

KAS-Schriftenreihe China
德国阿登纳基金会系列丛书



年轻一代的中共党员研究

A Study into the thoughts and perceptions of Younger Members of the Chinese Communist Party

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发行：德国阿登纳基金会中国项目执行人

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主编：梅视

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No. 97 (ch/en)
Beijing 2010

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中国共产党是中国的执政党。它的理论路线方针和政策，它的组织状况、党员队伍直接关系到中国社会的发展。改革开放30余年来，中国不仅在经济领域发生了重大变化，而且在政治领域也发生了重大的变化，包括中国共产党自身的变化。中国共产党自身的变化主要体现在理论上的重大突破和创新以及组织制度、党员结构的重大变化。年轻的受过高等教育的知识分子党员在党内占有越来越重要的地位。他们在不同领域的政治态度将最终影响中国的政策。因此，研究改革开放以来中国共产党的发展变化包括党员结构的变化，研究年轻一代中共党员的社会学结构和政治态度，不仅对于理解中国正在经历的政治变革过程，而且对于预测未来几十年中国的政治发展，都是至关重要的。

一、中国共产党发展党员政策的变化

在文化大革命期间，中国共产党发展党员强调党员的“革命性”，这种革命性主要是毛泽东关于无产阶级专政下继续革命理论指导下的“革命性”。无产阶级专政下继续革命的理论的主要论点是：一大批资产阶级的代表人物、反革命的修正主义分子，已经混进党里、政府里、军队里和文化领域的各界里，相当大的一个多数的单位的领导权已经不在马克思主义者和人民群众手里。党内走资本主义道路的当权派在中央形成了一个资产阶级司令部，它有一条修正主义的政治路线和组织路线，在各省、市、自治区和中央各部门都有代理人。过去的各种斗争都不能解决问题，只有实行文化大革命这样的革命，公开地、全面地、自下而上地发动广大群众来揭发上述的黑暗面，才能把被走资派篡夺的权力重新夺回来。这实质上是一个阶级推翻一个

阶级的政治大革命，这种革命过若干年就要进行一次。是不是拥护毛泽东关于无产阶级专政下继续革命的理论成为能不能成为党员或留存党内的主要标准。这一点在中国共产党第九次全国代表大会和第十次全国代表大会甚至文化大革命结束后不久召开的第十一次全国代表大会上所通过的党章中都明确地反映出来。九大和十大党章都指出：“要特别警惕个人野心家、阴谋家和两面派，防止这样的坏人篡夺党和国家的各级领导，保证党和国家的领导权永远掌握在马克思主义革命家手里”。王洪文在十大上所作的关于修改党章的报告中指出：“我们全党同志都要十分注意路线问题，坚持无产阶级专政下的继续革命，加强党的建设，保证党在社会主义历史阶段的基本路线的实现。”中国共产党在社会主义历史阶段的基本路线是什么呢？这条基本路线就是：“社会主义社会是一个相当长的历史阶段。在这个历史阶段中，始终存在着阶级、阶级矛盾和阶级斗争，存在着社会主义同资本主义两条道路的斗争，存在着资本主义复辟的危险性，存在着帝国主义、社会帝国主义进行颠覆和侵略的威胁。这些矛盾，只能靠无产阶级专政下继续革命的理论 and 实践来解决。”这条基本路线就是以阶级斗争为纲的路线。十大认为：“这次无产阶级文化大革命，对于巩固无产阶级专政，防止资本主义复辟，建设社会主义，是完全必要的，是非常及时的。”十大通过的党章明确写上了：“这样的革命，今后还要

进行多次。”即使在粉碎“四人帮”之后召开的中国共产党第十一次代表大会也肯定了这一点。1978年8月13日，叶剑英在中国共产党第十一次全国代表大会上所作的关于修改党的章程的报告中说：“今后，如果国内出现走资本主义道路的当权派阴谋篡夺党和国家的领导权，我们就在华主席为首的党中央领导下，运用无产阶级文化大革命的办法，动员全体人民，实行大民主，革走资派的命。”十一大通过的党章说：“我国的无产阶级文化大革命，就是在社会主义条件下，无产阶级反对资产阶级和一切剥削阶级，巩固无产阶级专政，防止资本主义复辟的政治大革命。这种性质的政治大革命，今后还要进行多次。”中国共产党的九大、十大、十一大党章都指出“证据确凿的叛徒、特务、死不悔改的走资本主义道路的当权派、蜕化变质分子、阶级异己分子应清除出党，并不准重新入党。”十大党章和十一大党章对党员还提出了批判资本主义，批判修正主义的要求。所有这些规定和要求都是毛泽东关于无产阶级专政下继续革命理论的反映，都是以阶级斗争为纲的基本路线的反映。无产阶级文化大革命只不过是这种理论和路线的实践罢了。

这些规定和要求随着党的十一届三中全会的召开就再也没有出现在中国共产党的文件中了。

1978年12月召开的中国共产党十一届

三中全会重新确立了马克思主义的思想路线、政治路线、组织路线，全面认真纠正“文化大革命”中及其以前的“左”倾错误，果断停止使用“以阶级斗争为纲”的口号，作出了把全党工作的着重点和全国人民的注意力转移到社会主义现代化建设上来、实行改革开放的历史性决策，标志着中国共产党人在新的时代条件下的伟大觉醒，显示了中国共产党顺应时代潮流和人民愿望、勇敢开辟建设社会主义新路的坚强决心。这是一个伟大的历史性的转折。从此，中国进入了现代化建设的新时期。

新时期最鲜明的特点是改革开放。改革开放的目的就是要解放和发展社会生产力，实现国家现代化，让中国人民富裕起来；就是要不断地改革经济基础和上层建筑，使中国走上人类文明发展的大道，实现中华民族的伟大复兴。

新时期要求中国共产党在引领当代中国社会发展的进程中，保持和发展党的先进性，始终走在时代前列。

要保持党的先进性，一方面要求党的理论路线方针和政策适应中国社会发展的实际情况，另一方面要求全体党员干部具有执行党的路线方针政策的能力和水平。这就需要加强党的理论建设和组织建设。把党建设成为领导社会主义现代化建设的坚强核心。

中国共产党在十一届三中全会以来，在理论建设方面取得了重大成果，形成了中国特色社会主义理论体系。与此同时，组织建设也卓有成效。

组织建设的成就主要表现在两个方面：一是规章制度的不断健全和完善，二是党员队伍的成长和壮大以及党员成分结构的变化。

1979年召开的全国组织工作座谈会和1980年召开的十一届五中全会，明确了新时期党的组织路线并对加强和改善党的领导作出全面部署，党的组织建设从恢复整顿组织、健全党的生活和加强党员队伍建设入手，逐步走上健康发展轨道。

为了适应现代化建设的需要，中国共产党提出了干部“四化”的要求。中国共产党十二大党章明确规定要“努力实现干部队伍的革命化、年轻化、知识化、专业化”。如果说革命化是一个软性指标的话，那么，年轻化、知识化、专业化就是硬性指标了。由于中国共产党是执掌全国政权的党，各级领导干部绝大多数都是由共产党员担任的。干部的年轻化必然要求党员的年轻化。因此，党的十一届三中全会以后，吸收大批的、年轻的、受过良好教育的、具有专业知识和技能的人到党内来就成为—一个紧迫的问题。

要解决这个问题，就需要正确认识中国的知识分子。

在过去相当长一段时间，中国共产党对知识分子的政策是：团结、教育、改造。这种政策是建立在这样的认识基础之上的：之所以要团结知识分子，是因为知识分子具有专门知识和技能，团结他们有利于中国的革命和建设；之所以要教育和改造他们，是因为旧社会出身的知识分子的世界观大多是资产阶级或小资产阶级的，只有通过教育和改造，才能使他们的世界观转到无产阶级方面来，才能使他们更好地为人民大众服务。由于党内存在的左的思想，在对知识分子进行思想改造的过程中，伤害了许多知识分子。1957年的反右派斗争是对中国知识分子的一个全面打击。在文化大革命期间，中国的知识分子是受歧视、受排斥的，他们被称为资产阶级知识分子，被看作异己的力量。对他们政治上不放心。因此，他们不可能成为中国共产党成员的重要来源。

九大、十大党章是这样规定的：“年满十八岁的中国工人、贫农、下中农、革命军人和其他革命分子，承认党的章程，参加党的一个组织，并在其中积极工作，执行党的决议，遵守党的纪律，交纳党费，都可以成为中国共产党党员。”

十一大党章是这样规定的：“年满十八

岁的中国工人、贫农下中农、革命军人和其他革命分子，承认党的章程，自愿参加党的一个组织并在其中积极工作，执行党的决议，遵守党的纪律，交纳党费，方可加入中国共产党。”

可见，中国共产党九大、十大、十一大的党章在规定什么样的人可以入党的问题上，知识分子作为群体是被排除在外的。即使有个别知识分子加入到党内来，也是作为其他革命分子被吸收的。

党的十一届三中全会后，中国共产党对知识分子的看法从根本上改变了。这种改变主要表现在两个方面。一是在阶级属性方面，将知识分子看作工人阶级的一部分。认为知识分子同工人农民一样，是社会主义建设的依靠力量。二是明确提出尊重知识、尊重人才的方针。并将这一方针作为新时期党的政策的重要内容。在什么样的人可以入党的问题上，知识分子也同工人、农民一样，被看作中国共产党队伍最基本的来源。

十二大党章是这样规定的：“年满十八岁的中国工人、农民、军人、知识分子和其他革命分子，承认党的纲领和章程，愿意参加党的一个组织并在其中积极工作、执行党的决议和按期交纳党费的，可以申请加入中国共产党。”这就为知识分子入党敞开了大门。

这样,在党的十一届三中全会以后,一大批优秀的知识分子被吸收到党内来。这对于改善党员结构,提升党的基本队伍的水平起了重要的作用。

随着改革开放的深入发展,中国的所有制结构发生了重大变化。多种所有制经济形式在中国迅速发展起来。这种所有制结构的变化大大促进了中国经济的发展。随着这些所有制形式的发展,一大批新的社会阶层成长起来。他们的利益诉求需要有表达的渠道、方式。在这种情况下,要么允许这些新的社会阶层建立自己的政治组织,要么把他们吸收到中国共产党内来。如果允许这些新的社会阶层建立自己的政治组织,中国就会逐步走上多党制的道路。但中国现有的制度设计和政治环境还不可能这样做。如果吸收这些阶层的成员到中国共产党内来,那么就要求从理论上解决这样一个问题:中国共产党究竟代表谁的利益,如果中国共产党仅仅只是代表工人阶级的利益,那么理所当然地要将这些新的社会阶层排除在共产党之外。如果中国共产党除了工人阶级的利益之外,还是全国各阶层人民利益的代表,那么就应该吸收各个阶层的人士参加共产党的组织。

中国共产党是执掌全国政权的党,是整个社会的领导力量,担负着领导全国人民建设有中国特色社会主义的伟大使命,就决不应该仅仅代表工人阶级的利益,而

应该同时代表全体中国人民和整个中华民族的利益,就不应该仅仅只是工人阶级的先锋队,而应该同时是中国人民和中华民族的先锋队。为了使中国共产党的组织建设适应中国社会发展的要求,中国共产党适时提出了三个代表和两个先锋队的理论。即中国共产党“必须始终代表中国先进生产力的发展要求,代表中国先进文化的前进方向,代表中国最广大人民的根本利益。”“中国共产党是中国工人阶级的先锋队,同时是中国人民和中华民族的先锋队”。也就是说,中国共产党不仅是中国工人阶级利益的代表者,也是全国各族人民利益的代表者。

中国共产党原任总书记江泽民在庆祝中国共产党成立八十周年大会上的讲话中指出:面对我们肩负的历史重任,面对国际国内各种复杂因素的影响和各种风险的考验,我们党要始终成为中国工人阶级先锋队,同时成为中国人民和中华民族的先锋队,成为中国先进生产力的发展要求、中国先进文化的前进方向和中国最广大人民的根本利益的忠实代表,成为建设有中国特色社会主义事业的领导核心。

与此同时,中国共产党提出了增强党的阶级基础和扩大党的群众基础的问题。江泽民在庆祝中国共产党成立八十周年大会上的讲话中指出:“伟大而艰巨的建设有中国特色社会主义事业,需要全社会各个

方面忠诚于祖国和社会主义的优秀分子，以自己的实际行动带领群众共同加以推进。”中国共产党队伍最基本的组成部分和骨干力量是工人、农民、知识分子、军人、干部的党员，与此同时，“也应该把承认党的纲领和章程、自觉为党的路线和纲领而奋斗、经过长期考验、符合党员条件的社会其他方面的优秀分子吸收到党内来。并通过党这个大熔炉不断提高广大党员的思想政治觉悟，从而不断增强我们党在全社会的影响力和凝聚力。”

中国共产党认为，看一个政党是否先进，是不是工人阶级先锋队，主要应看它的理论和纲领是不是马克思主义的，是不是代表社会发展的正确方向，是不是代表最广大人民的根本利益。不能简单地看有没有财产、有多少财产当作判断人们政治上先进与落后的标准，而主要应该看他们的思想政治状况和现实表现，看他们的财产是怎么得来的以及对财产怎么支配和使用，看他们以自己的劳动对建设有中国特色社会主义事业所作的贡献。能否自觉地为实现党的路线和纲领而奋斗，是否符合党员条件，是吸收新党员的主要标准。改革开放以来，我国的社会阶层构成发生了新的变化，出现了民营科技企业的创业人员和技术人员、受聘于外资企业的管理技术人员、个体户、私营企业主、中介组织的从业人员、自由职业人员等社会阶层。而且，许多人在不同所有制、不同行业、不

同地域之间流动频繁，人们的职业、身份经常变动。这种变化还会继续下去。在党的路线方针政策指引下，这些新的社会阶层中的广大人员，通过诚实劳动和工作，通过合法经营，为发展社会主义社会的生产力和其他事业作出了贡献。他们与工人、农民、知识分子、干部和解放军指战员团结在一起，他们也是有中国特色社会主义事业的建设者。中国共产党应该将他们中的优秀分子吸收到党内来。

党的十六大通过的中国共产党章程在对什么样的人可以入党的问题上作了这样的明确规定：年满十八岁的中国工人、农民、军人、知识分子和其他社会阶层的先进分子，承认党的纲领和章程，愿意参加党的一个组织并在其中积极工作、执行党的决议和按期交纳党费的，可以申请加入中国共产党。这就从理论上解决了除工人、农民、知识分子以外的其他社会阶层人员的入党问题。中共中央组织部2004年6月29日关于进一步做好新形势下发展党员工作的意见指出：要把吸收私营企业主（包括个人独资企业投资人、合伙企业合伙人、公司制企业个人控股股东和其他类型企业的主要个人出资人）中的先进分子入党纳入经常性发展党员工作。吸收私营企业主中的先进分子入党。

理论是实践的先导。在实践中，为了整合中国社会各阶层的力量，中国共产党

在工人、农民、军人和知识分子中吸收党员的同时，也把社会其他阶层的中的优秀分子吸收到党内来。自从中国共产党提出增强党的阶级基础和扩大党的群众基础后，积极稳妥地开展在其他社会阶层中发展党员工作。到2005年底，共在新的社会阶层中发展党员2.1万名，其中在私营企业主中发展党员2406名。这样，既增强了党的阶级基础，又扩大了党的群众基础，进一步增强中国共产党的影响力和凝聚力。

二、中国共产党党员结构的变化

中国共产党的成立是马克思主义与中国工人运动相结合的产物。从中国共产党成立到现在的近90年的历史中，中国共产党的党员成份发生了多次变化，这些变化使我们从某个侧面可以看出中国共产党的发展轨迹和方向。

中国共产党成立时只有共产党员50来人，他们大多是接受马克思主义的知识分子。出席中共一大的13名代表中，就其社会成份而言，都是知识分子，没有一位是工人。尽管这些党员并不是出身于产业工人，但是，由这些信仰马克思主义的知识分子组建的党，代表着工人阶级和广大劳动者的根本利益。因此，中国共产党从建立之日起，就表明工人阶级是其阶级基础，而党则是工人阶级的先锋队。

中国共产党成立之初，主要工作是宣传马克思主义和开展工人运动。这时注重发展工人党员，党员队伍的成分构成发生了明显的变化。1922年，全国党员总数为195人，工人党员为21人。工人成份的党员可以说从无到有。到1923年6月中国共产党第三次全国代表大会召开，全党共有党员427人，其中工人党员164人，占党员总数的38%。这是一个相当大的比重。1924年党员总数为650人，40%是工人成分。1926年党员总数4000人，70%是工人，这是中国共产党历史上工人成分比例最高的年份。

在国民革命高潮中，中国共产党一方面在工人群众中做宣传发动工作，注意吸收工人入党，另一方面也在农民中做宣传组织工作。到1927年4月中国共产党第五次全国代表大会召开时，中国共产党的党员人数发展到57967人，其中，工人党员占50.8%，农民党员占18.7%，知识分子党员占19.1%，军人党员占3.1%，中小商人党员占0.5%，其他成分占7.8%。这次大会要求继续努力扩大党员的数量，并吸收产业工人、进步农民和革命的知识分子到党的队伍中来。

随着1927年7月国民革命的失败，数以万计的共产党员被杀害，加以失去联系的党员及自首、叛变者，到1927年11月，中国共产党党员人数急遽减少到一万多人。

1927年大革命失败后，中国共产党被迫到农村开辟革命根据地，进行武装斗争。党在农村的工作发展迅速，新党员中大量是农民党员，中国共产党党员队伍的成分构成发生了新的重大变化，由以工人出身的党员为主变成了农民出身的党员占绝大多数。到1928年6月中共六大召开时，全党党员人数已增加到40000多人，其中农民党员占了76%，工人党员仅占10%，而且大多是失业的及小企业的工人。六大虽然要求各地党组织大量吸收产业工人入党，但由于当时中国共产党主要在农村开展活动，因此，党员成分中农民占绝大多数的情况没有改变。据1929年6月党的六届二中全会的统计，全党党员人数增加到69000人，工人党员的比例不仅没有上升，而且下降，由六大时的10%下降到7%；农村党员中还包括有富农甚至地主的成分。尽管党在主观上想大量发展产业工人入党，改变党的社会成分结构，但是，由于当时中国社会历史条件和中国革命的特点所决定，在一个相当长时间内，工人党员在全党党员中占少数比例的状况没有实质性的变化。

1934年10月红军长征前，全国党员有30万人左右，90%在苏区，农民党员约占80%。这是中国共产党历史上农民成分比例最高的年份之一。

随着土地革命战争的失败，到1936年时，全党党员人数急剧减少到25000人。

1938年3月，中共中央专门作出决议，要求进一步打破在发展党员中关门主义的倾向，把发展党员的注意力放在吸收抗战中新的积极分子与扩大党的无产阶级基础之上。1939年1月，中共中央作出了大量吸收知识分子入党的决定，到1945年4月党的七大召开时，全党党员已达121.1万多人，是1936年2.5万人的48倍。虽然党的成分的主体仍然为农民，但由于抗日战争期间全国各地许多青年学生投奔延安，因此，知识分子成分和小资产阶级成分的党员数目有所扩大。知识分子党员和小资产阶级出身的党员，在党的七大时的121万党员中，大约占了20%。

在解放战争时期，中国共产党党员队伍有了进一步的发展。到1949年底，全党党员总数达448.8万多人，是1945年4月时的3.7倍。从社会成分来看，工人11.2万，占2.5%；农民267.6万，占59.6%；军人107.6万，占24%；职员49.8万，占11.1%；学生3.6万，占0.8%；其他9.0万，占2%。这是党的历史上军人成分比例最高的年份。由于中国革命实质上是共产党领导的农民战争，军人绝大多数是穿上军装的农民，全党党员中的农民党员和军人党员相加后占全党党员人数的80%以上。也可以说这是中国共产党历史上农民成分的党员比重最大的时期。从党员的文化程度来看，初中以上的共计15万人，仅占党员总数3.34%，其中大学专科以上的只有1.4万人，只占党

员总数的0.3%；小学程度的124.1万，占27.65%；文盲309.7万，占69%。这是党的历史上文盲党员比重最大的时期。

在随后的土地改革、抗美援朝、知识分子思想改造、农业合作化等运动和各项建设事业中，中国共产党注意及时发现优秀分子，把他们吸收到党内来。党的队伍不仅迅速发展壮大，党员的社会成分和文化程度也有了明显的改善。1956年，全党党员增加到1250.4万人。从党员的社会成分看，工人党员110万，比1949年时的11.2万，增加近100万，在全党党员人数中的比例，从2.5%增加到8.8%；职员党员增加到313.1万，比例增加到25.04%；其他社会成分的党员人数由1949年的9万人，增加到22.1万，占1.77%；农民党员654.8万，比例下降到52.37%；军人党员134.1万，下降到10.72%。农民党员和军人党员两者相加比重下降到63.1%。从党员的文化水平看，文盲党员由1949年的69%下降到28.4%；初中以上文化水平的增加到213万，占17%，其中大专以上的13.1万，占1.05%。

随着社会主义改造的基本完成，大规模社会主义建设高潮的到来，注重吸收新老知识分子中的优秀成员入党，进一步改善了党员队伍的成分构成和文化素质。但是，由于1957年下半年错误地开展反右派斗争，党从知识分子中吸收优秀分子入党受到干

扰。这种情况一直延续到文化大革命。

1978年，全党党员人数达3698.1万，从社会成分看，工人党员692.8万，占党员总数的18.73%。这是解放后工人党员比重最大的时期。农民党员1735.8万，比例下降到46.94%；军人党员254.7万，占6.89%；工人、农民、军人、营业员服务员、各类专业技术人员、干部、学生以外的其他社会成分的党员60万，占1.6%。从党员的文化程度看，文盲党员419.4万，虽然从1956年以来的22年间，净增64.3万，但在全党党员人数中的比例下降到11.9%；初中以上文化程度的党员总数为1537.2万，占41.57%，其中大专以上的107万，占2.89%；值得注意的是，在这22年间，小学文化程度的党员净增1038.4万，达到1736.6万，占46.96%。就党员队伍的文化程度看，虽有很大改善，但情况仍不乐观。

改革开放以来，由于社会发展的需要和中国共产党发展党员理念的变化，直接带来中国共产党党员结构的重大变化。

根据中共中央组织部2009年7月公布的统计数据，截至2008年底，中国共产党党员总数为7593.1万名。党员队伍的结构发生了重大变化。

从党员的性别、民族和学历看。女党员1596.9万名，占党员总数的21%。少数

民族党员494.4万名，占党员总数的6.5%。具有大专以上学历的党员2583.3万名，占党员总数的34%。从中国共产党历次统计的资料看，这是中国共产党成立以来除创建时期外知识分子所占比例最高的年份。这不能不说是中国共产党吸收党员政策变化的直接结果。可以肯定的是，随着中国教育水平的提升，知识分子在党内所占的比例今后还会进一步加大。

从党员的年龄看。35岁以下的党员1785.5万名；占党员总数23.5%，36岁至45岁的党员1719.0万名，占党员总数22.6%；46岁至59岁的党员2222.0万名，占党员总数29.3%；60岁以上的党员1866.6万名，占党员总数24.6%。如果把前两项相加，我们就会看出，45岁以下的党员所占比例达到46%以上。年轻党员在党内的比例明显增大。

从党员的入党时间看，建国前入党的73.3万名，占党员总数1%；建国后至“文革”前入党的799.6万名，占党员总数10.5%；“文革”期间入党的1230.9万名，占党员总数16.2%；粉碎“四人帮”至党的十六大前入党的3803.6万名，占党员总数50.1%；党的十六大以来入党的1685.6万名，占党员总数22.2%。从这个统计中不难看出，在现有的中国共产党党员中，绝大多数都是在粉碎四人帮以后入党的。也可以说，大多数党员是改革开放以后入党的。

从党员的职业看，工人733.6万名，占党员总数9.7%；农牧渔民2361.2万名，占党员总数31.1%；党政机关工作人员620.8万名，占党员总数8.2%；企事业单位管理人员、专业技术人员1687.6万名，占党员总数22.2%；学生201.4万名，占党员总数2.7%；离退休人员1428.2万名，占党员总数18.8%；其他职业560.1万名，占党员总数7.4%。

从这个统计中不难看出，在现有的中国共产党党员中，传统工人和农民的比重在下降，工人党员从最高时的70%下降到9.7%，农民党员从最高时的80%下降到31.1%。党政机关工作人员和企事业单位管理人员以及专业技术人员的比重在上升。而这些人大多是知识分子。

中国共产党也注重在非公有制单位建立党组织和发展党员。目前，非公有制单位在岗职工中有党员358.2万名，其中工人党员163.5万名，管理人员及专业技术人员党员194.7万名。有80多万名中共党员来自个体工商户。中国共产党党员的社会成分、社会职业趋于多样化，既增强了党的阶级基础，又扩大了党的群众基础。

从2008年发展党员的情况看，全年共发展党员280.7万名。发展女党员102.3万名，占发展党员总数的36.4%。发展少数民族党员19.8万名，占发展党员总数的7.1%。

发展35岁以下党员226.8万名，占发展党员总数的80.8%。发展具有大专以上学历的党员86.2万名，占发展党员总数的30.7%。

从发展党员的职业看，在发展的党员中，工人20.9万名，发展党员总数的7.5%；农牧渔民55.9万名，占发展党员总数的19.9%；党政机关工作人员12.3万名，占发展党员总数的4.4%；企事业单位管理人员、专业技术人员58.1万名，占发展党员总数的20.7%；学生（包括中等学校和高等学校的学生）106.7万名，占发展党员总数的38%；其他职业26.8万名，占发展党员总数的9.5%。其中发展学生党员数量增加最为明显，比上年多发展7.1万名。占发展党员总数比例增长2.2个百分点。此外，在非公有制单位中发展在岗职工党员12.6万名，其中工人4.7万名，管理人员及专业技术人员7.9万名。

从统计中不难看出，年轻的、高学历的人群成为中国共产党发展的主要对象。

中国共产党在发展党员中坚持先进性与广泛性的统一。这里重要的一点就是坚持党员标准。根据中共中央组织部的统计，截至2008年底，申请入党人总数为1944.9万人，全年共发展党员280.7万名，只占申请者的七分之一。可见，并不是所有申请加入中国共产党的人都能够入党。只有那些被认为是群众中的优秀分子，符合共产党员条件的申请者才能加入中国共产党。

目前，在高等学校中，学生积极申请加入中国共产党。在山东许多大学，申请入党的学生已占在校生生总数的一半。山东大学一项统计表明，本科生提交入党申请书的比例高达90%以上，本科生中党员比例达13.5%，研究生中党员比例高达40%。

年轻化、知识化成为改革开放以来党员结构变化的新亮点。

三、中共年轻一代党员的政治态度

年轻一代的中共党员的政治态度如何？他们所关注的主要问题是什么？我们从下面三个材料中可见一斑。

材料一 高校学生党员问卷调查统计表

这次调查的高校学生党员主要是中共中央党校的硕士研究生和博士研究生中的党员。其中硕士研究生党员148人，博士研究生党员27人，共计175人。年龄最小的22岁，最大的39岁。均为70后，80后。应该说，他们在学生党员中具有一定的代表性。下面是他们对相关问题的回答。对有些问题被调查者作了多项选择，我们也可以从中看出一些倾向。

1. 你未来的职业理想是：
 - 1) 公务员91人，占51.4%。

- 2) 国有企事业单位人员82人,占47%。
- 3) 其他2人,占1.6%。

从对这个问题的回答中,我们可以看出,这些年轻党员未来的职业理想主要是当公务员和国有企事业单位的工作人员。从以往这类毕业生找工作的情况看,他们大多进入了党政机关和国有企事业单位(如教育系统或科研单位)。

2. 你认为人生的价值主要在于:

- 1) 对社会的贡献131人,占74.9%。
- 2) 个人利益最大化34人,占19.4%。
- 3) 其他25人,占14.3%。

绝大多数人认为人生的价值在于对社会的贡献,说明这些年轻党员对社会的责任感。

3. 你加入党组织是因为:

- 1) 入党是个人进步的一种标志99人,占56.6%。
- 2) 为了自己更好地发展63人,占36%。
- 3) 便于找工作15人,占8.6%。
- 4) 其他9人,占5.1%。

在中国,由于中国共产党是执掌全国政权的党,其成员是社会的先进分子所组成,因此人们普遍认为,加入中国共产党是进步的表现。也由于中国共产党是执政党,年轻人如果想在政治上有所发展,也

会尽量争取加入中国共产党。被调查者多数人选择第一项和第二项是很自然的事情。由于近些年高校毕业生找工作并不是一件很容易的事情,因此有些学生加入中国共产党也有便于找工作的考虑。许多单位,特别是党政机关在挑选毕业生时往往要求他们是中共党员。许多高校也考虑到这种情况,往往积极发展学生党员。

4. 你对国内外的政治信息:

- 1) 非常关注57人,占32.1%。
- 2) 比较关注107人,占61.1%。
- 3) 不关注11人,占6.3%。

从对这个问题的回答中可以看出,高校的年轻党员对国内外时事政治都相当关注。完全不关注的很少。

5. 你参加社会团体活动的情况:

- 1) 经常参加53人,占30.3%。
- 2) 偶尔参加105人,占60%。
- 3) 从不参加16人,占9.1%。

从对这个问题的回答中可以看出,这些学生党员都愿意参加社会团体的活动,完全不参加的极少。

6. 你与同学讨论时事政治话题的情况:

- 1) 经常讨论80人,占45.7%。
- 2) 偶尔讨论88人,占50.3%。

3) 从不参与讨论 5 人, 占 2.9%。

从对这个问题的回答中可以看出, 高校学生一般都愿意讨论时事政治, 从不讨论这个问题的极少。说明他们对政治问题的关心。

7. 你认为我国当前群体性事件多发的主要原因是:

- 1) 群众利益受到损害 121 人, 占 69.1%。
- 2) 干部以权谋私 94 人, 占 53.7%。
- 3) 干部作风粗暴 51 人, 占 29.1%。
- 4) 少数群众无理取闹 13 人, 占 7.4%。
- 5) 别有用心的人煽动 8 人, 占 4.6%。

当前, 中国的群体性事件很多。引起国人的关注。人们都在思考这个问题: 为什么会频频发生群体性事件? 从被调查者对这个问题的回答中可以看出, 高校学生党员多数人认为, 群体性事件多发的主要原因是群众利益受到损害和干部以权谋私或作风粗暴。只有极少数人认为是少数群众无理取闹和别有用心的人煽动。

8. 你最关心的社会问题是:

- 1) 医疗问题 55 人, 占 31.4%。
- 2) 社会风气问题 61 人, 占 34.9%。
- 3) 社会治安问题 34 人, 占 19.4%。
- 4) 教育问题 56 人, 占 32%。
- 5) 就业问题 78 人, 占 44.6%。
- 6) 分配问题 51 人, 占 29.1%。

7) 腐败问题 86 人, 占 49.1%。

8) 环保问题 40 人, 占 22.9%。

9) 住房问题 58 人, 占 33.1%。

10) 食品安全问题 30 人, 占 17.1%。

11) 安全生产问题 11 人, 占 6.3%。

12) 征地搬迁问题 16 人, 占 9.1%。

从对这个问题的回答中可以看出, 这些学生党员最关心的是腐败问题、就业问题、社会风气问题和住房问题。这些问题直接同他们的就业的生活问题有关。当然其他问题也有不同程度的关注。说明他们很关心社会问题

9. 你认为我国经济生活中存在最突出的问题是:

- 1) 有效需求不足 16 人, 占 9.1%。
- 2) 分配不公 96 人, 占 54.9%。
- 3) 收入差距扩大 100 人, 占 57.1%。
- 4) 市场秩序混乱 21 人, 占 12%。
- 5) 权钱交易严重 44 人, 占 25.1%。
- 6) 资源环境问题严重 40 人, 占 22.9%。
- 7) 失业问题严重 38 人, 占 21.7%。

从对这个问题的回答中可以看出, 学生党员认为最突出的问题是收入差距扩大和分配不公, 说明我们的分配制度有问题。

10. 你认为我国当前的政治体制:

1) 具有优越性, 需要的是坚持而不是改革 87 人, 占 49.7%。

2) 存在着严重弊端, 需要从根本上改革 71 人, 占 40.6%。

3) 不关心 12 人, 占 6.9%。

对中国现行政治体制是人们讨论的热门话题, 被调查者不关心这个问题的只是极少数。尽管多数人认为中国现行的政治体制具有优越性, 但也有相当一部分人认为, 中国现行的政治体制存在着严重的弊端, 需要从根本上改革。

11. 你认为我国的民主政治建设:

1) 成交显著 68 人, 占 38.9%。

2) 成效甚微 90 人, 占 51.4%。

3) 没有成效 13 人, 占 7.4%。

4) 不关心 2 人, 占 1.1%。

中国民主政治建设是一项艰巨的任务。改革开放以来, 中国共产党在这个问题上进行了很多的努力, 但效果怎么样? 从这些学生党员对这个问题的回答中可以看出, 他们对中国民主政治建设的成效感到不满意。说明他们很关心中国的民主政治建设问题, 希望能够取得实质性的进步。

12. 你认为我国当前的教育体制:

1) 很好 32 人, 占 18.3%。

2) 不利于人才的培养 133 人, 占 76%。

3) 不关心 7 人, 占 4%。

对中国现行的教育体制, 被调查者绝

大多数作出了否定的回答, 认为不利于人才的培养, 说明他们希望改变当前的教育体制。

13. 你认为我国司法领域存在的最突出问题:

1) 司法不独立 88 人, 占 50.3%。

2) 审判不公 32 人, 占 18.3%。

3) 司法人员腐败 80 人, 占 45.7%。

4) 效率低下 28 人, 占 16%。

5) 缺乏监督 34 人, 占 19.4%。

从对这个问题的回答中可以看出, 被调查者多数人认为中国当前司法领域存在的主要问题是司法不独立和司法人员腐败。说明他们对中国现行的司法体制表示疑问。

14. 你认为我国当前的外交政策:

1) 很好 65 人, 占 37.1%。

2) 需要调整 88 人, 占 50.3%。

3) 很不好, 需要彻底改变 17 人, 占 9.7%。

4) 不关心 3 人, 占 1.7%。

从对这个问题的回答中可以看出, 被调查者多数认为我国的外交政策需要调整, 认为需要彻底改变的只是极少数。

15. 你认为我国医疗体制中存在的最突出的问题是:

1) 政府投入少 61 人, 占 34.9%。

2) 医疗保险不健全 91 人, 占 52%。

- 3) 市场化不够 20 人, 占 11.4%。
- 4) 缺乏行业监管 47 人, 占 26.9%。

从对这个问题的回答中可以看出, 被调查者中大多数认为中国医疗体制存在的最突出的问题是医疗保险不健全和政府投入少。这可能是中国医疗体制改革需要解决的主要问题。

16. 你对现行体制下的中国发展前途
- 1) 非常乐观 25 人, 占 14.3%。
- 2) 比较乐观 122 人, 占 69.7%。
- 3) 比较悲观 20 人, 占 11.4%。
- 4) 非常悲观 6 人, 占 3.4%。

对现行体制下中国的发展前途, 被调查者中多数人表示乐观或审慎乐观的态度。也有部分人表示悲观。根据我们平时同学生的交流和这次的调查可以推断被调查者的心态。持乐观或审慎乐观态度的人可能主要是基于中国改革开放以来的发展。改革开放以来, 中国在经济体制和政治体制改革方面都取得了进展, 中国的发展速度很快, 中国人民的生活水平有了大幅度的提升。只要中国坚持改革开放不动摇, 必定还会取得更大的进步。持悲观态度的人可能是不满足于中国的政治体制改革步伐。有些人认为, 中国的政治体制改革存在着严重的滞后的情况, 如果现在还不着手解决这个问题, 将来肯定会影响中国的发展, 甚至还可能出现严重的社会动乱。许多人

对这种状况表示焦虑, 反映了他们的忧患意识。他们希望中国的政治体制改革能够有一个突破, 真正建立起健全的民主政治体制。

材料二 党员干部问卷调查统计表

这次调查的党员干部是全国邮电系统在中央党校培训中心培训的干部, 属国有企业事业单位人员, 共 64 人, 年龄为 35-54 岁。有些选项被调查者作了多项选择, 有些选项被调查者没有填, 但也可以看出他们的倾向。

1. 你认为人生的价值主要在于:

- 1) 对社会的贡献 59 人, 占 92.2%。
- 2) 个人利益最大化 2 人, 占 3.1%。
- 3) 其他 2 人, 占 3.1%。

对这个问题的回答, 绝大多数被调查者选择对社会的贡献, 这个比例比前面学生党员要高得多。这与这些干部的经历有关, 他们比学生年龄大, 长期接受党的教育训练。

2. 你加入党组织是因为:

- 1) 入党是个人进步的一种标志 37 人, 占 57.8%。
- 2) 有利于自己的发展 7 人, 占 10.9%。
- 3) 为了给社会做出贡献 22 人, 占 34.4%。
- 4) 其他 1 人, 占 1.6%。

从对这个问题的回答中可以看出，绝大多数被调查者的入党动机是争取个人进步和为社会做出贡献。

3. 你对国内外的政治信息:

- 1) 非常关注 28 人, 占 43.8%。
- 2) 比较关注 25 人, 占 39.1%。
- 3) 不关注 1 人, 占 1.6%。

从对这个问题的回答中不难看出, 大多数被调查者都关注国内外政治信息。

4. 你参加社会团体活动的情况:

- 1) 经常参加 16 人, 占 25%。
- 2) 偶尔参加 45 人, 占 70.3%。
- 3) 从不参加 3 人, 占 4.7%。

看来, 从不参加社会团体活动的干部极少。

5. 你与同事讨论时事政治话题的情况

- 1) 经常讨论 33 人, 占 51.1%。
- 2) 偶尔讨论 29 人, 占 45.3%。
- 3) 从不参与讨论 1 人, 占 1.6%。

这说明, 多数干部还是关心时事政治的。

6. 你认为我国当前群体性事件多发的主要原因是:

- 1) 群众利益受到损害 52 人, 占 81.3%。
- 2) 干部以权谋私 24 人, 占 37.5%。

- 3) 干部作风粗暴 24 人, 占 37.5%。
- 3) 少数群众无理取闹 6 人, 占 9.4%。
- 4) 别有用心的人煽动 5 人, 占 7.8%。

从对这个问题的回答中可以看出, 绝大多数被调查者认为, 群众利益受损和干部以权谋私和作风粗暴是群体性事件多发的主要原因, 这与前面学生党员对这个问题的回答是一致的。从某种意义上说, 这是人们的共识。它说明, 我们的体制有问题。为什么群众的利益经常受到损害, 为什么我们的干部能够以权谋私。是不是我们的体制有漏洞, 需要改革?

7. 你最关心的社会问题是:

- 1) 医疗问题 27 人, 占 42.2%。
- 2) 社会风气问题 36 人, 占 56.3%。
- 3) 社会治安问题 15 人, 占 23.4%。
- 4) 教育问题 26 人, 占 40.6%。
- 5) 就业问题 20 人, 占 31.3%。
- 6) 分配问题 21 人, 占 32.8%。
- 7) 腐败问题 24 人, 占 37.5%。
- 8) 环保问题 18 人, 占 28.1%。
- 9) 住房问题 11 人, 占 17.2%。
- 10) 食品安全问题 18 人, 占 28.1%。
- 11) 安全生产问题 2 人, 占 3.1%。
- 12) 征地搬迁问题 3 人, 占 4.7%。

被调查者最关心的社会问题处于前三位的是社会风气问题、医疗问题和教育问题。这与前面学生党员的关注点有些差别。

学生党员最关心的社会问题处于前三位的是腐败问题、就业问题与社会风气问题。这与他们的经历和所处的地位有关。但社会风气问题是他们的共同关注点。

8. 你认为我国经济生活中存在最突出的问题是:

- 1) 有效需求不足 13 人, 占 20.3%。
- 2) 分配不公 21 人, 占 32.8%。
- 3) 收入差距扩大 44 人, 占 68.8%。
- 4) 市场秩序混乱 11 人, 占 17.2%。
- 5) 权钱交易严重 11 人, 占 17.2%。
- 6) 资源环境问题严重 33 人, 占 51.6%。
- 7) 失业问题严重 14 人, 占 21.9%。

被调查者认为经济生活中存在的最突出问题是收入差距扩大和分配不公,这与前面学生党员的认识惊人的一致。这从某个侧面也说明,人们对这个问题认识的一致。它说明我们的分配制度存在着某种问题。

9. 你认为我国当前的政治体制:

- 1) 具有优越性,需要的是坚持而不是改革 35 人, 占 54.7%。
- 2) 存在着严重弊端,需要从根本上改革 18 人, 占 28.1%。
- 3) 不关心 2 人, 占 3.1%。

多数被调查者中认为我们当前的政治体制具有优越性的比例高于前面的学生党员,认为需要从根本上改革的比例远远低

于学生党员,说明年龄较大的具有一定工作经历的干部党员对我国当前的政治体制认同度高,而年龄较轻的学生党员认为我国当前政治体制需要从根本上改革的比例较大。

10. 你认为我国的民主政治建设:

- 1) 成效显著 33 人, 占 51.6%。
- 2) 成效甚微 30 人, 占 46.9%。
- 3) 没有成效 0 人。
- 4) 不关心 0 人。

干部党员对这个问题的回答与前面学生党员对这个问题的回答有所区别,学生党员多数认为我国的民主政治建设成效甚微,而干部党员多数认为成效显著,但也有近半数的人认为成效甚微。说明我们在民主政治建设上还存在着严重的问题。他们希望在民主政治建设方面有新的进展。

11. 你认为我国当前的教育体制:

- 1) 很好 1 人, 占 1.6%。
- 2) 不利于人才的培养 59 人, 占 92.2%。
- 3) 不关心 0 人。

对我国现行的教育体制,干部党员同前面的学生党员一样,绝大多数作出了否定的回答。说明他们希望改变我国现行的教育体制。看来我们的教育体制是必须改革了。

12. 你认为我国司法领域存在的最突出问题是:

- 1) 司法不独立 16 人, 占 25%。
- 2) 审判不公 10 人, 占 15.6%。
- 3) 司法人员腐败 26 人, 占 40.6%。
- 4) 效率低下 7 人, 占 9.4%。
- 5) 缺乏监督 34 人, 占 53.1%。

干部党员认为我国司法领域存在的最突出的问题是缺乏监督, 而学生党员认为最突出的问题是司法不独立。当然, 他们的共同点是, 都认为司法人员腐败也是一个严重的问题。从根本上说, 司法人员腐败是体制造成的。如果要对司法体制进行改革, 学生党员有着比干部党员更高的要求。

13. 你认为我国当前的外交政策:

- 1) 很好 39 人, 占 60.9%。
- 2) 需要调整 20 人, 占 31.3%。
- 3) 很不好, 需要彻底改变 2 人, 占 3.1%。
- 4) 不关心 1 人, 占 1.6%。

干部党员对我国的外交政策多数持肯定的态度, 而学生党员多数认为需要调整外交政策。看来, 年轻的学生党员与有一定工作经历的干部党员有着更多的改革现状的要求。

14. 你认为我国医疗体制中存在的最突出的问题是:

- 1) 政府投入少 25 人, 占 39.1%。

- 2) 医疗保险不健全 41 人, 占 64.1%。

- 3) 市场化不够 4 人, 占 6.25%。

- 4) 缺乏行业监管 22 人, 占 34.4%。

对这个问题的回答, 干部党员与学生党员的看法有着惊人的一致。这从某一个侧面说明我国医疗体制存在的主要问题和改革的方向。

15. 你对现行体制下的中国发展前途:

- 1) 非常乐观 15 人, 占 23.4%。

- 2) 比较乐观 48 人, 占 75%。

- 3) 比较悲观 0 人。

- 4) 非常悲观 0 人。

被调查者对中国现行体制下的发展前景几乎多数表示审慎乐观。说明他们从总体上基本认可中国现行的体制, 但同时认为必须深化改革。

材料三 中共中央党校 2009 年秋季部分班次学员“两带来”问题综述

来到中共中央党校学习和培训的学员是全国各级各类党员干部。从职级上看, 既有省部级干部, 也有地、市、厅级干部, 还有县处级干部。从类别上看, 既有党政干部, 也有群众组织和社会团体的干部, 还有大型国有企事业单位的干部。中共中央党校要求每个来校学习的学员以文字形式带来一个当前干部群众关心的热点问题, 带来一个

最希望在党校学习期间能够解决的思想理论问题，简称“两带来”。下面是中共中央党校2009年秋季部分班次学员“两带来”的问题。从这些问题中我们可以看到中国各级各类党员干部关心和思考的主要问题。

进修部省部级干部进修班（第46期）“国际金融危机与应对”专题研讨班“两带来”的问题

一、干部群众最关心的热点问题

1、要研究金融危机的形成机制、传导机制、教训，研究金融与实体经济的关系。一是国际货币体系，过度消费和过度储蓄都不可持续，过度依赖某种货币也不可能持续；二是金融机构的发展模式，混业经营风险很高；三是金融创新不能过度；四是金融资产的价值判断存在问题，浮盈浮亏会计方法助涨助跌；五是监管体系要完善。

2、金融危机的原因之一是金融创新过度 and 金融监管缺位。但我国金融创新不是过度，而是不足，如何认识？要用马克思主义原理来分析和解决金融危机及其应对问题，现在都是西方理论。要用马克思主义分析经济问题，危机有什么规律，发生的原因，持续的时间，恢复的速度，不能笼统的总结为L型、W型，要有信服的分析。按照经典理论，社会主义国家应该避免经济危机。

3、我国经济政策的下一步走向如何？中央政府是否会积极的财政政策、适度宽松的货币政策做出大的调整？有的学员认为：在金融危机的背景下，前七个月的增长是靠巨额投资产生的，信贷拉动投资不可持续，下半年如果外需依然不振怎么办？明年怎么办？后年怎么办？要高度重视巨额投资带来的负效应。在金融危机冲击下，各地区、各部门发展仍面临着很大的压力，该如何结合自身实际，寻找到新的经济增长点？如何在危机背景下解决剩余劳动力？如何扩大消费需求，保持经济长期均衡可持续增长？

4、面对金融危机，国有企业现在的压力很大。我国的国企如何卸下包袱、轻装上阵，与国际知名企业公平竞争？如何使国企真正成为创新的主体，现在企业得到的资源和支持还远远达不到。如何配置社会的有效资源，推动有效创新，现在也遇到很大的困难。如何保证企业的研发投入问题，国内研发投入远远达不到。

5、保增长是硬指标，调结构相对“软”一些，不好量化，但不能由此出现一手硬一手软。目前正是调结构的最佳时机，如果结构得不到调整，巨额投资固化结构失衡，强化路径依赖，将为以后的调整带来更大的困难。

6、现行的层层下计划、下数字指标的

考核制度，让领导干部陷入了既要促进发展同时又要完成节能降耗、保护生态任务的两难选择之中。

7、当前关于农村土地问题可以总结为“四难一多”。四难是融资难，农民融入现代化难，专业化分工难，有效保障土地收益权难；一多是农村涉地纠纷越来越多。

8、城镇化与保护耕地存在一定的矛盾，耕地保护在某些地方阻碍了城镇化的进程。

9、新农村建设中如何解决土地承包流转问题？土地流转一直在扩大，形式也很多。流转如何体现普惠制，使组织形式与现代化大生产相适应，需要建立流转市场，各方利益协调解决。

10、农村土地改革需要理论支撑，一是农村发展方向是什么？过量的农民吸引到城市，城市发展不了，农村也不行。农村发展的路径是什么？现代农业需要土地集约化。

11、如何进一步改革国民收入分配制度，加快社会保障体系建设，从理论上、从实践上解决好地区与地区之间、行业与行业之间、群体与群体之间的收入差距拉大和由此造成的社会失衡问题？

12、近年来，公共权力出现越位、缺位、错位和不透明、不规范、不合法。该如何加快提高公共权力公信力，已经成为摆在各级国家政权机关面前的紧迫任务。

13、关注民生，一是缩小收入差距，二是避免物价波动太大，三是保障教育公平，四是改善医疗条件，五是完善就业政策。

14、如何加快城市化过程中农民市民化，如何解决留守儿童问题？如何解决大学扩招和大学生就业的矛盾？

15、食品安全是关系千千万万老百姓切身利益的问题，关注产品质量安全问题，需要建立社会诚信体系。

16、关心就业问题，也要关心创业问题，民营企业上不去，国家竞争力就上不去。

17、当前基础教育不均衡，尤其是城市与农村不均衡；而大中城市义务教育阶段又择校收费、办班收费，群众也有意见。

18、大学生就业难，应试教育如何改革？

19、在经济发展中，在应对危机的同时，如何使社会事业协调发展，是一项重大课题。文化由事业向产业化转化需要体制改革支持。教育需要和就业市场对接。科技关键是建立自主创新的国家创新体系。

卫生需要完善医改方案。体育要由精英体育转向全民体育。

20、劳资关系要深入研究，要处理好企业与职工的关系。现在工会的力量太小，不利于工作。

21、党的执政要有忧患意识。要进一步巩固党的执政基础。

22、要加强研究执政党的建设与经济发展的关系。党的基层组织建设，党要管党，书记不能只抓经济，党的建设要抓紧，书记和市长的考核不能完全相同。

23、党的全心全意为人民服务的宗旨如何内化为党在新时期执政方式的转变？一切从人民群众的切身利益出发来思考决策问题，切实解决现实中存在的各种矛盾，从根本上解决大规模群体事件居高不下的问题，为党和国家的长治久安打下坚实基础。

24、执政的中国共产党如何支持和加强参政党建设？不断发展完善多党合作制度，既需要一个坚强有力的执政党，也需要与之相适应的参政党。

25、对中国特色社会主义理论体系中的资本市场应有新的认识。资本市场买卖的是金融产品，一年期以上的融资工具，是社会主义市场的重要组成部分。资本市场

发展了，经济基础变化了，经济基础决定上层建筑，许多固有的传统观念要改变。

26、有些国有企业，公司治理太复杂，董事会和党委会基本上是一体，可以不要董事会，由党委会决策，管理层执行。

27、五千年的中华传统文化，与改革开放30年社会价值体系，有冲突、融合与重构。改革开放30年来，国家综合实力大大增强，人民生活水平不断提高，但在社会主流价值观上缺乏安全感，中华文化遭受着严重冲击，民族认同感出现一些问题，一些社会矛盾日益突出。

28、宗教问题很重要，现在很多是被动应付，疲于应付。宗教信仰自由做得较好，但依法管理，独立自由，与社会主义社会相适应等方面，还有很多工作要做。中国特色社会主义宗教理论需要深入研究。

29、如何进一步提高共产党科学执政、民主执政、依法执政水平？如何进行民主制度安排，如何找到民主的有效实现形式？如何发展基层民主问题？特别是农村基层选举中的不良现象以及解决好农村民主与传统宗教的关系。如何进一步坚持和完善人民代表大会制度、中国共产党领导的多党合作和政治协商制度，完善制约和监督机制，确保权力正确行使。

30、科学发展观要进一步理论创新,加强制度设计,编制指标体系,以促进协调发展,缩小贫富差距。

31、近年来,经常出现国企政工干部不安心党务和政工工作、农村党支部与村委会经常出现磨擦、不少的非公企业不允许建立党组织、基层负担过重等现象。在新形势下,如何进一步加强党在基层的基础工作,充分发挥基层党组织的作用?

32、该如何通过进一步深化公共治理理论的研究与实践来推进政府改革,解决我国社会建设、社会管理上存在的种种问题?

33、如何解决国家民族的基本信念问题?如何解决基本价值观问题,构建起全社会共同价值基础?如何解决基本道德规范问题?如何解决民族基本素质问题?

34、如何解决当前社会所面临的诚信缺失问题?主要体现在:党政领导干部违纪违法的大案频发,政府公信力下降;企业经营行为唯利是图,社会责任缺失;职业道德污浊于名利私欲,潜规则盛行;人际关系庸俗功利,坦诚不足。

35、面对新形势、新情况、新问题,如何在总结长期实践经验的基础上,更好地坚持和发展党的民族政策和民族区域自治制度?

36、进京上访指标问题成为党政干部“问责制”的重要内容。信访问题有四个特点:一是多年积聚的;二是多层面的;三是很难办;四是属于发展中的问题。处理也有几个特点:一是没有底;二是没有序;三是没有法;四是没有头。解决要有思路,一是哪些问题需要解决?二是用什么办法来解决?目前,“截访”对地方工作造成了很大影响,该如何解决?

37、在城市化进程中,城市综合治理、城市环境建设与困难群体的摆摊经营问题的冲突,该如何解决?如何保证农村妇女的土地承包权的落实?

38、目前,我国政府非常注重环境保护问题。环境保护政策虽然逐渐完善,但环境污染、生存环境恶化问题仍然是社会新的不稳定因素,对我国的国家战略、行政管理方式以及各级政府的政绩考核机制都提出了严峻的挑战。如何解决河流和环境污染监管不统一问题,以更好地实现既促进发展又节能降耗、保护生态?

39、如何从根本上遏制住腐败势头,更加有效防止和惩治腐败的问题,尤其是真正解决一把手腐败、群体腐败、干部亲属和子女腐败问题?需要对具有特殊职责的特殊职业群体——司法官员们予以特殊要求。

40、在新形势下,党的建设该如何进

一步落实民主集中制？如何协调民主与集中二者的关系，集体领导与个人分工负责相结合有没有具体的制度设计，如何对“一把手”的权力进行监督、约束？

二、最希望党校解决的思想理论问题

1、如何从理论上讲清、讲透此次金融危机产生的根源、危害及其影响？在应对国际金融危机中，如何正确认识社会主义的优势和继续深化改革的关系？

2、当前贯彻科学发展观，集中表现在保增长和经济转型。在拉动经济增长的三驾马车中，如何避免投资一头大；如何改变国家主导投资的局面，激活民营投资，避免经济危机导致国进民退；如何实现产业的升级换代。如何协调好保增长和调结构的关系问题，才能真正符合党的实事求是的思想路线？

3、针对金融危机爆发后出现的“国进民退”现象，作为国企该如何看待、理解和应对？

4、马克思主义经济学理论中关于资本主义生产过剩与支付能力的矛盾部分验证了国际金融危机的爆发，站在今天的历史高度，从理论上对此该如何评价？

5、如何进一步深化对混合所有制经济

中的国有产权管理问题的研究？如何做到既保证国有资产的保值增值，又充分发挥国有产权的功能和作用？

6、国企应如何与时俱进，进一步推进和深化国有企业改革？如何卸下包袱、轻装上阵，与国际知名企业公平竞争？如何使国企真正成为创新的主体？如何保证企业的研发投入？

7、国家宏观政策层面如何协调解决好生态责任与生态利益关系问题？如何把保护生态与解决民生统一起来？如何建立切实有效的生态补偿机制？

8、如何解决国家民族的基本信念问题？如何解决基本价值观问题？如何解决基本道德规范问题？如何解决提高民族基本素质问题？

9、如何推动社会主义核心价值体系有效落实？社会主义核心价值体系政治性、理论性强，内容丰富，应着力从理论研究概括、实践教育引导两方面探索解决。

10、如何弘扬和传承优秀中华文化？

11、未雨绸缪：此次金融危机，西方国家的社会仍很稳定，社会运行秩序良好，如果放在中国，失业率翻倍、不良资产堆积、信仰缺失，中国会出现什么样的局势？

12、为什么“7·5”事件发生在新疆历史上发展最好、最稳定的时期？在新疆是否经济搞上去了，一切问题就迎刃而解了？为什么受党教育多年，在民族团结教育下成长起来的一些人会成为“7·5”事件的主力？为什么一些少数民族妇女和青少年也参与到打砸抢烧中去？

13、新时期，人们应该坚持什么样的信仰，如何看待民族问题与宗教问题的复合？

14、在经济欠发达地区，如何做到既保证经济社会快速发展，又能准确贯彻落实科学发展观？

15、新社会阶层人士可大致概括为：“非公有制经济人士”和“自由择业知识分子”。县以下基本没有公有经济，新阶层人士越来越多，政治诉求也越来越多，新的社会阶层人士成为新的社会力量，如何认识和对待他们？

16、许多重大事件都发源于网络，尤其是涉官、涉富、涉警问题，靠封堵不是办法，如何应付？如何解决违法上访与司法权威的矛盾？网络与社会现实的联系与冲突该如何协调？

17、在美欧发达国家的冲击下，中国逐步失去发展中国家盟友，该如何应对？

进修部省部级干部进修班（第46期）“行政管理体制改革”专题研讨班“两带来”的问题

一、干部群众关心的热点问题

1、如何解决收入差距过大的问题？如何解决好缩小收入分配差距这个问题，对不断提高人民的生活水平，保持社会和谐稳定和全面建设小康社会都是至关重要的。现在议论较多，但调整三次分配结构的措施不系统、不明确，群众感受不直接、不充分。

2、养老、医疗等社会保障制度在城乡之间、地区之间的转移及接续问题日益突出，如何解决？

3、当前，社会养老制度尚未覆盖历史遗留下来的原五七工、大集体工等人员，这类人群情况比较复杂，政策设计和操作难度大，需要认真研究。

4、社会保障工作的部门分割问题比较明显，如卫生部门负责新型农村合作医疗，劳动保障部门负责新型农村社会养老保险试点，民政部门负责城乡的社会保护救助，缺乏制度衔接，以至于影响社保工作的统筹协调和整体推进，影响行政效能的充分发挥。

5、如何标本兼治,解决群众看病难问题?

为是户籍壁垒、城乡差距及行业垄断等等。

6、如何进一步促进医药卫生产业的发展?

那么,大学生就业难的根本原因究竟何在?有哪些有效的应对措施?

7、群体性事件备受关注,据统计,上世纪90年代中期以来,群体性事件的数量从1994年的1万多起上升到2004年的7.4万起,增加6倍多;参与人数从1994年的73万人次上升到2004年的376万人次。在中央高度重视和正确领导下,从2005年开始,群体性事件的发生数量逐年递减。但由于当前我国正处于矛盾突显期,各种不稳定因素明显增多,群体性事件虽然总量逐步下降、但仍在高位运行,而且还出现了一些新的情况和变化,使积极预防和妥善处置群体性事件面临的形势更为严峻而复杂。希望党校从体制、机制上,深入研究这一严重影响国家经济和社会发展大局的重要问题。

10、如何解决部门分割影响行政管理效能的问题?按照建立城乡劳动者平等就业的制度、建立覆盖城乡居民的社会保障制度的要求,目前我国的部门工作职能划分和工作机制存在许多值得研究的问题。如,从就业工作看,农业转移就业的组织和职业技能培训工作在人社部 and 农业部、扶贫办等部门之间没有明确的职能划分。各部门都按上下级渠道掌握着一部分专项资金,但又没有明确、统一的工作任务要求和标准。

8、如何进一步完善我国的应急管理体制和机制?

11、如何提高行政效率问题?当前,各种形式的联席会议越来越多,一些部级干部身上大都兼有二、三十个甚至更多联席会议成员,经常要花许多时间和精力去参加其他部门牵头召开的各种会议,许多部长们都深感应接不暇,而且还经常互相抽调其他部门的部级干部用10天左右的时间下去监督检查某项工作的部署落实情况。这种现象是否符合行政管理体制改革的方向?应如何从体制、机制上加以解决?

9、高校毕业生就业难问题如何解决?根据国家人力资源和社会保障部的数据,今年全国高校毕业生规模为610万人,几乎占到城镇新增劳动力总量的一半;而且2007年和2008年毕业的大学生,仍分别有100万和150万人尚未找到工作。对于大学生就业难的说法不一,有的认为罪在扩招,有的认为结构失衡和质量下降,还有的认

12、如何正确理解基层党委政府的职能定位与作用发挥问题?(1)宪法和法律对各级地方政府的职责规定较为明确,而党规党法对基层党委的职责规定较为抽象,

使二者在实际操作中衔接困难；(2) 党委政府职能界定不清；(3) 党委政府权责不对等；(4) 行政副职向党委一把手负责的状况普遍存在，冲击了宪法法律规定的行政首长负责制；(5) 宪法和法律赋予各级人大的地位高、权力大，但其实际履行职能弱化；(6) 党章规定的党内纪律检查机构架构合理，职责明确，但在实际工作中的作用发挥有限；(7) 按照党规党法，党委领导表现为政治、思想和组织领导，因此党委的领导应该是管方向、管干部、聚人心的宏观活动，但在实践中党委经常陷入具体经济社会事务，导致党委既越位、又缺位；(8) 党委政府主要领导之间的关系没有制度机制的科学设计予以保障。

13、如何处理好在实践依法治国与加强政府行政管理的关系，维护好社会治安，确保社会和谐稳定？

14、如何进一步推进事业单位的改革？

15、基层党委政府如何提高执政能力，既促进经济社会发展，又保持社会稳定？

16、如何有效提高党的公信力？

17、如何有效预防和治理腐败问题？广大干部群众对腐败问题非常反感，对个别党员干部滥用职权、以权谋私的行为深恶痛绝，坚决惩治腐败的呼声十分强烈。

18、如何解决庸官的问责问题？庸人在人群中经常见到，庸官在工作中更不少见。庸官的特点可概括为：无思路、无能力；不求上、不顾下；不作为、无差错；无政绩、无劣迹；小贪不大贪，你急他不急。在经济、社会飞速发展的今天，这些占着位子不作为、不求进的庸官，危害程度有的比贪官还大。

19、如何加强对高中级领导干部的监督？当前应重视解决好四个方面的问题。一是对主管监督不力的问题。从近年来查出的县处级以上干部违法违纪问题看，一把手违法违纪问题案件占相当大的比例。2008年，全国处分县处级以上一把手906人，占同期处分党政机关县处级以上干部的38.6%，少数地区甚至超过了50%。二是党内监督不实的问题。资料显示，现在各级查处的大案要案，大多数线索是群众揭发，很少有一级组织通过自我监督揭露解决问题的。有的单位处分决定不宣布、不兑现，得不到执行，反映出少数党组织存在自我净化能力不强、党内监督功能弱化的现象。三是监督合力不强的问题。目前监督工作的开展往往是孤军奋战，有的是临阵组合，党内监督、群众监督、舆论监督、司法监督的整体联动效应没有得到充分发挥。四是接受监督自觉的问题。一些领导干部思想认识还有偏差，不能正确处理个人与组织、个人与群众的关系，不能正确认识和对待监督，总感到自己行得端、

做得正，对监督有消极抵触情绪。

20、如何密切党和广大群众的关系？

近几年来，党群关系出现了一些不和谐的现象，这些问题的存在，尤其是腐败、特权问题，严重影响了党在人民群众中的良好形象，也对我们推进社会主义建设、构建和谐社会的伟大事业带来了严重阻碍。如不及时予以制止，恢复党与人民群众的密切关系，将直接影响到我们党的前途命运。

21、如何扩大党内民主，增强党内的活力是目前急需解决的问题。

22、当前，在部分干部中存在空话套话、作风不实、形式主义的问题，其根源是什么，有那些有效的对策？

23、如何按照科学发展观的要求逐步建立起促进我国海洋事业科学发展的海洋管理体制？当前海洋工作中的新情况、新问题不断出现，政府对海洋的管理也表现出许多不适应的地方，主要有：（1）缺乏高层次统筹决策机制，（2）部门间协调机制不健全，信息沟通不畅，（3）涉海部门“小而全”、低水平重复建设现象较为普遍。

24、新媒体的出现，对各级政府的行政管理提出了前所未有的挑战。面对当今错综复杂的社会矛盾和日益增多的群体性

事件及其他突发事件，各级政府应该如何顺应媒体发展新趋势，有效运用媒体，化解矛盾，树立良好的政府形象？

二、希望党校解决的思想理论问题

1、如何按照解放思想、实事求是的方针，理论联系实际，更好地贯彻落实科学发展观？

2、如何进一步认识社会主义制度的优越性？中国特色社会主义具有十分鲜明的制度先进性和优越性。但目前存在的巨大贫富差距、社会资源的享有与分配严重不均，以及各种丑恶现象的蔓延、社会道德伦理的缺失等问题，需要在理论上解决和说明我国社会主义的优越性、合理性。

3、社会主义初级阶段出现的私营经济与资本主义私有制之间的本质区别是什么？

4、如何正确处理公平与效率的关系？如何通过“两只手”的作用减少收入差距过大问题，促进社会公共资源享有的均等化，保障每个人都能获得平等发展机会等，迫切需要从理论上作出令人信服的回答和解释。

5、从理论上如何理解市场经济与政府职能的定位，在实践中怎样行使好这些职

能,既保持政府的行政效率又能保持市场健康发展?

6、如何处理好党建工作与政治体制改革的关系?

7、如何理解政治体制与行政管理体制的关系?

8、如何确保政策的连续性、稳定性以及相关政策之间的关联性,从源头上预防和减少各类矛盾纠纷的产生?当前,一些地方和部门正是在制定政策时忽视了政策的连续性、稳定性以及相关政策之间的关联性,因而造成了工作被动,由此引发了许多矛盾纠纷,乃至产生不稳定因素。如,有的政策缺乏科学性、全面性和连续性,重视了局部而忽视了全局,没有深刻认识和准确把握经济社会发展的规律和人民群众的需求;再比如,有些地方出台政策不慎重、随意性大,没有充分考虑当地经济社会发展的实际,等等。如何用科学发展观指导政策的制定,确保政策更好地推动发展、指导工作、服务人民,这不仅是一个实践问题,更是一个需要深入思考的理论问题。

9、如何识别和控制行政管理体制改革进程中的风险?我国的行政管理体制改革是与党的执政方式转变、经济体制转轨、社会转型相联系的重大创造性、实践性课题。

对于中国这样一个人口众多、历史悠久、幅员辽阔的状况,在地区经济社会发展极不平衡、面临的国内外环境日益复杂多变的形势下,推进各种改革的风险难以避免,控制风险十分紧要。(1)风险类别问题,判断改革会引发多少种不同性质的风险?基本模式是什么?机理是什么?哪些因行政管理体制改革而直接引发或加剧?(2)风险评估问题,通过什么信息识别风险?各种改革可能引发的风险如何相互作用?可能的危险会达到什么程度和级别?(3)风险控制问题,通过什么方式化解风险?党、政、群等系统如何协同配合?

10、如何正确理解我国体育事业发展中举国体制与市场机制的关系?

进修部地厅级干部进修班(第53期)
“廉政建设”专题研讨班“两带来”的问题

一、干部群众关心的热点问题

1、全球金融危机之后,如何继续保持我国经济社会又好又快发展和群众收入及生活水平的持续提高?

2、近年来,区域性、行业性、结构性收入差距不断扩大,部分社会成员收入差距悬殊。一是社会群体参与初次分配的机会不均等,二是社会对收入再分配领域的调节功能弱化,三是腐败等问题加剧了收

入分配格局的复杂化。逐步解决收入分配不公问题已成为进一步深化改革所面临的紧迫课题。

3、如何抑制过高的房价，保持房产市场的稳定和良性发展？

4、实现全面小康社会的宏伟目标，关键在农村，难点也在农村，“三农”问题解决不好，将影响国家的现代化进程。在当前国际金融危机的大背景下，如何做好“三农”工作？

5、就业难是当前的热点问题。一是国有、集体企业下岗失业人员再就业困难，二是应届高校毕业生就业困难，三是部分农民工外出务工受限，劳务输出规模受到制约。新增就业的难度也不断加大，劳动力失业风险增加。一是劳动力供大于求的矛盾突出，二是劳动力供求结构性矛盾突出。一方面，新兴产业、行业和技术性职业所需的高素质人员供不应求，专业技术、技能人才短缺现象尤为严重；另一方面，大量劳动者由于职业能力偏低，就业期望值过高等原因，难以顺利实现就业。

6、如何完善相关制度，进一步打击商业贿赂行为？

7、统计数据怎样才能做到真实、客观？

8、随着经济社会的迅速发展，国家对审计工作要求的不断提高，审计的地位和影响力不断提升，审计监督的范围不断扩大，审计对象越来越多，审计工作面临的任务和压力也越来越重。如何加强审计机关自身建设，提高依法审计的能力和水平？

9、如何进一步加强反腐倡廉建设，继续深入推进反腐败斗争？当前防止腐败形势不容乐观，任重道远。一是当前结构性的腐败中，政府与民争利是一个问题。如一些地方在城市拆迁中动用国家机器、专政工具，表面上严格执法，实际上存在腐败，损害了党和政府形象。二是干部人事方面的跑官、要官、买官、卖官现象还较严重。一些地方干部选拔任用程序不规范、不透明，有些消极腐败现象从潜规则变成了显规则。三是关于权力监督特别是对“一把手”的监督问题在理论上虽有突破，但实践中难以操作。四是一些地区、部门、领域的腐败势力形成了以腐败利益为纽带的“利益共同体”，一查就是窝案、串案，加大了办案的难度。五是党员领导干部的作风问题，一些领导不能真正采纳基层干部的意见，仍存在唯书、唯上、唯官的现象。

10、如何解决对权力监督的有效性性问题？也就是群众常说的“上级监督太远，同级监督太软，下级监督太难，纪律处分太晚”的问题。当前，有些地方各级党政主

要领导尤其是党委书记独断专行，拥有的实权（不仅是名义合法的权力）超越《党章》规定自我扩张，致使民主集中制这一党内基本制度在很大程度上变得有名无实、有形无质，各级领导班子成员之间地位不平等、权责失衡加剧，影响决策水平、班子团结和党内民主，以及造成所谓的“一把手”失职渎职、腐败、滥用职权风险加大，对地方发展造成全局性损害，甚至威胁基层执政方向和社会稳定的问题日益突出。这种情况是否有违党的根本宗旨、性质和组织原则？是否应当彻底改变？如何改变？在党内领导体制不作重大改革，“团体监督”仍然占据主导地位，重监督轻制约取向不变的情况下，这一问题是否有求解的可能？如何求解？是否应从体制机制着眼，谋求根本、长久的解决之道？

11、新疆乌鲁木齐“7·5”事件后，如何进一步加强民族团结？

12、在企业的兼并重组中如何保证企业职工的利益，以保证企业和社会的稳定，如何规范兼并重组操作程序，保护和兼并企业及员工的正当利益和合法权益？

13、国有企业党的建设应当得到真正加强。围绕国有企业的中心工作，很多企业为提高管理效率，提倡精简机构和机构扁平化，提倡精简管理人员。在这种情况下，党组织机构也被相应压缩，一般国有企业

设一个党委工作部负责组织、宣传、企业文化和纪检等党建工作，党务人员也相应削减。在企业内部二级机构单位，如生产车间等单位，为加强和突出党的领导普遍实行党政一肩挑，即由基层单位的行政一把手担任基层单位党组织的书记，基层单位党组织领导的地位提高了，党务工作的开展也更便利了，理论上和形式上都是正确的。但在实际工作中，却经常出现生产经营工作过于繁忙，使党建工作受到影响。如何加强企业基层党组织的党建工作？

14、如何保护生态环境，建设生态文明？当前，我国正处于工业化、城镇化加速发展时期，资源供应不足、能源严重紧缺、环境压力加大已经成为现代化建设的关键性制约因素。

15、如何逐步建立并完善官员财产申报制度？

16、如何结合高校自身的特点和实际，加强高校廉政文化建设？

17、如何加大政策扶持力度，大力发展航空工业，推进航空科学技术进步，使中国早日成为航空强国？

二、希望党校解决的思想理论问题

1、解放思想的关键是什么？

2、反腐倡廉理论体系的内涵包括哪些内容？如何从理论上回答反腐倡廉的规律问题，从而为反腐倡廉提供指导？

3、在中国特色社会主义民主政治建设的进程中，如何实现以扩大党内民主带动人民民主，坚持党的领导、人民当家作主和依法治国的有机统一？具体的实现路径有哪些？

4、党内民主和人民民主的区别和联系是什么？

5、如何从理论层面完善和发展依法治国的基本方略？

6、如何探索决策权、执行权、监督权适度分离、相互制约、相互协调的机制创新？

7、如何正确理解执政党的执政方式与反腐倡廉的关系问题？

进修部地厅级干部进修班（第53期）“城市发展与城市治理”专题研讨班“两带来”的问题

一、干部群众最关心的热点问题

1、大学毕业生的就业问题，因为总供给太大，决定了它将是一个长期的问题，而

当前找不到工作的大学生，会带来许多社会问题，这决定了它又是一个眼前需要应对的现实问题。大学生是一个非常敏感的群体，需要积极引导并进行高度关注。

2、收入分配差距问题已是多年来社会普遍关注的热点问题。不同行业、不同部门的收入差距远未消除，收入分配差距还有不断扩大的趋势，到底多大的收入差距是我国发展过程中允许的、不至于造成社会动荡？如何贯彻落实科学发展观，尽快解决社会分配不公和贫富差距问题？当前不同地区发展差距也在继续拉大，区域发展不协调问题将影响社会稳定，应该引起高度重视，采取更加有效的措施加以解决。

3、如何完善社会保障体系，解决社会保障制度的覆盖面小、保障程度不高等问题。

4、政府要进一步关注民生。如，关系人民群众健康的看病难、看病贵问题和食品、药品安全问题是公众普遍关心的问题，应强化食品安全监管体系和药品价格监管体制。从以民为本出发，妥善解决城市发展中的拆迁和安置补偿问题。面对过高的房价，政府应该尽快出台相应的政策和措施。

5、政府要进一步关注弱势群体和特殊群体的权益保障问题。如：要解决企业干部职工退休后的退休金与机关事业单位干部职工退休后的退休金差距太大的问题；

如何提高农民工的文化水平与技术技能问题；关注农村老年妇女生存状况问题；研究如何正确处理弱势群体权益保障与经济发展的关系。

6、在我国城市化不断发展的条件下，应加强城乡统筹视角下城市发展策略的研究。在日益多元化的城市社会结构和传统治理模式的矛盾中，要加强现代城市治理中系统论、控制论、信息论的应用，认真研究城市发展和城市治理问题。在城市发展和城市治理过程中，怎样实现行政手段和市场手段的协调统一？在城市发展和城市治理特别是旧城改造、城中村改造中，如何确保拆迁的顺利实施？如何解决特大城市的交通问题？如何真正到位地解决无障碍设施问题？如何安全高效地加强城市水环境的综合治理？

7、如何在保增长过程中，有效防止“两高一资”和落后产能的盲目扩张？

8、在积极的财政政策和适度宽松的货币政策之下，是否会发生通货膨胀，如何有效防止通胀的发生？

9、如何在国家战略性新兴产业中培育市场机制？

10、如何在重大项目类公司中实施企业管理与项目管理的结合？

11、如何处理好企业生产经营责任人的决策作用和企业党组织的领导作用之间的关系？

12、关于国有控股上市企业党组织如何发挥政治核心作用的问题？

13、关于在国有企业中，党管干部的原则与国企高管人员市场化、职业化的关系问题。

14、中央企业是市场经济下比较特殊的一类企业，代替国家在部分重要行业和关键领域从事经济活动，与地方政府没有隶属和管辖关系，但其具体的经济管理行为大都在属地进行，双方有各自的目标，央企在执行地方政策方面会有一定的难度，如何解决这个问题？

15、中央企业是经济发展的主力军，在城市发展和建设方面，中央企业也发挥着不可替代的推动作用，如何使中央企业更好地推动城市经济和社会发展？

16、全民所有资源的开发利用应该如何体现全民所有的基本原则？开发收益如何体现公平？

17、社会总能耗和总资源消耗不断增加，我国目前的能源、资源消耗压力很大，从根本和长远看，当前实行的节能减排对

策是否奏效？

18、现代制造业如何利用资本金融市场加速发展？

19、当前我国农业耕地为18.5亿亩，按照目前的城镇化发展速度和水平，我们是否守得住18亿亩的红线？如何解决坚守红线和城市发展用地的矛盾？特别是如何解决中小城市和小城镇发展的用地问题？

20、反腐败与廉政建设是长期而艰巨的工程，如何让“阳光作业”进入“权力运行”，让“群众公认”进入“权力决策”，腐败案件的审理与结果能否公开透明？

21、国家事业单位改革的政策走向，尤其是中国工程物理研究院这样的全额拨款事业单位，相关的用人、财务管理、项目管理、社保等系列政策与思路是什么？

22、如何有效遏制重大特大事故发生，切实保护人民生命财产安全？

23、如何在农村村委会普遍直选的情况下，加强党对农村的领导，维护中央的权威？

24、加快“三北”防护林等林业重点工程是实现建设生态文明战略的重要途径。站在新的历史起点，如何加快“三北”防护

林体系建设，统筹兴林与富民协调发展？

25、如何解决我国高等院校高负债问题？

26、未成年人的思想道德教育问题关乎国家未来，该如何落实到位？

27、加强尊重公民宗教信仰自由与社会主义核心价值观教育的理论研究。

28、如何实现区域经济的协调发展？如何以城带乡，推动城乡统筹发展？

29、加快建立适应科学发展观要求的人口理论，统筹解决人口问题。

30、如何采取切实有效措施，保证新疆地区经济社会的和谐稳定发展和长治久安？

31、如何通过综合治理、齐抓共管，解决贵阳市交通拥堵、实现“畅通工程”？

32、中国民航如何统筹兼顾国内市场和国际市场的竞争？

二、最希望党校解决的思想理论问题

1、随着社会主义市场经济的不断发展和对外开放的不断深入，人们的思想观念和价值取向日趋多元化，如何使广大群众

特别是青少年围绕建设社会主义核心价值体系，形成符合党的要求、体现时代特点的新共识？

2、如何建构社会主义核心价值观念？如何使文化产业成为支撑弘扬社会主义核心价值观念的有效载体？如何加强共产主义理想信念教育？

3、中国共产党是中国的执政党，在“一国两制”条件下，要不要在香港和澳门地区发挥领导作用？在不公开的状态下，如何在制度上体现执政党的作用？

4、如何完善民主监督职能？

5、当前宏观经济政策下，如何解决全球市场收缩与产能继续扩大（即内热外冷或内暖外寒）的矛盾？

6、在金融危机中，政府如何有效控制物价上涨、抑制通货膨胀？

7、我国可否将非公企业所占有的公共资源收归国有？

8、如何正确认识和评价我国社会主义市场经济体系？

9、如何避免因收入差距过大造成的社会失衡？

10、我国城乡差别的现状如何？如何建立消除城乡二元结构的制度障碍？

11、创新型国家建设中，如何明确地方政府责任，如何让社会力量有效参与？

12、如何在行政工作中做到依法行政和以人为本相统一？

13、如何有效实现公共服务的均等化？

14、如何使高等教育质量跟上高等教育发展和社会发展的需要？

15、如何正确诠释中国特色社会主义的民族政策，实现各民族真正平等？

16、如何在二次分配中更加注重公平，健全和完善现有的城乡养老保障体系问题？

17、如何厘清行政管理体制改革与经济社会全面、协调、可持续发展的关系？

18、如何创新城市基层党建管理体制，确保新形势下基层党建工作的全覆盖？如何进一步满足新形势下群众对基层党组织的服务需求？

进修部地厅级干部进修班（第53期）“文化体制改革”专题研讨班“两带来”的问题

一、干部群众关心的热点问题

1、城乡之间、地区之间、行业之间收入差距过大，如何解决？如何深化收入分配制度改革、规范收入分配秩序、构建科学公正的收入分配体系？

2、21世纪的中国将是一个不可逆转的老龄社会。目前我国60岁以上老年人口达到1.34亿，占总人口的10%以上；65岁以上人口超过9400万，占总人口的7%以上；而在今后较长时期内，我国60岁以上人口还将继续以年均约3.2%的较快速度增长。与其他国家相比，中国的人口老龄化具有以下主要特征：老龄人口规模巨大；老龄化发展迅速；地区发展不平衡；农村的老龄化水平高于城镇；女性老龄人口数量多于男性；老龄化超前于现代化。如何应对？

3、青少年教育问题需要引起重视。我国18岁以下未成年人接近4亿，25岁以下独生子女超过1亿，全国约有5800万农村“留守儿童”远离父母和亲情，缺乏家长对其日常生活行为的引导、规范和心理抚慰。此外，离婚率不断升高，导致单亲家庭增加。同时，社会竞争日趋激烈，青少年面临的各种压力越来越大，部分人出现了信

念淡薄，公德缺乏，行为失范，厌学愤世，心态扭曲，有的甚至轻视生命，走上违法犯罪歧途。

4、食品安全备受关注。民以食为天，食以安为先，食品安全工作也是“民生工程”，如何进一步完善体制机制，加强食品安全监督管理工作？

5、如何解决县级城市居民看电影难的问题？以福建为例，全省人口3500多万，城镇人口超过50%，但在全省9个市中，尚有6个市没有适合现代观影要求的多厅影院。全省63个县（市）中绝大部分没有适合观众观看电影的现代化多厅影院，普遍是20世纪80年代建设起来的兼作为大礼堂的旧影院，并且普遍处于非正常放映电影的状态。

6、如何加强对领导干部特别是高中级领导干部的监督？

7、管理互联网出版资质的相关体制机制亟待完善。当前，在互联网管理中采用的是互联网出版准入制度，即由新闻出版总署批准授予互联网出版许可并明确相关出版内容，获得这一资质的绝大部分属于国有企业，少量民营企业或其他所有制企业获得了互联网游戏出版许可。截止2008年底，全国的网站数量已超过200万家，其中20%左右在从事各种类型的互联网出版

活动。如果将未取得资质的互联网出版活动视为“非法”的话，那么现实当中的合法与非法比例已经严重失调。这一现状给政府的互联网监管工作带来了极大的困扰。

二、希望党校解决的思想理论问题

1、马克思主义与中国优秀传统文化之间的关系如何，如何用中国传统文化来丰富和发展马克思主义？

2、如何深化文化体制改革，推进文化创新，提高国家文化软实力？

3、随着新闻出版体制改革的全面推进，今后绝大多数新闻媒体都要走向市场。新闻媒体一方面作为舆论工具，要发挥党和人民的喉舌作用，另一方面作为市场主体，要在市场化运作中追求利益最大化，新闻媒体的这种双重属性如何兼顾？

培训部中青年干部培训一班（第27期）“两带来”的问题

一、干部群众关心的热点问题

1、如何进一步推进党内民主建设，深入推进反腐倡廉，巩固和发展党内政治生活团结和谐的良好局面？

2、收入分配问题：如何提高居民收入

在国民收入分配中的比例，如何缩小收入差距，避免在发展阶段因收入差距过大造成的社会失衡问题？

3、房价问题：如何确定房地产业的发展政策、稳定老百姓的预期、平衡好住房供求？

4、教育问题：包括义务教育阶段择校问题、教育资源配置问题、素质教育问题等等。

5、如何实现社会的公平正义？包括收入分配、就业、公共服务、教育、医疗、医疗、社会保障等方面。

6、在当前经济形势下，如何解决就业问题特别是大学生就业问题？

7、如何进一步健全和完善社会保障和公共服务体系？

8、创新是一个民族进步的灵魂，是一个国家兴旺发达的不竭动力，也是一个政党永葆生机的源泉。如何打造民族创新精神，提高国家和企业两个层面的创新能力？

9、如何运用科学发展观为指导，切实从理论的高度解决好科技体制改革中遇到的现实问题，推动科技企业自主创新能力的提高，人才队伍建设及产业化水平的提高。

升等。如何理顺公益性科研机构的科研经费保障机制？如何做好转制为企业的科研单位人员的社会保障问题？

10、如何保持经济企稳回升的势头？如何处理保增长与经济结构调整、就业、民生等一系列问题的关系？

11、前瞻“后危机”时期，全球经济增长能否复原如初，经济格局会出现重大变化？我国经济增长前景如何？宏观政策应如何应对？

12、金融危机时期及后危机时代，中央政府、地方政府与商业银行的关系应如何定位，怎样监管，怎样提高内控水平和风险管理能力，防范处理好金融风险？

13、如何进一步深化国有企业改革，提高管理水平，提高国有资产经营效率？

14、新形势下，如何加强国有大型企业重点企业的监管，包括经营方向、高管人员行为等？

15、如何合理确定国有企业领导人员薪酬和员工薪酬水平的差距范围，才能既发挥企业领导人员的积极性，又得到员工的普遍认同？

16、重要能源物资的价格机制应如何

调整？能源型企业上下游的利益关系应如何平衡，如煤电之争？

17、在电子政务迅速发展过程中，如何强化核心信息资源的国家控制力？

18、经济全球化形势下国家信息安全战略及基本对策问题。

19、如何营造文明和谐的网络文化生态，发挥互联网的积极作用，形成强势的正面舆论引导？

20、在对外关系中，如何打造我们的国家形象？

21、面对分裂与反分裂、破坏民族团结与维护民族团结的严峻形势，我们应该如何用中华统一文化的武器来维护民族团结和祖国统一？

22、如何建立和创新我国的社团理论，发展我国的民间组织并发挥其积极作用？社团发展和我国民主政治建设的关系如何处理？

23、信访问题是当前地方干部和基层群众关心的热点问题，也是都不满意的难点问题。如何探索建立社会和广大群众接受的方式，化解发展过程中形成的利益冲突，缓减社会矛盾，有效处理事关社会和

谐稳定的涉法涉诉信访问题，畅通群众利益诉求的表达方式？

24、如何尽快通过司法改革，使司法活动在过程和结果中都能体现出公平和正义的原则？

二、希望党校解决的思想理论问题

1、如何继续深化改革之路？

2、在新的发展阶段，中央政府和地方政府的职责应如何调整？

3、在新一轮的机构改革过程中，如何立足国情、科学借鉴国外经验，适应新的发展需求，逐步建立起与中国特色社会主义相匹配的现代行政体系与管理体制，转变政府职能，妥善处理政府与市场关系，不断巩固和加强党的执政地位和执政能力？

4、农业现代化如何与工业化、城镇化统筹推进？

5、国有企业如何有效建立党组织参与重大决策和公司董事会（经营层）自主决策相结合的企业决策机制？如何处理好国有控股企业党委和董事会的职责关系？在这些方面，中央党校能否从理论、制度机制和政策等方面加以研究，为国企进一步改革提供一些科学、详细的指导和帮助。

6、推进企业股权多元化改造，完善企业法人治理结构，建立中国特色现代国有企业制度，是增强企业市场竞争能力，成为具有国际竞争力企业的必然选择。但是，目前企业改制中的各种矛盾和问题错综复杂。如何统筹好国有资产、企业发展与员工合法权益的关系，正确处理好各种矛盾和敏感问题，需要在理论上和政策上做出回答。

7、国有企业一方面要按照市场化的原则参与市场竞争，另一方面应该更多地承担社会责任。国有企业应该如何平衡这两种角色，政府应该如何评价，理论依据在哪？

8、中央企业和地方政府的利益如何更合理地划分，以更好地发挥双方的积极性？

9、国有资本为主体的国有企业之间如何解决竞争与合作问题？如何解决合作所导致的事实上的垄断问题？

10、围绕中国特色社会主义实践，大力推进马克思主义中国化的最新理论成果，应在哪些方面加强对科学发展观的深入研究，来增强基本理论对实践的指导性和说服力？

11、如何按照科学发展观的要求，加强公共服务文化体系建设？

12、如何用科学发展观来指导进一步构建农村政策性金融体系，指导农村政策性金融机构改革发展？

13、中国古典哲学思想（如儒家思想）和中国特色社会主义理论有着怎样的联系？如何从中国古典哲学思想中吸取营养来丰富中国特色社会主义理论体系？

14、改革开放30年来，一方面，国力增强，人民生活水平极大改善；另一方面各种社会矛盾和利益冲突凸显，甚至屡屡发生暴力对抗党委政府的事件。如何从理论上廓清这种矛盾现象，从而正确认识和有效解决这种矛盾，是当前比较迫切的理论问题。

15、建设社会主义和谐社会，一个重要的原则是公平正义。那么，我们应该建立一个什么样的具有广泛共识的公平正义观，以实现社会和谐稳定？

16、如何通过发扬党内民主来加强党内监督问题？

新疆班第51、52期学员“两带来”的问题

一、当前干部群众最关心的热点问题

1、如何正确处理稳定与发展的关系，

实现新疆的稳定与发展，既不要因抓发展而忽视稳定，也不能因抓稳定而放松发展。

2、7·5事件严重影响了民族团结和社会稳定大局，极大地伤害了各民族间的感情。7·5事件后，如何尽快弥合新疆各民族感情，巩固和发展民族团结，促进新疆稳定、发展和繁荣？

3、新疆作为多民族共同生活的区域，怎样处理促进民族融合和保护民族文化遺產的关系才符合国家利益？

4、7·5事件深层次原因是什么？如何以科学发展观为指导，维护新疆大局稳定，巩固民族团结，建设富裕、稳定、繁荣、和谐的新疆？

5、在加快新疆经济社会发展的同时，加大边境、边防设施建设力度，真正实现稳边固边、兴边富民。

6、如何充分利用新疆的资源条件，加快新疆发展，缩小与内地特别是与东部地区的差距？

7、新疆如何在实施优势资源转换战略过程中切实保护好生态环境？

8、如何制定特殊政策，加快新疆经济社会发展，尽快提高干部群众收入水平？

9、如何解决好就业、社会保障、收入分配、医疗卫生、教育、住房、安全生产、社会治安、资源环境等关系群众切身利益的问题？

10、如何解决教育均衡发展以及边疆少数民族地区中小学教师队伍建设问题？

11、如何解决高校毕业生特别是少数民族高校毕业生就业难问题？

12、高度重视少数民族待业青年技能培训，促进少数民族青年就业。

13、国家应继续加大新疆基础设施和民生工程投入，不断改善干部职工生活水平。

14、如何有效解决老百姓特别是边疆少数民族地区农牧民看病难、看病贵的问题？

15、收入分配差距拉大影响社会和谐稳定，阻碍消费需求扩大，国家要采取有力措施解决收入差距过大问题。

16、如何建立农民特别是失地农民的社会保障体制？

17、制定新闻法的条件是否已经具备，影响制定新闻法的主要原因是什么，在社会主义市场经济条件下国家应怎样支持少数民族地区党报党刊的发展？

18、加强党的民族政策学习，切实尊重少数民族的风俗习惯。

19、“两教”信徒发展快，开始渗透到少数民族当中、甚至信仰伊斯兰教的少数民族当中，要引起重视。

二、希望党校解决的思想理论问题

1、各级领导干部如何从理论的高度树立正确的国家观、民族观、宗教观、历史观、文化观，加强民族团结教育，做到在反对民族分裂、维护祖国统一这一事关国家主权和各族人民根本利益的问题上认识不含糊、态度不暧昧、立场不动摇？

2、从经济、政治、文化、社会、历史、意识形态以及国内国际等多个方面，研究解决影响新疆稳定问题的治本之策。

3、在新的形势下，应如何改进、调整、丰富、完善和更好贯彻落实党和国家的民族宗教理论与政策，走各民族融合的正确道路？

4、边疆少数民族地区如何正确引导宗教与社会主义社会相适应？

5、怎样从理论和实践上解决中华民族多元一体的问题？

四、结论

改革开放以来，为了适应中国经济社会发展的需要，中国共产党调整了发展党员的政策，全面贯彻干部队伍“四化”即革命化、年轻化、知识化、专业化方针，一大批年轻的受过良好教育的优秀人才加入到党内来，知识分子党员的比重从改革开放前的不足3%上升到34%，现在是中国共产党历史上知识分子党员比例最高的时期，说明中国共产党整体文化水平有了一个相当的提升。与此同时，干部队伍的新老合作与交替也顺利进行。到2001年底，省地县三级党政领导班子成员的平均年龄分别为54.2岁、48.8岁、43.1岁；大专以上学历文化程度分别达到97.8%、97.2%、94%。中国干部队伍的“四化”方针基本得到实现。截至2007年底，全国机关干部中45岁以下的占71.5%，35岁以下的占30%；具有大专以上学历程度的干部占干部总数的87.5%，比1978年提高了78.2个百分点。受过良好教育的中共年轻一代党员在党内占有越来越重要的地位。他们担任着各级党政机关的主要领导干部，是中国大政方针的决策者和执行者。目前，全国县级以上领导干部基本上具有大学专科以上的文化程度，省以上领导干部基本上具有大学本科以上的文化程度。相当多的领导干部还具有博士、硕士学位。随着中国经济社会的发展，还会有大批的受过良好教育的年轻党员逐步走上领导岗位。

年轻一代党员一般思想比较解放，有着很强的进取心和责任感，相当多的人具有忧患意识。他们对目前中国的经济政策，社会政策，教育政策，法律政策，外交政策及现行体制等问题都有自己的看法和见解。

他们普遍关注民生、关注社会的公平正义问题，包括收入分配、就业、公共服务、教育、医疗、社会保障、生态环境等方面。

他们希望继续深化经济体制改革，建立符合我国经济健康发展要求的经济体制，包括所有制形式、分配方式、投融资体制、税收体制、外贸体制、经济运行方式以及国企改革、中央与地方的关系等等，以保证中国城市化的健康发展，中国经济的可持续发展。

他们希望继续深化政治体制改革，真正建立起能够使人民行使当家作主权力的政治体制。希望能够找到民主的有效实现形式，确保公民的合法权益。他们尤其重视权力制约、权力监督的问题，希望确保权力正确行使，腐败现象能够得到有效遏制。不少人认为我们在政治体制改革中要注意借鉴发达国家的经验。

他们希望改革意识形态管理体制，使各种思想理论观点都有平等讨论和交流的氛围。

他们希望中国共产党摆脱传统观念的束缚，在理论上有更多的突破和创新，更好地指导中国的实践。

他们希望正确处理社会出现的各种矛盾，维护中国社会的稳定，从体制、机制上消除群体性事件多发的深层原因，使各个民族、各个地区能够均衡协调地发展。

他们希望中国有一个和平发展的国际环境，主张适当调整外交政策，在和平共处五项原则基础上发展与世界各国的友好合作关系，共同促进世界的繁荣和进步。

总之，他们希望通过深化改革，使中国的经济、政治、文化及社会等各方面的体制、机制能够适应中国社会的发展。

年轻一代的党员是中国继续深化改革的促进力量，将决定中国的未来。

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A Study into the thoughts and perceptions of Younger Members of the Chinese Communist Party

Han Yunchuan

Abstract

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is the ruling party of China. Its ideology, approaches, principles and policies, as well as its organizational status and Party membership are dynamically interlinked with the wider development of Chinese society. In the more than three decades since the initiation of Reform and Opening in 1978, China has undergone major changes not only in the economic sphere, but also in the political sphere, including changes to the structure of the CCP itself. These changes are reflected in major ideological breakthroughs and innovations, as well as changes to the Party's organizational mechanisms and membership policies. Important positions within the party are increasingly held by a younger generation of highly educated individuals. Their political attitudes in a range of fields will eventually affect the Chinese government's policy approaches. Therefore, understanding the evolution of the CCP, including its organizational development prior to and since, 1978 as well as the socio-political attitudes of its younger members is essential to rationalizing the process of political change that China is currently

undergoing, and predicting the course of her political development over the coming decades.

I. Historical development of the CCP's member recruitment policies

During the Cultural Revolution, the CCP's member recruitment focused on the "revolutionary character" of its members. A member's "revolutionary character" was primarily judged according to Mao Zedong's theory of perpetual socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whether or not one supports Mao's theory, it must be recognized as the main criterion for Party membership in the early years of the People's Republic of China (PRC).

This ideology is clearly reflected in the Party Constitution passed by the 9th and 10th National People's Congress (NPC) of the CCP, and by the 11th NPC held shortly after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). The Party constitutions of the 9th and 10th NPCs both enshrined the belief that: "We should especially guard against individual careerists, conspirators, and

double-dealers, to prevent such evil individuals from usurping any leadership positions in the Party or the State, and to guarantee that the leadership of the Party and the State will always remain in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries". The report of Wang Hongwen concerning the amendments of the Party constitution by the 10th NPC pointed out that: "All Party members must pay close attention to the issue of [the Party] line. We must hold true to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthen Party development, and ensure the realization of the Party's basic line in this historical period of socialism." The basic line of the CCP in this 'historical period of socialism' was that: "Socialist society is a long historical period. During the present stage, there has always been the issue of class, class contradiction and class struggle. They include the struggle between the lines of socialism and capitalism, the danger of capitalist restoration, and the threat of subversion and aggression from imperialism and social imperialism. These contradictions can only be resolved by relying on the theory and practice of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat".

This basic line is one that follows the guiding principle of class struggle. The 10th NPC felt that: "This GPCR is absolutely necessary and very timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration, and building socialism." The Party constitution passed by the 10th NPC clearly stated that: Revolutions of this type would happen again in the future. This is also affirmed by the CCP's 11th NPC held after the elimination of the "gang of four". On August 13th, 1978, the report of Ye Jianying concerning the amendments of the

Party constitution in the CCP's 11th NPC pointed out that: "In the future, if the capitalists that are in power now conspire to usurp the leadership of the Party and the State, we will follow the leadership of Chairman Hua's Central Committee and adopt the methods of the GPCR, to mobilize the nation and carry out great democracy in vanquishing the capitalists". The Party constitution passed by the 11th NPC states that: "China's GPCR was a great political revolution where the proletariat opposed the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, and prevented capitalist restoration under the conditions of socialism. Great political revolutions of this nature will happen several times in the future".

Similarly, the Party constitutions of China's 9th, 10th and 11th NPCs all point out that, "with conclusive evidence, traitors, spies, capitalists in power who refuse to repent, degenerate elements, and class-dissidents should be expelled from the Party, and never allowed back in". The Party constitutions of the 10th and 11th NPCs also required Party members to criticize capitalism and revisionism. These provisions and requirements are all reflections of Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and reflections of a basic line which follows the guidance of class struggle. The GPCR is simply this theory and doctrine put into practice.

Following the convening of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP, these provisions and requirements no longer appear in Party documents.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP, convened in December 1978, reaffirmed the ideological, political and organizational doctrines of Marxism. It fully and earnestly moved to correct the “leftist” mistakes both during and prior to the GPCR, and decisively stopped using the slogan “take class struggle as the guiding principle”. It also made the momentous decision to shift the focus of Party's work and the attention of the nation onto socialist modernization, and implemented Reform and Opening. This decision marks the great awakening of the CCP to the conditions of a new era, and it reflected the CCP's firm determination to adapt to changing conditions and the wishes of the people, and their courageous effort in embarking on a new path of constructing socialism. This was a great historical turning point and China has since entered into a new era of modernization.

The most distinctive feature of the new era is Reform and Opening. The purpose of Reform and Opening is to emancipate and develop societal production capacity, realize national modernization, and increase the wealth of the Chinese people; to continuously reform the nation's economic foundation and superstructure; to help China to embark on the great task of developing human civilization; and, to realize the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

The new era demands the CCP to maintain and develop the advanced character of the Party, and to be ahead of the times in leading the progress of contemporary China's social development.

In order to maintain the advanced character of the Party, it requires, on the one hand, for the Party's ideology, doctrine, principles and policies to adapt to the changing situation of China's social development; and, on the other hand, for all Party members and cadres to possess the qualification and capabilities to implement the Party's doctrine, principles and policies. This requires the enhancement of the Party's ideology-building and organization-building, and the molding of the Party into a solid core with the skills and abilities to lead the formulation of socialist modernization.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the CCP has achieved great results in terms of ideology-building, formulating the socialist ideological system with Chinese characteristics, and at the same time, it has also been reasonably successful in terms of organization-building.

Its accomplishments in organization-building are mainly reflected in two aspects: firstly, the continued strengthening and improvement of Party rules and regulations; and, secondly, the growth and expansion of the Party membership, and changes in Party membership structures.

The national organizational work symposium held in 1979 and the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP held in 1980, both clearly outlined the Party's organizational alignment for the new era, and introduced a comprehensive strategy for strengthening and improving Party leadership. From restoring and consolidating the organization, improving the Party's character and strengthening the formation of the Party

membership, the Party's organization-building gradually moved onto a healthy plain of development.

In order to meet the needs of modernization, the CCP proposed of the requirement of "four transformations" (*"si hua"*) from their cadres. The Party constitution of the CCP's 12th NPC clearly provisioned to "strive to make their cadres revolutionized (*geminghua*), rejuvenated (*nianqinghua*), intellectualized (*zhishihua*), and professionalized (*zhuan yehua*)."¹ If we consider being revolutionized as the abstract target, then being rejuvenated, intellectualized and professionalized would be concrete targets. Since the CCP is the national ruling Party, the vast majority of leading cadres at different levels are all members of the CCP. In order for cadres to become younger, the Party members must first become younger. Therefore, to recruit a large number of young and well-educated individuals who possess specialized knowledge and skills into the Party became a pressing issue after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP.

In order to solve this problem, a proper understanding of the role of Chinese educated classes within the Party had to be reached.

For much of its early history, the CCP's policy toward intellectuals was: unite, educate and transform. These policies were formulated on the following basis: intellectuals needed to be united because they possess special knowledge and skills, and to unite them is conducive to China's revolution and construction; they needed to be educated and transformed because intellectuals from the old society generally held the worldviews

of the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie, and only through education and transformation could their worldviews be changed to that of the proletariat and to better serving the people. During these attempts to transform their worldviews, many intellectuals were harmed as a result of the radical leftist thinking of the Party. The Anti-Rightist Campaign ('Hundred Flowers') of 1957 was a comprehensive hit on Chinese intellectuals. During the Cultural Revolution, Chinese educated classes were subjected to discrimination and exclusion. They were known as the bourgeois intellectuals and regarded as the enemy. Since they were not trusted politically, it was impossible for the educated classes to become an important source of CCP members.

The Party constitutions of the 9th and 10th NPCs provisioned that: "Chinese workers, poor peasants, low-middle peasants, revolutionary servicemen and other revolutionary elements that are over 18 years of age, recognize the Party constitution, participate and work actively in a Party organization, execute Party resolutions, abide by Party discipline and pay membership dues are all eligible to become CCP members".

The Party constitutions of the 11th NPC provisioned that: "Chinese workers, poor peasants, low-middle peasants, revolutionary servicemen and other revolutionary elements that are over 18 years of age, recognize the Party constitution, voluntarily participate and work actively in a Party organization, execute Party resolutions, abide by Party discipline and pay membership dues are all eligible to become CCP members".

As can be seen, in terms of the types of people that are allowed into the Party, the provisions

of the CCP's Party constitution of the 9th, 10th and 11th NPCs excluded the educated classes as a group. Even if individual intellectuals were allowed into the Party, they were recruited under the category of other revolutionary elements.

The CCP's view of intellectuals fundamentally changed at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee. This change was mainly reflected in two aspects. Firstly, in terms of class attribution, intellectuals would be viewed as part of the working classes. Intellectuals, just as the workers and peasants, would be considered as the backbone of the construction of socialism. Secondly, to clearly establish a socialist doctrine that respected knowledge and talent, and make this doctrine an important aspect of Party policy in the new era. In terms of deciding what type of individuals to allow into the Party, like workers and peasants, intellectuals would henceforth also be seen as a fundamental source of members for the CCP.

The Party constitution of the 12th NPC provisioned that: "Chinese workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals and other revolutionary elements that are over 18 years of age, recognize the Party constitution, voluntarily participate and work actively in a Party organization, execute Party resolutions and pay membership dues on time are all eligible to apply to become CCP members". This change opened the door for the educated classes to enter into the Party.

In this way, a large number of outstanding intellectuals were recruited into the Party after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee. This had an important effect in improving the Party

membership structures and enhancing the standard of the Party's rank and file.

China's ownership structure has undergone major changes with the deepening development of the Reform and Opening. Multiple forms of economic ownership have rapidly developed, and this has greatly promoted China's economic development. A large number of new social classes emerged along with the development of these forms of ownership. Their interests and aspirations needed channels and modes of expression. Given this situation, the choice facing the CCP was either to allow these new social classes to form their own political organizations, or to recruit them into the Party. If these new social classes had been allowed to form their own political organizations, then China would gradually have moved towards a multi-party political system. However, China's current political architecture and environment are not compatible with this level of development. If the members of these classes are recruited into the CCP, then the following problem needs to be resolved from a theoretical perspective: exactly whose interests are represented by the CCP, if the CCP solely represents the interests of the working class, and then these new social classes should naturally be excluded from the Party. If, aside from representing the interests of the working class, the CCP also represents the interests of people from all social classes of the nation, then it should recruit members from all classes to participate in the CCP.

The CCP is the ruling Party of the nation, it is the leading force of the entire society and it shoulders the great responsibility of leading the

Chinese people in building a Socialism with Chinese Characteristics. Therefore, it should not only represent the interests of the working class, but instead represent the interests of all Chinese people and the entire Chinese nation. It should not only be the vanguard for the working class, but also be the vanguard for the Chinese people and the Chinese nation. In order for the CCP's organization-building to adapt to the requirements of the development of Chinese society, the CCP proposed the theories of the Three Represents and the Two Vanguard.

The Three Represents were that the CCP "must always represent the development requirements of China's advanced productive forces, represent the advancement direction of China's glorious culture, and represent the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people".

The Two Vanguard were outlined by former CCP General Secretary Jiang Zemin during his speech at the celebration of 80th anniversary of the CCP's establishment : "we are faced with a historic task, and we are also faced with the influences of the various complex domestic and international factors, as well as challenges from various types of risks. Our Party must always be the vanguard of the Chinese working class, and be the vanguard for the Chinese people and the Chinese nation. We must become a faithful representative for the development requirements of China's advanced productive forces, for the advancement direction of China's glorious culture, and for the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, and become the key leader in the undertaking of building Socialism with

Chinese Characteristics." In other words, the CCP not only represents the interests of the Chinese working class, but also represents the interests of all Chinese people.

At the same time, the CCP raised the issue of strengthening the Party's class base and expanding the Party rank and file. During the same speech, Jiang Zemin also remarked that: "This grand and arduous undertaking of building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics requires the efforts of outstanding individuals from all walks of society who are loyal to the nation and to socialism. They must lead the people with the example of their own actions in pursuing this difficult undertaking". The most basic components and the backbone of the CCP ranks consist of workers, peasants, intellectuals, soldiers and cadres. At the same time, "outstanding individuals from other sectors of society who recognize the guiding principles and the constitution of the Party, who strive to uphold the Party's line and guiding principles using their own initiative, and who meet the conditions to become a Party member after being tested for a long period, should all be recruited into the Party. The Party will serve as a melting pot to continuously elevate the ideological and political consciousness of the great majority of its members, so as to continuously strengthen the influence and cohesive effect that our Party has on whole society as a whole."

As to the question of whether or not a political Party is advanced and serves as the vanguard of the working class, the CCP believes the main determining factors as to whether or not the Party follows the theory and guiding principles of Marxism, whether or not it represents the correct

direction of social development, and whether or not it represents the fundamental interests of the majority of the people. In judging how politically advanced or backward the people are, we cannot use the simple standards of whether or not they possess property or how much property they possess. We should instead look principally at the ideological and political situations of the people and their actions, the methods through which they obtained their property and the methods by which they allocate and utilize their property, and the contributions made through their own labors in building the Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.

The main criteria of member recruitment are whether or not individuals strive to put the Party's doctrine and guiding principles into practice using their own initiative, and thus meet the conditions to become a Party member. New changes have occurred in China's social strata during Reform and Opening. New social classes have emerged including entrepreneurs and technical personnel of private technology enterprises, management and technical personnel of foreign-funded enterprises, self-employed individuals, private entrepreneurs, employees in China's new tertiary sector, freelancers, etc. Moreover, many people now frequently move between different ownership structures, industries and regions, people's occupation and status change frequently, and the mobility of the Chinese workforce looks likely to continue to increase. Under the guidance of the Party's doctrine, principles and policies, the great majority of individuals in these new social classes have made contributions to the development of socialist society's productive forces and other undertakings through honest

labor and legal operations. They are united with workers, peasants, intellectuals, cadres and People's Liberation Army (PLA) officers, and they are also builders of the Socialism with Chinese Characteristics. Therefore, the CCP should recruit outstanding individuals from among them and bring them into the Party.

The CCP constitution passed by the 16th NPC made clear provisions regarding what type of people should be allowed into the Party: "Chinese workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals and advanced individuals from other social classes that are over 18 years of age, recognize the Party constitution, willing to participate and work actively in a Party organization, execute Party resolutions and pay membership dues on time are eligible to apply to become CCP members". This theoretically resolved the issue for individuals from social classes other than workers, peasants and intellectuals to join the Party. The opinions of the CCP Central Committee Administrative Department on June 29th, 2004 concerning the further improvement of Party member recruitment given the new circumstances pointed out that: "the recruitment of advanced individuals among private entrepreneurs (including investors of privately-owned enterprises, partners of partnership enterprises, individual controlling shareholders of corporate enterprises and principle individual investors in other types of enterprises) should be incorporated into routine Party member recruitment, thereby bringing advanced individuals among private entrepreneurs into the Party.

Theory is the precursor of practice. In practice, to consolidate the strengths of all sectors of Chinese society, the CCP will, aside from recruiting members from among workers,

peasants, soldiers and intellectuals, also bring outstanding individuals from other sectors of society into the Party. Since the CCP is intent on strengthening the Party's class foundation and expand the Party rank and file, it has actively and steadily carried out member recruitment in these fields. By the end of 2005, a total of 21,000 Party members had been recruited from these demographic groups, of which 2,406 members were private entrepreneurs. By doing so, they strengthened the Party's class foundation, expanded the Party's mass base, and further enhanced the influence and cohesion of the CCP.

II. Changes in the membership characteristics of the CCP

Party Membership before and during the Chinese Civil War

The establishment of the CCP was a product of the combination of Marxism and the Chinese Labor Movement. In the nearly 90 years of history since its foundation, the CCP has experienced multiple changes in its Party membership structures and characteristics. These changes reflect, on a basic level, the wider evolution of the CCP.

When it was founded, the CCP amounted only to some 50 members, most of whom were Marxist intellectuals. In terms of the social composition of the 13 delegates who attended the CCP's 1st NPC, all of them were intellectuals and none of them were workers. Although these members did not originate from the industrial workforce, the Party was founded by these intellectuals who believed that Marxism represented the

fundamental interests of the working class and the majority of workers. Therefore, since its foundation, the CCP has made it clear that the working class is its class base, and that the Party is the vanguard of the working class.

Initially, the CCP's main challenge was promoting Marxism and furthering the labor movement. Efforts were made to recruit worker members, and the composition of Party membership underwent significant changes. In 1922, there were 195 members nationwide, of whom 21 were workers. When the CCP's 3rd NPC convened in June 1923, there were 427 members in total, of whom 164 were workers, accounting for 38%. In 1924, Party members totaled 650 and 40% were workers. In 1926, Party members totaled at 4,000, of whom 70% were workers, and it was at this point that the CCP had the highest proportion of worker members in its history.

During the Chinese Civil War, the CCP simultaneously conducted propaganda and mobilization work among working classes, and focused on recruiting worker members into the Party, as well as conducting propaganda and organizational work among the peasants. When the CCP's 5th NPC convened in April 1927, the total number of CCP members increased to 57,967. Of these, workers accounted for 50.8%, peasants accounted for 18.7%, intellectuals accounted for 19.1%, soldiers accounted for 3.1%, medium and small merchants accounted for 0.5%, and others accounted for 7.8%. This congress called for continued efforts to increase the total number of Party members, as well as recruiting industrial workers, advanced peasants and revolutionary intellectuals into the Party ranks.

During the purge of April 12, 1927, tens of thousands of Communists were killed, and some members lost contact, turned themselves in, or betrayed the Party. In November 1927, members of the CCP drastically decreased to around 10,000.

Following the break-up of the CCP-Kuomintang alliance several months later, the CCP was forced to develop revolutionary bases in rural areas and carry out armed struggle. The Party's work in rural areas developed rapidly, and new members were largely peasants. The composition of CCP's membership experienced further major changes, moving from a majority of worker members to a majority of peasant members. When the CCP's 6th NPC convened in June 1928, the total number of Party members had already increased to more than 40,000, of which peasants accounted for 76%, whereas workers accounted for only 10%, and these were largely unemployed and small-business workers. Although the 6th NPC demanded all regional Party organizations to recruit large numbers of industrial workers into the Party, due to the fact that the activities of the CCP at the time took place mainly in rural areas, the Party membership structure, with peasants as the overwhelming majority, remained unchanged. According to the statistics of the Second Plenary Session of the 6th Central Committee of the CCP in June 1929, the number of total Party members increased to 69,000, and the proportion of worker members fell to 7%; peasant members even included some rich peasants and landlords. Despite the Party's stated desire to recruit a large number of industrial workers and change the social composition of the Party, due to the historical conditions of the Chinese society at the time and the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, the low proportion of Party members

from the industrial workforce would ensure for several decades.

Before the Red Army Long March in October 1934, nationwide Party membership totaled around 300,000, of which 90% were located in Soviet areas and peasant members accounted for 80% - the highest proportion of peasant members in the Party's history.

With the failure of the Agrarian Revolutionary War, the total number of Party members dramatically decreased to 25,000 in 1936.

In March 1938, the CCP Central Committee specifically made a resolution that called for the further breaking of the 'closed-door' policies of member recruitment, and called for recruitment efforts to focus on drafting in new activists and expanding the Party's proletarian base. In January 1939, the CCP Central Committee made the decision to actively recruit intellectuals into the Party. When the CCP's 7th NPC convened in April 1945, the total number of Party members had already increased to more than 1.211 million, which was 48 times the 25,000 members in 1936. Although the main body of Party constituents was still the peasants, due to the fact that many young students from across the country sought refuge in Yan'an during the Sino-Japanese War, the numbers of intellectuals and petty-bourgeois Party members saw some increases. Of the 1.21 million Party members at the time of the CCP's 7th NPC, intellectuals and petty-bourgeois members accounted for roughly 20%.

During the War of Liberation, the membership of the CCP saw further development. By the end

of 1949, the total number of Party members had reached more than 4.488 million, which was 3.7 times the number of members in April 1945. In terms of social composition, there were 112,000 workers, accounting for 2.5%; 2.676 million peasants, accounting for 59.6%; 1.076 million soldiers, accounting for 24%; 498,000 staff, accounting for 11.1%; 36,000 students, accounting for 0.8%, and; 90,000 others, accounting for 2%. This was the year when the Party had the highest proportion of soldiers in its history. As the Chinese Revolution was essentially a Communist-led peasant war, the vast majority of soldiers were peasants wearing army uniforms, and peasant members and soldier members combined to account for more than 80% of total Party members. In terms of the education levels of Party members, a total of 150,000 members had education levels above junior high school, accounting for only 3.34%; of these, only 14,000 had education levels above university and specialization school, accounting only for 0.3%; 1.241 million members had elementary school education, accounting for 27.65%; 3.097 million members were illiterate, accounting for 69%. This was the period that the CCP had the highest proportion of illiterate members in its history.

Party Membership during the Early Years of the PRC

During Land Reform, the Korean War, Intellectual Thought Reform, the Agricultural Co-operative Movement and the various other construction efforts that followed, the CCP focused on identifying outstanding individuals and bringing them into the Party. The Party rank and file not only grew rapidly, but the social composition and education levels of members

all saw significant improvements. In 1956, the total number of Party members had reached 12.504 million. In terms of social composition, there were 1.1 million workers, an increase of roughly one million workers from the figure of 112,000 in 1949, and as a proportion of the Party they increased from 2.5% to 8.8%; staff members increased to 3.131 million, up to 25.04%; members from other social groups increased from 90,000 in 1949 to 221,000, accounting for 1.77%; peasant members numbered 6.548 million, their proportion having dropped to 52.37%; and, soldier members numbered 1.341 million, or 10.72%. The combined proportion of peasant and soldier members dropped to 63.1%. In terms of membership education levels, illiterate members fell from 69% in 1949 to 28.4%; members with education levels above junior high school increased to 2.13 million, or 17%, and among them, 131,000 had education levels higher than specialization school, accounting for 1.05%.

Along with the basic completion of the socialist transformation, and the arrival of the climax of the large-scale socialist construction, the focus on recruiting outstanding individuals among the new and old intelligentsia into the party further improved the structural composition and cultural level of the Party membership. However, due to the erroneous 'Hundred Flowers' anti-rightist struggle that took place in the latter half of 1957, the process of recruiting outstanding individuals from the intelligentsia into the Party was interrupted, and this situation persisted until the Cultural Revolution.

In 1978, the number of CCP members totaled 36.981 million. In terms of social composition,

there were 6.928 million worker members, accounting for 18.73%. This period saw the largest proportion of worker members in the post-1949 era. There were 17.358 million peasant members, their proportion having fallen to 46.94%; 2.547 million military members, accounting for 6.89%; there were 0.6 million members from demographic groups other than workers, peasants, soldiers, service and sales workers, all kinds of professional and technical personnel, cadres and students, accounting for 1.6%. In terms of Party members' levels of education, there were 4.194 million illiterate members, although this figure had increased by 0.643 million over the 22 years since 1956, as a proportion of total Party members it had dropped to 11.9%; 15.372 million members had education levels higher than middle school, accounting for 41.57%, of which 1.07 million members had junior college education or above, accounting for 2.89%. One fact worth noting is that over the course of these 22 years, members with elementary school education levels increased by 10.384 million, reaching 17.366 million, or 46.96%. In terms of the education levels of the Party membership, great improvements had been made, but the situation was still not optimal.

Party Membership during Reform and Opening

During Reform and Opening, the social development needs and changes in the recruitment ideology of the CCP have led to major changes in the CCP member structure.

According to statistics published by the Administrative Department of the CCP Central Committee in July 2009, as of the end of 2008,

CCP members totaled 75.931 million. Over this period, the composition of the Party membership has undergone major changes.

In terms of the gender, ethnicity and education level of Party members, there are 15.969 million female members, accounting for 21.0%; 4.944 million ethnic minority members, accounting for 6.5%; and 25.833 million members with junior college education and above, accounting for 34.0%. According to previous CCP statistics, aside from the very early years, this year saw the highest proportion of intellectual members in Party history. This can be described as the direct result of the changes to the CCP's member recruitment policy. What is more, as education levels in China continue to rise, the proportion of intellectuals in the CCP looks likely to continue to grow.

In terms of the age of Party members, 17.855 million are under the age of 35, accounting for 23.5%; 17.19 million are between the ages of 36 to 45, accounting for 22.6%; 22.22 million are between the ages of 46 to 59, accounting for 29.3%; and, 18.666 million are above the age of 60, accounting for 24.6%. By combining the first two groups, it is evident that the proportion of Party members under the age of 45 accounts for more than 46% and the proportion of young members in the Party has clearly increased.

In terms of when members joined the CCP, 0.733 million joined the Party before the founding of the country, accounting for 1%; 7.996 million joined after the founding of the country but before the Cultural Revolution, accounting for 10.5%; 12.309 million joined

during the Cultural Revolution, accounting for 16.2%; 38.036 million joined after the elimination of the “Gang of Four” but before the 16th Party Congress, accounting for 50.1%; and, 16.856 million have joined since the 16th Party Congress, accounting for 22.2%. It is not difficult to discern from these statistics that of current CCP members, a majority joined the Party after the elimination of the “Gang of Four”. In other words, most Party members joined the Party after the initiation of Reform and Opening.

In terms of Party member occupations, 7.336 million are workers, accounting for 9.7%; 23.612 million are farmers, herdsmen and fishermen, accounting for 31.1%; 6.208 million are Party and government office personnel, accounting for 8.2%; 16.876 million are corporate managers and professional technical personnel, accounting for 22.2%; 2.014 million are students, accounting for 2.7%; 14.282 million are retired personnel, accounting for 18.8%; and 5.601 million are of other occupations, accounting for 7.4%.

From these statistics, it becomes clear that amongst current CCP members, the traditionally high proportions of workers and farmers are declining. Worker members have fallen to 9.7% from their height of 70%, and farmer members have declined to 31.1% from their height of 80%. The proportion of Party and government office personnel, as well as corporate managers and professional technical personnel, are both rising, and these individuals generally have college level education.

The CCP has also focused on building Party organizations and recruiting members in non-

public organizations. Currently, there are 3.582 million Party members employed in non-public organizations, of which 1.635 million are workers, and 1.947 million are managers and professional technical personnel. There are more than 800,000 Party members from sole proprietorship businesses. The social composition and occupations of the CCP members have diversified. This has not only strengthened the Party’s class foundation, but also expanded its mass base.

In terms of Party member recruitment, a total of 2.807 million new members were recruited in 2008. Of the new recruits, 1.023 million were female, accounting for 36.4%; 0.198 million were from ethnic minorities, accounting for 7.1%; 2.268 million were under the age of 35, accounting for 80.8%; and 0.862 million possessed educational levels equivalent to or above junior college, accounting for 30.7%.

In terms of the occupations of newly-recruited members, there were 209,000 workers, accounting for 7.5%; 559,000 farmers, herdsmen and fishermen, accounting for 19.9%; 123,000 Party and government personnel, accounting for 4.4%; 581,000 managers and professional technical staff in enterprises, accounting for 20.7%; 1.067 million students (including students from secondary schools and institutions of higher learning), accounting for 38%; and, 268,000 from other occupations, accounting for 9.5%. Among them, the total number of student recruits was the most significant, 71,000 more student members were recruited compared to the previous year, accounting for an increase of 2.2 percentage points as a proportion of total recruited members. In addition, 126,000

employees of non-public organizations were recruited, of which 47,000 members were workers, and 79,000 members were managers and professional technical personnel.

It is not difficult to discern from these statistics that young and highly educated people have become the main target for CCP member recruitment.

The CCP promotes to the unification of well-developed and well-rounded characters its recruitment strategy, and new members must conform to Party standards. According to statistics from the Administrative Department of the CCP Central Committee, in 2008, a total of 19.449 million people applied to become Party members, and 2.807 million members were recruited - only for one-seventh of the total applicants. Evidently, not everyone who applies will be admitted to the CCP. Only those applicants who are considered outstanding individuals among the masses and meet the conditions to become a CCP member will be admitted into the Party.

At present, students in institutions of higher learning are actively applying to join the CCP. Some universities in Shandong are seeing more than half of their current students applying to join the Party. Statistics from Shandong University show that the proportion of undergraduate students submitting applications to join the Party is over 90%, 13.5% of undergraduate students are Party members, and as many as 40% of graduate students are Party members.

During Reform and Opening, becoming rejuvenated and intellectualized have become the new watchwords of changes to Party membership structures.

III. The political attitude of the CCP's younger Party members

What, then, is the political attitude of the CCP's younger members? What are the main issues that concern them? We can see the answers from the three following data sets.

Data Set One and Two

Data sets One and Two are responses to questionnaires by two groups of party members studying at the Party School. Results are presented in tabular form below.

Respondent backgrounds

Data Set One: (University Student Party Members Survey Statistics and Party Member) University student Party members, mainly masters and PhD students in the Party School of the Central Committee of the CCP. n=175 Party members, of which 148 were masters students, and 27 were PhD students. They were all born in the 1970s or 1980s, with an age range of 22 to 39.

Data Set Two: (Cadres Survey Statistics) Postal and Telecommunications System's cadres receiving courses in the Training Center of the Party School of the Central Committee of the CCP. They are personnel at State-owned enterprises and institutions. n=64 respondents, aged between 35 and 54.

ITEM	RESPONSE OPTIONS													
	Data Set 1 (%)	Data Set 2 (%)	Data Set 1 (%)	Data Set 2 (%)	Data Set 1 (%)	Data Set 2 (%)	Data Set 1 (%)	Data Set 2 (%)	Data Set 1 (%)	Data Set 2 (%)	Data Set 1 (%)	Data Set 2 (%)	Data Set 1 (%)	Data Set 2 (%)
Item 1.	Public servant		State-owned enterprise personnel		Other									
Your future career aspirations are	51.4	n/a	47	n/a	1.6	n/a								
Item 2.	Contributing to society		Maximizing personal interests		Other									
You believe that the value of life lies primarily in	74.9	92.2	19.4	3.1	14.3	3.1								
Item 3.	Joining the Party is a sign of personal progress		To achieve better personal development		To facilitate job-hunting		To make a contribution to society		Other					
You joined the Party because	56.6	57.8	36	10.9	8.6	n/a	n/a	34.4	5.1	1.6				
Item 4.	Very interested		Somewhat interested		Not interested									
In terms of domestic and foreign political affairs, you are	32.1	43.8	61.1	39.1	6.3	1.6								

Item 5.	Very frequently	Sometimes	Never												
You participate in the activities of social groups	30.3 25	60 70.3	9.1 4.7												
Item 6.	Very frequently	Sometimes	Never												
You and your classmates/colleagues discuss politics and current affairs	45.7 51.1	50.3 45.3	2.9 1.6												
Item 7.	The violation of the interests of the masses	Abuse of power by cadres for personal gain	Bad behavior by cadres												
In your opinion, the main reason for the frequent occurrence of mass civil unrest in current China is	69.1	53.7	29.1												
	81.3	37.5	37.5												
Item 8.	Healthcare	Social conduct	Social order												
	31.4	34.9	19.4												
The social issue about which you are most concerned	42.2	56.3	23.4												
				Distribution of wealth	Corruption	Environmental protection	Housing								
Manipulation by people with ulterior motives	Irrational demands by a small group of people	Bad behavior by cadres	Social order					Social conduct	Social order	Distribution of wealth	Corruption	Environmental protection	Housing		
				7.4	9.4	4.6	7.8							7.4	9.4
7.4	9.4	4.6	7.8					7.4	9.4	40.6	32	29.1	32.8		

Item 8 cont.	Food Safety		Production Safety		Land acquisition and resettlement								
	17.1	28.1	6.3	3.1	9.1	4.7							
Item 9.	Insufficient demand		Unfair Distribution of wealth		An increasing income gap		Too close a relationship between wealth and power		Resource and environmental issues		Employment issues		
	9.1	20.3	54.9	32.8	57.1	68.8	12	17.2	25.1	17.2	22.9	51.6	21.7
Item 10.	It possesses superiority and needs to be upheld, fundamentally not reformed		It has serious drawbacks and needs to be fundamentally reformed		Unconcerned								
	49.7	54.7	40.6	28.1	6.9	3.1							
Item 11.	It has achieved significant results		It has achieved few results		It has achieved no results		Unconcerned						
	38.9	51.6	51.4	46.9	7.4	0	1.1	0					
Regarding China's current political system, you feel		Regarding China's democracy-building, you feel											

Item 12.	It is good		It is not favorable to the development of talent		Unconcerned	
Regarding China's current education system, you feel	18.3	1.6	76	92.2	4	0
Item 13.	Lack of judicial independence		Potential for miscarriages of justice		Inefficiency	
In your opinion, the most prominent issue in China's judicial sector is	50.3	25	18.3	15.6	45.7	40.6
Item 14.	It is good		It needs adjustment		Unconcerned	
Regarding China's current foreign policy, you feel	37.1	60.9	50.3	31.3	9.7	3.1
					1.7	1.6
					19.4	53.1

Item 15.	Government's role is too limited	Inadequacy of medical insurance	Lack of marketization	Lack of industry regulation
In your opinion, the most prominent issue in China's health care system is	34.9 39.1	52 64.1	11.4 6.25	26.9 34.4
Item 16.	Very optimistic	Somewhat optimistic	Somewhat pessimistic	Very pessimistic
Regarding China's future development under the current system, you feel	14.3 23.4	69.7 75	11.4 0	3.4 0

Data Set Three

Summary of the “Liang Dai Lai” Issues Provided by Participants in Selected Training Courses at the Party School of the Central Committee of CCP

Respondents were cadres from a variety of locations and departments studying or receiving training at the Party School of the Central Committee of CCP in Fall, 2009. In terms of rankings, respondents ranged from ministerial and provincial level cadres, as well as prefectural level, municipal level, departmental level, county level and divisional level cadres. In terms of backgrounds, respondents were Party and government cadres, cadres from large organizations and public institutions, as well as cadres from large State-owned enterprises and institutions.

The Party School of the Central Committee of CCP requires each participant to, in written form, raise one current issue of concern amongst cadres and the masses, and one ideological and theoretical issue most hoped to be addressed during their studies at the Party School of the Central Committee – a task summed up as “*liang dai lai*” (literally, “two brought forth”). Below are the “*liang dai lai*” issues raised by participants in selected training courses at the Party School of the Central Committee of CCP in fall 2009. From these, we can see the main issues of concern and consideration among Party member cadres of all levels and types in China.

“Liang Dai Lai” Issues from the Symposium “The International Financial Crisis and Countermeasures” – Further Training Course for Ministerial and Provincial Level Cadres at the Training Department (The 46th Session)

1. Current issues of concern to cadres and the masses

1. To study the causal factors, transmission mechanisms and the lessons of financial crisis, and to study the relationship between finance and the real economy.

Firstly, in the international monetary system, excessive spending and excessive saving are both unsustainable, over-dependence on a single currency is also unsustainable; secondly, in the developmental models of financial institutions, levels of risk in diverse operations are high; thirdly, financial innovation should not be excessive; fourthly, there are deficiencies in mechanisms for calculating the value of financial assets, and some accounting practices distort profits and losses to cause market volatility; fifthly, improvements must be made to supervisory and regulatory systems.

2. One of the reasons for the financial crisis is the excessive financial innovation and the absence of financial supervision and regulation. Yet, China's financial innovation is not excessive but insufficient, how do we go about rationalizing this tension? The principles of Marxism must be used in analyzing the financial crisis and resolving related issues. Marxism must be used in analyzing economic issues, and the pattern, the duration

and the recovery speed of the crisis; the analysis must be convincing and not a generalized conclusion of an L-type or a W-type recovery. According to Marxist theory, socialist countries should avoid economic crises.

3. What is the next step in China's economic policy? Will the central government make large adjustments to its proactive fiscal policy and the moderately relaxed monetary policy? Some participants believe that against the background of the financial crisis, growth of the first seven months of 2009 was created by huge investments, but these credit-driven investments are not sustainable, what happens if the external demand is still sluggish in the second half of the year? What happens next year? What happens the year after that? Great attention must be paid to the negative effects brought about by these huge investments. Due to the impacts of the financial crisis, the development of every region and department faces tremendous pressures, how does one integrate these diverse circumstances in the search for a new stimulus for economic growth? How to deal with the labor surplus against the background of the crisis? How to expand consumption demand to maintain long-term economic balance and sustainable growth?

4. In the face of the financial crisis, State-owned enterprises are facing immense pressures. How can China's State-owned enterprises be free of burdens and compete fairly with renowned international corporations? How to make State-owned enterprises become truly innovative entities, a status that is still beyond their reach given the resources and support currently available to them? How to allocate social

resources to effectively promote innovation, which is currently encountering great difficulties? How to ensure the commercial R&D input while public R&D input lags far behind?

5. While maintaining growth is a concrete target, adjusting structures is a comparatively "abstract" target and not easily quantified; yet, the results of these targets should not be one concrete and the other "abstract". The present is the best time for adjusting structures, if structures are not adjusted, huge investments will lock in structural imbalances and strengthen path dependence, which will cause even greater difficulties for later adjustments.

6. The existing assessment system, which sets plans and numerical targets at every level, presents leading cadres with the dilemma of promoting development while, at the same time, addressing the tasks of energy conservation and ecological protection.

7. The current rural land issue can be summarized as "*si nan yi duo*" (literally, "four difficulties and one excess"). The four difficulties are, difficulty in financing, difficulty in modernizing peasant lifestyles, difficulty in the professional division of labor, and the difficulty in effectively ensuring the right to land revenue; the one excess is the increasing volume of rural land disputes.

8. Certain conflicts exist with regard to urbanization and farm land protection; in some areas, farm land protection hinders the process of urbanization.

9. How to deal with contracting issues surround-

ding land transfer in new rural development? Land transfer continues to expand and there are numerous mechanisms for doing this. How can the transfer mechanisms reflect the generalized system of preferences, making the organizational form compatible with modernized mass production? A transfer market must be established to coordinate the interests of all parties.

10. Rural land reform needs theoretical support; firstly, what is the direction of rural development? With many farmers attracted to the cities, neither the cities nor rural villages will be able to develop. What is the developmental trend of rural development? Modern agriculture needs land intensification.

11. How to further reform the national income distribution system, and accelerate the establishment of a social security system? How to, in theory and in practice, resolve the increasing income gap between different regions, different industries, and different population groups, and the resultant social imbalances they create?

12. In recent years, incidents of excessive behavior, negligence, and malfeasance, as well as non-transparent, irregular and unlawful actions have been witnessed amongst the public authorities. How to accelerate the improvement of the credibility of public authorities has become an urgent task facing organs of State power at all levels.

13. Paying attention to people's livelihoods; firstly, reducing the income gap; secondly, avoiding large price fluctuations; thirdly, ensuring equality of education; fourthly,

improving the conditions of health care; fifthly, optimizing employment policies.

14. How to accelerate the urbanization of farmers during the process of urbanization? How to deal with the issue of children left-behind? How to resolve the conflict between university recruitment expansion and university student employment?

15. Food safety is an issue relevant to the vital interests of all people, and a culture of 'good faith' must be established to emphasize the issue of product safety and quality.

16. Paying attention to employment issues, as well as to entrepreneurship issues; if private enterprises cannot succeed, national competitiveness will not increase.

17. The current access to basic education is disproportionate, especially between cities and the countryside; in medium and large cities, people have objections against schools at the compulsory education stage collecting miscellaneous charges, such as school-choosing fees and class-opening fees.

18. University graduates have difficulties in finding jobs, how should our examination-oriented education system be reformed?

19. While responding to crises during economic development, how to coordinate the development of social projects is a major task. The transformation of cultural undertakings into cultural industries requires the support of system reform. Education needs to be linked with the job market. The essence of technology is to build

a national innovation system that is independently innovative. In terms of health care, the medical reform program must be improved. In terms of sports, elite sports must be transformed into popular sports.

20. In-depth research should be conducted into labor relations and the relationship between enterprises and workers should be properly handled. The power of labor unions is currently too weak, which is not conducive to work.

21. The Party must rule with a sense of urgency, and the Party's ruling foundation must be further fortified.

22. To enhance research on the relationship between the construction of the ruling party and economic development. The building of the Party's grassroots organizations must be managed by the Party, Party secretaries can not only be concerned with economic development but should pay close attention to the construction of the Party, and the assessments of Party secretaries and mayors should not be exactly identical.

23. How does the Party's aim of serving the people wholeheartedly internalize through change mechanisms of governance in the new era? All considerations and decisions are based on the vital interests of the masses to comprehensively tackle existing conflicts in society, to fundamentally resolve the unrelenting issue of large-scale incidents of civil unrest, and to lay a solid foundation for the long-lasting political stability of the Party and the nation.

24. How does the ruling CCP support and

strengthen the construction of other participating political parties? The continuous development and improvement of a multi-party cooperation system require both a strong ruling party and compatible participating parties.

25. A new understanding of the capital market in a socialist system with Chinese characteristics should be developed. The capital market engages in the trading of financial products, financial tools with a holding period of one-year or longer are an important component of the socialist market. The capital market has developed, the economic base has changed, the economic base determines the superstructure, and many of our core traditional economic concepts need to be changed.

26. In some State-owned enterprises, corporate governance is too complex and the board of directors and the Party committee are basically one and the same. The board of directors can be eliminated and decisions can be made by the Party committee and executed by the management.

27. There are conflicts, convergences, and interplays between five thousand years of Chinese traditional culture and the social value system that has emerged during thirty years of Reform and Opening. After three decades of Reform and Opening, overall national strength has greatly increased and living standards have continued to improve. However, there is little of security regarding mainstream social values; outstanding Chinese culture is subjected to serious pressures, issues have appeared with regards to national identity, and some social conflicts have become increasingly prominent.

28. Religious issues are important, and many cope with these issues passively or unwillingly. Religious freedom has been well implemented, but in terms of the rule of law, independence, freedom, and compatibility with a socialist society, many tasks concerning religion are yet to be completed. Religious theory in Socialism with Chinese Characteristics requires in-depth study.

29. How does the CCP further enhance its level of scientific, democratic and lawful governance? How to conduct democratic system planning and find an effective implementation method for democracy? How to resolve grassroots democracy issues, especially negative phenomena in rural grassroots elections and the relationship between democracy and traditional religion in rural areas? How to further maintain and improve the system of the People's Congress, and multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CCP, in order to perfect supervision and control mechanisms and to ensure the proper exercise of power?

30. In order to promote coordinated development and reduce the wealth divide, the concept of scientific development needs further theoretical innovation, strengthening of system designs, and sophistication of its systems of classification.

31. In recent years, there have been frequent occasions where many political cadres of State-owned enterprises have not been focused on Party affairs and political tasks, rural Party branches and village committees are at loggerheads, many non-public enterprises do not permit the establishment of Party

organizations, and grassroots members have too high a workload. Given ongoing development, how to further enhance the Party's basic work at the grassroots level and accomplish the functions of grassroots Party organizations?

32. How to advance government reform to resolve the various issues in our social construction and social management through furthering research in and the practice of public governance theory?

33. How to resolve issues which touch on fundamental national beliefs? How to deal with issues in fundamental values and build a foundation of common values shared by society as a whole? How to resolve fundamental ethical issues? How to resolve issues related to overall national performance?

34. How to deal with the current lack of honesty faced by society? It is generally manifested in: the frequent occurrences of major law/regulation violation cases by the leading cadres of the Party and the government, which reduce the credibility of the government; the profit-oriented business operations of enterprises who have no sense of social responsibility; sub-standard professional ethics driven by the desire for fame and fortune; the prevailing set of hidden rules and interpersonal relationships which are crude, profit-oriented and lack of candidness.

35. As new circumstances, situations and issues arise, how to better uphold and develop the Party's policies towards ethnic minorities and ethnicity-based regional autonomous systems based on practical experience.

36. The issue of petitioning in Beijing has become an important part of the "accountability system" of the Party and government cadres. There are four characteristics in the issues of *xinfang* (literally: letters and visits, meaning: petition): firstly, a great number have accumulated over many years; secondly, they related to very diverse subjects; thirdly, they are difficult to resolve; and fourthly, many of the issues are continually developing. The treatment of these issues also exhibits several negative characteristics: firstly, it has no clear means of initiation; secondly, there is no process; thirdly, it is not governed by law; and, fourthly, there is no mechanism for resolution of issues. There should be logic behind the treatment to these issues: firstly, which issues should be resolved? Secondly, what solutions should be adopted? The current tendency to "*jiefang*" (literally: "cut visits", meaning: block the petition) has had significant negative impacts on local Party work, how can the situation be improved?

37. During the process of urbanization, how to resolve conflicts between integrated urban governance, urban environment construction, and the low-level economic activities of normal citizens? How to ensure the actualization of land contracting rights for rural women?

38. Currently, the Chinese government attaches great importance to environmental protection. Although environmental protection policies are gradually improving, the issues of environmental pollution and habitat degradation are new areas of instability in society. They pose formidable challenges to national strategy, the administrative methods and the performance evaluation mechanisms of different levels of government.

How to resolve the issue of non-uniform regulations on water and environmental pollution, in order to better promote development, conservation of energy and ecological protection?

39. How to fundamentally contain corruption and better prevent and penalize corruption; specifically, how to eradicate corruption among top leaders, collective corruption, and corruption among cadres' families? Specific requirements must be placed on certain occupational groups with distinctive responsibilities, such as judicial officers.

40. As circumstances change, how should Party-building further the implementation of democratic centralism? How to coordinate the relationship between democracy and centralization? Is there a specific system design for the integration of collective leadership and individual responsibility? How to oversee and regulate the powers of "*yi ba shou*" ("top leaders")?

II. The ideological and theoretical issue most hoped to be addressed while at the Party School

1. How to clearly and thoroughly discuss the roots, hazards and impacts of this financial crisis from a theoretical perspective? In response to the international financial crisis, how to correctly understand the relationship between the advantages of socialism and the continuation of reform?

2. The current implementation of the concept of scientific development is focused on maintaining growth and economic transformation. How to avoid the domination of the

three key motors for economic growth by state-led investment? How to change the situation where investments are led by the State, stimulate private investment and avoid *guojin mintui* (the State advancing and the people retreating), a situation caused by the economic crisis? How to effect the upgrading of industry? How to properly coordinate the relationship between maintaining growth and adjusting structure, while conforming to Party's pragmatic ideological line?

3. Following the outbreak of the financial crisis, how should State-owned enterprises view, understand and respond to the phenomenon of "the State advancing and the people retreating"?

4. Marxist economic theories regarding the paradox of overproduction and underconsumption have been partially validated by the onset of the international financial crisis. From today's perspective, what should we make of this from a theoretical point of view?

5. How to further enhance study into management issues within State-owned properties in a mixed ownership economy? How to both ensure maintenance and appreciation of the value of State assets, and to bring the role and functions of State-owned properties into full play?

6. How should State-owned enterprises advance with the times and further promote and deepen their own reform. How to be free of burdens and compete fairly with renowned international corporations? How to make State-owned enterprises become truly innovative entities? How to ensure private R&D input?

7. From a macro-policy perspective, how to resolve issues in the relationship between ecological responsibilities and profit in a coordinated fashion? How to integrate ecological protection and improvements in livelihoods? How to establish a thoroughly effective mechanism for ecological sustainability?

8. How to work out issues which touch on fundamental national beliefs? How to deal with issues of fundamental values? How to resolve fundamental ethical issues? How to resolve issues of basic national competence?

9. How to promote the effective implementation of the core socialist value system? The core socialist value system has powerful political and theoretical features, and is rich in substance; emphasis should be placed on the two areas of theoretical research and practical education guidance to develop solutions.

10. How to succeed and carry forward outstanding Chinese civilization?

11. Saving for a rainy day: during this financial crisis, the societies of western countries have remained stable with orderly social functioning; if similar conditions were to take hold in China, the unemployment rate would double, non-performing assets would accumulate, and confidence would disappear, and what would become of China's situation?

12. Why did the "July 5th" incident occur during the strongest and most stable period of development in Xinjiang's history? In Xinjiang, are all issues instantaneously resolved once the economy becomes prosperous? Why did some

people, having grown up under the Party's numerous years of national unity education, become protagonists in the "July 5th" incident? Why were some minority women and adolescents also involved in assault, vandalism, looting and arson?

13. In the new era, what beliefs should people uphold and how to treat the complex issue of ethnicity and religion?

14. In economically underdeveloped regions, how to ensure both the rapid development of economic systems and the accurate implementation of the concept of scientific development?

15. The constituents of a new social stratum can be generally categorized as: the "individuals in the non-public economy" and "self-employed intellectuals". Apart from the national level, there is basically no public economy. With the increasing number of individuals in this new social stratum, more political demands are being made and these individuals have become a new social force; how to understand and deal with these individuals?

16. Many major events have originated from the internet, especially matters involving government officials, wealthy people, and police officers. Relying on censorship is not the solution, but how should such issues be dealt with? How to resolve conflicts between illegal petitions and judicial authority? How to coordinate interactions and conflicts between the internet and society?

17. Given the pressures from developed

American and European countries, how to react to China's gradually losing its allies among developing countries?

"Liang Dai Lai" Issues at the Symposium "Administrative System Reform" – Further Training Course for Ministerial and Provincial Level Cadres at the Training Department (The 46th Session)

I. Major issues of concern to cadres and the masses

1. How to resolve the excessive income gap? How to properly narrow the income distribution gap is of crucial importance to the continuous improvement of people's living standards, the maintenance of social harmony and stability, and the comprehensive building of an affluent society. There are currently many debates, but measures to adjust the distribution structures have been, on three occasions, unsystematic and unclear, and perceived by people as indirect and insufficient.

2. Issues in urban-rural and inter-regional transfer and the continued development of social security systems, such as old-age pensions and health care, are increasingly prominent. How should they be resolved?

3. At present, the old-age pension system does not cover the personnel of former May 7th enterprises and large collectives which used to organize labour; the circumstances of these personnel are rather complex and difficulties in policy design and implementation abound, thus requiring serious investigation.

4. Issues of departmental division of responsibility in social security tasks are rather prominent. For example, the Health Department is responsible for the New Rural Cooperative Medical Scheme, the Labor Security Department is responsible for the new rural social old-age insurance pilot project, and the Civil Affairs Department is responsible for the urban and rural social protection assistance scheme. The system lacks cohesion to the extent that it affects overall coordination and development of social security issues, as well as the accomplishment of administrative functions.

5. How to implement temporary and permanent solutions which help overcome people's difficulty in obtaining medical treatment?

6. How to further promote the development of the health care and pharmaceutical industries?

7. Incidents of mass civil unrest have received a lot of attention. According to statistics, since the mid-1990s, the number of mass incidents has climbed from more than 10,000 in 1994 to around 74,000 in 2006, a six fold increase; the number of people involved has risen from 730,000 in 1994 to 3,760,000 in 2004. Under the high level of attention and impeccable leadership of the central government, the number of incidents of mass civil unrest has decreased annually since 2005. However, due to the fact that China is undergoing a period of prominent conflicts, various unstable factors have clearly increased, and although the total number of incidents of mass civil unrest is gradually declining, it still remains at a high level. Moreover, the emergence of new situations and changes has made proactive

prevention and proper treatment of these incidents an even more formidable and complex challenge. It is hoped that the Party School can, from a systemic and mechanical perspective, thoroughly study this important issue which seriously affects the overall development of the national economy and society.

8. How to further improve China's emergency management systems and mechanisms?

9. How to resolve university graduates' difficulty in finding jobs? According to the statistics of the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security, the nationwide number of graduates this year is 6.1 million, constituting almost half of the total increase to the labor force in urban areas; and among the graduates of 2007 and 2008, one million and 1.5 million respectively have still not found jobs. Opinions vary on the reasons for graduates' difficulty in landing jobs. Some think it is due to the expansion of university recruitment, others believe structural imbalances and decreases in quality are the causes, while others consider household registration a barrier, the urban-rural divide, and the industrial monopoly to be at fault, etc. Thus, what is the fundamental reason for university graduates' difficulty in landing jobs? And what are effective response measures?

10. How to resolve the issue of division of departmental responsibilities affecting administration functions? According to the requirements for establishing an equal employment system for migrant laborers and a social security system covering migrants, there are currently many research-worthy issues in terms of how China divides tasks and mechanisms

between departments. For example, in terms of the employment tasks, there is no clear division of roles between the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Office of Poverty Alleviation in terms of overseeing the organization of employment and vocational skills training in agriculture transfer. Each department manages part of the budget according to hierarchical distribution channels; yet, there are no clear and uniform requirements or standards for tasks and projects.

11. How to improve administrative efficiency? At present, there are more and more joint conferences of various types and some ministerial level cadres are members of twenty to thirty or even more joint conferences and they often need to spend significant amounts of time and energy on attending meetings led by other departments. Many department heads feel inundated by this, and they also frequently need to transfer some ministerial level cadres from other departments to, for a period of around ten days, supervise and inspect the details of the arrangement and implementation of a certain task. Is such phenomenon in line with the direction of the administrative system reform? How to deal with this phenomenon from systemic and mechanical perspectives?

12. How to correctly understand the function and performance levels of grassroots Party committees and governments? (1) The Constitution and the law have a fairly clear definition of the responsibilities of local governments at all levels, but the Party rules and regulations have a rather abstract definition of the responsibilities of grassroots Party committees, thus

problematizing the interpretation of these two sets of regulations; (2) the functions of Party committees and ruling bodies are not clearly defined; (3) the powers and responsibilities of Party committees and ruling bodies are disproportionate; (4) a situation where administrative deputies are accountable to top leaders of Party committees is commonplace, impacting on the system of administrative accountability stipulated by the Constitution and the law; (5) the Constitution and the law have given high status and great power to the People's Congresses at all levels, however, the practical fulfillment of these functions has diminished; (6) Party discipline regulatory bodies have rational architectures and clear responsibilities stipulated by the Party constitution, but its role performance is limited in reality; (7) according to Party rules and regulations, leaders of Party committees act as political, ideological and organizational leaders. Therefore, leaders of Party committees should assume the macro activities of setting strategic direction, instructing cadres, and unifying public support. In practice however, leaders of Party committees usually plunge into actual economic and social affairs, meaning that they are both overstepping and neglecting their responsibilities; (8) the relationship between the main leaders of Party committees and ruling bodies lacks the indemnity of scientifically designed systems and mechanisms.

13. How to appropriately manage the relationship between the fulfillment of governance by law and the reinforcement of government administration to maintain public security, and ensure the harmony and stability of the society?

14. How to further advance reform of public institutions?

15. How do grassroots Party committees and governments raise their governing capacities to not only promote the development of the economy and society, but also to maintain social stability?

16. How to effectively improve the Party's credibility?

17. How to effectively prevent and deal with issues of corruption? The vast majority of cadres and people take strong exception to corruption issues, they hold deep animosity against the very few cadres who abuse their powers for personal gain, and the desire to strictly punish corruption is overwhelming.

18. How to deal with the issue of accountability for incompetent officials? Incompetent individuals hide among the crowds, and incompetent officials are frequently witnessed in the workplace. The characteristics of an incompetent official can be summarized as: illogical, incompetent, unmotivated, irresponsible, passive, scared of making a mistake, under-achieving, no misdeeds, petty greed rather than major corruption, and no sense of urgency. In the context of today's rapid economic and social development, the danger of these incompetent and unmotivated officials who do nothing but tread water is sometimes greater than corrupt officials.

19. How to strengthen the supervision of mid to high level cadres? Current emphasis should be placed on resolving the issues in four areas. First is the issue of weak supervision of exe-

cutives. Looking at law/discipline violation problems discovered in recent years involving cadres above the county level, a considerable proportion of the cases involved top leaders. In 2008, 906 top leaders above county and division levels were penalized nationwide, constituting 38.6% of the penalized Party and government organ cadres above county and division levels in the same period, and in some areas, the proportion even reached 50%. Second is the issue of inadequate internal Party supervision. Data shows the major and key cases currently being investigated at different levels are mostly exposed by the people, rarely has any top level Party organization exposed and resolved these issues through self-supervision. Some organizations have decided to not publish or carry out the penalties. The non-execution of these penalties reflects a prevailing culture of limited accountability and weak internal Party supervision function among some Party organs. Third is the issue of weak supervision coordination. Currently, the implementation of supervision tasks is often a lone fight, with some taskforces put together at the last minute; the overall linkage mechanisms between internal Party supervision, public supervision, public opinion supervision, and judicial supervision has not been fully developed. Fourth is the issue of having the self-awareness to cooperate with supervision. Some leading cadres still show a deviation in their ideological understanding, they are neither capable of properly managing their relationships with the organization and with the public, nor correctly understanding and dealing with supervision; they always feel that they have behaved correctly and committed no wrongdoings, thus hold a passive resistance to supervision.

20. How to tighten the relationship between the Party and the general public? In recent years, disharmony has appeared in the relationship between the Party and the masses. The existing issues, particularly the corruption and prerogative issues, have produced great impacts on the Party's good image among the masses and have become serious obstacles to the great cause of advancing the building of socialism and constructing a harmonious society in China. If this disharmony is not stopped in time to restore the close relationship between the Party and the masses, it will directly impact on the future destiny of the Party.

21. How to expand internal-Party democracy and enhance internal-Party vitality? These are currently urgent issues that need to be addressed.

22. Currently, some cadres have a tendency to speak in meaningless jargon and cliché, lacking sincerity, and being formulaic. What are the origins of these issues, and what are the effective countermeasures?

23. According to the requirements of the concept of scientific development, how to gradually construct maritime management systems to promote the scientific development of China's domestic maritime industry? At present, new situations and issues continue to emerge, and the government's maritime management has exhibited many incompatibilities, mainly: (1) a lack of high-level coordinated decision-making mechanisms, (2) inadequate coordination mechanisms and inefficient information communication between departments, (3) the common phenomenon of low-standard repli-

cations of "xiao er quan" (literally, "small and complete") maritime-related departments.

24. The emergence of new media poses unprecedented challenges to the administration of government at every level. Facing today's complex social conflicts, increasing incidents of civil unrest and other emergencies, how should government accommodate the development in the media and effectively utilize the media in resolving conflicts and in establishing a good image at every level of government?

II. The ideological and theoretical issue most hoped to be addressed by the Party School

1. How to link theory to practice and better implement the concept of scientific development in accordance with the principles of emancipating the mind and seeking truth in facts?

2. How to further understand the superiority of the socialist system? Socialism with Chinese Characteristics possesses very distinctive systemic progressiveness and superiority. However, at present, there exists an enormous wealth gap, a serious imbalance in the possession and distribution of social resources, the spreading of various undesirable phenomena, and issues relating to a lack of social ethics. The superiority and justifiability of China's socialism must be dealt with and explained from a theoretical perspective.

3. What are the fundamental differences between the private economy that appeared in the initial stage of socialism and the private ownership of capitalism?

4. How to properly manage the relationship between fairness and efficiency? How to reduce the excessive income gap through the functions of “*liang zhi shou*” (literally: “two hands”, meaning: market mechanisms and macro-economic controls), promote the equalization of social public resource possession, and ensure the development of equal opportunities for everyone? These questions urgently need to be answered and explained convincingly from the theoretical perspective.

5. From theoretical perspectives, how to understand the positions of the market economy and government functions? And in practice, how to properly perform these functions to maintain both the administrative efficiency of the government and the healthy development of the market?

6. How to properly manage the relationship between Party-building tasks and reforms of the Political system?

7. How to understand the relationship between the political system and the administrative system?

8. How to ensure the continuity and stability of policies, as well as cohesion between relevant policies, to prevent and to reduce, at source, the occurrence of conflicts and disputes? At present, it is precisely because some local governments and departments have, while establishing policies, neglected continuity, stability, and cohesion between relevant policies, that they have struggled to achieve and many conflicts and disputes have arisen, generating destabilizing factors. For example,

some policies lack a scientific basis, comprehensiveness and continuity; while placing emphasis on details, they neglect the overall situation, failing to fully recognize and accurately grasp the pattern of economic and social development, as well as the needs of the masses. Another example is that some local governments have, with great arbitrariness, imprudently introduced policies. They have not thoroughly considered the reality of local economic and social development, etc. How to utilize the concept of scientific development as a guide for policy implementation to ensure better policy promotion and development, in order to better achieve objectives and serve the people? This is not only a practical issue, but also a theoretical issue that requires deeper consideration.

9. How to recognize and control risks in the reform process of the administrative system? China's administrative system reform is a major innovative and practical subject related to changes in the Party's mode of governing, transition of the economic system, and social transformation. For China, a country with a large population, long history and vast territory, under the circumstances of the extreme imbalance in regional economic and social development, and, the increasingly complex and volatile domestic and foreign environments, risks arising from the progression of various reforms are inevitable and controlling these risks is crucially important. (1) Risk category issues, determining how many different types of risks will be generated by the reforms and what the basic types are, as well as the appropriate response mechanisms. Which risks are directly generated or increased by administrative system reform? (2) Risk asses-

sment issues, through what information are risks recognized? What are the interactions between the potential risks generated by various reforms? What potential degrees and levels of danger will be reached? (3) Risk control issues, through what methods are the risks minimized? How should the systems of the Party, government and masses coordinate and cooperate?

10. How to correctly understand the relationship between the national system and market mechanisms in the development of China's sports industry?

“Liang Dai Lai” Issues in the Symposium “Clean Government Building” – Further Training Course for Prefectural and Departmental Level Cadres at the Training Department (The 53rd Session)

1. Major issues of concern to cadres and the masses

1. Following the global financial crisis, how to maintain China's healthy and rapid economic and social development, and continue to improve people's income and living standards?

2. In recent years, regional, industrial and structural income gaps have continued to widen, and some members of society are experiencing high levels of income disparity. First, there is an inequality of opportunity between social groups in their participation in the initial distribution. Second, the regulatory function of society in the field of income redistribution has deteriorated. Third, corruption and other issues have exacerbated the complexity of the income

distribution pattern. To gradually resolve the issue of unfair income distribution has become a pressing subject facing the further deepening of reform.

3. How to curb exorbitant real-estate prices, and maintain the stable and healthy development of the real-estate market?

4. The key to achieving the grand goal of an affluent society lies in the countryside, and its difficulties also lie in the countryside. If the “*San Nong*” (peasants, countryside and agriculture) issues are not properly resolved, they will impact China's modernization progress. How to effectively conduct the work of “*San Nong*” against the background of the current international financial crisis?

5. The difficulty in finding employment is the most important current issue. First, the re-employment difficulties of laid-off workers from State-owned and collective enterprises; second, the employment difficulties of new graduates from institutions of higher learning; third, partial migrant workers are restricted in leaving their hometown to seek employment, and the scale of labor export is constrained. The difficulties in creating new jobs continue to increase, and levels of unemployment are increasing. First, there is a serious problem of supply exceeding demand in the labor force, and second, there is a serious structural problem in labor force supply and demand. On the one hand, high quality personnel required by newly emerging sectors and industries and technical occupations are in short supply, the supply shortage situation is especially severe with regards to professional technical and skilled individuals; on the other

hand, a large number of workers could not find employment smoothly due to their low professional skills, and their overly high expectations, etc.

6. How to perfect the relevant systems and further crack down on incidents of commercial bribery?

7. How to compile true and objective statistical data?

8. With rapid economic and social development and the continuous raising of the State's requirements on audit work, the status and influence of audits continue to rise, and the scope of audit oversight continues to expand. Audit requirements are becoming increasingly rigorous, and the tasks and pressures facing audit work are becoming greater. How to strengthen the self-construction of audit institutions, and elevate the capacity and standards of the audit to operate in accordance with the law?

9. How to further strengthen the construction of anti-corruption projects and further promote the fight against corruption? The current outlook for corruption prevention is not positive, the task represents a great responsibility and has a long way to go. First, the government fighting over profits with the people leads to the current situation of structural corruption. For instance, some regions use the apparatus of the State and dictatorial tools in urban demolition and relocation. They strictly enforce the law on the surface, but corruption exists in reality, and they undermine the image of the Party and the government. Second, in terms of cadre per-

sonnel, the practice of lobbying for, buying and selling official positions is still widespread. Some selection and appointment procedures for local cadres are not standardized or transparent, and some corruption has shifted from under the table dealings to over the table dealings. Third, concerning the supervision of power, especially issues related to the supervision of "top leaders", although there are theoretical breakthroughs, but they are difficult to implement in practice. Fourth, in some regions, departments and fields, corrupt entities have formed "communities of interests" centered around profits from corruption, and investigations often result in the discovery of new cases or linkages with other cases, increasing the difficulty of handling the case. Fifth, regarding the working style of Party member leadership cadres, some leaders can not truly accept the opinions of grass-roots cadres, and the situation persists whereby they only take instructions from books, superiors and officials.

10. How to resolve the issue of the effectiveness of the supervision of power, such as the issues often described as "superior supervision being beyond supervision, peer supervision being too soft, subordinate supervision being too difficult, and disciplinary actions being too late". Currently, some main Party or government local leaders of different levels, especially Party secretaries, are autocrats who possess powers (not only the legitimate powers) that go beyond provisions in the Party Constitution regarding self-aggrandizement. This means that the basic Party system of democratic centralism generally exists only in name. There are inequalities of status between members of leadership teams at all levels and the situation of imbalanced

rights and responsibilities worsens. This affects decision-making standards, team unity and democracy within the Party. This will also cause several issues to become more and more prominent, such as the increasing of the risk in the dereliction of duty, corruption and abuse of power by the so-called "top leaders", creating overall harm to local developments and even threatening the direction of grass-roots governance and social stability. Is this trend contrary to the fundamental purpose, fundamental nature and organizational principles of the Party? Should it be completely changed? How can it change? Could this issue be resolved without the Party's internal leadership system undergoing major reform? "Consubstantial monitoring" is still dominant, and the 'heavy-supervision light-restriction' policy remains the same? How can it be resolved? Should the search for long-term solutions be focused on systemic features?

11. How to further strengthen national unity after the Urumqi "July 5th" incident in Xinjiang?

12. How to guarantee the interests of employees during mergers and reorganizations of enterprises, and in turn guarantee the stability of enterprises and society; how to regulate the procedures of mergers and reorganizations to protect the legitimate interests and legal rights of the merged enterprises and their employees?

13. The Party-building of State-owned enterprises should be truly enhanced. In order to improve management efficiency, the central work of many enterprises surrounding State-owned enterprises includes the promotion of streamlining and rationalization among orga-

nizations, and streamlining management personnel. In this situation, Party organizations are also being compressed correspondingly. Party committee work units are usually set up in State-owned enterprises and are responsible for organizational management, publicity, corporate culture, discipline inspection and other aspects of Party-building, and the numbers of Party personnel in these work units are also decreasing correspondingly. Secondary institutions and units within enterprises, such as production workshops and other units, generally adopt the method of taking both the Party and government responsibilities on their own shoulders to strengthen and underline Party leadership. The top administrative leader of grass-roots level organizations will serve as the Party secretary for grass-roots level Party organizations. The status of grass-roots level Party organization leadership has been raised, and it has also become more convenient to carry out the Party works, this is correct both in theory and in form. In practical application however, production and operation works very often become too complex, and thus affect the progress of Party-building. How to strengthen the Party-building work of grass-roots level Party organizations in enterprises?

14. How to protect the environment, and build an environmentally-sustainable civilization? At present, China is in an accelerated developmental period of industrialization and urbanization; the inadequate supply of resources, severe energy shortages, and increasing environmental pressures have become the key constraining factors to modernization.

15. How to gradually establish and perfect the asset declaration system of officials?

16. How to combine the characteristics and current condition of institutions of higher education and enhance the establishment of clean cultures of governance in these institutions?

17. How to increase the degree of policy support and develop the aviation industry, promote the development of aviation science and technology, and allow China to quickly become an aviation superpower?

II. The ideological and theoretical issue most hoped to be addressed by the Party School

1. What is the key to emancipating the mind?

2. What contents are included in the theoretical system of anti-corruption? How to theoretically answer the issue of anti-corruption patterns, and in turn provide guidance to the fight against corruption?

3. During the building process of the socialist democracy with Chinese characteristics, how to achieve organic unification based on the expansion of internal-Party democracy that promotes the democracy of the people, and upholds the Party leadership, government by the people, and rule of law? What are the specific mechanisms for achieving this?

4. What are the distinctions and connections between internal-Party democracy and democracy of the people?

5. How to theoretically improve and develop the basic strategy of the rule of law?

6. How to induce innovation in the appropriate separation, mutual restraint and mutual coordination mechanisms dealing with decision-making, execution and the supervision of powers?

7. How to correctly understand the issue of the relationship between the governing methods of the ruling Party and anti-corruption efforts?

“Liang Dai Lai” Issues in the Symposium “Urban Development and Urban Governance” – Further Training Course for Prefectural and Departmental Level Cadres at the Training Department (The 53rd Session)

I. Major issues of concern to cadres and the masses

1. Due to excessive supply, the issue of finding employment for university graduates will be a long-term problem. University students currently unable to find jobs could cause many social problems; this makes it a very real problem that needs to be dealt with immediately. University students make up a very sensitive group, and they require active guidance and a high level of attention.

2. The issue of the income distribution gap has been, for many years, a major issue of concern for society in general. The income gaps between different industries and different departments are far from being eliminated, and the income distribution gap even shows a trend of continued

expansion. Exactly how much income gap can be tolerated in China's development process before social unrest breaks out? How to thoroughly implement the concept of scientific development, and to quickly resolve the issue of social inequality and the wealth distribution gap? The current developmental gap between different regions also continues to widen, and the issue of coordinated regional development could affect social stability. This issue should arouse a high level of attention, and more effective measures should be adopted in its resolution.

3. How to improve the social security system, enlarge its small coverage area and improve its low protection levels?

4. The government must pay further attention to people's livelihoods. For instance, issues related to people's health such as the difficulty and high cost of receiving medical treatment, as well as food and medicine safety concerns are all issues of widespread public concern. To deal with these issues, the food safety supervision system and the drug price control system should be strengthened. To properly resolve demolition, relocation, and resettlement compensation issues in urban development based on people-oriented principles. In the face of exorbitant real-estate prices, the government should quickly develop corresponding policies and measures.

5. The government must pay further attention to the issue of protecting the interests of vulnerable and special groups. For instance, it must resolve the issue of the excessive gap between public and private sector pensions; the issue of how to increase the educational levels

and technical skills of migrant workers; the issue of paying attention to the living conditions of old age women in the countryside; and, studying how to correctly handle the relationship between protecting the interests of vulnerable groups and economic development.

6. Assuming that China's urbanization continues apace, efforts should be made to strengthen research into urban development strategy with an emphasis of urban-rural coordination. In the contradiction between an increasingly diverse urban social structure and traditional governance models, efforts must be made to enhance the application of method, control and information theories in modern urban governance, and to carefully study the issues of urban development and governance. How to achieve the coordination and unification of administrative and market methods during the process of urban development and governance? How to ensure the smooth implementation of demolition and relocation in urban development and governance, more specifically in the reconstruction of old cities and 'villages within cities'? How to resolve traffic issues in metropolises? How to truly resolve the issue of barrier-free facilities? How to safely and effectively enhance the comprehensive management of the urban water environment?

7. How to effectively prevent the blind expansion of the "*Liang Gao Yi Zi*" approach (literally: "two high one resource", meaning: high energy consumption, high pollution and resource-intensive activities) and out-dated production capacity while still ensuring growth?

8. Will inflation occur under proactive fiscal

policies and appropriately loose monetary policies, and how to effectively prevent the occurrence of inflation?

9. How to nurture market mechanisms within the strategic industries of the State?

10. How to implement the integration of enterprise management and project management within enterprises dealing with major projects?

11. How to properly handle the relationship between the decision-making function of an enterprise's chief of production and operations and the leadership functions of the enterprise's Party organization?

12. Issues related to how the Party organizations of State-controlled public companies can bring core political functions into full play in a business environment?

13. Issues related to the relationship between the Party's principles in managing cadres and the market and the professional orientations of senior management personnel in State-owned enterprises.

14. Central enterprises are a relatively special type of enterprise in a market economy. They conduct economic activities in some important industries and key fields on behalf of the State. They are not affiliated with or under the jurisdictions of local governments, however, most of their specific economic management actions are carried out in the territories of local governments, and both sides have their own goals to pursue, which creates a certain degree of difficulty for central enterprises when

executing local policies. How can this issue be resolved?

15. Central enterprises are the main force in economic development. They perform the irreplaceable role of promoting urban development and construction. How to make central enterprises better promote the urban economy and social development?

16. How can the development and utilization of resources under the ownership of the people embody the basic principles of ownership by the people? How can the benefits of development reflect a situation of fairness?

17. The total energy and resource consumption of society continues to increase, and China is currently experiencing great pressures arising from levels of energy and resource consumption. Are current energy-saving and emission-reduction measures effective from a fundamental and long-term perspective?

18. How can the modern manufacturing industry use the capital financial market to accelerate development?

19. China currently has 1.85 billion *mu* (120 million hectares) of farm land; can we maintain the threshold of 1.8 billion *mu* given the current pace and scale of urbanization? How to resolve the conflict between maintaining the threshold level and urban development? In particular, how to address the land use issue in the development of small and medium cities and small towns?

20. Anti-corruption and clean government building are long-term and arduous under-

takings. How to let “transparent operations” enter into “application of power”, and let “public acceptance” enter into “the decision-making of power”? Can the trial and outcome of corruption cases be made public and transparent?

21. What are the policy agendas and ideologies for the policy direction of institutional reform of the State, especially for the recruitment of relevant personnel, financial management, project management and social security of full allocation institutions, such as the China Academy of Engineering Physics?

22. How to effectively curb the occurrence of serious and extremely severe accidents, and properly protect the security of people’s lives and property?

23. In a situation where most village committees are directly elected, how to strengthen Party leadership in villages and maintain the authority of the central government?

24. The acceleration of the “*san bei*” (literally: “Three Norths”, meaning: Northwest, Northern and Northeast China) shelterbelt and other key forestry projects is an important aspect in realizing the strategy of environmentally-sustainable civilization building. At this new historical starting point, how to accelerate the systematic expansion of the “Three North” shelterbelt, and co-ordinate the integrated development of forestry promotion and increasing the prosperity of the people?

25. How to resolve the debt issues of China’s institutions of higher learning?

26. The ideological and moral education of young people is related to the future of China. How can it be carried out properly?

27. To strengthen theoretical study into respecting the citizen’s religious freedom, and on increasing awareness of the core values of socialism.

28. How to achieve coordinated development of regional economies? How to allow urban areas to catalyze rural areas in promoting overall urban-rural development?

29. To accelerate the establishment of a population theory appropriate to the concept of scientific development, and comprehensively resolve the population problem.

30. How to adopt truly effective measures to ensure the harmonious and stable development of the Xinjiang regional economy and society, as well as the region’s long-term regional stability?

31. How to resolve traffic congestion in Guiyang and implement the “Smooth Traffic Project” through comprehensive governance and management?

32. How can the Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC) comprehensively handle competition in the domestic and international markets?

II. The ideological and theoretical issue most hoped to be addressed by the Party School

1. The thinking and values of the people have become increasingly diversified with the continued development of the socialist market economy, and the continued process of opening-up to the outside world. How to make the masses, especially young people, form a new consensus surrounding the building of the core socialist value system that satisfies Party requirements and reflects the characteristics of the times?

2. How to construct the core socialist value system? How to make the cultural industries an effective vehicle for the support and promotion of the core socialist value system? How to strengthen awareness of communist ideals?

3. The CCP is the ruling Party of China, under the condition of "one country two systems", should it exercise its leadership functions in the regions of Hong Kong and Macao? How to reflect the functions of the ruling Party on the system in a closed state?

4. How to improve democratic oversight functions?

5. How to resolve the contradiction between the global market contraction and the continued expansion of production capacity ('hot inside and cold outside') under the current macro-economic policies?

6. How can the government effectively control

price increases and curb inflation during the financial crisis?

7. Could China nationalize the public resources controlled by non-public enterprises?

8. How to correctly understand and evaluate China's socialist market economy?

9. How to avoid social imbalances created by the excessive income gap?

10. What is the current status of China's urban-rural divide? How to establish system functions which eliminate the urban-rural dual structure?

11. As part of innovative national construction, how to clarify local government responsibilities, and how to facilitate the effective participation of diverse social forces?

12. How to achieve the integration of the rule of law and the people-oriented principle in administrative work?

13. How to effectively realize the standardization of public services?

14. How to make the quality of higher education catch up with the requirements of higher education and social development?

15. How to correctly interpret the national policy of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, and achieve genuine equality among all ethnic groups?

16. How to pay even more attention to the issues of equalizing, improving and perfecting

the existing system of urban and rural old-age security through secondary distribution?

17. How to clarify the relationship between reform to the administrative management system reform and the comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development of the economy and society?

18. How to innovate Party-building management system at an urban grass-roots level, and thus ensure the continuation of grass-roots Party-building work in a changing society? How to further meet the demands of the masses for grass-roots Party services in a changing society?

“Liang Dai Lai” Issues at the Symposium “Cultural System Reform” – Further Training Course for Prefectural and Departmental Level Cadres at the Training Department (The 53rd Session)

1. Major issues of concern to cadres and the masses

1. How to resolve the excessive income gap between urban and rural areas, between regions and between industries? How to deepen income distribution system reform, standardize the income distribution trends, and construct a scientific and fair income distribution system?

2. In the 21st century, China will be an irreversibly aging society. China's current senior citizen population (above 60 years of age) has reached 134 million, accounting for more than 10% of the total population; those above 65 years of age surpassed 94 million, accounting

for more than 7%; for a relatively long period of time in the future, China's over 60 population will continue to grow at the relatively fast rate of roughly 3.2% per annum. Compared with other countries, China's aging population has the following main distinctive characteristics: the scale of the aging population is enormous; the situation is developing rapidly; there is imbalance between regional developments; rural aging levels are higher than those of urban areas; there is a larger female than male old-age population; the aging situation is more advanced than the process of modernization. How to cope with these issues?

3. Attention must be paid to the issue of young people's education. China has nearly 400 million minors under the age of 18, and more than 100 million only-children under the age of 25. Nationally, there are roughly 58 million “Children Left Behind” separated from their parents and family ties, who lack parental guidance, routine and psychological comfort in their everyday behaviors. In addition, the ever increasing divorce rate has created more and more single-parent families. At the same time, young people are facing more and more pressures in an increasingly competitive society. Some of them have begun to show traits such as weak faith, a lack of social consciousness, deviant behavior, learning-weariness and cynicism. Some even show contempt for life and embark on an illegal and criminal path.

4. Food safety is a major concern. Food is what matters the most to the people and safety is the primary concern in food consumption. Food safety work is also a “livelihood project”. How to further improve the system and mechanisms

to strengthen the supervision and management works in food safety?

5. How to resolve the issue where it is difficult for county-level urban residents to see films? Take Fujian for instance, it has a total population of more than 35 million with more than 50% being urban residents, however, six out of the nine cities in the province do not have multiplex theatres suitable for modern movie viewing. Of the province's 63 counties, the vast majority do not have modern multiplex theatres that are suitable for audiences to watch films. Most of them have old theatres that also serve as auditoriums built in the 1980s, and they are generally in the habit of showing films irregularly.

6. How to strengthen the supervision of leadership by cadres, especially of the high and medium level leadership cadres?

7. The relevant system mechanisms managing the classification of internet publications are desperately in need of improvement. Currently, the Internet Publication Access System is used for internet management, where the General Administration of Press and Publication approves and delivers internet publication licenses, and clarifies related contents of the publication. The great majority of those who have obtained this qualification are State-owned enterprises, while only a small number of private enterprises or enterprises with other types of ownership have obtained licenses to publish Internet games. By the end of 2008, the total number of websites nationwide had surpassed 2 million, of which roughly 20% are engaged in various types of Internet publication activities. If those Internet publication activities who have not obtained

qualifications are considered as "illegal", then there is already a severe imbalance between the proportions of legal and illegal businesses. This situation has created great perplexity in the government's internet monitoring work.

II. The ideological and theoretical issue most hoped to be addressed by the Party School

1. What is the relationship between Marxism and China's outstanding traditional culture, and how to use China's traditional culture to enrich and develop Marxism?

2. How to deepen the reform of cultural systems, promote cultural innovation, and improve the soft power of Chinese culture?

3. With the comprehensive push for reform in the press and publishing systems, the great majority of the news media must move toward the market in the future. The news media is, on the one hand, an instrument of public opinion used to bring the voice of the Party and the people into full play, and, on the other, a market player that must aim to maximize profits in market-oriented operations. How to juggle this dual nature of the news media?

"Liang Dai Lai" Issues in the Further Training Course for Young Cadres at the Training Department (The 27th Session)

I. Major issues of concern to cadres and the masses

1. How to further promote the building of internal-Party democracy, strengthen anti-corruption

measures, as well as consolidate and develop the unity and harmony of internal-Party political life?

2. The issue of income distribution: how to increase the proportion of national income going to ordinary citizens? How to narrow the income gap and avoid the issue of social imbalance caused by the excessive income gap during the developmental stage?

3. The issue of real-estate prices: how to determine the developmental policies of the real-estate industry to stabilize people's expectations, and balance supply and demand in housing?

4. The issue of education: including issues such as the selection of schools during the stage of compulsory education, the distribution of education resources, and quality of education, etc.

5. How to achieve social fairness and justice in terms of income distribution, employment, public services, education, health care, social security, and other areas?

6. How to resolve the employment issue, especially the employment issue of university students given the current economic situation?

7. How to further improve and perfect social security and public service systems?

8. Innovation is the soul of a nation's progress, the inexhaustible driving force of a country's prosperity, and also the source of eternal vitality for a political party. How to build a national spirit of innovation, and increase the innovative capacity of the State and enterprises?

9. How to utilize the concept of scientific development as guidance for the effective resolution of practical issues encountered during reform of science and technology practices from a theoretical level, promote the self-innovation capacities of science and technology enterprises, improve the development of workforce skills, and increase industrial standards? How to optimize the funding security mechanism for scientific research by public welfare scientific research institutions? How to effectively account for potential security issues arising from personnel in scientific research institutions that transformed into enterprises?

10. How to maintain the economic trajectory of stabilization and recovery? How to handle the relationship between maintaining growth and a range of issues such as structural economic adjustment, employment, and livelihood, etc.?

11. Looking forward to the "post crisis" period, can global economic growth recover to its past levels, and will there be major changes in the economic landscape? What is the outlook for China's economic growth? How should macro-economic policies respond?

12. How should the relationship between the central government, local governments and commercial banks be positioned and monitored during the financial crisis and post-crisis periods? How to raise internal control standards and risk management capacity to prevent and effectively deal with financial risks?

13. How to further deepen the reform of State-owned enterprises, raise management standards,

and increase the operating efficiency of State-owned assets?

14. How to enhance the monitoring of large State-owned key enterprises in a changing society, including their strategic direction and the behavior of senior management?

15. How to reasonably determine the remuneration gap between the management and staff of State-owned enterprises, in order to be able to bring the enthusiasm of the management into full play and acquire the general acceptance of the staff?

16. How should the pricing mechanisms of important energy sources and materials be configured? How should relationships between upstream and downstream of energy enterprises be balanced, such as the fight over coal power?

17. In light of the rapid development of e-government, how to strengthen State control on core information resources?

18. The issues of national information security strategy and basic countermeasures to the process of economic globalization.

19. How to create a civilized and harmonious cultural ecology on the internet, which brings the proactive functions of the internet into full play, and formulate strong mechanisms of guidance for positive public opinion?

20. How to improve China's national image in foreign relations?

21. In the face of the serious conflicting

viewpoints of separatism and anti-separatism, and between the undermining and safeguarding of national unity, how should we safeguard national unity and the reunification of the motherland using the weapon of a unified Chinese culture?

22. How to establish and innovate on China's community theory, and develop China's non-governmental organizations and bring their proactive functions into full play? How to deal with the relationship between community development and China's democracy-building?

23. The petition problem is currently the major issue about which local cadres and grass-roots masses are concerned, and it is a difficult issue with which they are both currently dissatisfied. How to explore and establish methods that are acceptable to society and the masses for defusing the conflicts of interest formed during the development process and mitigating social conflicts? How to effectively handle law and litigation-related petition issues that concern the harmony and stability of society, and clear the road for methods of expression for the masses to make their demands known?

24. How to quickly make judicial activities reflect the principles of fairness and justice both in its processes and results through judicial reform?

II. The ideological and theoretical issue most hoped to be addressed by the Party School

1. How to continue deepening the extent of reform?

2. How should the responsibilities of the central

and local governments be adjusted during the new stage of development?

3. During the new round of institutional reform, based on China's national situation and science and technology, how to use foreign experience as a reference for adapting to new developmental needs, gradually establishing modern administrative and management systems that are compatible with Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, transforming government functions, properly handling the relationship between government and the market, and continuously consolidating and strengthening the Party's ruling status and governing capacity?

4. How can agricultural modernization be promoted in coordination with industrialization and urbanization?

5. How can State-owned enterprises effectively establish a corporate decision-making mechanism integrating the participation of Party organizations in major decision-making and the autonomous decision-making of the board of directors (management)? How to properly handle the relationship between the responsibilities of the Party committee and the board of directors in State-controlled enterprises? Could the Party school of the Central Committee conduct studies in these areas from theoretical, systemic, mechanical and policy perspectives to provide scientific and detailed guidance and assistance to the further reform of State-owned enterprises?

6. Promoting the transformation of share ownership diversification in enterprises, improving corporate governance structures, and

establishing a modern State-owned enterprise system with Chinese characteristics are the best means for enterprises to strengthen their market competitiveness, and become internationally competitive. However, the existing conflicts and issues in enterprise restructuring are rather complex. How to properly coordinate the relationships between State-owned assets, enterprise development and employees' legal rights, and correctly handle the various conflicts and sensitive issues? These questions need to be answered in terms of theory and policy.

7. On the one hand, State-owned enterprises must participate in market competition in accordance with the principles of marketization, and on the other hand, they should bear more social responsibilities. How should State-owned enterprises reach a balance between these two roles? How should the government conduct assessments? What is the theoretical basis?

8. How to more reasonably divide the interests of the central and local governments to better bring their enthusiasms into full play?

9. How to resolve the issues of competition and cooperation between State-owned enterprises with State-owned capital at their cores? How to resolve the issue of *de facto* monopoly caused by their cooperation?

10. To vigorously promote the newest theoretical results of the localization of Marxism in China surrounding the practice of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics. Which areas of the in-depth study into the concept of scientific development should be strengthened to enhance the guidance and persuasiveness of

basic theories as they are put into practice?

11. How to strengthen the development of a culture of public service in accordance with the requirements of the concept of scientific development?

12. How to use the concept of scientific development to guide the further construction of rural policy-oriented financial systems, and guide the reform and development of rural policy-oriented financial institutions?

13. What kind of connection is there between classical Chinese philosophy (such as Confucianism) and the socialist theory with Chinese characteristics? How to take useful elements from classical Chinese philosophy and enrich the theoretical system of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics?

14. After three decades of Reform and Opening, on the one hand, national strength and people's living standards have greatly improved; on the other hand, various social contradictions and conflicts of interests are prevalent, and there are even frequent incidents of violent confrontations against Party committees and government. Currently, the most pressing theoretical issue is how to clearly conceptualize this contradiction from a theoretical perspective to correctly understand and effectively resolve this type of contradiction.

15. An important principle in building a harmonious socialist society is fairness and justice. Therefore, what kind of concept of fairness and justice that has a broad consensus should we establish to achieve social harmony and stability?

16. How to strengthen internal-Party supervision by developing internal-Party democracy?

The “Liang Dai Lai” Issues in the 51st and 52nd Xinjiang Training Courses

1. Major issues currently of concern to cadres and the masses

1. How to correctly handle the relationship between stability and development, and achieve stability and development in Xinjiang? To neither focus on development and neglect stability, nor focus on stability and let up on development.

2. The July 5th incident severely impacted the overall situation of national unity and social stability, and it greatly damaged feelings between the various ethnic groups. After the July 5th incident, how to quickly repair feelings between the different ethnic groups in Xinjiang, consolidate and develop national unity, and promote the stability, development and prosperity of Xinjiang?

3. Xinjiang is a multi-ethnic region. How to handle the relationship between promoting national unity and protecting ethnic cultural heritages in line with national interests?

4. What is the deep-seated reason for the July 5th incident? How to use the concept of scientific development as the guideline for maintaining the overall stability of Xinjiang, consolidate national unity, and construct a wealthy, stable, prosperous and harmonious Xinjiang?

5. To strengthen the construction efforts of border and frontier defense facilities while

accelerating economic and social development in Xinjiang, in order to truly stabilize, consolidate and revitalize the border areas and bring prosperity to its residents.

6. How to make the most of Xinjiang's resource endowment to accelerate its development and narrow the disparity with the rest of the mainland, especially with the eastern regions?

7. How can Xinjiang effectively protect its environment during the implementation of an advantageous resources transformation strategy?

8. How to formulate special policies to accelerate the economic and social development of Xinjiang, and quickly improve the income levels of cadres and the masses?

9. How to properly resolve issues concerning the immediate interests of the general public, such as employment, social security, income distribution, health care, education, housing, safe production, public security, resources and the environment?

10. How to resolve the issues of balanced development of education and increasing the number and quality of primary and secondary school teachers in ethnic minority border areas?

11. How to resolve the employment issue of university graduates, especially for ethnic minority graduates?

12. To attach great importance to the skills training for unemployed ethnic minority youths to promote their employment.

13. The State should continue to increase its input to infrastructure and livelihood projects in Xinjiang, and continue to improve the living standards of cadres and staff.

14. How to effectively resolve the issues of the difficulty and high cost of obtaining medical care faced by ordinary citizens, especially farmers and herdsmen in ethnic minority border areas?

15. The widening income distribution gap impacts on social harmony and stability, and hinders the expansion of consumption demand. The State must adopt effective measure to resolve the issue of the excessive income gap.

16. How to establish a social security system for farmers, especially landless farmers?

17. Are the conditions already present for the formulation of a press law? What are the main factors impacting on the formulation of a press law? How should the State support the development of Party newspapers and publications in ethnic minority areas under the conditions of the socialist market economy?

18. To strengthen the Party's adaptive capabilities of national policy, and truly respect the customs of ethnic minorities.

19. Attention must be paid to the rapid development of followers of the "*liang jiao*" (literally: "Two Churches", meaning: Catholicism and Protestantism) which have begun to permeate ethnic minorities and even Muslim ethnic minorities.

II. The ideological and theoretical issue most hoped to be addressed by the Party School

1. From a theoretical perspective, how do leading cadres correctly conceptualize the nation, nationality, religion, history and culture? How do they strengthen national unity education? How do they reach a thorough understanding, clear attitude and unwavering position in the fight against ethnic separatism and safeguard the unification of the motherland that concerns the national sovereignty and fundamental interests of people of all ethnicities?
2. To find a fundamental solution for resolving issues affecting the stability of Xinjiang from an economic, political, cultural, social, historical, ideological, national and international perspectives.
3. How to improve, adjust, enrich, perfect and better implement the ethnic and religious theories and policies of the Party and the State in a changing society, and embark on the correct path of ethnic integration?
4. How to correctly foster compatibility between religions and the socialist society in ethnic minority border areas?
5. How to resolve the issue of the unity of the Chinese nation's diversity both in theory and in practice?

IV. Conclusions

In order to keep pace with China's economic and social development, the CCP has adjusted

its recruitment policy during Reform and Opening by fully implementing the "four transformations" of its cadres - the principle of becoming revolutionized, rejuvenated, intellectualized and professionalized. A large number of young and well-educated individuals have joined the Party, and the proportion of the Party's college-educated members has climbed to 34% from less than 3% before Reform and Opening. The proportion of educated members is currently at its highest level in the CCP's history. At the same time, the cooperation and succession between the old and new cadres have also been proceeding smoothly. By the end of 2001, the average age of Party and government leaders at provincial, prefecture and county levels was 54.2, 48.8 and 43.1 respectively; and, the proportion of those with educational levels equivalent to or above junior college was 97.8%, 97.2% and 94% respectively. By the end of 2007, amongst the cadres in national organs, 71.5% were under the age of 45, and 30% were under the age of 35; 87.5% of the cadres possessed educational levels equivalent to or above junior college, which is an increase of 78.2 percentage points from 1978. The objectives of the "four transformations" of Chinese cadres have basically been realized.

This well-educated younger generation of CCP members occupies an increasingly important position within the Party. They are assuming leading positions in the Party and government organs of all levels, and they are becoming the decision-makers and executors of China's major policies. Currently, the nation's leading cadres above the county level generally possess educational levels equivalent to or above junior

college, leading cadres above the provincial level generally possess educational levels equivalent to or above university. A considerable number of leading cadres possess Master or PhD degrees. With China's economic and social development, more well-educated young Party members will gradually assume leadership positions.

The thinking of the younger generation Party members is more liberated in general, they possess strong entrepreneurial spirit and sense of responsibility, and a considerable number of them have a sense of urgency. They have their own opinions and insights on China's current issues, such as social policy, education policy, legal policy, foreign policy and the current system of government.

They are concerned about people's livelihoods, and about issues of social equality and justice, including income distribution, employment, public service, education, health care, social security, and the environment, etc.

They hope to continue deepening reform of the economic system, and to establish an economic system suitable for the healthy development of China's economy. This includes reforms to structures of ownership, distribution methods, investment and financing systems, tax systems, foreign trade systems, and economic operations, as well as reforms to State-owned enterprises, and the relationship between central and local governments, etc. In doing so, they wish to ensure the healthy progress of urbanization in China, and the sustainable development of China's economy.

They wish to continue deepening reform of the political system, to truly establish a political system where the people exercise their governing power, to find an effective application of democracy, and to effectively ensure the legal rights of the citizens. In particular, they attach high importance to the issues of systemic checks and balances, and the supervision of power. They hope to ensure the proper exercise of power, and that corruption can be effectively curbed. Many people believe that China should take heed of the experiences of developed countries in terms of reform to its political system.

They hope to reform the parameters of ideological debate, so that all ideological and theoretical viewpoints can be discussed and exchanged equally.

They wish for the CCP to free itself from the constraints of traditional thinking, to achieve more theoretical breakthroughs and innovations, and to better guide China in realizing its potential.

They hope to correctly handle the emergence of the various conflicts in society and to safeguard the stability of Chinese society. They plan to eliminate, at a structural and mechanical level, the root causes of the frequent occurrences of incidents of mass civil unrest, in order to allow all ethnic groups and regions to achieve balanced and coordinated development.

They wish for China to have an international environment conducive to peaceful development. They advocate appropriate adjustments in foreign policy, and the development of friendly

cooperative relationships with other countries based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, in order to jointly promote the prosperity and progress of the world.

In short, through deepening the reform, they hope to make China's systems and mechanisms in the spheres of the economy, politics, culture, society and other areas become suitable for the development of Chinese society.

The younger generation of Party members is the driving force for China's continued deepening reform, and they will determine the future of China.

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