

China's Midterm Jockeying: Gearing Up for 2012

(Part 5: Party Apparatchiks)

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This final part in the series on China's midterm jockeying for the 2012 leadership succession focuses on the apparatchiks, or functionaries, of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). This group includes several heavyweight contenders for the new top leadership and is particularly important at a time when the Chinese leadership is undergoing a large-scale generational change. These party apparatchiks in fact control two of the most crucial functional domains of the Chinese political system: organization and propaganda. The Central Committee's Organization Department is responsible for supervising or coordinating the turnover of the five tiers of the Party leadership (town, county, municipal, provincial, and central), which began early this year and will conclude at the 18th Party Congress in the fall of 2012. This process involves the replacement of thousands of current CCP officials by their younger colleagues.

Meanwhile, how to make CCP ideology relevant to the Chinese public, or perhaps just meaningful to the party officials at various levels of leadership, is a major challenge for party apparatchiks, especially those in the Central Department of Propaganda. The recent tightening of media control and the return of old-fashioned Maoist propaganda (as evident in Chongqing's propaganda fanaticism, which is endorsed by some top leaders) seem to reflect the growing gap between the Party's continuing effort at rigid ideological indoctrination and an increasingly pluralistic and rapidly changing society. This essay analyzes 56 of the top Party apparatchiks in terms of their characteristics and differences in terms of career paths, factional identities, and political status. In conjunction with this analysis, the essay also discusses a number of contending governance mechanisms in the 90-year-old CCP in its struggle for survival and revival.*

The upcoming 18th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party constitutes a daunting challenge for Party apparatchiks who specialize in organizational and ideological affairs. In his groundbreaking study of the communist world in the 20th century, distinguished political scientist Zbigniew Brzezinski reveals the great importance of both personnel control and ideological indoctrination in communist countries.¹ The cohesion of the political elite on the one hand and the shaping of public thinking on the other are often seen as the dual pillars of communist systems. Paramount communist leaders in history—from Lenin to Stalin in Russia and from Mao to Deng in

China—were never hesitant to acknowledge that communist rule ultimately relies on its monopoly power over elite selection and propaganda dissemination.

In China, Mao's motto, "Cadres are the decisive factor, once the political line is determined," has been a principal guideline of the CCP.² Prior to each and every Party congress since the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC), two important work teams have been carefully selected by the top leadership. The first (drawn principally from the Organization Department) solicits, vets, and evaluates potential delegates to the Congress and, more importantly, selects nominees for the new Central Committee and the Politburo. The second (drawn heavily from members of the Propaganda Department) is responsible for drafting the formal report on the work of the outgoing Central Committee to be delivered by the Party general secretary at the congress, and so sets the ideological theme and political agenda for the Congress. Together, they help ensure orderly leadership change and maintain the legitimacy of CCP rule of the country.

This process, so tightly scripted and controlled in the past, may soon come undone. The challenge confronting the Chinese leadership in general, and the Party apparatchiks in particular, on the eve of the 18th National Congress is remarkably overwhelming. Never has the country witnessed such extraordinarily open political lobbying by a Politburo member as that being engaged in by Chongqing Party Secretary Bo Xilai, whose aggressive self-promotion campaign is known for its two idiosyncratic initiatives: "Striking black triads and singing red songs" (打黑唱红).³ Bo's political campaign methods are not entirely new. Many critics call them "Cultural Revolution-style social mobilization" in both format and substance. Having Chongqing serve as a political model for the nation is just a small part of Bo's objective. Even people on the street seem to recognize Bo's political ambition: to obtain a seat on the next Politburo Standing Committee. In recent months, five of the nine current Politburo Standing Committee members have visited Chongqing to endorse his campaign. The large representation of princelings (leaders who come from high-ranking official families, including Bo, whose father was a vice premier) in power sparks significant resentment among the Chinese public. Meanwhile, the growing intensity—and increasing visibility—of factional competition between "elitist" leaders—the princelings—and "populist" leaders or *tuanpai* (团派) members—leaders who advanced their careers through leadership in the Communist Youth League (CYL) has arguably become the most salient feature of the collective leadership in present-day China.⁴ The Chinese political system has yet to find new mechanisms and a legitimized framework in which to institutionalize factional competition and interest-group politics.

On the ideological front, there is also a remarkable—and to a certain extent unprecedented—display of disunity in the leadership. Premier Wen Jiabao's favorable view of the "universal" values of democracy and the necessity for democratic elections, his outspoken criticism of the official seizure of farmers' land for property development, his serious concern about the prevalence of the worship of money and the moral decay in society, and his well-articulated reservations about the "China model" (中国模式) of

development and growing Chinese assertiveness on the world stage all sharply contrast with many of the views of his colleagues in the Politburo.⁵

Ideological disputes and contention in the top leadership are also evident in the recent dramatic episode involving a mammoth statue of Confucius in Tiananmen Square. On January 11, 2011, Chinese authorities placed the 9.5-meter bronze on the east side of the square, facing Mao's tomb. The installation of this "rediscovered" symbolism at the political center of the country echoed some important trends, including the regime's painful search for a more effective ideology, increasingly pluralistic thinking in Chinese society, and Hu Jintao's drive to build a "harmonious society."⁶ But controversy about the sculpture immediately surfaced in China's new social media, with particularly heated debate among Chinese bloggers. One day after the unveiling of the statue, the Maoist online magazine *Utopia* called for its removal, arguing that it not only insulted Mao Zedong, the PRC's founder, whose mausoleum still sits in the middle of the square, but also betrayed the "anti-feudal" cause of the communist revolution.⁷ The sculpture stood in Tiananmen Square for only three months, after which Chinese authorities moved it inside the National Museum of China.

These indications of ideological disputes among leaders, public intellectuals, and the general public suggest that such tensions will likely become even more acute in the months and years to come. The lack of political consensus on many ideological and policy issues in present-day China therefore means that the ideological work team preparing for the 18th National Congress faces an extremely difficult—if not impossible—task.

All of the above points to the great importance of Party apparatchiks in the upcoming leadership transition in China. This essay consists of four sections, beginning with an overview of the CCP apparatus, including its functions and political status. The second section presents a biographical analysis of 56 of the top apparatchiks, including their age cohorts, career paths, educational backgrounds, and factional affiliations. The third section identifies a number of heavyweight candidates for the next Politburo and its standing committee. The essay concludes with a discussion of the implications of the organizational and ideological challenges confronting the Chinese Communist Party at present and in the near future.

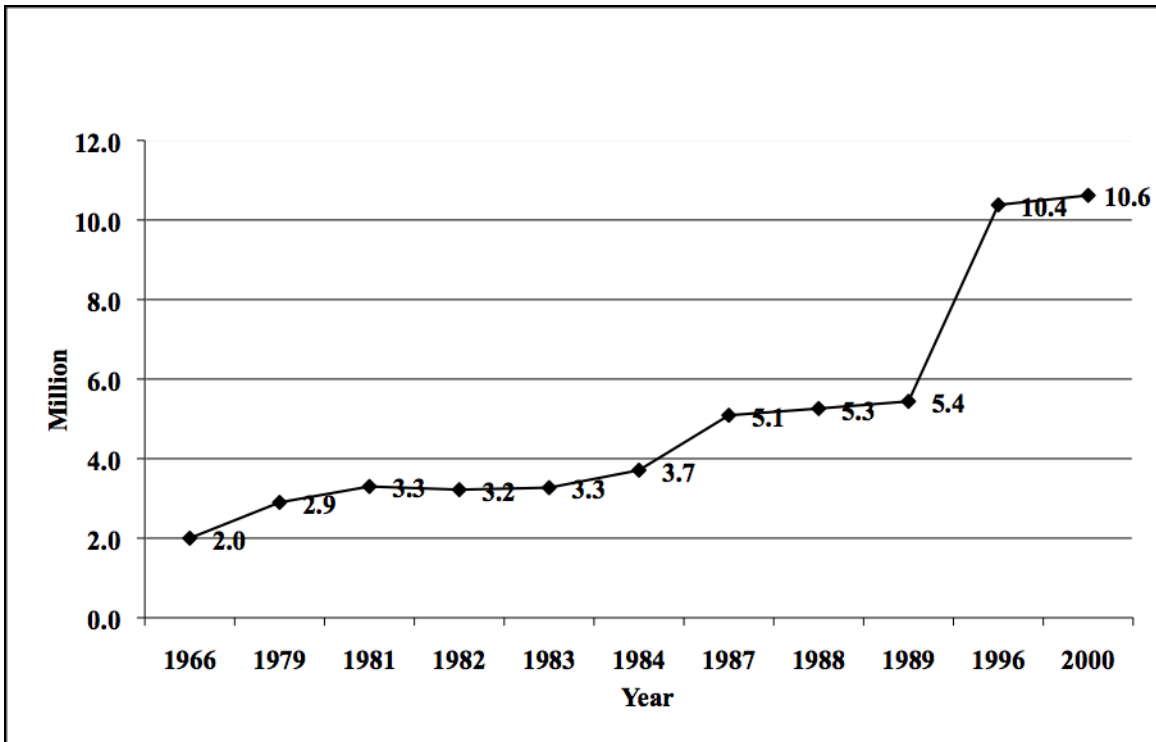
CCP Apparatus: Composition, Role and Status

As the world's largest ruling party, the CCP currently has 80 million members and 3.9 million grassroots organizations or branches. According to Yang Jisheng, a well-known scholar on Chinese leadership and a former senior reporter for Xinhua News Agency, the total number of CCP and government officials and staff increased from roughly two million in 1966 to 11 million in 2000 (see chart 1), leading to pervasive overstaffing. A recent Chinese official report also revealed that in four economically backward counties in Sichuan Province, there were altogether 44 county heads (县长) and vice heads (副县长), 50 percent more than the authorized number of top officials at that level of county leadership.⁸

Understandably, with such a bloated bureaucratic structure, some Party officials at various levels of leadership have to concentrate on office work, personnel management, ideological affairs, disciplinary issues, and other organizational matters. These officials are regarded as apparatchiks in the Party system (党务系统干部).⁹ It is, however, not always easy to characterize or identify Party apparatchiks. To a certain extent, virtually all CCP leaders can be seen as Party apparatchiks because their primary responsibility is to govern the country through the Party presence in state and other institutions. The PRC's leaders, including President Hu Jintao, Premier Wen Jiabao, former Vice President Zeng Qinghong, and current Vice President Xi Jinping all previously served, or currently serve, in functional areas of Party affairs. Nevertheless, it is widely accepted that the leaders in charge of Party organizational, ideological, and other functional areas can be characterized as Party apparatchiks or functionaries in contrast to those Party leaders who are responsible for the other aspects of the country's governance, especially in the areas of economic and financial development, social stability, national defense, science and technology, and education and culture.

Chart 1

Increase of the Number of Officials and Staff of the CCP and Government (1966–2000)



SOURCE: Yang Jisheng, *Zhongguo dangdai shehui gejieceng fenxi* (Analysis of Social Strata of Contemporary China), Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 2006, p.284.

Table 1 lists all of the organs in the CCP Central Committee apparatus in this study.¹⁰ They represent the most important functional organizations in the national leadership of the Party; the heads of these institutions constitute China's top Party

apparatchiks. Not all of these Party functionaries carry the same political weight. The heads of the General Office, the four central departments, and the Central Party School are ranked much higher than the heads of the other Party organizations on the list. This study therefore includes all heads and all deputy heads of the six major leadership organs and only the heads and executive (or highest-ranking) deputy heads of the other leadership organs.¹¹ All of these leaders have the rank of vice minister or above. This study excludes some functional committees in the Party leadership such as the Central Organization Committee, the Central Committee of Politics and Law, the Central Committee for Comprehensive Management and Social Security, and the Central Guidance Committee on Ethical and Cultural Construction. While these committees are important, to a great extent they are primarily coordinating institutions of an ad hoc nature and their members usually have formal affiliations in other leadership bodies.

Table 1

*Institutional Affiliations of the Top Party Functionaries Included in this Study
(as of May 2011)*

<i>Party organs</i>	<i>Number of leaders</i>
Central General Office (CGO)	3
Central Organization Department (COD)	9
Central Propaganda Department (CPD)	10
Central Department of United Front Work	8
Central Department of International Liaison	5
Central Party School (CPS)	5
Central Policy Research Center	2
Central Party History Research Center	1
Central Party Literature Research Center	2
Central Bureau of Translation	2
<i>People's Daily</i>	2
<i>Guangming Daily</i>	2
<i>Qiushi (Seeking Truth)</i> magazine	2
Central (State) Bureau of Secrecy	1
Central Institute of Archives	2
Total	56

The Central General Office (CGO) is an enormously important organ of the Chinese leadership for its crucial role within the power circles in China, akin to that of the Executive Office of the American president. Although the CGO is supposed to manage only secretarial and logistical affairs for the top Party leadership, it in fact controls the flow of information, monitors daily events, drafts important documents, coordinates major meetings, and is directly involved in the decision-making process. Among the previous nine directors of the CGO in its history, all served concurrently or at later points in their careers on the Politburo. Seven of them (78 percent) have served on the Standing Committee, including such heavyweight politicians as CCP Vice Chairman Wang Dongxing, PRC President Yang Shangkun, Vice President Zeng Qinghong, and Premier

Wen Jiabao. The directors of the CGO are usually the confidants of top leaders: examples include Wang Dongxing (confidant of Mao), Wang Zhaoguo (Deng), and Zeng Qinghong (Jiang). The current director, Ling Jihua (born in 1956), has advanced his career largely through the Communist Youth League (CYL), the power base of Hu Jintao. Ling has long been regarded as one of President Hu's most important aides.

The Central Organization Department (COD) is in charge of elite recruitment and promotion. Many top leaders in CCP history once served as director of the COD, including Mao Zedong (1924–25), Chen Duxiu (1925–27), Zhou Enlai (1928–31), Chen Yun (1937–44), Peng Zhen (1944–53), Deng Xiaoping (1954–56), Hu Yaobang (1977–78), Qiao Shi (1984–85), Wei Jianxing (1985–87), Song Ping (1987–89), Zeng Qinghong (1999–2002), and He Guoqiang (2002–07). All of them later served on the Politburo Standing Committee and/or as chairman or vice chairman of the CCP. The current director, Li Yuanchao (b. 1950), is an emerging heavyweight politician who will likely play a crucial role in Chinese politics following the 18th Party Congress.

The great importance of the COD lies in its control of, and recommendations for, what is known in Communist terminology as *nomenklatura*, the “list of official posts” (干部职务名称表). The list includes all appointment-based high-ranking leadership posts in the Party, government, military, business enterprises, and other important leadership bodies.¹² Since the founding of the PRC, the COD has been granted the power and authority to nominate and appoint cadres to the country's most important leadership posts on that long list. In the reform era, the total number of the posts on the list controlled by the COD has been reduced from about 20,000 prior to 1984 to about 4,000 now.¹³ This decentralization of power changed the COD's previous two-tier hierarchy of personnel appointments into a single tier. This means that the COD now manages only the official posts at the ministerial and provincial levels of the leadership or above, while the lists of official posts at the division (厅级) and prefecture (地级) levels are now managed by ministerial personnel departments and provincial Party organization departments, respectively.¹⁴ For the appointments to these lower levels of leadership posts, the COD requires only that a list of names be put on record (备案). Nevertheless, the COD exerts tremendous power in selecting the 4,000 most powerful cadres for virtually all of the important leadership bodies in the PRC.

In his analysis of the COD, Richard McGregor of the *Financial Times* makes an interesting and insightful point by conjuring up a hypothetically parallel body in Washington that suggests the astonishing dimensions of the COD's control in China:

The imaginary department would oversee the appointment of US state governors and their deputies; the mayors of big cities; heads of federal regulatory agencies; the chief executives of General Electric, Exxon Mobil, Wal-Mart and 50-odd of the remaining largest companies; justices on the Supreme Court; the editors of *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post*, the bosses of the television networks and cable stations, the presidents of Yale and Harvard and other big universities, and the heads of think-tanks such as the Brookings Institution

and the Heritage Foundation.¹⁵

The Central Propaganda Department (CPD), the most important organ in China's propaganda system, is directly responsible for ideological dissemination and media censorship throughout the country. This is evident by the fact that current PRC Minister of Culture Cai Wu (b. 1949), Director of the State Council Information Office Wang Chen (b. 1950), and newly appointed Director of the State Radio, Film, and Television Administration Cai Fuchao (b. 1951) all currently serve as deputy directors of the CPD. Current CPD Director Liu Yunshan (b. 1947) is a leading candidate to succeed Li Changchun as propaganda czar in the Politburo Standing Committee at the 18th Party Congress. While the CPD has a well-deserved reputation for conservatism due to its rigid ideological orientation and strong control over media and freedom of expression, not all senior officials of the CPD are hard-line conservatives or communist ideologues. Liberal leaders in the CCP such as Xi Zhongxun (1953–54), Hu Yaobang (1978–80), and Zhu Houze (1985–87) all served as director of the CPD.

The United Front Work Department (UFW) covers a wide range of functional areas. Its "big basket" tasks include coordinating the eight Chinese minor political parties and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce (an association of private entrepreneurs); supervising work relating to mass organizations such as the All-China Federation of Workers Union, China Women's Federation, and the CYL; and participating in the CCP's ethnic minority policies (e.g., direct involvement in the official dialogue with the Dalai Lama); monitoring Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao affairs; and liaising with overseas Chinese communities. The UFW also plays an important role in nominating non-CCP members to serve at various levels of leadership. These include two current State Council ministers: Minister of Science and Technology Wan Gang and Minister of Health Chen Zhu.

By design, the International Liaison Department (ILD) was supposed to be in charge of party-to-party relations between the CCP and foreign communist parties when it was first established in the early 1950s. In the past three decades, however, the ILD has profoundly broadened its functional responsibility by establishing formal contacts with over 400 political parties of various political stripe in 140 countries. In some measure, the division of labor between the ILD and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has become blurred. On the personnel front, Dai Bingguo, the current State Councilor who is primarily in charge of China's foreign affairs and who reports directly to President Hu Jintao, previously served as director of the ILD from 1997 to 2003. This was partly due to the fact that Dai, in his capacity as ILD director, often accompanied Hu Jintao on foreign visits prior to Hu's ascension to the presidency in 2003. During these years, Dai apparently earned the trust and confidence of Hu. Meanwhile, current ILD Director Wang Jiarui (b. 1949), a protégé of Jiang Zemin, has been the PRC's principal diplomat on North Korea issues. Wang's junior colleague at the department a few years ago, former ILD Deputy Director Liu Hongcai (b. 1955), is currently the PRC ambassador to North Korea. Another former deputy director of the ILD, Zhang Zhijun (b. 1953), is now executive vice minister and Party secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Wang Jiarui is considered by many in Chinese foreign policy circles to be one of three top contenders to succeed Dai Bingguo as state councilor in charge of foreign affairs in the next State Council. (The other two are current State Council Taiwan Affairs Office Director Wang Yi [b. 1953] and current Minister of Foreign Affairs Yang Jiechi [b. 1950].) The PRC president-designate Xi Jinping will likely play a crucial role in selecting Dai's successor, who will be responsible for assisting Xi in managing China's increasingly complicated international affairs. One of these three rising stars in China's foreign affairs establishment may serve as a member of the next Secretariat, playing the same important role as Wang Huning does now. It remains to be seen whether the power and influence of the ILD will continue growing in the years to come.

The Central Party School (CPS), currently headed by Xi Jinping, is a key player in Chinese politics, partly because of its role as the CCP's principal training ground for cadres and partly because of its function as the "brain" of the top leadership. For the past two decades, the CPS has undoubtedly become one of the most influential think tanks in Beijing. Like the CGO and CPD discussed above, the CPS has also had a very impressive list of heavyweight CCP politicians who have previously served as presidents of the school. They include, for example, Liu Shaoqi (1948–53), Hua Guofeng (1977–82), Wang Zhen (1982–87), Qiao Shi (1989–93), Hu Jintao (1993–2002), and Zeng Qinghong (2002–07). In the reform era, top leaders Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, and Hu Jintao all tapped the CPS for both human resources and ideas to consolidate their power and influence. As a relatively weak leader who does not have the solid patron-client network his predecessors enjoyed (Jiang's Shanghai Gang and Hu's CYL clique), Xi Jinping may need even more support from the CPS, where he has served as president since 2007.

The other bodies in the Party apparatus listed in table 1 are not as important as the six leadership organs discussed above, but they exert their influence in some specific functional areas. The Central Policy Research Center formulates and reviews major policies in both domestic and foreign affairs. The Central Party History Research Center, the Central Party Literature Research Center, and the Central Archives mainly compile historical materials, including former senior leaders' memoirs. From time to time, these Party organs "use history to make a point for the issue of the day." The Central Translation Bureau not only publishes CCP documents and top leaders' works in foreign languages, but also introduces a large number of new and important foreign publications to Chinese readers. *People's Daily*, *Guangming Daily*, and *Qiushi (Seeking Truth)* magazine are the official organs of CCP propaganda. Beside many other responsibilities, the Central Secrecy Bureau advises the top leadership on what sort of information can be released to the public. In 2003, for example, for the first time in the PRC's history, Chinese authorities released information on total annual figures on social unrest in the country: There were about 58,000 protests in China in 2003—an average of about 160 protests per day.¹⁶ The release of such information was likely in line with Hu Jintao's policy initiatives to allocate more resources to alleviating social tension.

Together, the 56 top Party apparatchiks in this study represent a group of important power contenders for the new leadership at the 18th National Party Congress. A significant number of them already serve in the Central Committee of the CCP. Table 2

shows this group's membership in the 17th Central Committee, including one Politburo Standing Committee member (CPS President Xi Jinping) and two Politburo members (COD Director Li Yuanchao and CPD Director Liu Yuanshan). A total of 11 full members (including two members of the Secretariat, Ling Jihua and Wang Huning), and four alternate members serve on the Central Committee. In addition, four leaders serve as members of the 17th Central Commission for Discipline Inspection (CCDI).

Table 2

Current Top Party Functionaries' Membership in the 17th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (as of May 2011)

<i>Membership Status</i>	<i>Number of Leaders</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
PSCM	1	1.8
Politburo Member	2	3.6
Full Member	11	19.6
Alternate Member	4	7.1
Member of CCDI	4	7.1
No Membership	34	60.7
Total	56	100.0

NOTES: CCDI = Central Commission for Discipline Inspection; PSCM = Politburo Standing Committee Member. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

China's 56 Top Party Apparatchiks: An Empirical Analysis

What are the collective characteristics and internal differences of the high-ranking CCP officials working in the areas of personnel and ideological affairs? How do they compare to other leaders in the Party and government in terms of educational background and career paths? Who will likely be in charge of important organs in the Party apparatus such as the CGO, the COD, and the CPD? Who will retain—or have the chance to obtain—seats in the next Politburo and its Standing Committee? An empirical analysis may provide some valuable (though not definitive) insight that may help answer these important questions.

Gender, Ethnicity, Age, and Birthplace

Table 3 provides an overview of the biographical backgrounds of the 56 Party functionaries in this study. An overwhelming majority of these leaders are men. Only two women hold positions in the higher levels of the Party apparatus—COD Executive Deputy Director Shen Yueyue (b. 1957) and UFWD Deputy Director You Lantian (b. 1951). Four leaders in this study are members of ethnic minorities. Three of these, Yang Jing (Mongolian, b. 1953), Quan Zhezhu (Korean, b. 1952), and Si Ta (Tibetan, b. 1953), are currently deputy directors in the UFWD. The other minority leader is CPS Executive Vice President Li Jingtian (Manchu, b. 1948).

A majority of leaders (75 percent) in this study were born in the 1950s and thus belong to the so-called fifth generation of leaders. None of them was born in or before

1945, which means that they will not have passed the retirement age for the senior level of leadership by the time of the 18th Party Congress. The two oldest leaders in this group are United Front Work Department Director Du Qinglin (b. 1946) and Party History Research Center Executive Deputy Director Long Xinmin (b. 1946). The three youngest leaders were born in the 1960s: Central Secrecy Bureau Director Xia Yong (b. 1961), CPD Deputy Director Wang Xiaohui (b. 1962), and CPS Vice President Li Shulei (b. 1964).¹⁷

Table 3

Backgrounds of Top 56 Functionaries of the Chinese Communist Party (as of May 2011)

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	54	96.4
Female	2	3.6
Total	56	100.0
<i>Ethnicity</i>		
Han	52	92.9
Minority	4	7.1
Total	56	100.0
<i>Age (birth year)</i>		
61–64 (b. 1946–1949)	11	19.6
55–60 (b. 1950–1955)	30	53.6
51–54 (b. 1956–1960)	12	21.4
50 or below (b. 1961 or later)	3	5.4
Total	56	100.0
<i>Top seven birth provinces</i>		
Shandong	7	12.5
Jiangsu	6	10.7
Hebei	5	8.9
Beijing	5	8.9
Hunan	4	7.1
Shanxi	4	7.1
Zhejiang	4	7.1
Other	21	37.5
Total	84	100.0

SOURCE: Xinhua News Agency.

NOTE: Calculated by the author. Percentages do not always add to 100 due to rounding.

Xia Yong has been widely seen as a confidant of Hu Jintao. Born in Jingzhou County, Hebei, Xia studied law as an undergraduate at China's Southwest Institute of Law and Political Science from 1978 and 1982. Since graduation, he has been engaged in teaching and research on China's legal development and civil rights. He obtained a

doctoral degree in law from Beijing University in 1992 and began work as a research fellow at the Institute of Law at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS).¹⁸ He studied at Harvard University for two years (1995–97), first as a visiting scholar at the law school and then as a post-doctoral fellow at the Kennedy School of Government. After returning to China, he served as deputy director of the Institute of Law at the CASS in 1998 and then as director in 2002. With a low-profile personality, Xia has seldom appeared in the Chinese media. Non-official media have reported that Xia has worked very closely with President Hu and once served as deputy director of Hu's office.¹⁹ Xia's appointment as director of the important Central Secrecy Bureau in 2005 seems to confirm this speculation.

Similarly, Li Shulei has been often seen at CPS as one of the top aides to Vice President Xi Jinping.²⁰ Born to a farmer's family in Yuanyang County, Henan, Li Shulei enrolled in the Department of Library Science at Beijing University in 1978 when he was only 14 years old. Most of his classmates in this famous class of 1978 were nearly twice his age, lending him the epithet "child prodigy." Li continued his graduate studies at Beijing University and received a master's degree in Chinese Literature in 1985 and a doctoral degree in the same field in 1987. After graduation, he began to teach at the CPS Department of Teaching and Research on Humanities and History and later served as director of the department, director of the Training Division, and dean of CPS. During his tenure at CPS, Li also concurrently served as an official in local Party committees, first as deputy Party secretary of Qinglong County, Hebei Province, from 1991 to 1993 and then as deputy Party secretary of Xi'an City, Shaanxi, in 2004. He was a delegate to both the 16th and 17th Party Congress. Li was appointed vice president of CPS in 2008, soon after Xi Jinping became president of the school. In the past two decades, Li has published nine books and over 200 essays, mainly literary critiques and studies of Chinese culture on such topics as the CCP revolutionary cultural movement in the Yan'an period, contemporary intellectual trends, rural education, urban subculture, youth and violence, and China's soft power.²¹ It remains to be seen whether Li Shulei will indeed be part of Xi Jinping's inner circle; and if so, what role he will play in the country's political and ideological transformation in this decade and beyond.

In terms of birth provinces, Party apparatchiks very much resemble other groups of leaders in this series (provincial chiefs, cabinet ministers, military leaders, and CEOs of the major state-owned enterprises): natives of Shandong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Hebei are well represented in the Chinese leadership. Among the Party apparatchiks in this study, natives of five provinces (Shandong, Jiangsu, Hebei, Beijing, and Zhejiang) constitute almost half (48 percent). It is noteworthy that Guangdong, presently China's most populous province with 104 million people, has no single representative in this elite group.

Educational Background

Table 4 shows the educational backgrounds of Party apparatchiks. With the exception of two leaders whose educational backgrounds are not available, all received a college education. A majority of them (60.7 percent) also obtained a post-graduate degree. Twelve leaders (21.4 percent) have received doctoral degrees. While many of them

attended part-time Ph.D. programs (e.g., Xi Jinping, Li Yuanchao, Cai Wu, Cai Fuchao), some attended regular full-time Ph.D. programs. They include the aforementioned Xia Yong and Li Shulei, Central Translation Bureau Director Yi Junqing (b. 1958), and Central Translation Bureau Deputy Director Yu Keping (b. 1959). Yi Junqing received his Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in 1987. Yu Keping also spent significant time overseas after receiving a Ph.D. in political science at Beijing University in 1987. As a visiting professor in the mid-1990s, Yu taught at Duke University in the United States and the Free University in Germany. In 2008 Yu was awarded an honorary Ph.D. degree from the University of Duisburg-Essen in the German federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia.

ILD deputy directors Li Jinjun (b. 1956), Ai Ping (b. 1953), and Chen Fengxiang (b. 1955) studied in Germany, Canada, and Russia earlier in their careers, respectively. Two heavyweight leaders in this group, Li Yuanchao and Wang Huning, also had the experience of studying in the United States as visiting scholars. Li Yuanchao attended a short-term future leaders program (the New World Fellow Program) at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government in 2002, and Wang Huning was a visiting scholar at University of Iowa and University of California, Berkeley from 1988 to 1989.

Table 4

Educational Backgrounds of Top Party Functionaries (as of May 2011)

<i>Education level</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Ph.D.	12	21.4
master's degree	22	39.3
4-year college	19	33.9
2-year college	1	1.8
unknown	2	3.6
Total	56	100.0
<i>Academic major</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Politics/CCP affairs	11	19.6
Chinese language and literature	9	16.1
Economics/Management	8	14.3
Law	6	10.7
Philosophy	6	10.7
Foreign languages	4	7.1
History	4	7.1
Journalism	4	7.1
Engineering/Mathematics	2	3.6
unknown	2	3.6
Total	56	100.0

SOURCE: Xinhua News Agency. Calculated by the author. Academic majors are based on the highest degree obtained.

Table 4 displays the academic disciplines of these top Party apparatchiks in terms of the highest degree attained. Not surprisingly, the largest group (19.6 percent) majored in

politics and Party affairs. Twenty-seven leaders (48.2 percent) studied other areas in the humanities, such as Chinese language and literature, philosophy, foreign languages, history, and journalism. Only two leaders (3.6 percent) majored in engineering or mathematics. The recent decline in the dominance of technocrats in power, which characterized the third and fourth generation of leadership, is also found in other groups of the Chinese leadership as demonstrated in previous parts of this series on the civilian leaders, but this trend seems to be most pronounced among Party apparatchiks.

Career Experience and Promotion Patterns

In terms of career experience, an overwhelming majority of the apparatchiks, all together 40 leaders (71.4 percent), have previously served as *mishu* (personal assistants), office directors or chiefs of staff. Some of them have spent most of their careers working as *mishu* or pursuing *mishu*-like work. CPS Vice President Sun Qingju (b. 1951), for example, worked as a *mishu*, head of the *mishu* division, deputy director, executive deputy director, and director of the office of the CPS Party Committee between 1988 and 2001 before being promoted to vice president of the school in 2003. Similarly, He Yiting, executive deputy director of the Central Policy Research Center, began his career as a *mishu* at the CGO after graduating with a master's degree from Beijing Normal University in the mid-1980s. He later worked for two decades as a head of the *mishu* division for various important Party organs and small leading groups under the Central Committee.

Twenty-three leaders (41 percent) worked as “sent-down youths”—manual laborers in rural areas during the Cultural Revolution. They include such prominent leaders as Xi Jinping, Li Yuanchao, Liu Yunshan, Ling Jihua, Cai Wu, and Wang Chen. Six leaders (10 percent) served in the military early in their careers. With the exception of Xi Jinping, who joined the PLA to serve as a *mishu* to the minister of defense in his late 20s, all others became soldiers in their teenage years. They include COD Deputy Directors Li Jianhua (b. 1954) and Yin Weimin (b. 1953), CPD Deputy Director Cai Mingzhao (b. 1955), CPS Vice President Sun Qingju, and *People's Daily* President Zhang Yannong (b. 1948).

Fifteen (26.8 percent) of these Party apparatchiks have had leadership experience in the central government, and four of them serve concurrently as ministers or directors in the State Council. They are UFDW Deputy Director and Minister of State Ethnic Affairs Commission Yang Jing, CPD Deputy Director and Minister of Culture Cai Wu, COD Deputy Director and Minister of Human Resources and Social Security Yin Weimin, and CPD Deputy Director and State Radio, Film, and Television Administration Director Cai Fuchao. Twenty-four (42.8 percent) of these Party apparatchiks previously served in provincial leadership, and some as provincial Party secretary (Xi Jinping, Li Yuanchao, and Du Qinglin) or as governor (Yang Jing). Most of them, however, served as officials in the same functional area at the provincial level of leadership as they do now in Beijing. For example, four COD deputy directors previously served as directors of provincial organization departments: Shen Yueyue (Anhui), Li Jianhua (Sichuan), Zhang Jinan (Hainan), and Wang Qinfeng (Qinghai).

All 56 Party apparatchiks were appointed to their current positions after 2002, and so their tenure is still within the two five-year terms limit. Table 5 shows the patterns of promotion in terms of their most recent prior positions. A majority of the apparatchiks, 32 leaders (57 percent), were promoted within the same CCP central organ. Eleven leaders (19.6 percent) were promoted up from provincial leadership positions (usually in the same functional Party department). Two were promoted from academic and research institutions: Central Secrecy Bureau Director Xia Yong and Central Party Literature Research Center Director Leng Rong (b. 1953), both of whom previously worked at CASS. Two deputy directors of the ILD, Li Jinjun and Ai Ping, served as China's ambassadors to the Philippines and Ethiopia, respectively, prior to their current positions.

Table 5*Promotion Patterns of Current Top Party Functionaries*

<i>Promoted from (most recent previous post)</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
same CCP central organ	32	57.1
different CCP central organ	4	7.1
provincial leadership	11	19.6
a central government department	5	8.9
academic and research institutions	2	3.6
foreign service	2	3.6
total	56	100.0

In terms of the factional affiliations (*tuanpai* versus princelings), 13 leaders (23.2 percent) worked as CYL officials at the provincial and ministerial levels of the leadership in the early 1980s, and thus can be considered as *tuanpai* leaders. They include such prominent leaders as Li Yuanchao, Liu Yunshan, Ling Jihua, Du Qinglin, Shen Yueyue, Yang Jing, Cai Wu, and Quan Zhezhu. With the exception of Xi Jinping (whose father was vice premier), officials with princeling backgrounds are difficult to ascertain because their biographies do not include such information.

Party Apparatchiks' Prospects for the 2012 Politburo

It is almost certain that some of the 56 top Party apparatchiks will advance their political careers and perhaps reach the pinnacle of power in the Chinese political system. Table 6 lists the 11 most prominent Party apparatchiks who are candidates for the new Politburo in 2012. Barring something entirely unforeseen, Xi will succeed Hu Jintao as Party general secretary. Current Politburo members Li Yuanchao and Liu Yunshan will most likely be promoted to the Politburo Standing Committee. Two current members of the Secretariat, Ling Jihua and Wang Huning, will obtain their seats in the Politburo. Due to his strong patron-client ties with Hu Jintao, there is some chance that Ling may even be elevated two steps to become a Politburo Standing Committee member.

Besides these five heavyweight power contenders, six other Party apparatchiks have a chance to enter the Politburo and/or the Secretariat. Du Qinglin is a very capable and well-rounded political leader, although his age may be a factor against him. Because of

Table 6*Top Party Functionaries Who Are Candidates for the Next Politburo (2012)*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Current position</i>	<i>CC member status/since</i>	<i>Prospects for next Politburo & Secretariat in 2012</i>	<i>Main leadership experience</i>	<i>Factional identity</i>
Xi Jinping	1953	PSCM, president of Central Party School	AM/ 15 th CC	Secretary General & PSCM	Fujian governor (1999–2002), Zhejiang governor (2002–03), Zhejiang secretary (2002–07), Shanghai secretary (2007)	Elitist (princeling)
Li Yuanchao	1950	Politburo member, dir. of Central Organization Dept.	AM/ 16 th CC	PSCM	Vice minister of Culture (1996–2000), Jiangsu deputy secretary (2000–02), Jiangsu secretary (2002–07)	Populist (<i>tuanpai</i> and princeling)
Liu Yunshan	1947	Politburo member, dir. of Central Propaganda Dept.	AM/ 12 th CC	PSCM	Inner Mongolia deputy secretary (1992–93), deputy dir. of Central Dept. of Propaganda (1993–2002)	Populist (<i>tuanpai</i>)
Ling Jihua	1956	Member of Secretariat, dir. of Central General Office	AM/ 16 th CC	PSCM or Politburo	Political secretary to Hu Jintao (1995–97), deputy dir. of Central General Office (1999–2007)	Populist (<i>tuanpai</i>)
Wang Huning	1955	Member of Secretariat, dir. of Central Policy Research Center	FM/ 16 th CC	Politburo	Deputy director of Central Policy Research Center (1998–2002)	Elitist (Shanghai Gang)
Du Qinglin	1946	Dir., Central Dept. of United Front Work	AM/ 14 th CC	Politburo	Hainan Secretary (1998–2001), agriculture minister (2001–06), Sichuan secretary (2006–07)	Populist (<i>tuanpai</i>)
Wang Jiarui	1949	Dir. of Central Dept. of International Liaison	AM/ 16 th CC	Politburo	Qingdao mayor (1998–2000), deputy dir. of Central Dept. of International Liaison (2000–03)	Elitist (Jiang's protégé)
Yang Jing	1953	Deputy dir., Central Dept. of United Front Work; minister of State Ethnic Affairs	AM/ 16 th CC	Politburo	Secretary of Inner Mongolia CCYL (1993–96); Inner Mongolia governor (2003–08); vice chair, United Front (2008–present)	Populist (<i>tuanpai</i>)
Shen Yueyue	1957	Executive deputy dir. of Central Organization Dept.	AM/ 15 th CC	Politburo or Secretariat	Anhui deputy secretary (2001–02), deputy dir. of Central Dept. of Organization (2002–07)	Populist (<i>tuanpai</i>)
Cai Wu	1949	Deputy dir. of Central Propaganda Dept., Minister of Culture	FM/ 17 th CC	Politburo or Secretariat	Deputy dir. of Central Dept. of International Liaison (1997–2005)	Populist (<i>tuanpai</i>)
Li Jingtian	1948	Executive vice president, Central Party School	AM/ 16 th CC	Secretariat	Shanxi deputy secretary (2000–01), deputy dir. of Central Dept. of Organization (2001–05), dir. of Central Party History Research Center (2005–07)	Unclear

NOTES: Shading indicates heavyweight contenders for top leadership posts. AM = Alternate Member; CC = Central Committee; CCYL = Chinese Communist Youth League; Dept. = Department; Dir. = Director; FM = Full Member; PSCM = Politburo Standing Committee Member.

his impressively broad leadership experience (deputy Party secretary in Jilin, Party secretary in Hainan and Sichuan, and minister of agriculture) and his long tenure on the CCP Central Committee (since the 14th Party Congress in 1992), Du may still obtain a seat in the Politburo. Wang Jiarui may follow his predecessor Dai Bingguo in the ILD (though they belong to two different factions) to play a key role in the establishment of China's foreign policy.

Partly due to a Chinese version of affirmative action, the next Politburo will most likely have at least one ethnic minority leader and one female leader. Yang Jing, a Mongolian, who currently also serves as minister of State Ethnic Affairs, is a leading contender for a Politburo seat. Li Jingtian, a Manchu, is also a candidate for the next Secretariat. Similarly, Shen Yueyue has been an alternate member of the CCP Central Committee since the 15th Party Congress in 1997 and has served as COD deputy director since 2002. Although she is primarily a *tuanpai* leader—she was in charge of the Zhejiang provincial CYL for seven years—she also has good relations with Jiang Zemin and Xi Jinping and thus will most likely be promoted. She is one of the top female contenders for membership in the next Secretariat or Politburo.

CPD Deputy Director Cai Wu concurrently serves as the minister of culture. He advanced his early career in the central organs of the CYL and later worked in the ILD for 10 years. Cai also served concurrently as director of the Party's Central Foreign Publicity Office and director of the State Council Information Office in 2005–2008. Unlike many other Party apparatchiks who specialize in propaganda, Cai is known for his liberal views. Should CCP authorities want to modify current conservative ideological approaches, Cai would be an appropriate candidate to coordinate such an ideological shift and pursue a less dogmatic approach on the ideological front.

Table 6 identifies the factional affiliations of these heavyweight Party apparatchiks. Populists, or more precisely, *tuanpai*, represent a majority (seven out of 11 leaders listed).²² Xi Jinping, Wang Huning, and Wang Jiarui are often seen as prominent leaders in the elitist coalition under the wing of Jiang Zemin. Li Yuanchao is the only leader in this study who has dual affiliations, as both a princeling and *tuanpai* member, although his close ties with his patron Hu Jintao make Li a heavyweight figure in the latter coalition. Nevertheless, Li Yuanchao's association with both camps may allow him to play an even more important role in the future, especially in reconciling different ideological and policy disputes among the top leadership and preventing an open split in the CCP.

Implications of Organizational and Ideological Challenges

As in the past, CCP leaders' factional affiliations not only reflect their sociopolitical backgrounds, but may also reinforce or shape their ideological and policy orientations. It could be misleading, however, to characterize elitists or populists as equivalently liberal or conservative. In present-day China, economic liberals may be politically conservative; and leaders who favor economic protectionism may be strong advocates for political reform. Generally speaking, elitists are more liberal in terms of market liberalization, but

more cautious when it comes to political reform (as they usually do poorly in intra-party elections), while populists are more concerned about market reforms' negative consequences for the public and less fearful about multi-candidate election experiments. For example, populists are more concerned about inflation and the property bubble in the country and inclined to build more affordable housing while elitists believe that a tightened macroeconomic control policy may undermine economic efficiency and growth.

It is important to point out that these two coalitions share an interest in domestic social stability and aspire to see China's continuing rise on the world stage. These common goals often push the two coalitions to compromise and cooperate with each other. Yet, as Chinese society has become increasingly pluralistic in views and values—and as the Chinese leadership confronts many daunting policy challenges—ideological differences and policy choices in the CCP leadership are likely to become even more transparent to the public in the near future. For the same reason, factional competition for crucial leadership positions in the Party apparatus will likely become more acute in the months leading up to the 18th Party Congress.

While political divisions among CCP leaders are not always dichotomously clear-cut, the contrast between competing camps in the leadership is crystal-clear. In a recent meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, its chairman, Wu Bangguo, the second-ranked CCP leader (behind only Hu Jintao), stated bluntly that “China should not do five things: it *should not* pursue a multi-party election; *should not* promote ideological pluralism, *should not* experiment with the separation of the three branches of the government or the bicameral structure, *should not* adopt a federal system, and *should not* engage in privatization.”²³ To echo Wu Bangguo's statement, Chen Kuiyuan, president of CASS and a senior leader in Party ideological work, launched a comprehensive critique of the United States at a meeting in Beijing, for being a “behind-the-scenes troublemaker” with regard to China's development and security.²⁴ Chen also stated that he believes the United States is in fact “anti-pluralist,” as evidenced by its ideological and cultural values. He used the fact that the U.S. Congress has still not approved bilingual education (English and Spanish) in school as an example of American hypocrisy. He further argued that “pluralism is already dead” in European countries such as Germany, France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands.²⁵ Based on this logic, China should continue to embrace Marxism and Mao Zedong thought, should sustain the Chinese model of socioeconomic development, and should tolerate neither ideological alienation nor ideological pluralism. Chen's nostalgic views of the Mao era also echo Bo Xilai's Cultural Revolution-style political campaign and social mobilization.

To a great extent, the defense of communist rhetoric in the cases of Wu Bangguo, Bo Xilai, and Chen Kuiyuan were fervent criticism of Premier Wen Jiabao's recent statements about the need for political reform, democracy as a universal value, and his definitive rejection of the so-called “China model.” Although NPC Chairman Wu Bangguo and old-fashioned Communist ideologues such as Chen Kuiyuan seem to have an upper hand in controlling China's official media at present, Wen Jiabao and his like-minded followers have by no means given up their fight on this important ideological

front. Wen recently called leftists who oppose further economic and political reforms “remnants of the Cultural Revolution” (文革余孽).²⁶ In April 2011, *People’s Daily* also published an important commentary arguing that a politically mature and confident nation should develop “an inclusive attitude toward heterogeneous thinking.”²⁷

Ongoing debates in the Chinese leadership appear so divisive that one may reasonably wonder whether the CCP will split in the near future due to vicious factional infighting, fundamental ideological disputes, wide-ranging policy differences, or a combination of them all. In this light, the upcoming leadership transition in the PRC is a great test of this 90-year-old political party, the world’s largest: will it be able to transfer power in an orderly, peaceful, and institutionalized manner in 2012 as it did in 2002?

Various trends—the lack of consensus in the country, increasingly open disputes among Party leaders, the prevalence of patron-client ties in elite promotion, and growing tensions among interest groups—may make this upcoming political succession significantly different from the last one. If this analysis is correct, we may be witnessing a major crisis in the making at this very crucial period in China’s development. But as the Chinese saying goes, crisis is also an opportunity for wise and visionary future leaders. Crisis may not only provide new incentives for change, but may also lead to a new consensus that the country urgently needs now to move forward, especially in its long-delayed political reforms.

Notes

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¹ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Failure: The Birth and Death of Communism in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Collier Books, 1990). In his study of the Chinese Communist movement, prominent sociologist Franz Schurmann makes a similar observation. See Franz Schurmann, *Ideology and Organization in Communist China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966).

² Mao Zedong, “中国共产党在民族战争中的地位” (The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War) (October 1938), 毛泽东选集 (Selected Works of Mao Zedong), Vol. 2, (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1991), p. 202.

³ For more discussion of Bo’s distinct political drive, see Cheng Li, “China’s Midterm Jockeying: Gearing Up for 2012” (Part 1: Provincial Chiefs), *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 31, p. 22.

⁴ For further discussion of the factional groupings princelings and *tuanpai*, see the four previous parts of this series.

⁵ “温家宝否认存在“中国模式” (Wen Jiabao denies the existence of the “China Model”) See China News Net, March 13, 2011. Also see http://special.usqiaobao.com/lh2011/2011-03/13/content_771096.htm.

⁶ Anita Chan, “Confucius Shows Up on China’s Tiananmen Square.” CBS News World, January 13, 2011. <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2011/01/13/world/main7242836.shtml>.

⁷ 崔士忠 (Cui Shizhong), “天安门广场立孔子像, 讽刺共产党建党90周年” (The Sculpture of Confucius at the Tiananmen Square Satirizes the 90th Anniversary of the Founding of the Chinese Communist Party). *Utopia*, January 12, 2011. See <http://www.wyzxsx.com/Article/view/201101/208864.html>.

⁸ 世界日报 (World Journal), May 6 2011, p. A12.

⁹ For more discussion on this subject, see Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China from Revolution to Reform*, 2nd Edition, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004), pp. 218–224; and David Shambaugh,

China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008), pp. 103–160.

¹⁰ This list is based on the chart of CCP Central Committee organs on the Xinhua News Agency's website. See http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2002-11/15/content_630715.htm. March 2, 2011.

¹¹ The head of the Party History Research Center, Ouyang Song, concurrently serves as Organization Department deputy director, and thus the Center has only one leader who is included in this study. Due to its recent reshuffling, the Central Secrecy Bureau has not provided information about any of its deputy directors.

¹² For the concept and an overview of the *nomenklatura* in communist systems, see Michael Voslensky, *Nomenklatura: The Soviet Ruling Class*. Translated by Eric Mosbacher (New York: Doubleday, 1984).

¹³ Based on the author's interviews in Beijing in the summer of 2009.

¹⁴ The CCP Central Organization Department, 关于修订中共中央管理的干部职务名称表的通知 (Notice on the Revision for the List of Official Posts that are Managed by the CCP Central Committee), July 14, 1984. See <http://law.51labour.com/lawshow-34247.html>.

¹⁵ Richard McGregor, "The Party Organizer," *Financial Times*. September 30, 2009. Also see <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ae18c830-adf8-11de-87e7-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1L7M0fcuH>.

¹⁶ Ru Xin, Lu Xueyi, and Li Peilin, (eds.), *2005 中国社会形势分析与预测 (Analysis and forecasting of China's social development, 2005)*. (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2004), pp. 184–85.

¹⁷ For Wang Xiaohui's career background, see Ren Jie, "以电波托起中国新闻梦工厂" (The Dream Factory of the Radio China News Media). *学习教育通讯 (Educational Communication)*, No. 9 (2010), pp. 44–48.

¹⁸ For Xia Yong's academic writings, see Xia Yong, *依法治国：国家与社会 (Rule of law in governance: State and society)*; Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2003); and Xia Yong, *中国民权哲学 (The philosophy of civil rights in the context of China)*; Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2004).

¹⁹ *世界日报 (World Journal)*, June 8, 2005, p. C1.

²⁰ "北大才子成习近平助手 李书磊任中央党校副校长" (A Gifted Graduate of Beijing University becomes an Aide to Xi Jinping: Li Shulei is Appointed to be Vice President of the CPS). *人民网*, January 8, 2009. <http://news.sohu.com/20090108/n261638600.shtml>.

²¹ For example, Li Shulei "国际竞争中的文化建设" (Cultural Development in International Competition). *21世纪经济报道 (21st Century Economic Herald)*, October 31, 2007. Also see <http://www.aisixiang.com/data/16373.html>.

²² For a more detailed discussion of elitists (or princelings) versus populists (or *tuanpai*), see Cheng Li, "China's Team of Rivals," *Foreign Policy*, (March/April 2009): 88–93.

²³ "吴邦国'五不'传递啥信号" (What signals do Wu Bangguo's 'Five Don'ts' intend to convey?). *人民网*, March 11, 2011. Also see <http://www.022net.com/2011/3-11/466337212487736.html>.

²⁴ Chen Kuiyuan, "信仰马克思主义，做坚定的马克思主义者" (Believe in Marxism and Become a Firm Marxist). *中国社会科学报 (Chinese Social Sciences News)*, April 29, 2011. Also see <http://theory.people.com.cn/GB/14513063.html>.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *China News Net*. May 6, 2011. See http://r.club.china.com/data/thread/1011/2725/63/41/3_1.html.

²⁷ "关注社会心态，以包容心态对待“异质思维” (An inclusive attitude toward "heterogeneous thinking"); *People's Daily (人民日报)*, April 28, 2011, p. 14.