every level must give top priority to ensuring Party political discipline is

upheld and must strengthen oversight over and inspection regarding enforcement.

—*Excerpt from “Observing Political Discipline and Upholding Party Unity and Solidarity,” January 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 134*

The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection (CCDI), the Ministry of Supervision, and commissions for discipline inspection and departments of supervision at every level need to step up efforts to ensure that discipline is properly upheld, that anyone violating Party discipline is accountable, and that Party members behave in accordance with discipline standards. They must strengthen efforts to bring violators to account, strictly enforce regulations on disciplinary action, and use strict implementation of disciplinary standards to press leading bodies and officials at every level to improve the way they go about their work.

—*Excerpt from a speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection under the 18th CPC Central Committee, January 22, 2013*

Party organizations at every level must understand that strengthening efforts to improve Party conduct, upholding

political integrity, and oversee officials is a way of showing concern for officials. To abandon our responsibilities in this respect would be to behave with tremendous irresponsibility toward our Party, our people, and our officials. It takes much time and energy to train and nurture officials, but the moment they become corrupt, all the work our Party organizations have done for them over the years, as well as all previous efforts of the individuals themselves, go up in smoke. All Party organizations at all levels must live up to their responsibilities, educating and urging officials to behave with integrity and self-discipline. These responsibilities must not be abandoned.

—*Excerpt from "Punishing Corruption in accordance with the Law and Disciplinary Regulations and Solving Major Problems Prompting Strong Public Reaction," January 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 138*

Success in the struggle to improve Party conduct, uphold political integrity, and combat corruption demands action from the whole Party. Party committees at every level are responsible for exercising overall leadership over the work on improving Party conduct and upholding political integrity within the scope of their duties; their principal leaders are first in the line of responsibility. We need to uphold and improve our leadership systems and mechanisms

for tackling corruption, and see that commissions for discipline inspection, departments of supervision, the judiciary, and audit offices fully play their roles, in order to see a joint effort in improving Party conduct, upholding political integrity, and combating corruption. To ensure the system of responsibility properly takes effect we must be strict in its implementation, clearly divide up responsibilities, make sure reviews and evaluations are rigorous, and hold those who violate Party discipline accountable.

...

Party committees at all levels and every level of government must support the work of commissions for discipline inspection and departments of supervision and take an interest in and look out for the officials from these bodies. In particular, there is a need to protect officials who have a strong sense of Party spirit and the courage to stand their ground on matters of principle; the right conditions must be created for them to carry out their work. To forge iron, one must oneself be strong. Based on the requirement that their officials be honest and reliable, serve the people, remain principled in the face of pressure, and enforce discipline impartially, commissions for discipline inspection and departments of supervision at every level must strengthen their ranks, improve their ability to perform their duties and the quality of their performance, and better play their oversight and inspection roles.

—*Excerpts from a speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection under the 18th*

CPC Central Committee, January 22, 2013

The fight against corruption always prompts a great deal of discussion inside and outside the Party. The main challenges we now face are the separate performance of functions by anti-corruption departments making it difficult to build synergy; the difficulty in investigating and handling certain cases with strong resolve; and the frequency of corruption cases paired with inadequate efforts to hold those in violation to account.

The resolution from the plenary session lays out key plans for strengthening innovation in our anti-corruption systems and mechanisms and bolstering institutional guarantees for anti-corruption work. These include the following: we will strengthen the Party's unified leadership over work to improve Party conduct, foster political integrity, and combat corruption, and ensure Party committees take responsibility for this work while commissions for discipline inspection carry out oversight responsibilities. We will work out and implement a feasible accountability system. We will improve the leadership systems and the mechanisms used in the fight against corruption, reform and improve the functions of anti-corruption coordination groups at all levels, and stipulate that investigative and prosecution work on corruption cases is to be carried out mainly under the leadership of commissions for discipline inspection at the next level up. We will strengthen the leadership of higher level commissions for discipline inspection over lower level

commissions, and stipulate that when a commission reports to the Party committee at the same level on the handling of leads and the investigation and handling of a case, it should also submit a report to the commission at the next level up. We will put fully into effect the system by which the CCDI appoints resident offices within Party and government agencies of the Central Committee and the central government, and improve the discipline inspection tour systems of the central government, provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government to ensure that discipline inspection covers all regions, sectors, enterprises, and public institutions.

—*Excerpt from “Explanation on the Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Certain Major Issues concerning Comprehensively Deepening Reform,” November 9, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 505-506*

Establishing a sound system for preventing and punishing corruption is a national strategy and part of our top-level plan. The CPC Central Committee recently issued the “Work Plan for Putting in Place a Sound System for the Prevention and Punishment of Corruption (2013–2017).” This is a guiding document for improving Party conduct, fostering political integrity, and combating corruption. Party

committees at every level must work conscientiously to see it is implemented and keep this major political task in mind in all aspects of reform, development, and stability related work. Commissions for discipline inspection at every level must treat punishing corruption as an important responsibility and work more effectively to assist Party committees in improving Party conduct and in organizing and coordinating anti-corruption work. All localities and departments need to formulate measures for implementing the plan and ensure that every corruption prevention and punishment task is carried out.

...

According to the Party Constitution, the CCDI functions under the leadership of the Central Committee. Local commissions for discipline inspection at every level and primary-level commissions for discipline inspection all function under the dual leadership of the Party committee at the same level and the commission for discipline inspection at the next level up. On the whole, since its establishment at the Party's 12th National Congress, this dual-leadership system has been playing a positive role, and has proven to be basically suited to our Party and country. At the same time, in practice there have been problems of inadaptability and incongruity. In particular, there is much that gets in the way when dealing with corruption cases. Some localities worry that the investigation and handling of corruption cases will adversely affect their reputation and their development, and sometimes suppress rather than handle, or hush up rather than report, cases. It is not easy to conduct oversight on

others when everyone eats from the same pot. For local discipline inspection commissions, avoidance of performing oversight over officials at the same level is not uncommon. Among those corruption cases that have emerged in recent years involving officials first in command, very few were reported by discipline inspection commissions at the same level as the official in question. Some local discipline inspection officials even respond to those who report problems regarding an official of a Party committee at the same level with: “Stop right there; I’ve heard nothing.” These kinds of occurrences are not right and must be changed.

...

To strengthen constraints on power and make oversight more effective, we must ensure that commissions for discipline inspection at every level exercise their supervisory powers with relative independence and authority. At the recent Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee it was decided that the Party’s dual-leadership system for discipline inspection should be developed with greater specificity, be made more procedure-based, and be institutionalized, and that the leadership of higher level commissions for discipline inspection over lower level commissions should be strengthened. It was also stipulated at the session that the investigation and handling of corruption cases should be mainly led by higher level commissions while the nomination and assessment of secretaries and deputy secretaries of commissions at all levels should be mainly conducted by both higher level commissions and organization departments at the same level. This not only

underpins Party leadership over anti-corruption work and upholds the principle that the Party is to supervise the performance of officials, it also acts as a guarantee for the exercise of supervisory powers by commissions and is conducive to intensifying anti-corruption work.

...

Party committees at every level need to align their thinking with the guiding principles from the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, conscientiously put into effect measures to reform anti-corruption systems and mechanisms, willingly accept oversight by discipline inspection commissions, and provide support and safeguards for commissions as they exercise their duties. These institutional reforms not only reflect the trust the Party and the people place in commissions for discipline inspection at all levels, but even more so embody the heavy political responsibilities they carry. These commissions must uphold the unified leadership of Party committees and better play their role as agencies specifically charged with internal Party oversight.

...

Why emphasize the primary responsibility of Party committees? Because whether or not they fulfill this primary responsibility has a direct bearing on the effectiveness of work to improve Party conduct and promote political integrity. At present, some Party committees don't have a clear understanding of, and don't effectively act on, this primary responsibility; some treat work to improve Party conduct and ensure clean government as something they

have no part in, thinking all is well and good if they hold a meeting, deliver a speech, or sign a responsibility agreement on this once a year; some have given up criticizing and fighting against misguided ways of thinking and conduct, instead forsaking principles to remain on good terms with everyone, neglecting education, management, and oversight, and letting some Party members and officials slide toward the abyss of corruption; then there are those leading officials who are all words and no action, saying one thing and doing another, or even leading the way in corruption, taking other officials and the general atmosphere down along with them.

...

What is the primary responsibility of Party committees? Basically, it is to strengthen leadership, ensure the right officials are selected and made good use of, prevent problems of misconduct, including corruption, from arising during the selection and placement of officials; to address behavior that goes against the interests of the people; to strengthen checks on and oversight over the exercise of power, and prevent and punish corruption at the source; and to lead and support discipline and law enforcement agencies in dealing with violations of disciplinary standards and the law. Leaders of Party committees need to see that their respective leading groups and staff are properly managed, and keep themselves in check, acting as role models through their own integrity as officials. Party committees at every level, especially their principal leaders, need to bear in mind that neglecting to improve Party conduct and foster political integrity amounts to a serious dereliction of duty; they must

carry out regular research and planning, tighten oversight over leaders, strengthen their leadership of the work in this regard, use detailed plans to solve practical problems, and ensure their own responsibilities are taken care of.

...

Commissions for discipline inspection at every level need to carry out their supervisory responsibilities properly. They need to assist Party committees in improving Party conduct and organizing and coordinating anti-corruption work; they also need to press relevant departments to carry out their corruption prevention and punishment duties and check their performance in this regard, conduct regular checks and oversight, and deal strictly with corruption issues.

...

With power comes responsibility; greater power means greater responsibility. Whether it's a Party committee, a commission for discipline inspection, or another relevant authority, they all have to sign an agreement to take responsibility for building good Party conduct and political integrity. If a problem arises, they must be held accountable. It is absolutely unacceptable for an official to stand by apathetically while a string of problems pile up. We must not remain indifferent to problems based on the misplaced belief that they have nothing to do with us. Even worse is to remain reticent on matters of principle out of personal interest. We might be playing the good guy, but where are we putting the cause of the Party and the people? If a place is facing serious problems with corruption and the people in charge act the good guy, turning a blind eye, then they're not

the kind of good guys the Party and the people need. If you want to act the good guy by ignoring misconduct, you can't be the good guy of the Party and the people. It's impossible to do both.

...

The CCDI needs to promptly improve and strictly implement accountability measures, and make clear for each specific issue what responsibility Party committees, relevant departments, and commissions for discipline inspection are each to take; it needs to build a robust and complete chain of responsibility allocation, inspection and supervision, and accountability through retroactive investigation, thereby seeing to it that when an error is made it is investigated and when a violation occurs someone is held to account. When it comes to those whose weak leadership and failure to act leads to the long-term buildup of harmful practices, and those who fail to put a stop to, investigate, and report the repeated emergence of major instances of corruption, be it a Party committee or a discipline inspection commission, whoever they are, if they're responsible, then they will be held accountable.

—Excerpts from a speech at the Third Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection under the 18th CPC Central Committee, January 14, 2014

We must work hard to put problems right, ensuring that Party committees assume primary responsibility. Efforts

to rectify problems must keep up. Some places have whole bands of corrupt officials committing offences, while others have become disaster zones of heavy corruption; how is it possible to regard the responsibilities of leaders as having been fulfilled? New officials cannot ignore old problems. If a problem occurs, they will be held accountable. Some localities and entities suffer from weak management and an inability to act; what are the people in charge there for? They should be performing their duties; they should be improving Party conduct and promoting political integrity! All those who fail to take effective action to rectify problems will be strictly held to account. Inspectors need to review how problems they pointed out during their inspections are being addressed, and continue to keep a close eye on things.

—Excerpt from a speech at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to hear the report of the Central Leading Group for Discipline Inspection on the first round of inspections by central discipline inspection Teams in 2014, June 26, 2014

All Party members, particularly high-level officials, must see that their ways of thinking and actions are in line with the decisions and plans of the Central Committee, staying firm in their determination to see this fight against corruption through. All Party committees and leading Party members' groups at all levels need to fulfill their primary responsibility and realize that failure to build good

Party conduct and political integrity amounts to a serious dereliction of duty. Commissions for discipline inspection at every level must fulfill their responsibilities for oversight and do a better job in their role as agencies specifically charged with internal Party oversight. Secretaries of Party committees and leading Party members' groups, as persons first in command with the responsibility for improving Party conduct and ensuring clean government, should both assume command and take a hands-on approach, personally planning important work, looking into major issues, ensuring coordination between important areas, and supervising the handling of major cases.

—Excerpt from a speech at the second full assembly of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, October 23, 2014

V

**COMMITMENT TO
THE EIGHT-POINT DECISION
AND THE FIGHT AGAINST
THE FOUR MALFEASANCES**

The new central collective leadership must establish its rules. The eight-point decision on improving Party and government conduct constitutes an important part of this. Nothing can be accomplished without rules. We need to start with each of us here today; new people, new rules. The thinking guiding the development of these rules is to make the standards strict and ensure we capture the principle of effective self-supervision and strict self-governance by the Party. Efforts to improve Party conduct and foster political integrity must start with officials, and efforts to improve officials' conduct must start with the central leadership. As the saying goes, if you're not honest yourself, how can you expect honesty from others? Most importantly, we must act before small problems grow so as not to become the proverbial slow-boiled frogs unaware of the warmth of the water. Right now, signs of formalism, bureaucratism, extravagance, waste, and opulence are present at every level of leadership. We cannot behave with indifference, act as if this is commonplace, and fail to react. If we're going to make rules, we should make them really strict. If we are going to just scratch at the surface, opt not to ruffle feathers, and throw around empty and unenforceable slogans, it would be better to not bother. Establishing rules will necessitate acting on certain things where clear standards already exist, curbing certain things that are out of keeping with standards, and establishing standards for certain things where currently none exist. Rules should act as a constraint, which requires them to be tight. Naturally, when something is tight it'll not be so comfortable, and the sense of ease will

become an issue. A bit of discomfort and unease is what we want. If we are a little less comfortable and a little less at ease, our people will be a little more comfortable and a little more satisfied, and their perception of us will improve. This is also a case of creating a new image and a new atmosphere.

...

Regulations are regulations. Our not adding “provisional” in the title of these regulations is to demonstrate that we are absolutely serious and these rules are binding. The word “provisional” gives a sense of ambiguity. Let’s first implement these regulations. Let’s get them out there and really see them being implemented first, then we can improve them in a year or two if need be. The CCDI has as many regulations as it has, but it’s managed to keep implementing them, has it not? Whatever we do we’ll always have to keep ensuring our constraints work. Most important to this is implementation, seeing that words are followed with actions and that actions produce results. We don’t formulate regulations for nothing; if we formulate regulations we must see they are enforced, that each and every item in them is put into action. We need to improve the rules for implementation; we need to have detailed plans for implementation specific to security, the media, secretarial services, and domestic and foreign affairs. Once regulations are released they should be studied and implemented by everyone; this applies particularly to staff working closely with officials. With some problems, it’s often the staff of officials who make demands, seeing this as a perk or a right that comes with the job, and believing that failure to make such demands would mean they haven’t done things

properly, but in the process leaving everyone at a loss as to what to do. Officials must manage their staff well; that's another thing that needs doing, and an important one at that.

—Excerpts from a speech on improving conduct and maintaining a close relationship with the people made at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, December 4, 2012

I've already stated at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee that efforts to improve conduct must begin with officials, and that efforts to improve officials' conduct must begin with the central leadership. In the case of the military, efforts need to begin with the Central Military Commission. The Commission has recently formulated a ten-point decision on improving its conduct so as to set an example for the military as a whole. When those above show goodness, those below shall be great; when those above behave badly, those below shall behave worse. Officials at every level must make sure the example they set is a good one.

—Excerpt from a speech at an enlarged meeting of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, December 26, 2012

The report shows just how staggering the waste in food and catering is. The reaction of officials and the public to this and other forms of wastefulness is strong, particularly when it involves public funds. When we think of the 100 million-plus people in rural areas who still need our poverty alleviation efforts, the tens of millions more in urban areas who are dependent on subsistence allowances, and a great many others who face grave financial difficulties, the prevalence of all this wastefulness is truly distressing. Wasteful behavior must be stamped out! We must step up our efforts to educate and guide, devote great energy to promoting the fine Chinese tradition of frugality, champion the idea that economy is a virtue and wastefulness a vice, and do all we can to see that strict practice of economy and opposition to waste become second nature throughout our society. Party, government, and military offices at every level, as well as public institutions, people's organizations, SOEs, and officials at every level must set a positive example, strictly complying with official hospitality rules, fully implementing all measures for ensuring economy, and putting a complete stop to wasteful behavior involving public funds. We should adopt targeted, feasible, and directive measures to strengthen oversight and inspection, encourage thrift, and combat waste.

—Excerpt from *“Working Hard, Practicing Thrift, and Opposing Extravagance and Waste,”* January 17 and February 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress,

*vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House,
2014, p. 119*

All efforts toward improving conduct are important, but the most fundamental is that of keeping alive and carrying forward the spirit of hard work and plain living. Tang poet Li Shangyin wrote in the poem “On History”:
“For dynasties and families of times past / Toil and thrift begot success while wastefulness begot ruin.” Our ability to stick to the ethos of plain living and hard work is tied to the success or failure of the cause of the Party and the people.

...

There are other forms of misconduct that also belong to the corruption category, for example, accepting “gifts,” awarding excessive bonuses, coercing employees to buy certain products, traveling for leisure at public expense, swearing “kinship” for mutual backscratching, and handing out prepaid store cards and gift vouchers left and right. Basically, as long as those up to these things have got a bit of power, they’ll think up ways to squeeze some personal gain out of it. Although these may all seem like unobtrusive petty profits, their reach is wide and their sum is great, so much so that they have become a direct inducement to corruption, and their damage cannot be underestimated. Some believe that these days there are too many people committing these kinds of small-time misdeeds for the country or for an organization to deal with, so they choose to sacrifice their personal integrity and swim along with the

current. They reason that even if they are caught, the law cannot be enforced when everyone is guilty, and they stand to benefit for a lifetime if they can survive the temporary investigation. But as the saying goes, a small leak will sink a great ship. Such behavior is no less than an abuse of power, and we must be firm in our determination to put a stop to it. In doing so, we will both clean up our social mores and make headway in fighting corruption.

Improving conduct is no easy task. The Central Committee's eight-point decision is a starting point and a call to action. The decision does not represent the highest standards, and is certainly not our ultimate goal; it is simply our first step in improving conduct, and sets out the basic expectations that as Communists we should live up to. Disciplinarians must first discipline themselves before turning to others. Officials at every level need to practice what they preach, set a good example, be true to their word, and fulfill their promises. When it comes to members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, this starts with me. Every word and every action of an official can be seen by the people and may stay with them. If officials can demonstrate true concern for the people and keep their noses to the grindstone, the people will applaud, support, and follow them. But if they ignore their duties and show themselves to be disdainfully intemperate and indolent, the people will loathe, oppose, and become distanced from them. We are becoming increasingly better off, but that does not mean we can burn holes in our pockets. On the contrary,

we should be economical in all we do and firmly oppose ostentation, hedonism, and extravagance.

—Excerpts from a speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection under the 18th CPC Central Committee, January 22, 2013

When the Central Committee made the decision to improve conduct by combating formalism, bureaucratism, and hedonism, and opposing extravagance, it was introducing a new focal point for efforts to combat corruption and promote clean government, and a new approach for consolidating popular support for the Party's governance. All CPC members must be aware of the political importance of this issue, wake ourselves up, and always keep in mind the "two imperatives." We must be fully committed to transforming our conduct and fighting corruption, and must work with such effort that our steps mark the stones underfoot and our grip indents the iron of our tools. We must continue to make progress in combating corruption and promoting clean government to earn public trust and guarantee prosperity, development, and lasting political stability for our Party and our country.

—Excerpt from a speech at the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee's fifth group study session, April 19, 2013

After much research, the Central Committee has decided to make improving conduct the focus of this campaign to strengthen awareness of and implement the Party's mass line, homing in on the Four Malfeasances: formalism, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance.

Why focus on the Four Malfeasances? Because they run contrary to the very nature and purpose of our Party, have caused disgust among and elicited the greatest reaction from the people, and are a major source of damage to the relationship between the Party and the people and between our officials and the people. Many other issues within our Party can either be linked to, or stem from, the Four Malfeasances, so rectifying these problems first will pave the way for solving others. This is also why the Political Bureau of the Central Committee made it a priority to improve conduct after the 18th CPC National Congress.

—Excerpt from a speech at a work conference on the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party's mass line, June 18, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 313-314

To effectively cure the Four Malfeasances, we must find the right focus, locate the right pressure points, and grasp what is important; we cannot allow our concentration to wander, or our vision to become blurred.

To oppose formalism we need to focus on putting a stop to work being done perfunctorily, guiding and training Party members and officials to improve the way they learn, write, and participate in meetings, and to improve their work style, so that when faced with matters of principle they are prepared to shoulder responsibility and stand up for what is right, so that their minds are genuinely on their work, and so that they channel their energy into determining the real nature of what they are dealing with, adopting effective measures, solving real problems, and producing real results.

To oppose bureaucratism we need to focus on remedying failure to protect and inaction over the people's interests. We need to guide all Party members and officials, helping them to develop a firm grounding in reality and a deep engagement with those at the community level and with the public; to adhere to democratic centralism; and to learn from the people with an open mind, behave with a genuine sense of responsibility toward them, serve them wholeheartedly, and sincerely accept their oversight. We need to be firm in punishing anyone guilty of professional indifference, buck passing, or behavior that encroaches on the interests of the people.

To oppose hedonism we need to focus on eradicating the "carpe diem" mentality and all forms of privilege and ensure that Party members and officials keep firmly in mind the "two imperatives," work selflessly for the public good, work with diligence and honesty, and maintain an enthusiastic attitude toward progress.

To oppose extravagance we need to focus on ruthlessly

eliminating the harmful practices of profligacy and self-indulgence, as well as intemperance and indolence, guiding Party members and officials to live by the notion that thrift is honorable and waste shameful, to adopt a plain and hardworking approach in work and life, and to pay careful attention to cost, practicing diligence and economy in all they do.

In addressing the Four Malfeasances, we must be realistic and prioritize the resolution of the most serious and pressing problems so that these efforts become more targeted and effective.

—Excerpt from a speech at a work conference on the campaign to brighten awareness of and implement the Party's mass line, June 18, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 314

As members of the Central Military Commission we are in a position of prominence, and are the focus of attention from officers and soldiers as well as the public. Do we behave with integrity? Is our work clean? These are major questions related to the image of both the CPC and the military. We must be honest and self-disciplined, rejecting special treatment, refusing all forms of privilege, spurning improper behavior, and saying no to corruption. Only when we have begun to set a good example ourselves will we have

the self-assurance to take on improving conduct throughout the entire military. If we don't keep ourselves in check and don't keep ourselves clean, prompting criticism when we're out of earshot, how can we make demands of others? We can't. And any attempt to do so would be pointless.

—Excerpt from a speech at an internal Party meeting of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, July 8, 2013

To deal with the Four Malfeasances we must address both their symptoms and root causes. Addressing symptoms means focusing on their different manifestations, correcting what needs correcting, and prohibiting what needs prohibiting. Addressing root causes means identifying the deep-seated reasons behind these problems and focusing efforts to curb improper conduct on ideals and convictions, working procedures, and institutions and mechanisms. The Four Malfeasances are manifested differently in different localities and departments; for some, formalism or bureaucratism is more prominent, while for others, hedonism or extravagance stands out the most. Whatever problems stand out, are problems that need focused efforts to solve.

...

The conduct of officials is connected to whether or not we have the people's support; it is connected to the foundations of our Party's governance. We must spare no

effort in punishing manifestations of the Four Malfeasances.

Formalism is subjectivism and utilitarianism, and its roots lie in a misplaced view of work accomplishments and the absence of a sense of responsibility, which result in spectacular showmanship at the expense of real work and the use of dazzling facades to cover up conflicts and problems.

Bureaucratism is a haunting vestige of feudalism, and is rooted in a serious preoccupation with official rank and a distorted view of power. Some officials lord it over others, and have such a superiority complex that they have become distanced from the people and divorced from reality. Some like to talk of the tough times that came before the comforts of today, recounting tales of their humble origins and professing indebtedness to the Party and the people for their growth. But their actions don't match their words. Inwardly they are telling themselves that now they've joined the ranks of officialdom they can finally walk around with their noses in the air and bask in the respect and glory that "come with" being an official; the airs they assume are unmatched.

Hedonism, which is a manifestation of declining revolutionary will and shrinking revolutionary resolve, is rooted in a flawed worldview, philosophy, and set of values, and is typified by a predilection for all that is easy and an aversion to anything that is not, and desire for an effortless life of pleasure.

Extravagance is a reflection of class exploitation and decadent lifestyles, and is rooted in a debasement of thought and inflated material desires, which lead to debauchery and

dissipation.

The result of the Four Malfeasances is that limited resources have been wasted, work delayed, distance driven between officials and the people, and Party and government conduct undermined. In the end this will seriously damage the advanced and pure nature of our Party and do grave harm to the foundations of the Party's governance and its position as governing party. If you're lost in the stupor of one or more of the Four Malfeasances, how dare you talk of how Red China, built with the blood and sacrifice of countless revolutionary martyrs, will be forever red? What irony! Is Red China, built with this blood and this sacrifice, to be squandered and ruined by these people? If officials can't figure out for whom it is they work, on whom it is they rely, and who it is they should be, and if the Four Malfeasances continue to spread without being effectively curbed, then an invisible wall will form between the Party and the people, the flesh-and-blood ties which connect us will be severed, and the consequences will be grave.

—Excerpts from a speech during a visit to Hebei to inspect and give guidance on the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party's mass line, July 11-12, 2013

As we work to improve conduct, it is particularly important that we improve problems in the atmosphere at the primary level. Bad conduct at this level directly damages the immediate interests of officers and soldiers and shakes

the foundations on which we build and develop our forces. We need to make great efforts to address misconduct affecting soldiers, thoroughly investigating and prosecuting, without leniency, cases of interference in sensitive primary-level issues, the withholding or misappropriation of primary-level materials or funds, unfair processing of soldiers' applications for Party membership, college education, or promotion, and the demanding or acceptance of bribes, as well as any other actions that violate the interests of soldiers.

—Excerpt from a speech made after hearing a work report from the Beijing Military Command, July 29, 2013

It is also worth being vigilant about gatherings of small groups from the same school, industry, hometown, or work place; if we're not careful they could lead to the development of sectarianism, the mountain-stronghold mentality, or cliques. Having studied for a period of time at the Party school it is only natural that classmates come to feel close to each other. But if they make a point of their all being the class of such and such a year or having been in the same class, if they act as if they have some kind of "fraternal bond," or even form relations based on an understanding they will support each other politically, then that is not normal. Some of these gatherings involve tacit understandings; they all form a special kind of relationship, which they will have to make good on by looking out for each other's interests in the future. Are they trading power

and money? Are they finding ways to give each other a political leg up and forming political alliances? We must not, whatever happens, get caught up in this kind of thing. The damage it causes is too great. We often say that our Party officials hail from all corners of the country and have been brought together by one common revolutionary purpose. There is no place in our Party for these kinds of harmful practices; sectarianism must be dealt with and the mountain-stronghold mentality must be stamped out.

...

Although our ongoing efforts to implement the eight-point decision of the Central Committee may appear trivial to some, they make our intentions clear. If we can't even implement this decision properly, or fail to persevere with it, how can we possibly adopt an 18-point or a 28-point decision? To deal with the Four Malfeasances we must first see that these eight points are being fully implemented; to strengthen the Party we must begin with correcting the Four Malfeasances. Completing one task before we move on to the next lets everyone know that we can get things done, and that we are serious about doing so. Only in this way can we gain the trust of the people and the Party. People are worried about whether or not a system to guard against the Four Malfeasances can be established, whether it'll work, and whether it'll be anything more than a "scarecrow." We believe actions speak louder than words. Take for instance the CCDI's action against the giving of mooncakes at Mid-Autumn Festival this year; as trifling as mooncakes may sound, this action was against the hidden corruption

underlying the practice. It will be the same for National Day, New Year's Day, Spring Festival, Qingming Festival, and Dragon Boat Festival. We will keep taking action like this until we see results, until it leads to the forming of new habits and conventions.

—Excerpts from a speech at an internal Party meeting of the Standing Committee of the CPC Hebei Provincial Committee, September 23-25, 2013

How do we go about making sure the Party practices effective self-supervision and strict self-governance? We start with the Central Committee's Political Bureau. As the saying goes, "If the governor is upstanding, who will dare to be dishonorable?" If those above haven't achieved it first, their demands on those below them will be unconvincing and uninspiring. I said at the first meeting of the 18th Central Committee's Political Bureau that as a governing Marxist party, the CPC must possess not only the power of truth but also the power of integrity. The former is evinced by the correct theories of our Party, the latter by its fine conduct. Members of the Political Bureau need to take the initiative to continue and promote the fine conduct of the Party, ensure their actions are measured and their words prudent, cut falsities and seek real results, and emphasize effectiveness, effectiveness, and more effectiveness. The eyes' of all Party members are on the Political Bureau, so whatever the whole Party is required to do, the Political Bureau must see that it

does it first.

...

The campaign to strengthen awareness of and implement the Party's mass line is a strategic move in reforming conduct. But what is the focus of this campaign? The focus is on homing in on the right targets and gathering the strength to truly tackle formalism, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance. We have introduced the overall requirement to "take a good look in the mirror, straighten our clothes, clean ourselves up, and take the right medicine"; problems are not to be avoided or glossed over; solutions are not to be waited around or relied on others for, prompt action must be taken and changes must be made. We require that activities are carried out openly, and criticism and self-criticism activities are held where no one beats around the bush, where criticism gets right to the crux of the problem, where no-holds-barred opinions are aired, and where everyone is eager to help their colleagues, with the effect that cheeks become rosy, sweat begins to fall, hearts are opened, and souls are searched. So far, by identifying and analyzing instances of misconduct and implementing remedial measures, we have made obvious progress in addressing prominent violations of the mass line, focusing on areas such as research; news reporting; overseas visits; use of housing, offices, and official vehicles; secretarial services; official hospitality; security; office buildings; recreational activities paid for from public funds; extravagance and waste; and gifts and vouchers. Both officials and the public have shown strong support for our efforts, which tells us that we

are doing things right.

...

The conduct of a Party official is determined by their commitment to the Party. The best measure of this is whether they work for public or personal gain. To quote an ancient Chinese sage: “There is one kind of heart that can bring a nation down, and another that can see it prosper; the difference is between public and private.” Being a Party official is about acting selflessly, making a clear distinction between public and private, putting the former before the latter, and forgetting private concerns in the interest of the public good. Only when our whole heart and all we do are for the public good, can we embody honesty and public-heartedness and exercise power prudently, and be fair and just. Many instances of misconduct are caused by a failure to distinguish between public and private interests. Some actions may seem inconsequential, like a few meals or gift cards, but they are all linked to this public-private issue and to public funds and public power. Public funds are public funds, and not a single yuan of this money should be used inappropriately; public power is of the people, and must never in any way be used for private interests. Officials must always be clear about this, and be scrupulous in separating public and private interests, be selflessly devoted to serving the public, and practice strict self-discipline.

—Excerpts from a speech at the Third Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection under the 18th CPC Central Committee, January 14, 2014

Misconduct is by nature stubborn and recurrent. Good conduct isn't something that will last forever once developed and harmful practices can't be curbed overnight. A great glacier does not form in a day; the Four Malfeasances have been building up for a long time and have deep roots. Past experiences tell us that the difficulty of correcting misconduct lies in its tendency to come back. Things develop and change; the Four Malfeasances are highly mutative and easily spread; just as one kind of problem disappears, another appears to take its place. As the saying goes, "Shifting from simple living to a life of luxury is easy; swapping luxuries for frugality is hard." At present, in some localities and departments, while misconduct remains a serious problem, the forms it takes have changed, with different ways being found to twist, water-down, or adapt the rules. Some government buildings are being passed off as "entrepreneurship buildings" or "research and development centers"; some officials are going on vacation and calling it training; some have stopped hosting funeral and wedding banquets but will still accept the gifts; and others have relocated their drinking and dining at the public expense to private clubs, rural guest houses, or "internal dining halls." Some don "invisibility cloaks" to give and take bribes, using gift booklets, e-gift cards, and a whole host of other means, taking advantage of online or express-delivery services so that those involved never have to cross paths, and everything is completely concealed. Some organizations, to deal with inspections, conjure facts and figures out of thin air, embellish dead wood with fresh flowers, and do their

best to pass off mules as stallions, using different means so that on paper their work satisfies inspection criteria while in reality there's been little, if any, improvement. The list goes on and on. This just goes to show, while there are limits to the length of this campaign, there can be no intermission in the implementation of the mass line; improving conduct is a never-ending journey.

...

We must use theories and ideals, the Party Constitution and discipline, the voices and support of the people, and the example set by older generations of revolutionaries and role models as mirrors by which to examine ourselves, focusing on reinforcing the marrow of our faith, eliminating instances of the Four Malfeasances, putting a stop to unacceptable behavior, and establishing systems that benefit the people. We need to help officials acquire a better understanding of this campaign and further improve their conduct, help the Party and officials become closer to the people, further build the image of our officials as being public-serving, down-to-earth, and honest and upright, and bolster our foundation for governance at the primary level.

...

Some instances of the Four Malfeasances that exist in organizations at the municipal, county, and lower levels are also related to certain harmful social customs. Particularly troubling are those vast webs of social connections, which both tangibly and intangibly entangle many officials and ordinary people. At Spring Festival and other festivals, birthdays and anniversaries, and weddings and funerals,

the visits to and from others never let up, and the social obligations are unending. It's all about social circles: you've got yours, I've got mine, and everyone's competing to seek out, join, and strengthen their own circles, and this is increasingly lowering the tone of interpersonal relations. It has even caused some officials to go astray and begin violating laws and committing crimes. These harmful customs are deep-rooted and pervasive and can easily have a negative effect on Party members and officials; they must not be trivialized. We must take a clear stand and fight against such harmful, stubborn social customs, and use the Party's fine conduct to improve social behaviors.

—Excerpts from a speech made at a meeting to review the first stage of the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party's mass line and plan for the second, January 20, 2014

The eight-point decision on improving Party and government conduct, introduced by the Central Committee, has freed Party members and officials from having to read endless documents and attend superfluous meetings and social functions, bringing about marked changes in the way they work and their ways of life. As a result, most officials have a sense of relief, are physically and mentally more at ease, and enjoy better relationships with their families. It doesn't feel good being drunk all day, does it? There are, however, a small number of officials who are finding the adjustment difficult. Some are left with a feeling of

emptiness if it's almost time to leave work for the day but they still haven't been invited out. Some even lament that "it's no easy job being an official" and that "officials have difficulty making ends meet." By the looks of it there is more to be done in reducing the frequency of social functions and helping officials improve their professional and social habits.

...

That leadership is hard work is a given. Officials often have to work seven days a week or round the clock. If you want a life of leisure, don't be an official. When you do have a bit of free time, spend it with family, relax with a cup of tea and a book, attend to your cultural needs, or work to improve your health and fitness and build up your willpower. These are the kinds of activities that demonstrate good taste. Officials who willingly work to maintain a healthy approach to work and life will not fall prey to vulgar amusements. A quiet mind may take a man far; a simple life makes his purpose clear.

...

As the saying goes, "A single ant colony can burst a dike of a thousand *li*." A person who becomes corrupt and morally degenerate will often have started out seeking petty gains. An analysis of typical corruption cases investigated and punished in recent years demonstrates that every case involved a progression from many in number to more serious nature and from minor transgressions to major crimes. Officials at the community level are susceptible to developing "flexible" ideas, believing that because they

possess little power and are unlikely to accomplish anything great, they can take advantage of their position to obtain money by demanding and accepting bribes. They see their actions as minor indiscretions at most, and not as violations of regulations or the law. Some believe they're so skilled at extracting such petty gains that their actions are untraceable, or that because they're only involving friends or people they trust there's no risk of being caught; and that even if they are, they'll always be able to find a willing scapegoat. Other officials, on seeing others living comfortably and carefree by engaging in petty corruption, begin to feel they aren't doing as well as they do, and can't stop themselves from imitating, or even trying to outdo, others. Some officials think if they've helped someone out and are offered a "gift" they have to accept it to seem normal and avoid accusations of pretentiousness. Others believe that if you walk along the river's edge your shoes are bound to get wet, so you might as well go with the flow rather than trying to maintain your integrity; and even if you are caught, the law can't be enforced when everyone is guilty, and you stand to benefit for a lifetime if you survive the temporary investigation. This kind of thinking and these kinds of actions are both wrong and extremely harmful.

...

A single campaign cannot solve all our problems; this campaign focuses on solving problems related to the Four Malfeasances, and there can be no intermission in efforts to tackle these problems: they are to be continuously carried out, but can never be completed. This is how our Party

strengthens itself: it launches a Party-wide campaign every few years. Just as the human body requires constant repair, recovery, treatment, and exercise, or as a room needs a regular cleaning, intraparty political activities and educational campaigns also need to be carried out regularly and continued on a long-term basis.

—Excerpts from a speech at an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the CPC Lankao County Committee, Henan Province, March 18, 2014

Establishing good conduct requires continuous effort. In efforts to establish good conduct, the important thing is regularity. Healthy practices develop day by day; efforts to improve conduct hinge on their persistent regularity, their always being prioritized, and their being incorporated as a natural part of everyday work. We must ensure that, while taking charge of work, we manage our staff, helping to improve the way they think and conduct themselves. Party organizations at every level and their leaders must have a firm grasp on work to improve the conduct of leading bodies and officials, and must regularly analyze the state of conduct of leading bodies and officials, and the situation regarding relations between officials and the people in their locality or department, so as to identify problems straight away and take targeted measures to address them.

...

Establishing good conduct requires detailed and

concrete measures. In addressing misconduct, we must be meticulous and methodical. The people judge our efforts to improve conduct not by the number of meetings held, speeches made, or documents issued, but by the problems we have solved. Just as “the duck is the first to feel the warmth return to the water in spring,” our people have the strongest feeling for whether or not things have changed. Why are we cracking down on things that on the face of it are only trivial, like the frequenting of “leisure clubs” at scenic spots, and the giving of festival gifts, mooncakes, and New Year’s gift cards? Why are we working to rectify problems concerning officials’ office use, official vehicles, and travel and meal expenses? We are focusing on the details to develop good habits. If we are satisfied with doing things in an okay way, and are content when something is passable, if we talk big but do very little, or approach our work by lumping everything together with no sense of priority, then problems will be covered up. In contrast, if we raise our standards and set stricter requirements, failures and problems will naturally come to light. When we’ve spotted a problem, we can then focus on addressing specific details.

...

Establishing good conduct requires long-term efforts capable of producing lasting results. We must make long-term and repeated efforts to effectively improve conduct. Both history and today’s reality tell us that improving conduct is not a one time job. Typically, if you give misconduct your attention for a while things will improve, but if you ease off it again things will slip, leaving you

caught in a vicious circle that is hard to break. All these years we have been addressing misconduct, yet not only have many problems remained unsolved, they've actually become worse. The crux is that efforts have not been long-term but have instead come in fits and starts. Concentrated crackdowns have packed a powerful punch, but the rest of the time things have been left to drift. Long-term, consistent efforts are essential in improving conduct. We need to work on making further institutional breakthroughs to provide a permanent means to keep conduct in check.

...

Improving conduct and deepening reform across the board are closely related. Many problems that appear to be problems of conduct are in fact institutional problems. For example, solving the “last kilometer problem” of connecting with and serving the people will require an enormous amount of innovative work on our institutions and mechanisms. From the county to the township and sub-district level, and in rural villages and communities, how to build service management systems, how to integrate human, financial, and material resources, how to make effective use of information technology, how to ensure services are fair, just, and open, and how to strengthen the efficiency of management and the quality of services, these are all things that must be researched from an institutional perspective.

We should encourage bold exploration and practice at the primary level, striving to bring about innovations that can help to fundamentally solve problems and establish permanent institutions and mechanisms. Here's

another example: at each level of governance there are institutionalized standards relating to a lot of different problems of misconduct, but some of them are ignored or unenforceable. Some are as ineffective as using a cattle pen to cage a cat. The result is that many problems not only go unsolved but actually become worse. We must be dead set on ensuring the resolution of these problems, ensure they are solved properly, and never do things by halves.

...

Some officials say discipline is now so rigorous that it's better to do nothing, avoid taking anything on whenever possible, seek nothing but to avoid blame, and do the bare minimum to get by. To address these problems, assessment needs to keep up. I have repeatedly stressed that officials must have a sense of responsibility and that every sector needs to appoint people who are willing to bear the weight of responsibility and can get things done, replacing mediocrity with merit. It is unacceptable to demonstrate gumption, courage, and decisiveness when seeking appointment but become a buck passer when it comes time to get things done.

—Excerpts from a speech at an internal Party meeting of the Standing Committee of the CPC Lankao County Committee, Henan Province, May 9, 2014

From the reality of the situation we have seen in recent efforts to combat the Four Malfeasances and investigate

and deal with corruption we know that to solve the many different problems within the Party we must create a positive environment for carrying out governance. In other words, we need a good political ecosystem. The ancients pointed out long ago that to govern a country, “First must come proper social customs. In a virtuous environment, those of lower moral standing strive to be good; in an immoral environment, those of good moral standing feel discouraged and commit evil.”

...

Developing a positive environment to carry out governance must begin by focusing on people; by that I mean officials at all levels, and first and foremost, senior officials. Every official must keep to the right path and promote the spirit of justice by maintaining strong convictions, acting with integrity, and producing solid work. They must be unaffected and straightforward, speak the truth and be honest and open with both superiors and subordinates, and never behave fraudulently or say one thing while believing another. They must be principled, observe regulations, and act in strict accordance with Party discipline and state law; must not develop inappropriate relationships, adopt different attitudes toward different people, or be always chopping and changing. They should practice strict discipline and find injustice as hateful as poison, be ready to take action against all instances of misconduct, and never shirk responsibility or act shrewdly to watch their own backs. Officials must live plainly and work hard, be honest and upright, exercise power in the correct way, and withstand the

test of any temptation they find before them, never acting dishonorably for personal gain or becoming worn down by selfish desire.

...

Based on the principle of establishing complete and practicable regulations, capturing the spirit of reform and rule of law thinking, and combining the requirements of the Central Committee, the expectations of the people, real needs, and fresh experiences, we should work on establishing a complete system of institutions, which through binding regulations and strict implementation ensure that efforts to improve conduct follow standards, are regularized, and produce lasting results, preventing any reemergence of the Four Malfeasances.

—*Excerpts from a speech at the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee's 16th group study session, June 30, 2014*

This campaign has been a good start for improving Party conduct; however, we have just begun to make achievements and the foundation we are working from is not yet entirely stable. Some improvements have been seen in conduct, and instances of the Four Malfeasances have, to a certain extent, been reined in. But the roots of our problems remain. Some of the improvements were achieved in the context of a high-pressure atmosphere and stop at making officials apprehensive about engaging in misconduct,

while the self-awareness needed to rid them of the desire to do so is yet to take shape. Some problems have not been fully rectified, and certain deeply rooted issues have yet to be tackled on a fundamental level. Higher and lower levels have yet to truly work together to address problems. Some localities still need to improve their primary-level infrastructure, and lack effective mechanisms and capacity for communicating with the people, and are thus unable to make sufficient headway in implementing the mass line. Some officials miss the “good old days” when they spent their workdays sitting around reading newspapers and smoking. They hold the vain hope that this campaign will only be a brief flurry of activity after which they will be able to keep on as they did before. The list goes on and on.

At present, the greatest worry of both officials and the public is that problems will return, that the campaign did not get far beyond the surface, and that it will turn out to have been just a short-lived spell of activity. Their greatest hope is that such campaigns will become the norm, be carried out with persistent regularity, and continue to produce effective results on a long-term basis. In response, we would like to say that although this campaign has come to an end, this certainly does not mean that we have stopped working to improve conduct. On the contrary, we must constantly deepen our efforts, maintain the positive momentum already built up, and make improving conduct a way of life.

...

We need to extend our efforts beyond tackling the Four Malfeasances to ensuring that our officials improve

their thinking, the way they work and lead, their ways of life, their learning habits, and the style of their documents and meetings. We need to fully clean up Party conduct by addressing misconduct at the source, so that Party members and officials not only daren't, but are also unable and do not want to engage in misconduct.

—Excerpts from a speech at a review meeting on the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the mass line, October 8, 2014, People's Daily, October 9, 2014

VI

**THE ZERO TOLERANCE POLICY
ON CORRUPTION**

We must push forward in our efforts to combat corruption and uphold political integrity, and see that every case is investigated and every instance punished. Any person who has violated Party discipline or state law must be investigated and punished in accordance with relevant Party discipline and state law, with no room for leniency. Those involved in corruption will find no safe haven within our Party.

—Excerpt from a speech at the First Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, November 15, 2012

Our armed forces do not live in a vacuum; it is only inevitable that the kinds of corruption and other forms of misconduct found in society will also appear in the military. Members of the Central Military Commission must be unequivocal in opposing corruption, set a positive example in observing all regulations on integrity and self-discipline lead the way in upholding the CPC Central Committee's regulations on the pay and benefits of officials, and conscientiously work to improve Party conduct and promote political integrity in the agencies and departments under their charge. We need to look after not only our own behavior, but also that of our spouses, children, and staff; we must never seek personal gain, must never have any involvement in privilege-seeking, and must use our own actions to set a good example for all other members of the armed forces. All instances of corruption and other forms

of misconduct reported by officers, military personnel, and civilians must be thoroughly investigated and dealt with. Any person who violates Party discipline and state law must be punished in accordance with the law and without leniency. We have said that there must be no haven within the Party where the corrupt can hide; for the armed forces, entrusted as they are with carrying arms, this point can only be further emphasized.

—Excerpt from a speech at an executive meeting of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, November 15, 2012

Combating corruption and promoting integrity requires regular efforts, and resisting corruption and preventing moral decline requires enduring vigilance. The key is in the two words “regular” and “enduring,” with one showing the need for efforts to be frequent and the other the need for them to be carried out on a long-term basis. We must be firm in our determination to discipline every act of corruption and constantly work to remove the soil in which corruption grows; with real results, we will earn the trust of our people.

—Excerpt from a speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection under the 18th CPC Central Committee, January 22, 2013

A firm commitment to punishing corruption is not only an expression of our Party's strength, but a commonly held desire of all Party members and the Chinese people. Our Party's strong resolve and clear stand in solemnly investigating and taking action against the serious discipline violations of some Party members and officials—including high-ranking officials—demonstrate to the entire Party and all of society that our words are not empty: anyone who violates Party discipline or state law, regardless of who they are or how high their office is, will be held to account and strictly punished.

—*Excerpt from "Punishing Corruption in accordance with the Law and Disciplinary Regulations and Solving Major Problems Prompting Strong Public Reaction," January 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 135*

As we work to combat corruption and promote clean government, we must also oppose the notion of special rights, and all forms of privilege. It is stipulated in the Party Constitution that "Members of the Communist Party of China shall always remain ordinary members of the working people. With the exception of individual interests and job-related functions and powers afforded through laws and policies, no Communist Party member shall seek any personal gain or privilege." At the Party's 18th National

Congress, it was emphasized that officials at all levels are strictly prohibited from any involvement in privilege-seeking. Why was this underlined? Because the behavior of some of our officials in seeking special treatment and playing around with “privilege” has resulted in serious public dissatisfaction.

—Excerpt from “Punishing Corruption in accordance with the Law and Disciplinary Regulations and Solving Major Problems Prompting Strong Public Reaction,” January 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. 1, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 136-137

Our Party speaks of the need to create a social environment that encourages people to be enterprising and supports them to achieve success; to unleash all the vitality of work, knowledge, technology, management, and capital; and to enable all sources of social wealth to flow freely so that the people benefit. When one has to resort to connections or tricks to gain admission into a school, take the civil service exams, start a business, launch a project, obtain a promotion, buy a home, find a job, put on a performance, or go abroad, then those with a certain social background get special treatment, while those without don't get a look-in no matter how capable they may be. This has a serious impact on social equality and justice. If this situation is left unaddressed, how can we see a vibrant

landscape take shape in which great numbers of talented people can emerge and everyone can tap into their full potential? Will our society still have the dynamism necessary for development? Will our Party and country be able to keep moving forward with such great energy? As Communists we must never engage in the nepotistic practices of old feudal society, where serving the emperor could get you a title for your wife and an official position for your son, and where it was said when a man achieved the *Dao* even his chickens and dogs could get into heaven; doing so would be to invite the people's criticism.

—Excerpt from *"Punishing Corruption in accordance with the Law and Disciplinary Regulations and Solving Major Problems Prompting Strong Public Reaction,"* January 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 137-138

We must remember that “enough insects en masse can fell a tree; and a big enough crack can collapse a wall.” We must maintain a tough stance against corruption, and ensure that every case is investigated and every instance punished. All types of cases involving corruption must be investigated and dealt with in rigorous accordance with Party discipline and state law. We must deal with both “tigers” and “flies” in our fight against corruption; that is, we must not only

investigate and address major and serious cases involving abuse of power, embezzlement, bribery, moral decline, dereliction of duty, and misconduct among leading bodies and officials, but also strive to resolve corruption that occurs close to the people by investigating and addressing every type of case that harms the people's interests and protecting their legitimate rights and interests. We will work hard to ensure that officials are honest, government is clean, and political integrity is upheld.

—*Excerpt from a speech at the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee's fifth group study session, April 19, 2013*

We need to establish robust systems for recording, reporting, and enforcing accountability for interference in judicial activities in violation of statutory procedures. Anyone who violates statutory procedures by interfering in the handling of a case by judicial and law enforcement bodies will be punished in accordance with Party and government discipline regulations; and anyone whose actions result in an unjust or erroneous ruling or other serious consequences will be subject to criminal liability.

—*Excerpt from "Promoting Strict Law Enforcement and Judicial Impartiality," January 7, 2014, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature*

Publishing House, 2014, p. 721

Being serious about investigating and handling violations is not to make life difficult for any particular person; it's to uphold the integrity of discipline and the law. If you've behaved in a way that puts you at odds with the Party and the people, and act against Party discipline or state law, and we compromise principles by just letting you off, then we are not doing justice to the Party, the people, Party discipline, or state law.

...

We are using rule of law thinking and approaches in the fight against corruption, we have investigated and addressed a number of major and serious cases, and we have been taking a tough stance against those involved in corruption. We have been giving serious attention to tackling issues of official misconduct and corruption occurring close to the people. At the CCDI's Second Plenary Meeting, I stated that no one is exempt from Party discipline or state law. Our actions have proved that we mean what we say.

...

The breeding ground for corruption is still there, the situation faced in the fight against corruption remains challenging and complex, and some misconduct and corruption problems are so pernicious they urgently need resolving. All Party members must fully understand that the fight against corruption is a long-term, complex, and formidable one. With the determination to adopt powerful

remedies and the courage to take painful measures for the sake of the bigger picture, all Party members must work with resolve to see the drive to build good Party conduct and political integrity and fight corruption right through to the end.

...

Like fire, greed will ravage if left unchecked; like water, desire will engulf if not held back. There are some who are sinking deeper and deeper into the mire of corruption, and a major reason for this is that when they commit minor legal or discipline violations, their Party organizations fail to give sufficient warnings, criticism, or guidance; or even choose to look the other way. Leniency granted knowingly, itself a breach of law and discipline, can then lead to violations being covered up or to major problems emerging. Thus problems should be dealt with as soon as they occur and while they are still minor, just as an illness should be treated on discovery, if we find problems, we must deal with them at once, and not let an ulcer go untreated only to regret it later. This is a way of looking after our officials. Every official must keep firmly in mind that getting their hands dirty even once will get them caught. Confucius once remarked, "On seeing good, pursue it as if unable to catch up; On seeing evil, recoil as would the hand thrust into boiling water." Officials should observe the law with reverence, not flout it in the hope that nobody will notice. It has been said that only through long-term vigilance against misconduct can the arm of the law be avoided. These are all ways to refer to the same idea.

...

We need to work harder in our international efforts to apprehend those wanted on corruption charges who have fled overseas, and all government departments concerned must step up efforts to negotiate with their overseas counterparts. We cannot allow those guilty of corruption to treat foreign countries as havens for evading justice; even if they run to the ends of the Earth we will bring them back to face justice; if it takes five, ten, or twenty years they must still be apprehended. We must cut off their escape routes.

—Excerpts from a speech at the Third Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection under the 18th CPC Central Committee, January 14, 2014

When we say we must deal with both “tigers” and “flies” in our fight against corruption, some of our people remark that the “tigers” are far away, and that it’s the “flies” that are an everyday irritant. This tells us that we must work hard to fight corruption that occurs close to the people, resolve the problems that are harming their interests, and protect their legitimate rights and interests.

—Excerpt from a speech made at a meeting to review the first stage of the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party’s mass line and plan for the second, January 20, 2014

We have not yet effectively stemmed corruption, but it is our goal to do so. Right now, there are frequent instances of corruption in the development of mineral resources, the sale of land-use rights, the development of housing projects, the construction of projects, the use of funds earmarked for ensuring people's wellbeing, and the management of research and development funds. There is also a serious problem with officials interfering in projects and with their children or other relatives operating businesses. In some localities, even poverty alleviation funds, agricultural development funds, medical insurance funds, or subsistence allowances are embezzled or used to offer bribes for official posts, turning what should've been the people's lifeline money into bribe money for higher posts. In developed regions, power and money are exchanged through projects, and in poor areas, money is stolen from poverty reduction and relief funds. These acts are simply appalling. We must step up our investigations and disciplinary action.

...

We must be mindful of the difficulties ahead, ensure the Party exercises effective self-supervision and strict self-governance, maintain a tough stance against corruption, and take determined measures to put a stop to the spread of corrupt practices. In just over a year, we have disciplined dozens of ministerial-level officials, which is significantly more than in the past, but this is not the way to count progress; every single instance of corruption must be investigated and disciplined. As the future of the Party and the country has been placed in our hands, we must rise to

shoulder this responsibility. The Tang poet Du Fu expressed a similar feeling when he wrote, “Longing to help good pines grow high / I am ready to cut acres of rotting bamboo down.” We need to build institutional fences to ensure that people do not dare, are not able, and do not want to be corrupt. Delegating authority does not mean allowing it to be abused arbitrarily; institutions must be implemented, not left sitting around for show.

—Excerpts from a speech at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to hear the report of the Central Leading Group for Discipline Inspection on the first round of inspections by central discipline inspection Teams in 2014, June 26, 2014

By strengthening efforts to apprehend those wanted on corruption charges who have fled overseas and recover stolen state assets, we are sending a powerful message to anyone involved in corruption that their escape routes have been cut off; this message will have a strong deterrent effect and will help to stem the spread of corruption. As the intensity of the fight against corruption has continued to build, some of those involved in corruption have seen fleeing overseas as a getaway route. In cases dealt with recently, many of those involved had seen fleeing the country as their escape route, and although they failed in the end, the intention had been there. So we must maintain a zero tolerance policy on corruption, bringing the guilty to

justice even if they run off to distant corners of the globe; we absolutely cannot allow those guilty of corruption to hide away in foreign countries, treating them as havens for evading justice where they can escape the arm of the law. We need to incorporate these efforts into our overall plan for improving Party conduct, promoting political integrity, and fighting corruption, so as to further deepen the fight against corruption.

...

We need to strengthen research on international rules and organizations and develop a deeper understanding of the laws and extradition and repatriation rules of relevant countries. We need to keep abreast of the latest developments in the international fight against corruption so as to make our work to apprehend fugitives and recover stolen state assets more targeted.

...

National media outlets should act promptly to expose the truth about the legal and disciplinary violations and the attempts to escape punishment of those guilty of corruption who have fled overseas. In some cases, where things are clear-cut and the evidence against overseas fugitives is conclusive, these media outlets can consider releasing the names of offenders for the world to see, so that there is not a corner of the globe where they can escape the opprobrium of corruption. This will make the deterrent effect even more powerful.

criminals and recovering illegal assets outside China's mainland at the 78th meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee, October 9, 2014

The greatest risk and challenge faced by our Party comes from corruption and other forms of misconduct within the Party. Through rent seeking, and collusion between people inside and outside the system, interest groups form and pose a challenge to Party leadership. We must never waver in our determination to punish corruption, and must never exhibit any leniency; as they say, “each case cracked down on can instill fear in all who continue their corruption.” We must maintain our political focus and continue to strengthen the atmosphere in which officials daren’t engage in corruption, so that those whose conduct is a problem quit such behavior and rein themselves in as quickly as possible, effectively stemming corruption’s spread. At the same time, we need to work on institution building to make sure people are unable to engage in corruption.

...

Inspections have shown that corruption and other forms of misconduct connected to the placement of officials are a prevalent problem, with related regulations being widely violated and the system for officials being largely ignored. In some localities the buying or illegal soliciting of votes, jockeying for promotions, and the buying and selling of official posts are serious problems, and there are some officials who have a propensity for

seeking out political patrons, forming cliques, or peddling their influence. Corruption involved in the appointment of officials is probably the most serious form of corruption, and corruption in the placement of officials inevitably leads to the abuse of power. If they've spent money to get a post they're certain to use their newly gained power to find every possible means to fish for their money back. To ensure the Party practices strict self-governance, we must begin by being strict in our management of officials, focus on the factors crucial to checking power and managing officials, and thoroughly investigate and discipline corruption connected to the placement of officials.

—Excerpts from a speech at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to hear the report of the Central Leading Group for Discipline Inspection on the second round of inspections by central discipline inspection teams in 2014, October 16, 2014

We will step up the fight against corruption, and continue to maintain our tough stance. Our zero tolerance policy will not change, our determination to adopt powerful remedies will not diminish, our courage to take painful measures for the sake of the bigger picture will not lessen, and the severity of our disciplinary measures will not decrease. When an instance of corruption is discovered, it will be investigated and addressed until every last case has been dealt with. We will not set quotas; we will not establish

ceilings; and every act of corruption will be punished as we move to uproot this evil in its entirety.

—Excerpt from a speech at the second full assembly of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, October 23, 2014

VII

DISCIPLINE INSPECTION: A SWORD TO FIGHT CORRUPTION

Discipline inspection is an important duty laid out in the Party Constitution, a vital measure for improving the Party, a crucial means by which to strictly exercise and uphold Party discipline, and an important way of strengthening internal Party oversight.

...

We would achieve very little without priorities. The functions to be served by discipline inspections should be made clear, their scope should not be overly broad, and they should be carried out with the central focus on building good Party conduct and political integrity and combating corruption. The Central Leading Group for Discipline Inspection must effectively strengthen its leadership over inspection work. Central discipline inspection teams are directly appointed by the Central Committee; they must perform effectively in their role as its representatives, be good at identifying problems, and act as a deterrent to corruption. Members of discipline inspection teams must strengthen their political awareness of being responsible to the Party, their sense of responsibility for identifying problems, and their Party spirit, which should embolden them to draw attention to problems. They must effectively strengthen oversight over the leading bodies of Party organizations and their members, particularly their principal leaders. Who you are doesn't matter, no one is beyond the purview of discipline inspection oversight.

...

Discipline inspection is designed to help us identify and report problems. Inspectors must work to discover whether

there are problems of formalism, bureaucratism, hedonism, extravagance, and other such malpractices that violate the Central Committee's eight-point decision on improving Party and government conduct; they must identify officials involved in behavior that violates discipline or law such as trading power for money, abusing power for personal gain, accepting or offering bribes, or engaging in corruption and sinking into immorality; they must ascertain whether officials have, in breach of Party discipline standards, opposed the Central Committee's decisions publicly, spread ideas that contradict the Party's theories, line, principles, or policies, or disregarded or taken measures that contradict Central Committee policy; and they must identify cases of misconduct and corruption relating to the selection or appointment of officials, such as buying or selling official posts, buying or illegally soliciting votes, or rushing through promotions.

...

Discipline inspection teams must work effectively as the eyes and ears of the Central Committee, able to identify "tigers" and "flies," and uncover leads on violations of discipline or law. They must fulfill their oversight responsibilities and be ready to face difficult problems, ensuring early discovery and reporting, moving issues toward resolution, and stemming the spread of corruption.

...

Inspection teams should emphasize innovation in their work, adapting to changing circumstances by reflecting on past experience, ensuring the content, approaches, methods,

and institutional development of inspections are always up-to-date, improving their work mechanisms, and making their work more targeted and effective. They should be always improving their work style and working to maintain close contact with the people; act with resolve to implement the Central Committee's eight-point decision; exercise strict political discipline and uphold discipline standards on integrity and confidentiality; and improve their ability to fulfill their duties. The heads of central inspection teams are representatives of the Central Committee, but this position is not a permanent one. Establishing a pool of potential heads is a good idea: candidates should include both those recently retired and those currently serving. Each head should be appointed on a single inspection basis. Who participates in inspections, and which localities or organizations they inspect should not be fixed; they might be inspecting one province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the central government this time, and next time they might be at enterprises or financial institutions. We can continue to explore how best to develop this method, including how to improve the avoidance system.

—Excerpts from a speech at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to review the "Report on the Research and Plans Made at the First Meeting of the Central Leading Group for Discipline Inspection," April 25, 2013

Inspection results must be put to effective use, helping discipline inspection play a stronger role in internal Party oversight. Oversight achieved through inspections can work as a catalyst and a strengthening agent. It can play a critical role in ensuring institutional frameworks function well, heads of organizations fulfill their duties properly, and commissions for discipline inspection carry out their work effectively.

...

Central inspection teams should promptly give feedback communicating the views formed through inspections, and press the Party committees or leading Party members' groups of the localities, departments, and organizations inspected to take on the responsibility of resolving identified problems, make clear their responsibilities, set timelines for the correction of problems, strengthen supervision to drive the process forward, and consolidate inspection results in light of the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party's mass line. The Party committees or leading Party members' groups of the localities, departments, and organizations inspected must treat this feedback as extremely important, play a stronger role in assuming responsibility for building good conduct and political integrity, work according to case type to pursue leads on suspected officials turned over to them by inspection teams, and take rigorous measures to investigate and punish violations of discipline and law; where there are prominent problems of formalism, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance, they must work hard to make corrective changes, incorporating efforts with

the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the mass line. In the event that serious problems arise because inspection results have not been used effectively, those responsible must be held to account; this should help to ensure inspection results are put to practical use.

...

When inspections discover clues as to problems, anything found to violate discipline or law must be rigorously investigated and dealt with. We shouldn't worry about the number of cases; organizations that have a lot of problems can manage the pace. We must let no one guilty get away, and punish as many as must be punished. Granted full powers as representatives and circuit inspectors by the Central Committee, discipline inspection teams must properly perform every one of their duties, must not drag their feet on any issue big or small, and must show zero tolerance for corruption. Pay no regard to how high they rank, let all who break the law be held to account; the sky will not fall down. Thoroughly investigating and punishing corruption—doing what needs to be done no matter how tough—is the only way we can make our Party stronger and healthier. When an inspection uncovers a problem, what needs investigating or punishing will be investigated or punished; and what demands removal from office shall result in removals. Problems must be promptly followed up on, where there are issues or omissions they must be corrected, and a number of typical cases should be highlighted related to implementation of the officials' responsibility system for improving Party conduct and promoting political integrity.

Failure to report problems or alert the higher authorities, hoping it'll preserve the status quo and guarantee yourself an easy life, and letting corruption cases pile up under your watch; this is simply unacceptable.

...

Inspections have also included random checks on the reporting of personal information by officials. In the past, either these reports have not been checked thoroughly enough or identified problems have not been properly rectified. This should give us a sense of urgency: the public has certain expectations and demands in this regard, and failing to promptly address the issue would mean failing to satisfy public demands. Recent checks tell us that the majority of these reports have not been fully filled out. So what purpose does filing them serve? The system must be practicable. We need to ensure random reviews are carried out on a certain proportion of reports and that all identified problems are put right. This needs to be taken seriously.

—Excerpts from a speech at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to review the Report on the Work of Central Discipline Inspection Teams in the First Half of 2013, September 26, 2013

We must make full use of discipline inspection to frighten officials away from corruption. Tang Dynasty censor Wei Siqian once said, “A censor who fails to shake the

mountains and strike fear into prefecture and county heads has failed in his duties.” Inspections should be creating a sense of fear in officials. In addressing problems uncovered by inspections—and that includes problems relating to Party conduct and political integrity, formalism, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance, and problems involving individual officials—we need to take measures step by step, and be clear about what our priorities should be. That said, all problems must eventually be rectified, every single one of them.

...

We must make the best possible use of discipline inspection to deter corruption. This goes for all issues involving corruption: we must show no tolerance and get to the bottom of every case. We need to handle cases according to type. More minor issues can be dealt with through feedback from inspections, talks, education, warnings, and admonishment, ensuring that such issues are addressed early on and kept from becoming bigger. In dealing with false accusations, we must clear names and protect officials from any negative effects. Commissions for discipline inspection must assume greater responsibility for oversight and deal with corruption in key fields such as mineral resources, land sales, and real estate development, to stem the spread of corruption in these areas. Malpractice in the selection and appointment of officials is one of the root causes of corruption: it takes only one corrupt official to harm the entire area under his jurisdiction. We must practice strict and impartial organizational discipline and thoroughly investigate

and prosecute cases involving misconduct and corruption in the appointment of officials.

...

We must further broaden the scope covered by oversight through discipline inspections. In light of this year's new requirement for building good Party conduct and political integrity, we must strengthen inspection and supervision to ensure that Party committees are assuming their responsibility in this respect, commissions for discipline inspection are carrying out proper oversight, and Party discipline is fully implemented, pressing Party committees and leading Party members' groups at every level to fulfill their responsibilities. If corrective changes have not been made to address problems identified the first time inspections were made, we need to call on the secretary of the provincial Party committee in question to explain, and do more to hold provincial Party secretaries to account. We must overcome the issues of lax Party organizations and weak enforcement of discipline.

...

We need to create new forms of discipline inspections. The suggestion about piloting special inspections is workable. We need to introduce innovations in the organizational system to improve the flexibility and adaptability of discipline inspection, ensure inspections cover all areas, and make them a more powerful deterrent to corruption. Our work must be problem-oriented, with scouts sent wherever there are major complaints or a lot of problems, just as police are dispatched through the 110 call

system and patrol officers through the traffic patrol system. Serious effort is needed to develop new systems.

...

We need to strengthen organization and leadership. Discipline inspection systems at the central, provincial, regional, and municipal levels need improving. The Central Leading Group for Discipline Inspection must strengthen its leadership over inspections by the CPC committees of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government, so that pressure trickles down to each level. Commissions for discipline inspection at the provincial, regional, and municipal levels must put the requirements of the Central Committee into effect, continue to use a problem-oriented approach, and strengthen oversight over leading officials.

—Excerpts from a speech at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to hear the report on the work of central discipline inspection teams during the second half of 2013, January 23, 2014

Discipline inspection is not a stopgap measure; it is a strategic institutional arrangement for achieving intraparty oversight—a sharp sword that must be put to good use in the fight against corruption. Today’s discipline inspections have a feel to them of the inspections carried out by circuit inspectors in times past. The people say, “Lord Bao has

arrived!” in reference to a censor well known in Chinese history, meaning they can feel the clouds clearing as justice is served, and corrupt officials have begun to worry.

...

Problems identified by inspections need to be dealt with by type, and each and every one must be resolved. In dealing with leads discovered during inspections on problems relating to officials, the CCDI must move quickly to examine and handle them by type, investigating and punishing with resolve anything that requires investigation and punishment. There is no limit to or quota for the number of officials that can or should be investigated. Regarding problems in the selection and placement of officials, the Central Committee’s Organization Department must identify the causes and put forward measures to address them, seeing that the integrity of our processes in this regard is upheld. Problems concerning departments under the Central Committee or the central government must be reported to the relevant Central Committee or State Council officials, to make sure they are aware of the problems within the areas under their charge. When issuing inspection feedback to a region or organization on problems discovered, a specific, detailed account of all problems must be given; there must be no beating around the bush; and the region or organization in question must be instructed to fully address all problems. This is the only way discipline inspection will maintain its authority and clout, and the only way the public will continue to report suspected misconduct. If we fail to respond to problems reported by the public, and fail to meet the requirement for strict Party

discipline, we will dampen public expectations. There is to be no different treatment for different officials or localities, and no treading lightly in places where certain officials have previously worked for fear of finding them in the wrong; inspections must always be complete and thorough.

...

We must emphasize the focus of discipline inspections and strengthen their deterrent effect. Among the problems identified, we must grasp the major issues. We must prioritize the investigation of leads on Party members in leadership positions who have attracted serious public criticism, officials who have failed to rein in their behavior since the 18th National Party Congress and continue as they please with a sense of self-satisfaction, and younger officials in key posts who are likely to be promoted to more important positions. At the same time, we must firmly guard against the promotion of officials guilty of corruption. Where investigations by the CCDI and the Central Committee's Organization Department are still ongoing, and there is a big question mark hanging over an official, no hasty promotions should be made. It is of primary importance that we select the right people and employ officials well; we must have the firmest of resolve and use the most decisive of measures to overhaul the way officials are managed. When Central Committee policy has been violated, we must demonstrate zero tolerance, and investigate and punish every case.

—Excerpts from a speech at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central

Committee to hear the report of the Central Leading Group for Discipline Inspection on the first round of inspections by central discipline inspection Teams in 2014, June 26, 2014

We must strengthen follow-up inspections. The discipline inspections that have covered 31 provinces, regions, and municipalities directly under the central government are by no means the end of our work. We need to throw an unanticipated blow by carrying out further inspections, catching officials off guard, so that anyone who thought they'd had a lucky escape will realize the threat of being caught is always there. For one thing, follow-up inspections will press those responsible to put corrective changes into force; for another, investigating new leads will add strength to the deterrent effect of discipline inspections. We need to go in there with problems to solve, and follow leads closely, leaving the guilty with no place to hide.

...

We must strengthen and make greater use of special discipline inspections. While continuing to push ahead with routine inspections, central discipline inspection teams have also carried out two pilot rounds of special inspections, and the effect has been good. Routine inspections have now been completed nationwide, and the focus of the next stage should be on special inspections; these should be more flexible and unfixed, with inspection teams being sent whenever and wherever leads emerge, and no discernable pattern to inspections. The particular qualities of special

inspections must be fully understood and the main purpose they are to serve must be grasped. Special inspections may be made in light of major problems in a particular province, region, or municipality, or a particular organization, or they may be aimed at investigating major issues connected to certain individuals. Inspectors must strengthen cooperation with relevant parties and deftly handle leads on problems to accurately identify and eliminate problems.

...

We must see progress in discipline inspections at the provincial, regional, and municipal level. The Party Constitution stipulates that discipline inspections are to be carried out at two levels—the Central Committee, and the committees of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government. Since the 18th National Party Congress, the Central Committee has taken the lead in improving discipline inspections, setting a positive example. The next step is to strengthen its leadership over discipline inspections at the provincial, regional, and municipal level, seeing that the pressure to fulfill responsibilities is felt at each level, and giving full play to the foundational role of provincial-level inspections. We must identify problems early on before they grow bigger; the lower levels are fundamental. Departments at the upper and lower levels need to make concerted efforts to resolve problems locally at the prefecture-city and county levels, and work to guard against the promotion of officials guilty of corruption. Party committees of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the

central government must be firm in carrying out the Central Committee's guidelines on discipline inspections, focusing on further reforming inspection work patterns to ensure that all areas are covered horizontally, all links are connected vertically, and that inspections form a dynamic whole nationwide, so that the spread of corruption can be stopped through the joint efforts of officials at every level. There is also a problem with officials who have been promoted to another locality bringing their local friends, relatives, and chains of interests along with them. This demonstrates the need for joint efforts and coordination among all areas in the fight against corruption.

...

We must work quickly to revise the Regulations on Discipline Inspection. The two resolutions from the third and the fourth plenary sessions of the 18th Central Committee are closely related. One of them is about reform; the other is about building better institutions and strengthening the rule of law so as to institutionalize achievements made during reform. To achieve law-based governance, the Party must both govern the country in accordance with the law and exercise self-supervision and self-discipline in accordance with Party regulations. The Regulations on Discipline Inspection are important Party regulations. We must promptly review the experience gained in carrying out discipline inspections since the 18th National Party Congress, and incorporate the following into the Regulations on Discipline Inspection: the need for a focus in discipline inspections, the need to focus on the four

areas,* the need to use discipline inspections as a powerful deterrent to corruption, the need to make innovations in our organizational system and work style, and the need to make effective use of inspection results. In doing so, we will further improve the inspection system and see that discipline inspections can be better carried out in accordance with the law and relevant regulations.

—Excerpts from a speech at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to hear the report of the Central Leading Group for Discipline Inspection on the second round of inspections by central discipline inspection teams in 2014, October 16, 2014

* The four areas are:

- 1) Uncovering formalism, bureaucratism, hedonism, extravagance, and other such malpractices that violate the Central Committee's eight-point decision on improving Party and government conduct;
- 2) Identifying officials who, in violation of discipline or law, trade power for money, abuse power for personal gain, accept or make bribes, or become corrupt and immoral;
- 3) Ascertaining whether officials have, in defiance of Party discipline, opposed the Central Committee's decisions through improper channels, spread ideas that contradict the Party's theories, lines, principles, or policies, or disregarded or taken measures that contradict Central Committee policy;
- 4) Identifying cases of misconduct and corruption relating to the election or appointment of officials, such as buying or selling official posts, illegally soliciting or buying votes, or rushing through promotions.

VIII

AN INSTITUTIONAL CAGE TO CONFINE THE EXERCISE OF POWER

We need to improve the system for checking and overseeing the exercise of power, ensuring that with power comes responsibility, the exercise of power is subject to oversight, dereliction of duty is met with accountability, and violations of law are punished, thus ensuring that the power entrusted to us by the people is always exercised in their interest.

—Excerpt from a speech at a meeting of the people from different fields and backgrounds in Beijing to mark the 30th anniversary of the promulgation and enforcement of the current Constitution, December 4, 2012, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 92

We need to strengthen the system of checks on and oversight over the exercise of power, seeing that the people have oversight over power, that power is exercised openly, and that state bodies exercise power in accordance with statutory authority and procedures. We need to effectively adopt rule of law thinking and methods in fighting corruption, develop national anti-corruption legislation, strengthen Party regulations and systems for combating corruption and promoting clean government, and see that the legal system functions as it should. Resorting to temporary solutions does not measure up to getting to the root of a problem. We need to effectively prevent

and cure corruption at the source, strengthen analysis of typical corruption cases to find any patterns there may be to them, deepen reform in areas where corruption is rife, and minimize obstacles in our system and flaws in our institutions. We need to strengthen checks on and oversight over the exercise of power, confine power to an institutional cage, and establish disciplinary mechanisms that make officials afraid, preventative ones that make them unable, and safeguards that make them unwilling to be involved in corruption.

—*Excerpt from “Punishing Corruption in accordance with the Law and Disciplinary Regulations and Solving Major Problems Prompting Strong Public Reaction,” January 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 135-136*

Of the officials we have investigated and punished for corruption, a sizable proportion were formerly heads of their organizations. This indicates that oversight over officials in these positions remains an area of weakness. Since oversight is lacking or ineffective, some organization heads have grown accustomed to overriding their organization or leading body. As the saying goes, “Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.” Without checks on power, this will be the inevitable outcome. Officials at all levels should

keep firmly in mind that no one enjoys absolute power above the law, and anyone who exercises power must do so in such a way as to serve, be responsible to, and be overseen by the people. We need to strengthen oversight over heads of organizations, enforce democratic centralism, and improve the system by which administrative behavior is open for the public to see, ensuring that officials high up in their organizations do not use power arbitrarily, and those with significant power do not pursue personal gain. It is true that strengthened checks on and oversight over the exercise of power will affect the comfort level of officials. But here's the issue: the power in the hands of officials has been entrusted to them by the Party and the people; of course they have to accept oversight by the Party and the people as to whether they are using that power correctly and effectively. Anyone not wanting to accept, not readily open to accepting, or not comfortable with accepting oversight by the Party and the people is unfit to serve as an official.

—*Excerpt from "Punishing Corruption in accordance with the Law and Disciplinary Regulations and Solving Major Problems Prompting Strong Public Reaction," January 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 136*

Our Party is the governing party. Our commitment

to governing according to law, to offering proper guidance in legislation, to taking the lead in observing the law, and to guaranteeing enforcement of the law will have an enormous role to play in promoting law-based governance of the country in all respects. We need to maintain unity between leadership by the Party, the position of the people as masters of the country, and the law-based governance of the country, and exercise Party leadership throughout the process of the law-based governance of the country. Party organizations at every level must act within the scope set by the Constitution and the law. Officials at every level must set a leading example in observing and handling matters in accordance with the law, must have reverence for the Constitution and the law, and must remain ever mindful that they may not cross or challenge the line of the law. They must not exercise powers the law does not permit of them or intervene in affairs the law does not place within their purview, override the law by fiat, use their power as if it were beyond the law, or bend the law for personal gain, and they must live by the principle that in the face of the law one must not be influenced by personal concerns, personal favors, social connections, or other interests.

*—Excerpt from a speech at the Political Bureau of the 18th
CPC Central Committee's fourth group study session, February
23, 2013*

Only by seeing that the people oversee the exercise

of power, that power is exercised openly, and that the government operates according to law can we effectively transform government functions. We need to move forward with building a rule of law government, use institutions to keep power, affairs, and personnel in check, improve the system of open government, and ensure that with power comes responsibility, the exercise of power is subject to oversight, and violations of law are punished.

—Excerpt from a speech at the second full assembly of the Second Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, February 28, 2013

Our ancestors realized long ago that checks on and oversight over power are key to protecting against corruption and upholding integrity. In ancient China there were systems of officials whose duty was to check conduct and the exercise of power. Many such systems played an important role in fighting corruption, and are worth drawing lessons from today as we work to improve our own system for combating corruption and promoting clean government.

...

Problems with our institutions have implications for our anti-corruption efforts that are fundamental, overarching, ongoing, and everlasting. In major corruption cases involving officials over the last few years and in cases that have come out of the woodwork more recently, the circumstances of the crimes and the huge amounts of money involved have

been shocking. These officials traded power for money and sex to the point that they became blinded by greed and ready to do anything. One of the major reasons their behavior was able to reach this point is that in certain areas our institutions and mechanisms are still less than sound. How we can rely on institutions to prevent and deal with corruption to greater effect thus remains a major issue.

—Excerpts from a speech at the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee's fifth group study session, April 19, 2013

We need to strengthen regular supervision and oversight over officials so as to form strict checks on their exercise of power. Power without oversight corrupts; this is a universal truth. It is no easy task for Party organizations to train officials; effective supervision and oversight are needed so that officials always adopt a cautious approach in their work, as if walking across a fine layer of ice atop a deep pool. Engaging in frank communication with the officials under our management to point out weaknesses and to give encouragement is a good practice we should use more frequently.

—Excerpt from a speech at a national organizational work conference, June 28, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party

Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 342

We need to make it a priority to build robust working, management, and assessment systems that focus on serving the people, being pragmatic, and upholding integrity. We need to review the relevant existing systems. Those that have proved effective in practice and enjoy public support should be reaffirmed, upheld, and better implemented, and discipline should be tightened to ensure they are binding. Those unsuitable to new circumstances, tasks, and requirements will be adjusted and improved or abolished as the situation dictates, and when a new system needs developing, we will develop a new one. We must draw on new practical experience in establishing new systems.

...

Without sound institutions to cage the exercise of power, there is no way to effectively control corruption. During this campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the mass line, it is vital that we stress the importance of system building to ensure that the gaps between the bars of the cage are closed. A cattle pen can't hold in a cat; the gaps are so big the cat can come and go as it pleases.

—Excerpts from a speech during a visit to Hebei to inspect and give guidance on the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party's mass line, July 11-12, 2013

Transparency is the best way to prevent corruption. If power is exercised without transparency or with selective transparency, there will be no way to build better judicial credibility. The greater the transparency of law enforcement and the administration of justice, the greater the authority and credibility law enforcement and the judicial system will enjoy. How many cases related to the interests of ordinary people really involve the need for confidentiality? All cases must be made open unless otherwise stipulated by law. We need to rely on openness and transparency to promote justice and preserve integrity. Our law enforcement and judicial bodies must become more conscious of the need to actively practice openness and accept oversight, improving mechanisms, creating new means, and setting up efficient channels for doing so, and ensuring that the bases, procedures, processes, outcomes, and judgment writs of judicial and law enforcement activities are promptly made public in accordance with the law. We need to improve the availability of information about cases receiving significant public attention, ensuring there is no room for under-the-table deals or corrupt judicial conduct.

—*Excerpt from “Promoting Strict Law Enforcement and Judicial Impartiality,” January 7, 2014, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 720*

To ensure strict law enforcement and judicial impartiality, we also need to stop leading bodies and officials from violating laws and regulations by interfering in cases. This is a deep-rooted cause of injustice in law enforcement and corruption in judicial administration. Certain Party and government officials, motivated by personal interests, will interfere in a case by contacting or sending informal notes to relevant individuals or authorities, passing on materials, or using other explicit or tacit behaviors to influence the legal process; some will even ask law enforcement and judicial bodies to do things that are in violation of their legally mandated duties. In a socialist country under the leadership of the CPC, nothing of this sort will be tolerated. Officials at all levels must lead the way in working in accordance with and observing the law, must always have reverence for the Constitution and the law, and must never forget that the line of the law is not to be crossed or challenged. They must not attempt to exercise power that is not afforded them by law, and must not override the law by fiat, use their power as if it were beyond the law, or bend the law for personal gain. Anyone who does not understand this is unfit to be an official. If our officials don't observe the law, how can we expect the public to do so? Party and government officials can, according to law and procedure, transmit complaints from the public about suspected mishandling of cases by judicial and law enforcement bodies, but they must not proffer their own biased views, or worse still issue their own verdict instead of referring complaints to the relevant bodies. The ability to work in accordance with and observe

the law must be treated as important measures in assessing officials and identifying those of good caliber.

—*Excerpt from “Promoting Strict Law Enforcement and Judicial Impartiality,” January 7, 2014, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 720-721*

We must act to ensure that we have all necessary institutions in place and that they are properly implemented so that they produce the intended results.

...

We need to improve the mechanisms to see that judicial and law enforcement bodies each assume different responsibilities and complement and check each other. We must use sound oversight and supervisory mechanisms, an effective system of checks and balances, and a strict system of accountability to strengthen oversight over and checks on the power of these bodies so as to reduce the abuse of power and rent-seeking within them to the best possible effect.

—*Excerpts from a speech at the Central Conference on Judicial and Law Enforcement Work, January 7, 2014*

Marx and Engels both spoke of the need for all public servants to work under public oversight, as this can reliably guard against them chasing promotion, money, and special interests. Corruption cases investigated and punished recently indicate that all power, whether it be great or small, may be abused if not subject to checks and oversight. We should therefore strengthen checks, divide powers reasonably, and allocate powers properly, seeing that different kinds of powers are exercised by different departments, organizations, and individuals, and forming a well-designed power structure and effective mechanisms for exercising power. We need to improve oversight over the exercise of power by officials, especially by heads of organizations. We need to practice stronger internal oversight within leading bodies and strengthen administrative supervision and oversight using auditing and discipline inspections. Commissions for discipline inspection must station inspectors in all Party and state bodies, and the oversight they carry out through their inspections must cover all regions, sectors, enterprises, and public institutions. We need to increase transparency. We must push ahead with the system for clearly listing out at every level the powers of local governments and their departments; and we must, in accordance with law, make the procedures by which power is exercised public knowledge, to ensure that power is exercised openly, and enable oversight from both officials and ordinary citizens, thus guaranteeing power is exercised correctly.

—*Excerpt from a speech at the Third Plenary Session of the*

*Central Commission for Discipline Inspection under the 18th
CPC Central Committee, January 14, 2014*

We are not short of institutions; you could even say we basically already have all the institutions we need. But we mustn't allow these institutions to exist in name only, to become nothing but scarecrows, or to lead to a broken windows effect. In many cases, there is a lack of oversight, or worse still, violations happen but go undealt with. If this is allowed to continue, who's going to take our institutions seriously? Our Party's institutions begin with its constitution, but there are those who, having spent all that time studying it, still act as if they've never even seen or heard of it. This is not okay. Some of our institutions need to be improved. Some of the institutional cages we have built have been left with their doors open or unlocked. Others have bars that are too far apart or are built with flimsy materials. This is also not okay. We can safely predict it would be a pointless exercise to establish new institutions when even our existing ones aren't being implemented properly. This is why I say that institution building is only ten percent of the work; the other ninety percent is in the implementation. It is important that we establish institutions, but it is even more important that we ensure their implementation. We should spend ninety percent of our energy on implementation.

...

We need to improve our intraparty mechanisms for exercising and overseeing the exercise of power, ensure that

power is matched with responsibility, oppose the seeking of privilege, and prevent the abuse of power. As China's governing party, the CPC has a great deal of power over the use of resources; powers must be delineated so that officials know which they can and which they cannot exercise, and so that public power is not used for personal gain.

—Excerpts from a speech at an internal Party meeting of the Standing Committee of the CPC Lankao County Committee, Henan Province, May 9, 2014

We need to strengthen oversight through Party discipline, administrative supervision, oversight through auditing, judicial oversight, and oversight within state bodies using disciplinary rules. We need to expand the channels by which the people can oversee the exercise of power. Every citizen has the right to make criticisms and comments about any state body or employee. This includes the right to lodge complaints and accusations with the relevant state bodies about violations of law or neglect of duties by any state body or employee. We need to strengthen the mechanisms for lodging such complaints and accusations and strengthen inspection and oversight to see that power comes with responsibility, the exercise of power is subject to oversight, those whose rights are infringed upon are compensated, and violations of law are investigated.

...

We must use institutions to keep power, affairs,

and personnel in check; move quickly to build effective mechanisms that ensure people do not dare, are not able, and do not want to be corrupt; place power under public oversight and see that it is exercised openly; and confine the exercise of power to an institutional cage. We need to do our utmost to deal with corruption, disciplining every act of corruption and graft and dealing with both “tigers” and “flies,” and we need to work hard to cultivate honesty and integrity within the Party, the government, and society. We will continue to earn the people’s trust by making further progress in combating corruption and promoting clean government.

—Excerpts from a speech at a conference commemorating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the National People’s Congress, September 5, 2014, People’s Daily, September 6, 2014

Getting it right when it comes to institutions demands not quantity but quality; our institutions need to be designed with pragmatism, need to be effective, and need to be targeted and able to guide. Hollow or weak institutions will not play their intended role; it doesn’t matter how many of them you have, they can never be more than a formality. A cattle pen is no good for holding in a cat. We need to make sure our institutions are well coordinated and complement each other so that they work better together. We need to strengthen institution implementation, seeing

that responsibility for implementation is assigned to specific personnel and based on specific tasks, and that institutions are able to check power, affairs, and personnel. When formulating an institution, we need to solicit extensively the opinions of Party members and officials so that they better identify with that institution. We must ensure that before our institutions everyone is equal, and that there are no exceptions in implementation; we must be sure not to leave any back doors or open skylights; and we must resolutely protect the inviolability and authority of our systems, and stop orders and prohibitions from being ignored, to ensure our institutions are firm constraints, not rubber bands.

—Excerpt from a speech at a review meeting on the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the mass line, October 8, 2014, People's Daily, October 9, 2014

We need to do more foundational work, including finding out the total number of Chinese citizens suspected of corruption who have fled overseas, and building databases on them. We need to establish dynamic updating mechanisms for the statistics on suspects, ensuring our numbers are accurate and our information is clear, and enabling prompt reports to the central authorities. We need to conduct in-depth analysis of what is known, to discover patterns in cases and look for the channels and methods being used. We need to strengthen regular oversight and supervision of Party members and officials, strictly enforce

the regulations on government employees whose spouses and children live overseas, and tighten control over the passports and visas of and funds brought in or sent out of the country by Party members and officials. The system requiring Party members and officials to report significant changes in their personal situations must not just sit there looking pretty; random inspections must be made, and those who are found to have reported dishonestly or to have not reported at all will be dealt with accordingly, so that honesty is maintained and the system serves its intended purpose.

...

We need to establish a platform for international cooperation on tracking down suspects of corruption who have fled overseas and recovering stolen state assets. We need to increase negotiations with overseas partners, and work toward breakthroughs in a number of major cases, forcing others involved in corruption with plans to flee to abandon their delusions. We need to work faster to conclude extradition treaties with destination countries for absconding suspects and seek their cooperation on law enforcement. We need to work to achieve greater international cooperation in this area through the G20, APEC, the United Nations Convention against Corruption, and other multilateral frameworks.

—Excerpts from a speech on tracing and apprehending suspected criminals and recovering illegal assets outside China's mainland at the 78th meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee, October 9, 2014

As the saying goes, the clever manage affairs, the bright manage people, but the wise make laws. In governing a country and a society, the crux is the establishment of rules, the prizing of rules, and the observance of rules. Laws are the greatest and most important rules in the governance of a country. In working to modernize China's governance system and capacity for governance, we must practice law-based governance and work to provide fundamental, overall, and long-term institutional guarantees for advancing the cause of our Party and country.

...

We need to strengthen intraparty oversight, oversight through the people's congress system, democratic oversight, administrative oversight, judicial oversight, oversight through auditing, public oversight, and public opinion-based oversight, working to form a well-designed and effective system for exercising and overseeing the exercise of power and to make all forms of oversight work together more effectively.

...

We need to strengthen awareness of the importance of exercising state power in accordance with the law, carry out our work using rule of law concepts, systems, and procedures, improve the way the Party exercises leadership and practices governance, and ensures that the law-based exercise of state power complies with institutions, standards, and procedures. Enforcing the law is the main way in which administrative bodies carry out their government functions and manage economic and social affairs. All levels

of government must perform their functions fully and in accordance with the law, carrying out all statutory duties and doing nothing not authorized by law. We need to improve the mechanisms for legal decision making, refine the procedures for law enforcement, demand strict accountability in law enforcement, and ensure that the law is administered in a strict, standardized, impartial, and civil manner.

...

To build a rule of law government, we need to establish mechanisms for administrative bodies to review the legality of major decisions; actively implement a system of government legal advisors; move forward with codifying government institutions, functions, powers, procedures, and responsibilities into law; and ensure that power is more firmly rooted in laws and procedures at each level of government. We need to build transparency into the work of government across the board, strengthen checks on and oversight over administrative powers, and establish a law-based government administrative system that combines power with accountability, enjoys authority, and is highly effective.

—Excerpts from a speech at the second full assembly of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, October 23, 2014

IX

**DEFENSES BUILT
OF VALUES AND VIRTUES**

As high-level officials of the Party, we must always have firm faith in Marxism, communism, and socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must place strict demands on ourselves in line with the standards required of Marxist statesmen, always keep the people at the forefront of our minds, make it our greatest goal to contribute to the cause of the Party and the people, and work tirelessly to uphold and develop Chinese socialism. This will help us to achieve greater breadth of mind and vision, develop stronger political resolve and sensitivity, and become better able to guard against risks and stand up to tests.

—Excerpt from a speech at the First Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, November 15, 2012

Having firm ideals, solid convictions, and commitment to the communist pursuit is fundamental to our survival as Communists. Our faith in Marxism, socialism, and communism is our political soul as Communists and forms a pillar of strength that enables us to withstand any test. Figuratively speaking, ideals and convictions are as essential to Communists as calcium is to bone. Without them, or with them only in weak measure, we would be without the stuff of our strength and develop fragility of the bone. This is already the case for some Party members and officials who have acted improperly due to weak ideals and uncertain faith. All Party members must, in accordance with the plans set at the 18th National Congress, thoroughly study

the theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics, especially the Scientific Outlook on Development, and put them into practice, embody Party spirit, uphold fine moral standards, set a positive example, and work with unshakeable commitment for the common goal of realizing Chinese socialism.

—Excerpt from “*Studying, Communicating, and Implementing the Guiding Principles from the 18th National Party Congress with a Focus on Upholding and Developing Socialism with Chinese Characteristics*,” November 17, 2012, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, *vol. I*, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 80-81

We need to guide Party members and officials to align their efforts to realize the common ideal of Chinese socialism with those to uphold the long-term goal of communism, helping them to remain dedicated to their ideals and firm in their convictions. With strong ideals and convictions, one can stand higher, have broader vision, open one’s mind further, and remain committed to the right political orientation; one can avoid arrogance and impetuosity in times of success or smooth sailing and avoid disheartenment and uncertainty in the face of difficulty or adversity, withstand any kind of risk or test, consciously guard against all decadent ideas, and always maintain the true

political character of a Communist.

—*Excerpt from “Problems concerning Commitment to and Development of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics,” January 5, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 116-117*

At the 18th National Party Congress the major task of building political integrity was introduced, demanding that officials are honest, government is clean, and political integrity is upheld. The task places greater demands on our efforts to improve Party conduct, promote integrity, and fight corruption. The People’s Daily featured an article in its People’s Forum column on January 9, titled “Let Integrity Prevail.” The article stated, “With integrity comes dignity, righteousness, incorruptibility, and unity,” explaining from one perspective the meaning behind ensuring that Party officials are honest, our government is clean, and political integrity is upheld.

—*Excerpt from a speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection under the 18th CPC Central Committee, January 22, 2013*

The key to the integrity and self-discipline of officials

is in their commitment to principles. As long as they remain principled in conducting themselves, going about their business, exercising power, and making friends, they can live up to the political responsibility entrusted to them by the Party and the people, and hold the right political values and the correct outlook on life. All officials must treat anti-corruption and integrity efforts as a compulsory political task to be taken seriously. No one may, under any circumstances, use power as a tool to pursue their own or a handful of people's private interests, and all must maintain the true political character of a Communist.

—*Excerpt from "Punishing Corruption in accordance with the Law and Disciplinary Regulations and Solving Major Problems Prompting Strong Public Reaction," January 22, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 138*

We must strengthen public awareness of the importance of combating corruption and upholding integrity and foster a corruption free culture. Rulers of previous governments throughout Chinese history, in order to safeguard their ruling status, placed great importance on moral cultivation, especially that of government officials. Our ancestors believed, "Talent helps bring morality into play, while morality determines how talent is used." "He who governs by virtue is like the North Star, which keeps its place while all other stars turn toward

it.” It is essential to “study the nature of things to acquire knowledge, correct thinking with sincerity, cultivate morality, manage the family, govern the state well, and ensure all under Heaven is at peace.” Throughout China’s history, a great many ideas on this theme took shape and were left as legacies of thought for future generations; despite containing some ideas from feudal society, many of these views remain rich in enlightening insights. For instance, “To govern means to rectify. If the people are led with righteousness, who will dare be unrighteous?” “Remain unmoved by the power of riches and honors to corrupt you, of poverty and mean condition to veer you from principle, and of power and force to bow you down.” “Toil in earnest in serving your country, and practice frugality in your family.” “Practice caution even with no apparent reason for concern. Do not fail to observe laws and ordinances. Do not indulge yourself in idleness. Do not seek excessive pleasures.” “Be upright yet modest, straightforward yet principled.” “Justice begets political integrity, and incorruptibility fosters public credibility.” “Do not indulge in indolence or sensual pleasures; be conscientious and do your best work.” We should put such ancient insights to use today and derive new ideas from them, using them as an important resource under the new circumstances in strengthening public awareness of the importance of combating corruption and upholding integrity and fostering a corruption free culture.

...

In fighting corruption and promoting integrity we must use both the rule of law and the rule of virtue. To

ensure good standards of behavior and public order, not only must we establish a fitting legal system, we must also form a suitable system of philosophical and moral codes. Confucianism and Legalism used together is a model for governing society often found in Chinese history; only when moral teaching and the rule of law are used together can the greatest possible results be achieved. Law is regulation by others; virtue is regulation by ourselves; only by combining law and virtue to regulate from both outside and inside can the greatest possible effect be achieved. As Confucius said, "If the people are led by orders, and good comportment is sought through punishments, the people will attempt to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame. If the people are led by virtue, and good comportment is sought through rules of propriety, the people will feel shame, and correct their behavior." Fighting against corruption and fostering integrity is a complicated systemic project requiring comprehensive measures across the board, but efforts related to thought and morality must play a fundamental role.

...

Purity of thought is fundamental for a Marxist party to maintain its purity, and moral integrity is the basis for officials to remain clean and honest. We place emphasis on selecting officials on the basis of both moral integrity and professional competence, giving greater weight to the former. In other words, strengthening political understanding and morality should be treated as a high priority. We should continue to focus on education, guiding

and encouraging Party members and officials to maintain firm ideals and convictions, continue to have a sense of belonging as Communists, keep working to build the strong intellectual and moral foundations needed by Party members and officials to foster political integrity, and build up political and moral defenses against corruption and moral decline.

First, we need to improve our thought and theories, encourage and guide Party members and officials to study and apply Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and the system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics, helping them maintain a firm belief in the noble ideal of communism and the common ideal of building Chinese socialism, and to be dedicated in the practical pursuit of these ideals. Firm belief in our political theories will ensure full commitment to putting theory into practice, and high moral standards will help to ensure clear-headedness in the exercise of power.

Second, we need to improve educational measures for improving the Party spirit of our members. We need to help Party members and officials firmly establish a correct worldview and the right outlook on power and on their careers, take a committed political stance, stay true to the purpose of the Party, promote the Party's fine traditions and conduct, and resist the temptations of power, money, and sex.

Third, we need to improve ethical standards. We should encourage Party members and officials to act as role models in putting into practice the socialist maxims of honor and disgrace, improve social moral standards, be exemplary

models of socialist ethics, take the lead in fostering a prevailing trend of honesty and integrity, uphold fairness and justice, and always safeguard the noble character and political integrity of Communists.

—*Excerpts from a speech at the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee's fifth group study session, April 19, 2013*

The primary criterion for a good official is the strength of their commitment to our ideals and convictions. In judging whether an official is good, we must look first to this criterion. It doesn't matter how competent an official is, if they do not hold firmly to our ideals and convictions, do not believe in Marxism or Chinese socialism, fail to meet our political standards, or cannot weather political storms, then they are not the sort we need. Only those who are firmly committed to our ideals and convictions and make themselves as incorruptible as diamond are able to take a clear stand on major issues of principle, remain undaunted by political storms, be firm in the face of temptation, and can be relied upon and trusted at any critical moment.

—*Excerpt from a speech at a national organizational work conference, June 28, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, p. 338*

How well an official embodies Party spirit, practices political awareness, and upholds high moral standards will not improve automatically with the length of their service in the Party or with promotion to a higher post. Such improvement is a lifelong endeavor. To become a good official requires constant work to build a better subjective world and strengthen one's Party spirit and moral character. We must always follow the Party Constitution and standards for Party members in forming our expectations of ourselves, must not demand perfection from others and must be strict with ourselves. Officials must always conduct themselves in a decent manner, reflect on their shortcomings, make themselves hardened to the temptation of profit and seduction, and be honest, hardworking, ethical, and upright.

—Excerpt from a speech at a national organizational work conference, June 28, 2013, Selected Documents the Communist Party of China Has Produced since Its 18th National Congress, vol. I, Beijing: Central Party Literature Publishing House, 2014, pp. 341-342

When it comes down to it, the Four Malfeasances arise because of irresolution about our ideals and convictions. Our ancestors said, "Though broken, a rock remains hard; though ground, the cinnabar remains red." We must do all we can to improve ideological and political work, kindle a light in the hearts of Party members and officials, and help them build strong ideological defenses, remain committed to

the revolutionary ideal as the noblest of goals, and maintain their enthusiasm, spirit, and integrity as Communists.

—Excerpt from a speech made at a meeting to review the first stage of the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the Party's mass line and plan for the second, January 20, 2014

Leading officials at every level must demand good conduct of themselves and others. They must be strict in practicing self-cultivation, using power, and exercising self-discipline; and be earnest in their thinking, their work, and their behavior.

To be strict in practicing self-cultivation they must strengthen their cultivation of Party spirit, deepen their commitment to the ideals and convictions of the Party, cultivate integrity, pursue noble goals, consciously distance themselves from vulgar interests, and resist unhealthy and corrupting influences.

To be strict in using power they must use power in the interests of the people, exercise power in accordance with our rules and institutions, confine the exercise of power to an institutional cage, and never become involved in privilege seeking or abuse power for personal gain.

To be strict in exercising self-discipline they must have a sense of reverence for discipline and apply it to themselves, practice good conduct of their own accord and even in dealing with the minutiae, engage diligently in self-reflection, abide by Party discipline and state law, and uphold integrity

in governance.

To be earnest in their thinking they must plan work on the basis of the facts, ensure all ideas, policies, and plans are suitable given the reality of the situation and are in line with objective laws and scientific principles, and avoid becoming unrealistically ambitious or divorced from reality.

To be earnest in their work they must be pragmatic and focus on producing real results through solid work, show courage in taking on responsibilities and addressing difficulties, and work effectively to solve problems. They must strive to deliver concrete accomplishments that stand up in practice, for the people, and over the course time.

To be earnest in their behavior they must remain loyal to the Party, to their organization, to the people, and to their colleagues. They must be honest, speak truthfully, and act with honesty, be straightforward, and behave justly and with integrity.

We must approach efforts to improve conduct as one must approach driving a nail, keeping up the intensity and maintaining our stamina. We must start well and end well, do good work and achieve good results, and keep on attaining successes in improving Party conduct.

—Excerpt from a speech at a discussion of the Anhui delegation at the Second Session of the 12th National People's Congress, March 9, 2014, People's Daily, March 10, 2014

Conduct is essentially an issue of Party spirit. Our

efforts to improve conduct should get back to basics. We should focus on helping Party members develop firmer ideals and convictions, serve the Party's fundamental purpose, and strengthen their moral cultivation.

—Excerpt from a speech at an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the CPC Lankao County Committee, Henan Province, March 18, 2014

Without ideals and convictions, our members would not make sacrifices for their Party, their country, and their people; members of the Communist Party should selflessly work, struggle, and make sacrifices for their ideals. Contributions may be either minor or major. These days, some seem to think that compared to people in enterprises or doing business they've sacrificed a lot because for public servants the pay is low and the rules are strict. To be fair, this is a kind of sacrifice, but only from the perspective of the individual. When we, as Communists, talk about sacrifice, we are talking about something that comes from the heart of a person fully committed to serving the Party and the people. Such commitment makes us ready to face any ordeal, withstand any hardship, and make whatever sacrifice necessary without considering personal gain or loss. These are the big contributions expected by the Party and the people.

...

For a person to be able to maintain integrity and self-

discipline, his biggest tempter is himself, and the enemy toughest to defeat is also himself. If people cannot conquer themselves it doesn't matter how meticulously-planned the system is, it will still be the case that "the more legislation on show, the more thieves and scoundrels there will be." I hope, comrades, you can self-reflect every day, and see that you are strict in practicing self-cultivation, using power, and exercising self-discipline, and earnest in your thinking, work, and behavior. As our ancestors said, "To govern well, treat self-cultivation as fundamental." Chinese traditional culture has always treated self-discipline as the basis for and fundamental to conducting oneself, carrying out one's duty, and being an official. *The Analects of Confucius* discusses this, telling us a noble man should "cultivate himself with reverence," "cultivate himself to give rest to others," and "cultivate himself to give rest to all the people." Of those things praised highly by our ancestors—doing well in cultivating oneself, managing the family, governing the state, and safeguarding peace under Heaven—the one they put first was self-cultivation. We Communists should strengthen our self-cultivation, self-control, and self-improvement acting as models of integrity and self-discipline.

...

To maintain integrity and self-discipline, we must build solid intellectual defenses, strengthen our efforts to re-shape our subjective world, and firmly embrace the right outlook on the world, on life and on values. We must cultivate our Party spirit, use integrity and self-discipline as a mirror for self-reflection, internalize them, and make them our creed.

We should be able to deal with being lonely, and live with going without. When I became an official, I accepted that you can't have your cake and eat it. If you are an official, do not expect to be rich; if you want to be rich, don't become an official. If you want to become rich, you can do so legally and using your own initiative, through your hard work, your ability, and your intelligence, so be honest and be proud of it. Isn't that the best way to do it? Why would anyone take up a post that demands serving the Party and the people, put on a mask of feigned integrity, and then do things that cause such harm? Where is their conscience? Can they sleep at night? When you've got all this straight in your head, it will come naturally to you to know better not to cross the line, to remain principled in your work, and to avoid any temptations and anything that may drag you down.

—Excerpts from a speech at a meeting of the leading bodies and employee representatives of the departments of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee, May 8, 2014

Conviction is the foundation, and conduct is the form; if the foundation is solid, the form will be kept together; if the foundation is not right, the form will break down. A firm belief in ideals and convictions is the foundation for maintaining and promoting the fine conduct of the Party. Our Party is built on the foundations of Marxism, treats the realization of communism as its highest ideal, and makes wholeheartedly serving the people its fundamental purpose.

For us as Communists these are the foundations. Without these convictions, our Party would be like a tree without roots.

...

If you're going to be an official then be an upright and honest one; don't be a mediocre or corrupt one and be criticized behind your back. Keep to the right path from the very beginning. If you want to be an official to seek personal gain, then whatever you do it will be wrong. Why do they say that being an official is a high-risk occupation? Because it isn't just actively abusing power for personal gain that is not okay, you have to be on your guard everywhere you go to avoid temptation. The temptations are endless, and there are traps everywhere. Everything you might think an official can enjoy or take pleasure in, may have something evil behind it, or may itself be a trap. Some say when a pleasant surprise falls from the skies, watch out for the trap by your feet. If a stroke of luck pops up out of nowhere, you must be on your guard, be cautious and keep your distance. We need to keep our wits about us to keep all evils at bay. One thing we must do is cultivate a strong moral character as this is our first line of defense; the other is to be circumspect, and have reverence in our hearts. Once you have been found guilty of corruption, you have nothing; your money will be gone and even your family could be torn apart. Don't those big corrupt officials end up sitting on the assets they have taken? They may hang on to their fortune for a while, but they'll have to give it back to people and the public eventually. Don't act as they do.

—Excerpts from a speech at an internal Party meeting of the Standing Committee of the CPC Lankao County Committee, Henan Province, May 9, 2014

We must emphasize what is most important as we guide the people in their thinking; do more through educational programs to promote Party spirit and strong morals; and guide Party members and officials to deepen their ideals and convictions, helping them remain true to their communist calling. Party members and officials must carefully study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and particularly theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics, consciously arming themselves with a strong understanding of the standpoints, views, and methods behind these theories, and using them to guide their practice and make progress in their work; they must strive always for the common ideal of Chinese socialism. We need to step up our cautionary campaigns to keep Party members and officials on their toes, make clear the lines not to be crossed, and help them better understand what they should hold in awe and veneration. This should help them develop a distinct line in their own minds and be clear about the boundaries within which to act, so that they genuinely revere the law and discipline and abide by the rules.

—Excerpt from a speech at a review meeting on the campaign to heighten awareness of and implement the mass line, October 8, 2014, People's Daily, October 9, 2014

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