

**THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY  
POLITBURO COLLECTIVE STUDY  
SESSIONS**

Lance L P GORE

*EAI Background Brief No. 1567*

Date of Publication: 19 November 2020

## Executive Summary

1. The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has since early 2002 held regular “Politburo Collective Study Sessions” (PCSS) on diverse subject matters. The PCSS is part of the CCP’s effort to “build a learning party” and has become a fixture of the political process at the top echelon of the regime.
2. The stability of the Chinese regime, the historical legacy of the CCP, the Chinese tradition of scholar-officials and the urgent need of state officials for new knowledge and skills created by the rapid transformation of the world under the Fourth Industrialisation may have contributed to the emergence of PCSS in China.
3. PCSS topics, such as Marxist theories, the law, international relations, the frontier of development in science and technology, defence and national security, media, governance and so on, are closely related to policymaking and reforms in various areas, as well as party building.
4. The normal venue is Huairen Hall inside the Zhongnanhai compound that houses both the headquarters of the government and the ruling party. The attendees are Politburo members (around 25) and other relevant senior officials.
5. The lectures are conducted by experts or practitioners in the subject fields who are invited from around the country. Each session takes around two hours, following a format of 80 minutes of lecturing, 30 minutes of Q&A and in-class discussion, and 10 minutes for concluding remarks by the chairman—usually the general secretary of the CCP.
6. The CCP’s Central Policy Research Office (headed by Wang Huning, a member of the Politburo Standing Committee, who was replaced by his deputy recently), decides on the topics apparently with the final approval of the general secretary and the logistics are coordinated by the Central General Office of the CCP. It may take months and concerted effort by many parties to bring a lecture to fruition.

7. Under Chinese President Xi Jinping, the PCSS has increasingly become a platform for Xi to push through his policy ideas and shore up his authority.
8. Xi significantly reduced the number of lecturers from the scholarly community and increased the lectures by party-state officials based on their departmental experiences. Sometimes no lecturer is invited. The class conducts reading and discussion amongst themselves or take a field trip to engage in onsite learning.
9. Xi's domination of the PCSS has to do with both his personality and his political objectives. In contrast to his predecessors, Hu Jintao and Jiang Zemin who adopted the Dengist mode of "crossing the river by feeling for steppingstones", Xi is confident of what he wants to do and where he is leading China.
10. As a result, the PCSS is becoming more of a venue for policy signalling or political charade than a genuine collective learning exercise as it was intended to be.

# THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY POLITBURO COLLECTIVE STUDY SESSIONS

Lance L P GORE\*

## Building a Learning Party

- 1.1 Since early 2002, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has held regular “collective study” sessions to learn about a wide range of subjects, including history, technological development, national security, military affairs, climate change, environment protection, employment, banking and finance, macroeconomic management, philosophy, Marxism, urbanisation, health care, public administration, law, ethics and so on. The sessions are conducted 1-2 months apart, depending on the schedule of the Politburo. By October 2020, a total of 144 sessions had been completed.
- 1.2 Dubbed “Politburo Collective Study Sessions” (PCSS), the programme has become a fixture of the political process at the top echelon of the regime. Similar programmes are implemented at lower levels of the party-state hierarchy as well, in a drive to what is dubbed as “building a learning party” initiated by Hu Jintao, Xi Jinping’s predecessor, when he started his tenure as the general secretary of the CCP in 2002.
- 1.3 It is rare for top leaders of any ruling party in the world to come together regularly to collectively learn about things relevant to public policy and state governance. It may have to do with the fact that the Chinese ruling elites are more stable than those of most governments. They do not have to prepare for the next election and their schedules are more manageable collectively. The rapid changes in the world and fundamental transformation that China has been undergoing in the past four decades also heighten the need for learning.

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\* Lance L P Gore is senior research fellow at the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore.

- 1.4 It may also have to do with China's cultural tradition in general and the CCP's party legacy in particular. Chinese government officials since the imperial era have always been selected based on scholarship. They were among the best and brightest students before they become state officials through the Imperial Exam—the predecessor of modern civil service exam. “Serving in the government by excelling in learning” (学而优则仕) has been the cultural expectation for all students for millennia, as is the respect for learning. Today's communist cadres believe in attaining post-graduate degrees. Both Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang, two top leaders of China, are PhD holders. Appendix 1 lists the educational background of members of the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th Central Committee Politburo.
- 1.5 The urge for learning within the CCP was triggered during the Agrarian Revolution period (1927-37) when the CCP's ranks were filled with illiterate peasants. The Party promised the young peasant recruits a new lease of life and becoming literate was part of it. Confronted with the Stalin's questioning of how the CCP could be a party of the proletariat when it was staffed almost entirely by poor peasants, Mao's answer was “ideological party building”—the CCP is a proletarian party by arming itself with Marxist ideology.
- 1.6 For a long time, Stalin was suspicious of Mao not being a Marxist until they met for the first time in Moscow in 1950 following the founding of the PRC. During the month-long visit, Stalin initially addressed Mao as “Sir” instead of “Comrade”. Towards the end of Mao's visit he finally addressed Mao as “Comrade”, apparently persuaded that Mao was a Marxist.
- 1.7 Following the line of thinking of “ideological party building”, an elaborate system of party schools was developed. These schools were first meant for ideological indoctrination but in the reform and opening era they increasingly offer conventional courses and degrees. To date, CCP cadres are still regularly and systematically sent to party schools for training throughout their careers.
- 1.8 The reform and opening era that started in late 1979 creates the impetus within the party to learn about the market economy, business administration, finance and economics, new technologies, governance and so on. In 1978, Deng Xiaoping

declared that the “whole party need to renew its education”.<sup>1</sup> Chinese higher education developed rapidly and large numbers of students are sent to study abroad on various state training programmes. Education once again becomes a central part of Chinese life after the disruption of the Cultural Revolution (1966-76).

- 1.9 As cadres move up the career ladder, they have less time for study as their need to learn new things increases. It was against this background that Hu Jintao, then party general secretary, initiated the Politburo Collective Study programme. Hu emphasised at the inaugural session the importance of keeping abreast with the developments of the world by constantly taking in new knowledge and upgrading one’s governing capability.<sup>2</sup> It was not accidental that the first session was held on 26 December 2002, Mao’s birthday. Hu regarded Mao as exemplary of life-long learning. According to Mao’s grandson, Mao was still reading a few minutes before his death.
- 1.10 “Building a learning party” was formally proposed in the political report delivered by Hu at the Fourth Plenum of the 16th Party Congress in 2004 as part of the “CCP Resolution on Strengthening the Governing Capability of the Party”. In February 2010, the General Office of the Central Committee formally issued the guidelines on incorporating learning into the operation of party organisations at various levels. It stipulates that party leading teams (equivalent of the Politburo in local party committees) should hold a collective study session at least once in a quarter, and that the leading cadres at county level and above should spend a minimum of 110 hours of fulltime classes and submit one to two investigative reports.<sup>3</sup>
- 1.11 Politburo Collective Study has as its forerunners in the series of lectures on law offered in Zhongnanhai, the headquarters of the Party and the government at the centre of Beijing, in the 1980s. The impetus of that lecture series came from senior cadres who had suffered from the lawlessness of the Cultural Revolution. Of them,

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<sup>1</sup> Cited in “Build a learning party: new areas to lay emphasis in upgrading the party’s governance capability” at [http://www.celaj.gov.cn/mediacoverage/info\\_itemid\\_71699.html](http://www.celaj.gov.cn/mediacoverage/info_itemid_71699.html), accessed 20 July 2020.

<sup>2</sup> *High-level Lecture Room*, by Cui Changfa, Beijing: Redflag Publishing House 2007.

<sup>3</sup> CCP Central General Office, “Opinions on Promoting the Construction of a Learning Party”, *Xinhua News Agency*, 28 February 2010.

Peng Zhen, then chairman of the National People's Congress, China's legislature, was among the first to be purged in the Cultural Revolution. Xi Zhongxun, father of Xi Jinping, who was purged even earlier in 1962 and serving at the time as vice chairman of NPC and director of its Legal Affairs Committee, was also a force behind the push for the rule of law.

- 1.12 Like numerous others, both Peng and Xi were tortured, went through humiliating “struggle sessions” and spent years in jail and hard labour without a trial. There was tremendous determination that it would never happen again. These old cadres provided the first push for the rule of law in the PRC.<sup>4</sup> China's top legal scholars and practitioners at the time were invited to deliver the four lectures. These were soon followed by massive campaigns to educate the general population about the law. The CCP has had six five-year plans for the popularisation of law and, by 1994 collective legal studies had become a regular event in Zhongnanhai, which eventually evolved into the Politburo Collective Study programme of today.

### **Topics, Format and Process**

- 2.1 As mentioned earlier, “ideological party building” is a central feature of the CCP. Marxist indoctrination has always been an important part of party training. The communists have always attached significance to studying the basic tenets of Marxism. Of the 144 PCSS so far 35 were devoted to Marxist ideology and party building. The study of law-related issues also constitutes an important part. History-related topics are prominent, including anti-corruption in history, socialism in China, evolution of government system, the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression and the formation and development of Chinese patriotism in China's history.
- 2.2 Topics could also be on current affairs, problems the CCP is dealing with, the on-going reforms, trends and prospects of areas of immediate concern such as science and technology, national security, military affairs, new energy, climate change and so on. For instance, one PCSS on 26 July 2008 (under Hu Jintao) focused on sports

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<sup>4</sup> “When the law lecture series entered Zhongnanhai”, at [http://www.moj.gov.cn/news/content/2019-08/09/bnyw\\_3229627.html](http://www.moj.gov.cn/news/content/2019-08/09/bnyw_3229627.html), accessed 15 July 2020.

and Olympics just a couple of weeks before the Beijing Olympics. Ten days after Xi Jinping's enunciation of a new "comprehensive national security concept" at the inaugural meeting of the National Security Commission, a PCSS was devoted to the topic on 25 April 2014 before Xi departed Beijing for a four-day inspection tour of Xinjiang to focus attention on it. The PCSS can serve as a platform for the exchange of information and ideas, as well as open-ended discussion. These top leaders do not have many such opportunities elsewhere.

- 2.3 Like the Law Lecture Series, the Politburo Collective Study Sessions are also regularly held at Huaren Hall in Zhongnanhai. Besides members of the politburo, interested and relevant senior officials of the party-state can also attend the sessions. Huaren Hall has witnessed many historical events in PRC history and served as the venue for many top-level meetings, including the meetings of the Leading Small Group for Comprehensively Deepening the Reforms headed by Xi Jinping.
- 2.4 The seating arrangement around a large, concentric oval table for PCSS follows rank and seniority, starting from the end of the table near the door with ministers and similarly ranked cadres, followed by members of the Politburo and then Politburo Standing Committee members. The party general secretary who normally chairs the sessions is seated at the deep end of the table. The lecturer sits at the other end of the table facing the chairman.
- 2.5 Each session takes around two hours. The lecture takes approximately 80 minutes, followed by 30 minutes of Q&A and discussions. Finally, the chairman is given 10 minutes to give his final remarks and to wrap up the session.<sup>5</sup>
- 2.6 As topics covered by the PCSS are broad-ranging, experts from different fields constitute the majority of the lecturers (see Appendix 2 for a list of the topics of the 144 study sessions up to October 2020 and background information of the lecturers). For instance, the lecturers of "Anti-corruption in Chinese History" are Bu Xianqun, a researcher at the Institute of History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), and Fang Ning, a researcher from the Institute of Political Science of the

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<sup>5</sup> "10 years, 77 Politburo Collective Study Sessions and 140 scholars delivering lectures", at [http://news.china.com.cn/2012-08/28/content\\_26353716.htm](http://news.china.com.cn/2012-08/28/content_26353716.htm), accessed 12 July 2020.



CASS. Increasingly under Xi Jinping, leading policymakers or frontline staff in certain areas are invited to share their experiences and perspectives.

- 2.7 Available details of these sessions are sketchy. *Xinhua News Agency* regularly puts out sanitised press releases after each session, detailing only the topic covered, the lecturers and some of the attendees but not the discussion. Selected content of the general secretary's concluding remarks is relayed to the public. Occasionally the full text of the final remarks was published later for policy purposes. For example, Xi Jinping's speech at the end of the 28th PCSS of his first term on 23 November 2015, which dealt with Marxist political economy, was published only on 15 August 2020, a gap of more than five and a half years, apparently as part of Xi's carefully crafted effort to push the CCP back on the track of Marxism.
- 2.8 There are anecdotal accounts of these sessions in journal and newspaper articles and recollections by some lecturers. According to a 2011 account in the general news magazine *Outlook*, topics for PCSS can be suggested in two ways. Politburo members may propose topics relevant to the policy sectors they are responsible for under the Politburo's division of policy labour. Alternatively, the Central Committee's General Office, the various leading small groups, or major policy institutions may submit topics relevant to significant current events or trends. Presumably the final decision on a topic rests in the hand of the general secretary.<sup>6</sup>
- 2.9 The logistics of PCSS is coordinated by the General Office of the Party Central Committee while the topics and lecture content are managed by the CCP's Central Policy Research Office (CPRO) headed until recently by Wang Huning, a Politburo Standing Committee member commonly believed to be the most trusted policy wonk of three generations of top leaders from Jiang Zemin (who preceded Hu Jintao).
- 2.10 Relevant party-state ministries, departments, agencies and other institutions participate in the process whenever their expertise is called for. Once a topic is selected, the search for appropriate expert lecturers would begin in earnest. The CPRO would work with relevant bureaucracies or institutions in identifying and

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<sup>6</sup> Dong Ruifeng, "The political wisdom of collective study", *Outlook*, 4 July 2011, pp. 38–39.

selecting lecturers. The CPRO is presumably the one responsible for the screening, vetting and approving of lecturers and the content of the lectures.

- 2.11 A lecture could take months to prepare. It is an honour for the home institution of the lecturer, be it a university, a research institute or a state agency, if its scholars/experts are selected. They would devote resources like assembling a team to conduct additional research and classroom practice. The lectures are a background brief to the subject, outlining major theoretic approaches, main controversies, trends and recent development, and policy recommendations. The sessions no doubt entail a high degree of stage management like certain requirements for presenters' voice, tone, speed and expression.<sup>7</sup>
- 2.12 Qin Yaqing, vice president of China Foreign Affairs University, was one of the lecturers on world politics and China's security environment at the 23 February 2004 session attended by Hu Jintao's Politburo. He recalled that it took him four months and several mock seminars to prepare for his 45-minute lecture. At the Q&A session, Hu Jintao was the first to ask a question about financial security and later discussed the issue further with him alone.<sup>8</sup> Huang Zhongliang of Peking University who delivered another lecture on "building up the Party's governing capability" remembered that Politburo members listened attentively to his talk and he could hear the sound of page turning simultaneously in the room as his lecture progressed.<sup>9</sup>
- 2.13 Zhang Li, director of the Centre for Education Development, Ministry of Education, believed that his lecture on developments in education around the world and education reform in China on 28 August 2006 did have policy impact. Participants engaged in "a heated discussion" following his lecture on issues such as poverty in rural education, problems of rural teachers and so on. Thereafter, subsidies for rural

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<sup>7</sup> Footnote 5.

<sup>8</sup> There was a second lecturer for that day.

<sup>9</sup> "An important measure in strengthening the party's governing capabilities: building a learning party from the perspective of the 44 PCSS", *Xinhua News Agency*, 10 October 2007, available at [http://www.gov.cn/jrzq/2007-10/10/content\\_773054.htm](http://www.gov.cn/jrzq/2007-10/10/content_773054.htm), accessed 15 May 2019.

poor students were increased and tuition waivers at some Teacher's Universities were introduced.<sup>10</sup>

### **Collective Study under Xi Jinping**

- 3.1 Xi Jinping who took over the rein from Hu Jintao in late 2012 has carried on with Hu's PCSS. Xi portrays himself as a man of learning. On trips to Europe he is fond of naming the famous authors of his host nations. He frequently cites Chinese proverbs or obscure quotations from ancient texts, which is indicative of a large team of ghost writers behind him. In a speech he asserted that the CCP has gotten where it is now by relying on constantly learning new things and his inclination to continue with relying on learning to create a bright future.<sup>11</sup>
- 3.2 Since assuming power, Xi has made major changes to Chinese politics and significantly altered the direction of both foreign and domestic policy. He first engineered a massive centralisation of power to himself, marginalising his partner Premier Li Keqiang in the government. He became the "leadership core" (*hexin*) in 2016 and removed the constitutional term limit on the presidency in 2017. He is now regarded as the most powerful leader since Deng Xiaoping. These developments have impacted the Politburo Collective Study Sessions as well. Xi has not only preserved the basic format of PCSS, but also made significant changes.
- 3.3 Xi gradually reduced the number of lecturers for each session from two to one, and invited a large number of party and government officials, business executives and other non-scholars to the podium to speak about practical experiences. They spoke on banking, security regulation, environment protection, foreign affairs, auto industry and so on. All lectures of the 44 PCSS during Hu Jintao's first term were delivered by 88 scholars. In contrast, Xi Jinping invited 35 non-scholars during his first term (see Appendix 2).

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> "The Chinese Communist Party: getting where it is today and marching towards the future by learning", *Guangming Daily*, 26 June, 2016, available at [http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2016-06/26/c\\_129090354.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2016-06/26/c_129090354.htm), accessed 17 December 2019.

- 3.4 Class format has also become more diverse. Several sessions were without a lecturer, with either Xi delivering the talk or the class studied the subjects on their own before exchanging ideas. Field trips are another innovation. For example, the 30 September 2013 study on innovation-driven development strategy was conducted in Zhongguancun Science Park, China's Silicon Valley in the north, where the class visited businesses, heard briefings and held discussions. Another field trip, on 25 January 2019, took the class to the New Media Building of *The People's Daily*. The topic for that class is “the era of omnimedia and the integrated media development”.
- 3.5 Xi has also increased the weight of topics on party-building, the rule of law, governance, science and technology, history and culture, national defence/security/military, while reducing the weight of economics and global issues (Table 1).

**TABLE 1 WEIGHTING TOPICS CATEGORIES\***

<b>Categorised Topics</b>	<b>16th Politburo</b>	<b>17th Politburo</b>	<b>18th Politburo</b>	<b>19th Politburo **</b>
<i>Total sessions</i>	<b>44</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>24</b>
Party building	5	4	5	3
Ideology/propaganda	5	2	6	2
Rule of law	5	2	2	3
Governance	3	1	3	3
Economics/trade/finance	5	7	5	2
Environment/resources/land	2	4	2	-
Social development /education/health/culture	5	9	5	1
Science and technology	2	1	2	4
Defence/national security/military	4	1	6	3
History/Chinese culture, archaeology	-	-	4	3
Global issues	8	3	4	-

\* Double entry applies because some topics overlap categories

\*\* Up to October 2020

- 3.6 Under Xi Jinping, the PCSS is increasingly part of the political process rather than just a learning exercise. He has used it as another platform for shoring up his authority and amplifying his message (see Table 1).

- 3.7 Hu Jintao was still in the Deng era mode of “crossing the river by feeling for steppingstones”. That era has ended for Xi, who also abandoned Deng’s foreign policy dictum of staying low-profile, biding time and never taking the lead with his push for dominance in the South China Sea, launching the Belt and Road Initiative and, domestically, touting the “four self-confidences”.<sup>12</sup>
- 3.8 Xi is self-assured of the direction China should take and what the CCP should be like as a ruling Leninist party. On 17 November 2012, Xi chaired the first Politburo Collective Study session, just two days after assuming office on 15 November. In his inaugural speech, which was delivered two hours late and in front of a large press corps from around the world, Xi outlined what he intended to do as general secretary. He has stuck to what he has promised in the next seven or eight years with remarkable consistency and unabated effort.
- 3.9 Xi promised in his inaugural speech to fight corruption, rectify the CCP and enforce strict party discipline, pursue “people-centred” and environment-friendly development policy, and advance the cause of “socialism with Chinese characteristics”.<sup>13</sup> No lecturer was arranged for the first PCSS as Xi himself did most of the talking on implementing the party line adopted by the 18th Party Congress. Xi also took the opportunity to establish his authority in the new Politburo. According to the official media, during that session all Politburo Standing Committee members—Li Keqiang, Zhand Dejiang, Yu Zhensheng, Liu Yunshan, Wang Qishan and Zhang Gaoli—“pledged to unite around the ‘Party Centre led by Comrade Xi Jinping’, actively propagating and faithfully implementing the spirit of the 18th Party Congress”. Xi in turn reiterated that socialism with Chinese characteristics is “the newest fruition of the Sinicization of Marxism” and that the CCP was “self-confident in its theory, road, and system”.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> That is, the CCP is self-confident of its ideological theory, the road it has chosen, its system and the traditional Chinese culture.

<sup>13</sup> Xi’s speech at the PCSS was published two days later by *The People’s Daily*, available at <http://cpc.people.com.cn/n/2012/1119/c64094-19615998.html>, last accessed 28 August 2020.

<sup>14</sup> *People’s Daily* report available at <http://cpc.people.com.cn/n/2012/1119/c64094-19615995.html>, accessed 25 August 2020.

- 3.10 The reduced number of lecturers apparently give Xi more time and a bigger role to dominate the classroom, push for his ideas and reaffirm his authority. It appears that he has a tendency to make lengthy formal speeches. For instance, his speech at his first PCSS on 17 November 2012, published two days later, had a word count of almost 7,000 Chinese words. The word count of another of his speech delivered at the PCSS on 28 November 2015, which was recently published, was 4,300.<sup>15</sup>
- 3.11 Assuming the published version is a close approximation to the one delivered and given Xi's slow and monotonous reading style, it would take approximately 45-50 minutes for him to finish reading the first speech and close to half an hour for the second one. Both were way longer than the 10 minutes allocated for concluding remarks under the format established by Hu.
- 3.12 Xi's domination of the PCSS is reflective of his personality and upbringing. He is strong-willed, goal-oriented and meticulous; he wants to control policymaking and implement to the last detail. The PCSS under Hu appeared more of a genuine learning process while those under Xi were akin to a political charade. For instance, Xi delivered an authoritative speech on Marxist political economy, the subject of the 28th session (25 November 2015), which was recently published as a policy statement. Evidently, Xi felt more qualified than the lecturer for that day, Dean of National Academy of Educational Administration under Ministry of Education Gu Hailiang, to speak on Marxism.
- 3.13 Xi regularly uses his concluding remark to deliver an authoritative policy statement in the area covered by that particular session. The main ideas were thereafter widely disseminated by official media. Under that circumstances no invited lecturer would feel that they are genuinely "lecturing" since Xi is the authority in the room on the very subject they are supposed to cover. The prior coordination between Xi and the lecturer may well render the session formal rather than substantive.

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<sup>15</sup> "Xi Jinping: continuously breaking new ground in contemporary Marxist political economy", first published by *Qiushi*, No. 16, 2020, available at <http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2020/0816/c1024-31823622.html>, accessed 30 August 2020.

3.14 Xi's autobiography highlights a rebellious youth.<sup>16</sup> Hu Jintao, a graduate from the prestigious Tsinghua University before the disruption of the Cultural Revolution, is obviously better educated than Xi. Coming from a humble origin, Hu is cautious, diligent and mild-mannered. Xi Jinping on the other hand hails from a privileged family background. He is self-assured of his intellectual superiority despite his faulty formal education.<sup>17</sup> Both men are committed to protecting the ruling position of the CCP but Xi is more visionary, ambitious and audacious in the face of difficulties. Some argue that his audacity arises from a defected education.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Xi's autobiography, "Son of Yellow Earth", is available in Lance LP Gore. *Chinese Politics Illustrated: The Cultural, Social and Historical Context*, World Scientific, 2014, pp. 9-22.

<sup>17</sup> Xi did not finish high school before he went to the countryside as a "sent-down youth". He had access to books unavailable to the vast majority of youths during the Cultural Revolution and read widely while doing hard labour. He was selected as a Cultural Revolution-era "worker-peasant-soldier student" (*gongnongbin xueyuan*), without taking an entrance exam to attend the prestigious Tsinghua University in 1975, majoring in chemical engineering. The college curriculums were vastly simplified during the Cultural Revolution and the students and faculty had to devote substantial time to "political study" and doing manual labour. Xi earned his PhD in agro-economics, also from Tsinghua, part-time while he was a government official. The quality is widely suspected when advanced degrees are earned this way in China.

<sup>18</sup> For example, Li Rui, one of Mao's many brilliant secretaries, remarked that Xi's education was at "elementary school level".

**APPENDIX 1 EDUCATION BACKGROUND OF 16TH-19TH POLITBURO MEMBERS**

<b>Politburo Standing Committee</b>	<b>Highest Degree</b>	<b>Discipline</b>	<b>Politburo</b>	<b>Highest Degree</b>	<b>Discipline</b>
<b>16th Central Committee Politburo</b>					
Hu Jintao	BS	Hydraulic engineering	Wang Leqian		Central party school
Wu Bangguo	BS	Electron tube engineering	Wang Zhaoguo	BS	Mechanic engineering
Wen Jiaobao	BS	Geomechanics	Hui Liangyu		Polytech and party school (part-time)
Jia Qinglin	BS	Engineering	Liu Qi	BS	Iron smelting
Zeng Qinghong	BS	Automation	Liu Yunshan	-	Teacher's college (part-time)
Huang Ju	BS	Electric engineering	Wu Yi	BS	Petroleum engineering
Wu Guanzheng	BS	Thermal engineering	Zhang Lichang	-	Vocational tech school
Li Changchun	BS	Electric engineering	Zhang Dejiang	BA	Korean and economics
Luo Gan	BS	Engineering	Cheng Liangyu	BS	PLA logistic engineering
			Zhou Yongkang	BS	Geophysical survey
			Yu Zhengsheng	BS	Military engineering
			He Guoqiang	BS	Inorganics
			Guo Boxiong	Bachelor	Military academy
			Cao Gangchuan	Bachelor	Military engineering (USSR)
			Wang Gang*	BA	Philosophy
<b>17th Central Committee Politburo</b>					
Hu Jintao	BS	Hydraulic engineering	Wang Gang*	BA	Philosophy
Wu Bangguo	BS	Electron tube engineering	Wang Leqian		Central party school
Wen Jiabao	BS	Geomechanics	Wang Zhaoguo	BS	Mechanic engineering
Jia Qinglin	BS	Engineering	Wang Qishan	BA	History
Li Changchun	BS	Electric engineering	Hui Liangyu	-	Polytech and party school (part-time)
Xi Jinping	PhD	Agroeconomics (part-time)	Liu Qi	BS	Iron smelting
Li Keqiang	PhD	Economics	Liu Yunshan	-	Teacher's college (part-time)
He Guoqiang	BS	Inorganics	Liu Yandong	BS	Chemistry
Zhou Yongkang	BS	Geophysical survey	Li Yuanchao	BS	Mathematics



			Wang Yang	-	Central Party School, economics
			Zhang Gaoli	BA	Economics
			Zhang Dejiang	BA	Economics, Kim Il-sung University
			Yu Zhengsheng	BS	Military engineering
			Xu Caihou	BS	Military engineering
			Guo Boxiong	Bachelor	Military academy
			Bi Xilai	MA	International journalism
<b>18th Central Committee Politburo</b>					
Xi Jinping	PhD	Agroeconomics (part-time)	Ma Kai		High school diploma
Li Keqiang	PhD	Economics	Wang Huning	MA	International politics
Zhang Dejiang	BA	Economics, Kim Il-sung University	Liu Yandong	BS	Chemistry
Yu Zhengsheng	BS	Military engineering	Liu Qibao	BA	Teacher's college
Liu Yunshan	-	Teacher's college (part-time)	Xu Qiliang	Bachelor	Airforce flight school
Wang Qishan	BA	History	Sun Chunlan	MA	Central Party School
Zhang Gaoli	BA	Economics	Sun Zhengcai	MS	Agriculture
			Li Jianguo	BA	Chinese
			Li Yuanchao	BS	Mathematics
			Wang Yang	-	Central Party School, economics
			Zhang Chunxian	BS	Mechanics
			Fan Changlong	-	High school
			Meng Jianzhu		Sent-down youth
			Zhao Leji	BA	Philosophy
			Hu Chunhua	BA	Law
			Li Zhanshu	-	Political education, Hebei Normal
			Guo Jinlong	BS	Physics
			Han Zheng	MA	Economics (part-time)
<b>19th Central Committee Politburo</b>					
Xi Jinping	PhD	Agroeconomics (part-time)	Ding Xuexiang	BS	Metallic engineering
Li Keqiang	PhD	Economics	Wang Chen	MA	Journalism
Li Zhanshu	-	Political education, Hebei Normal	Liu He	MA	Economics
Wang Yang	-	Central Party School, Economics	Xu Qiliang	BS	Airforce flight school
Wang Huning	MA	International Politics	Sun Chunlan	MA	Central Party School
Zhao Leji	BA	Philosophy	Li Xi	MBA	BA in Chinese

Han Zheng	MA	Economics (part-time)	Li Qiang	BS	Agricultural machinery
			Li Hongzhong	BA	History
			Yang Jiechi		London School of Economics
			Yang Xiaodu	MD	Chinese medicine
			Zhang Youxia		High school (Jingshan school)
			Chen Xi	MS	Chemical engineering
			Chen Quanguo	BA	Economics
			Chen Ming'er	-	Three-year teacher's college
			Hu Chunhua	BA	Law
			Guo Shengkun	MS	project management (part-time)
			Huang Kunming	BA	Political education
			Cao Qi	BA	Political education

Sources: Compiled by author from various websites.

**APPENDIX 2A COLLECTIVE STUDY SESSIONS OF THE 19TH POLITBURO OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE<sup>19</sup>**

Session	Date	Content	Lecturer
24th	2020-10-17	Research and prospective application of quantum technologies	Xue Qikun, vice president of Tsinghua University and member of the Chinese Academy of Sciences
23rd	2020-09-28	Recent archaeological discoveries in China and their implications	Chen Xingcan, director of the Archaeological Institute of CASS
22nd	2020-07-31	Unifying thought, strengthening resolve and working hard to promote the modernisation of the military and national defence	Chen Rongdi, Academy of Military Sciences
21st	2020-06-29	Deepening the study, understanding and implementation of the organisational line of the party	Hu Jinqi, secretary in chief of Central Organisation Department
20th	2020-05-29	Conscientiously implementing the new Civil Code	Huang Wei, office director of Civil Code, NPC Legal Affairs Committee and vice chairman of the Institute of Administrative Law of China Law Society
19th	2019-11-29	Building the emergency management system and capability of China	Xue Lan, professor from Qinghua University
18th	2019-10-24	Current conditions and development trends of the blockchain technology	Chen Cun, professor Zhejiang University and member of China Engineering Academy
17th	2019-9-24	The history and development of the political and legal system of new China	Yu Zhigang, member of NPC Standing Committee and NPC Constitution and Law Committee
16th	2019-7-30	Pushing for reforming the military policymaking system	Tan Yadong, researcher from Academy of Military Science
15th	2019-6-24	Remembering the original mission and engaging in self-revolution	Sun Yeli, researcher from Central Institute for Party History and Literature
14th	2019-4-19	The historical significance of contemporary value of the May Fourth Movement	Li Yuqi, professor of Central Youth League Academy and researcher of China Youth Research Centre
13th	2019-2-22	Perfecting financial service and mitigating financial risks	Xie Duo, party secretary and chairman of the board, Silk Road Foundation Ltd
12th	2019-1-25	The era of omnimedia and the integrated media development	On-site investigation conducted at the new media building of <i>People's Daily</i>
11th	2018-12-13	Deepening the reform of state supervision system	Ma Shensu, director of legal affairs office of CDIC and State Supervision Commission
10th	2018-11-26	Managing state officials in Chinese history	Bu Jianqun, History Institute of CASS

<sup>19</sup> Compiled from materials from CCP News website at <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/111911/index.html>, last accessed 25 August 2020.

9th	2018-10-31	Current conditions and trends in the development of artificial intelligence	Gao Wen, professor of Peking University and member of China Academy of Engineering
8th	2018-9-21	Implementing the rural revitalisation strategy	A documentary film followed by speeches by Han Changbing, minister of agriculture and Liu Yongfu, director of central poverty alleviation office on experiences related to their respective work
7th	2018-7-31	Comprehensively phasing out of paid services offered by the military	Hu Xiaohua, executive director of the office of the central leading small group on this issue
6th	2018-6-29	Strengthening the political construction of the Party	Zhang Anmin, Central Organisation Department
5th	2018-4-23	The Communist Manifesto and its contemporary significance	Wang Xuedong, researcher of Central Compilation and Translation Bureau
4th	2018-2-24	The Constitution and comprehensively implementing the rule of law	Li Lin, member of the academic committee of CASS
3rd	2018-1-30	Building a modern economic system	No lecture. Politburo members study on their own first and then exchange views. Liu He, Sun Chunlan, Li Xi, Li Qiang, Li Hongzhong, Chen Quanguo, Chen Ming'er, Hu Chunhua and Cai Qi gave speeches, followed by discussions
2nd	2017-12-8	Implementing state big data strategy	Mei Hong, vice president of Beijing Science and Technology University, member of the Chinese Academy of Sciences
1st	2017-10-27	In depth studying and implementing the spirit of the 19th Party Congress	Xi Jinping chaired and made speech. Li Keqiang, Li Zhanshu, Wang Yang, Wang Huning, Zhao Leji and Han Zheng also spoke on their understanding of the topic

**APPENDX 2B COLLECTIVE STUDY SESSIONS, 18TH POLITBURO OF THE  
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

<b>Session</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Content</b>	<b>Lecturer</b>
43th	9-29-2017	Trends and influences of contemporary Marxism	Jiang Hui, researcher from the Institute of Information and Intelligence of CASS
42th	2017-7-24	Pushing force structure reform of the military and reshape a modern military force with Chinese characteristics	Cai Hongshuo, deputy head of the advisory group to the Central Deepening Defence and Military Reforms Leading Small Group of the Central Military Commission, briefed and shared his views and suggestions
41th	2017-5-26	Promoting green development and lifestyle	He Lifeng of NDRC, Jiang Daming, deputy chair of the NPC environment and resources committee, Chen Jining, deputy mayor of Beijing, Chen Zhenggao, minister of Housing, Urban and Rural Development, and Chen Lei of Qinghua University talked about their work experiences and views
40th	2017-4-25	State financial security	Zhou Xiaochuan, president of PBC, Guo Shuqing, chair of Bank Supervision Commission and Liu Shiyu, chair of the Security Supervision Commission, shared their respective experiences and views
39th	2017-2-21	The situation in the battle against poverty and how to do better in targeted poverty alleviation	Liu Yongfu, director of Central Poverty Alleviation Office, Chen Ming'er, party chief of Chongqing and Chen Hao, party chief of Yunnan Province, spoke about their respective experiences and plans
38th	2017-1-22	Deepening supply-side structural reform of the economy	Chen Dongqi, researcher of Institute of the Macroeconomics of NDRC, conducted a briefing and shared his views and suggestions.
37th	2016-12-9	Rule by law and rule by virtue in Chinese history	Zhu Yong, director of the Legal History Institute of China Law and Politics University, conducted a briefing and shared his views and suggestions
36th	2016-10-9	Building a strong nation by strengthening networks construction	Wei Shaojun, chairman of Micro-and Nano-electronics Department and director of the Institute of Micro-electronics, Qianghua University, conducted a briefing and shared his views and suggestions
35th	2016-9-27	G20 Summit and changes in the global governance system	Gao Fei from China Foreign Affairs University
34th	2016-7-26	Deepening the reforms of national defence and the military	Cai Hongshuo, deputy head of the advisory group to the Central Deepening Defence and Military Reforms Leading Small Group of the Central Military Commission, briefed and shared his views and suggestions

33rd	2016-6-28	Rectifying intra-party political life and purifying intra-party political ecology	Gao Xuanmin from Central Organisation Department
32nd	2016-5-27	The situation of ageing in China and policy strategies	Xu Shaoshi, deputy head of NPC Fiscal and Economics Committee, Yin Weimin, member of the National Committee of CPPCC and Li Bin, chair of Weilai Autos
31st	2016-4-29	The Silkroad and the Maritime Silk Road in history	Li Guoqiang, researcher from the Frontiers Institute of CASS
30th	2016-1-29	The strategic emphases of the economic and social development during the 13th Five-Year programme period	No lecturer. Politburo members first studied by themselves and then exchanged work experiences. Liu Yandong, Li Yuanchao, Wang Yang, Zhang Chunxian and Han Zheng made speeches
29th	2015-12-30	The historical formation and development of patriotic spirit of the Chinese nation	Chen Lai, professor from Qinghua University
28th	2015-11-23	The principles and methodology and Marxist political economy	Gu Hailiang from Social Sciences Committee of Ministry of Education
27th	2015-10-12	The conditions of global governance and global governance system	Qin Yaqing, professor from China Foreign Affairs University
26th	2015-9-11	Practising <i>sanyan sanshi</i> <sup>20</sup>	Members of the Politburo studied by themselves and then exchanged their understanding of the subject. Key speeches delivered by Ma Kai, Wang Huning, Xu Qiliang, Li Jianguo and Zhao Leji, followed by group discussions on relevant topics
25th	2015-7-30	Recalling and reflection of the War of Resistance against Japan by the Chinese people	Qu Aiguo, chairman of the department of military history of the Academy of Military Sciences
24th	2015-6-26	Strengthening anti-corruption institution building	Xiao Pei, director of the propaganda department of Central Discipline Inspection Commission
23rd	2015-5-29	Perfecting the public security system	Yang Huanning (executive vice minister, Public Security), Chen Xiaohua (vice minister, Agriculture), Yang Dongliang (National Energy Resources Commission and State Council Product Safety Commission), Li Ligu (National Disaster Relief Committee) and Bi Jingquan (State Council AIDS Committee) described the status of and issues in implementing “comprehensive security” in their departments
22nd	2015-4-30	Urban-rural development integration	Beijing CP chief Guo Jinlong, Tianjin CP chief Huang Xingguo and Hebei CP

<sup>20</sup> Three Stricts and Three Steadies, 具体译为: Be strict in cultivating one’s moral character, preventing abuse of power and disciplining oneself. Be steady in planning matters, starting undertakings and conducting oneself.

			chief Zhou Benshun described their work in this area
21st	2015-3-24	Judicial system reform and the issue of justice	Jilin Academy of Social Sciences Professor Huang Wenyi
20th	2015-1-23	Principles and methods of dialectical materialism in advancing reform	Jilin University Professor Sun Zhengyu
19th	2014-12-5	Establishing free trade zones	Ministry of Commerce International Trade and Economic Cooperation Institute researcher Li Guanghui.
18th	2014-10-13	The lessons and warnings of China's history	CASS Institute of History researcher Bo Xianqun
17th	2014-8-29	Trends in world military development and promoting PLA innovation	National Defence University Strategic Education and Research Department Professor Xiao Tianliang
16th	2014-6-30	Institutionalising party work style	CC Organisation Department Executive Deputy Chen Xi, Hebei CCP Committee Secretary Zhou Benshun and State Development and Reform Commission party staffer Xu Shaozhi
15th	2014-5-26	The market and state role in allocating resources	No lecturers; Politburo members "exchanged self-study work experience"
14th	2014-4-25	State security and maintaining social stability	CC Politics and Law Commission member Wang Yongqing
13th	2014-2-24	Nourishing core socialist values and China's traditional virtues and Xi Jinping remarks	CC Propaganda Department Ideology and Political Work Research Institute Professor Dai Mucai
12th	2013-12-30	Building China's soft power	Wuhan University Professor Shen Zhuanghai and National Propaganda Cadre Academy Professor Huang Zhijian.
11th	2013-12-3	Principles and methods of historical materialism	Chinese People's University Professor Guo Zhan and Central Party School Professor Han Qingxiang.
10th	2013-10-29	Issue of providing adequate housing	Qinghua Land, Forest, and Water Science Institute Professor Liu Hongyu and Ministry of Housing and Urbanisation Policy Research Centre researcher Qin Hong
9th	2013-9-30	Implementation of innovation-driven development	Conducted at Zhongguancun (high-tech development area in Beijing), not Zhongnanhai. Briefing by Minister of S&T Wan Gang. Free exchange of ideas
8th	2013-7-30	Maritime strategy and building China as a maritime power	Zeng Hengyi, deputy chief engineer of China National Offshore Oil Corporation; Gao Zhiguo, Maritime Development Strategy Institute of National Maritime Administration
7th	2013-6-25	Advancing socialism with Chinese characteristics through studying party history	No lecturers. Politburo members Ma Kai, Liu Qibao, Fan Changlong, Meng

			Jianzhu, Zhao Leji and Hu Chunhua “spoke on key points.”
6th	2013-5-24	Conserving resources and protecting the environment	Chi Qiming, Environmental Science and Engineering Institute of Qinghua University and Meng Wei, China Environmental Sciences Institute
5th	2013-4-19	Combating corruption and upholding government integrity via historical lessons	Bu Qianxun, Institute of History and Fang Ning, Institute of Political Science of CASS
4th	2013-2-23	Simultaneously running the country, the government and public administration according to law. Integrating the building of a law-governed nation, law-abiding government and law-based public administration	Li Shishi, director of the Legislation Committee of NPC Standing Committee, Shen Deyong, vice president of the Supreme People’s Court, Hu Zejun, vice procuratorate of the Supreme People’s Procuratorate, Wu Aiyong, minister of justice and Song Dahan, director of state Council’s Legislative Affairs Office
3rd	2013-1-28	Resolutely taking the path of peaceful development and Xi remarks	Yang Jiechi, foreign minister, Wang Jiarui, minister of the international department and Chen Deming, minister of commerce
2nd	2012-12-31	Reform and opening as a long-term task	Li Xiangqian, Central Party History Research Centre and Wang Yiming, Academy of Macroeconomic Research of the NDRC
1st	2012-11-17	Developing and upholding socialism with Chinese characteristics while implementing 18th Congress spirit	No lecturers. Xi chaired the session and made remarks



**APPENDIX 2C COLLECTIVE STUDY SESSIONS, 17TH POLITBURO OF THE  
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

<b>Session</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Content</b>	<b>Lecturer</b>
33rd	2012-5-28	Sticking to the road of new-type industrialisation with Chinese characteristics and implementing strategic adjustment of the economic structure	Luo Wen, Academy of Information Industrial Development of China and Jin Pei, Institute of Industrial Economics of CASS
32nd	2012-2-20	Implementing more proactive employment policy	Mo Rong, Institute of Labour Sciences of the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security and Cai Fang, Institute of Population and Labour Economics of CASS
31st	2011-8-23	On perfecting the system of land management in our country	Liu Shouying, division for rural economics of Development Research Centre of the State Council and Lin Jian, Peking University
30th	2011-6-28	Study on preserving and advancing the advanced nature of the Chinese Communist Party	Qu Qingshan, Central Office for Party History and Yang Fengcheng, School of Marxism of Renmin University
29th	2011-5-30	Study on incubating and developing new strategic industries	Xue Lan, Qinghua University and Feng Fei, Institute of Industrial Economics of Development Research Centre of the State Council
28th	2011-4-26	Demographic trends of the world and the population work of our country under new situations	Zhai Zhenwu, Renmin University and Yu Xuejun, Centre for Population, Ageing and Socioeconomic Development of Commission on Population and Family Planning
27th	2011-3-28	Pushing for administration according to the law and promoting the spirit of socialist rule of law	Hu Jianmiao, National Academy of Governance and Zuo Zeyuan, Central Party School
26th	2011-2-21	Issues in prioritising education and building a nation with strong human resources	Tan Songhua, Education Society of China and Yuan Zhenguo, Institute of Educational Sciences of China
25th	2010-12-28	Pushing for rapid and high-quality economic development in our country from a new historical starting point	Wang Yiming, Academy of Macroeconomic Research and Chai Fang, Population and Labour Economics Institute of CASS
24th	2010-12-3	New trends and concepts in world development emitting from the Shanghai Expo	Huang Renwei, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and Zhu Dajian, Tongji University
23rd	2010-9-29	Correctly resolving the contradictions among the people in a new era	Gao Peiyong, CASS and Fang Ning, Institute of Political Science of CASS
22nd	2010-7-23	Deepening the reform of the cultural system of our country	Kuai Dashen, Literature Institute of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and Li Wei, College for Propaganda Cadres of the Central Propaganda Department
21st	2010-6-21	Fully realising the importance of strengthening the construction of the party's grass-roots organisations and	Wu Jieming, Natuional Defence University and Gao Yongzhong, Institute

		continuously upgrading the scientific level of constructing the party's grass-roots organisations	of Party Building of Central Organisation Department
20th	2010-5-28	Trends in world medical and pharmaceutical development and issues in reforming the medical and pharmaceutical system of our country	Rao Keqing, Statistics and Information Centre of Ministry of Health and Ge Yanfeng, department of social development of the Development Research Centre of the State Council
19th	2010-2-22	Issues in fulfilling the 2020 target of greenhouse gas emission of our country	Pan Jiahua, Institute of Urban Development and the Environment of CASS and Xu Huaqing, Energy Institute of the NDRC
18th	2010-1-8	The fiscal and tax systems of major countries of the world and deepening reforms of our country's fiscal and tax system	Gao Peiyong, CASS and Jia Kang, Institute of Fiscal Research of Ministry of Finance
17th	2009-11-27	Implementing the spirit of the Fourth Plenum of the 17th Party Congress and striving to upgrade the scientific level of party building	Qi Biao, National Defence University and Zhang Shouhua, Party Building Institute of Central Organisation Department
16th	2009-9-9	Our understanding and practice of socialist modernisation since the founding of new China	Zheng Qian, Central Party History Office and Zhang Junkuo, department of strategic and regional development of the Development Research Centre of the State Council
15th	2009-7-24	Issues in civilian-military integrated development	Jin Yinan, Strategics Division and Jiang Luming, Economics Research Centre of National Defence University
14th	2009-6-29	Actively promoting intra-party democracy	Li Jingzhi, Renmin University and Gao Yongzhong, Institute of Party-building of the Central Organisation Department
13th	2009-5-22	The social security systems of major countries and the construction of the social security system in our country	Zhou Hong, CAS and He Ping, Chinese Academy of Labour and Society
12th	2009-2-23	Conditions of the world economy and propelling rapid and high-quality economic development in our country	Zhao Jinping, Development Research Centre of the State Council and Bi Jieyao, Academy of Macroeconomic Research, NDRC
11th	2009-1-23	The road to agricultural modernisation with Chinese characteristics	He Xiurong, Agriculture University of China and Han Jun, Development Research Centre of the State Council
10th	2008-12-26	Issues in deepening reform and opening	Zang Baijia, Central Party History Research Office and Yang Qiubao, Central Party School
9th	2008-11-29	Promoting scientific development in our country	Song Hong of CASS and Zhang Yansheng, Academy of Macroeconomic Research of NDRC
8th	2008-9-28	Studying the theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics	Yan Shuhan, Central Party School and Qin Xuan, Renmin University
7th	2008-7-26	Contemporary Olympics and Beijing Olympics	Yu Zaiqing, General Administration of Sports of China and Wang Wei,

			Organisation Committee of Beijing Olympics
6th	2008-6-27	Climate change and building up the response capacity of our country	Luo Yong, National Climate Centre of China Meteorological Administration and He Jiankun, Low Carbon Energy Lab of Qinghua University
5th	2008-4-28	Studying and changing the mode of economic development in our country	Li Xiangyang, the Institute of World Economics and Politics of CASS and Luo Yunyi, Academy of Macroeconomics Research of the NDRC
4th	2008-2-23	Government service systems in other countries and the construction of a service-oriented government in our country	Bo Guili of the National School of Public Administration and Gao Xiaoping of Society of Public Administration of China
3rd	2008-1-29	Fulfilling the new requirements of comprehensively building a moderately prosperous society and propelling a fast and high-quality development of the economy and society	Liu Shucheng of CASS and Ma Xiaohe of the Academy of Macroeconomic Research of the NDRC
2nd	2007-12-18	Religions in contemporary world and strengthening the work on religion in our country	Zuo Xinping of CASS and Mou Zhongjian of Munzi University of China
1st	2007-11-27	Perfecting the legal system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and comprehensively implementing the rule of law basic strategy	Xu Xianming of China University of Political Science and Law and Xin Chunying of CASS

**APPENDIX 2D COLLECTIVE STUDY SESSIONS OF 16TH POLITBURO OF THE  
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

<b>Session</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Content</b>	<b>Lecturer</b>
44th	2007-09-28	Expand opening up and the economic security of our country	Wang Xinkui, Shanghai Foreign Trade Institute and Long Guoqiang, Development Research Centre of the State Council
43rd	2007-08-28	The world financial situations and deepening the reform of the financial system of our country	Ba Shusong of Development Research Centre of the State Council and Li Fu'an of China Banking Supervision Committee
42nd	2007-07-26	Nanchang Uprising and the founding of the Jinggangshan Base Area	Qi Dexue and Huang Yingxu of the Academy of Military Science
41st	2007-04-23	Agricultural standardisation and food safety in our country	Luo Yunbo, School of Food and Nutrition of China Agricultural University and Ye Zhihua, Institute of Quality Standards and Inspection Technology of China Academy of Agriculture
40th	2007-03-23	Several issues in the legislation of property rights	Liang Huixing, Institute of Law of CASS and Wang Liming, Law School of Renmin University
39th	2007-02-15	Regional development in the world and the promotion of coordinated regional development in our country	Li Shantong, Development Research Centre of the State Council and Fan Jie, Institute of Geology and Resources, CAS
38th	2007-01-23	The development of internet technologies in the world and the construction of the network culture in our country	Li Wufeng, Central Office for External Propaganda and Cao Shuming, Academy of Information and Telecommunication of Ministry of Information and Industry
37th	2006-12-25	On building a resources conservation society in our country	Feng Fei, Department of Industrial Economics of Development Research Centre of the State Council and Han Wenke, Energy Institute of School of Macroeconomics of the NDRC
36th	2006-11-30	Studying the construction of grass-roots socialist democratic politics in our country	Xu Yong, Central China Normal University and Zhao Shukai, Development Research Centre of the State Council
35th	2006-10-23	Health-care and public hygiene systems of the world and advancement of health care and public hygiene of our country	Li Ling, deputy director of the Centre for Chinese Economy, Peking University and Liu Jun, deputy chairman of Chinese Medical Society
34th	2006-08-29	Trends in education development of the world and deepening the reform of the education system in our country	Xu Hui, president of Zhejiang Normal University and Zhang Li, Centre for Education Development of Ministry of Education
33rd	2006-07-25	Reflections on the successful conclusion of the Red Army's Long March	Chen Li, Institute of Military History and Huang Xin, Research Department of Academy of Military Science
32nd	2006-06-29	Insisting on scientific, democratic and law-based governance	Zhang Zhiming, Party building Department and Zuo Zeyuan, Law and

			Politics Department of Central Party School
31st	2006-05-26	Intellectual property rights protection in the world and the legal and institutional construction of IPR protection	Zheng Chengsi, Institute of Law of CASS and Wu Handong, centre for intellectual property rights of South-Central University for Finance and Economics
30th	2006-03-27	Work safety measures and institutions of the world and strengthening the construction of work safety system in our country	Fan Weicheng of the Centre for Public Safety, Qinghua University and Liu Tiemin of China Academy for Work Safety
29th	2006-02-21	Trends in world industrial adjustment and strategic choices for speeding up the change of the mode of development in our country	Lu Zhongyuan, Development Research Centre of the State Council and Wang Yiming of the Institute of Macroeconomics, NDRC
28th	2006-01-25	On the construction of a socialist new countryside	Qian Keming, Centre for Agricultural Trade Promotion of Ministry of Agriculture and Zhang Xiaoshan, Institute of Rural Development, CASS
27th	2005-12-20	Administrative reform and the perfection of the legal system of economic laws	Ma Huaide of the Law School, China Legal and Political University and Shi Jichun of the Law School, Renmin University
26th	2005-11-25	Marxist research in the world and Marxist theoretical research and construction project of our country	Yi Junqing of Heilongjiang University and Li Jingyuan of CASS
25th	2005-09-29	Models of urbanisation in the world and the road to urbanisation with Chinese characteristics	Tang Zilai of Tongji University and Zhou Yixing of Peking University
24th	2005-08-26	Recollection and reflections on the anti-fascist war of the world	Jiang Ying of Department of Strategy and Theory of War, Military Science Academy and Luo Yuan, Department of World Militaries, military Science Academy
23rd	2005-06-27	Global energy and resources and the energy and resources strategy of our country	Zhang Hongtao from Bureau of Geological Survey; Zhou Dadi from the Institute of Macroeconomics of NDRC
22nd	2005-05-31	Trends of economic globalisation and new characteristics of the development of international trade	Huang Weiping of Renmin University and Pei Changhong of CASS
21st	2005-04-15	Several issues in the strategy of socioeconomic development of our country	Liu Shijin of the Centre for Economic Development and Chen Dongqi of the Macroeconomic Institute of the NDRC
20th	2005-02-21	Strive to build a harmonious socialist society	Li Peilin and Jing Tiankui of the Institute of Sociology, CASS
19th	2005-01-24	The study of maintaining the advanced nature of communist party members in the new era	Li Zhongjie of Central Party History Research Office and Wang Tingda of the National Society for Party Building
18th	2004-12-27	The development strategy of science and technologies up to the year of 2020	Sun Honglie of CAS and Wan Gang of Tongji University
17th	2004-12-01	Investigating the history of the exploration of China's socialist road	Chen Xuwei and Liu Haitao of Central Party School

16th	2004-10-21	Several issues in the history of ethnic relations of our country	Yang Shengming of Central Ethnicity University and Hao Shiyuan of CASS
15th	2004-07-24	Insisting on the coordinated development of national defence and economic construction	Guo Guirong of the science and technology committee of the General Armament Department and Luan Enjie of the consultation committee of the Commission of Science and Technologies for National Defence
14th	2004-06-29	Strengthen the building of governance capabilities of the party	Huang Zongliang of Peking University and Lu Fuxian of Central Party School
13th	2004-05-28	Enrich and develop philosophy and social sciences in our country	Cheng Enfu of Shanghai Finance and Economics University and Li Chongfu of CASS
12th	2004-04-26	Building the rule of law and the perfection of the system of a socialist market economy	Wu Zhiban of Peking University and Wang Liming of Renmin University
11th	2004-03-29	The conditions of agricultural development of the world and agricultural development of our country	Cheng Xu of the University of Agriculture and Ke Binsheng, Rural Economic Research Institute of Ministry of Agriculture
10th	2004-02-23	The world situation and the security environment of our country	Qing Yaqing of Foreign Affairs University and Zhang Yuyan of CASS
9th	2003-11-24	The historical developments of major countries of the world since the 15th century	Qi Shirong of Capital Normal University and Qian Chengdan of Nanjing University
8th	2003-09-29	Persevere on the rule of law and build a socialist political civilisation	Lin Shangli of the School of International Relations and Public Affairs, Fudan University and Li Lin of the Institute of Law, CASS
7th	2003-08-12	The development of the cultural industries in the world and the strategy of cultural industry development in our country	Zhang Ximin of CASS and Xiong Chengyu of Qinghua University
6th	2003-07-21	The ideological theory of our party and the history of its keeping up with the times	Zhang Qihua and Zhang Shujun of the Central Research Office of Party History
5th	2003-05-23	Trends and development of the new revolution in military affairs	Qian Haiku from the Research Directorate and Fu Liqun of the department of foreign militaries of the Academy of Military Sciences
4th	2003-04-28	World trends in science and technological development and science and technological development in our country, and applied science in strengthening the work on the prevention and treatment of SARS	Wang Enge, China Academy of Science, Xue Lan of Qinghua University and Zeng Guang of China Centre for Disease Control
3rd	2003-03-28	Trends in world employment and the study on the employment policy of our country	Zeng Xiangquan of Renmin University and Cai Fang of CASS
2nd	2003-01-28	Situation of the world economy and China's economic development	Yu Yongding and Jiang Xiaojuan of CASS
1st	2002-12-26	Study the constitution of the PRC	Xu Chongde, Renmin University and Zhou Yezhong, Wuhan University