

Global Think Tank Evaluation Report 2015

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Global Think Tank Evaluation Report

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1. The definition of think tank

In the past, the term "think tank" was mostly translated into "ideas base", referring to a variety of ideas making or brain storming organizations. It was also known as "think factory", "outside brain", "brain tank", "brain trust", "consultant corporation", "intelligence research center" and so on.

Initially, a think tank used to be a secret chamber that the United States provided for its defense scientists and military staff to hold discussions on strategic issues during the Second World War.

According to *the World Intellectual Big Dictionary*: "A Think Tank, also known as Brain Bank, is an intellectual group which performs research and consulting for governments, enterprises, companies, associations, generally composed of multi-disciplinary and multi-professional experts." ¹

The Encyclopaedia Britannica defines a think tank as an institute, corporation, or group organized for interdisciplinary research with the objective of providing advice on a diverse range of policy issues and products through the use of specialized knowledge and the activation of networks.

In 1971, Paul Dixon published the first book on the formation and development of American think tanks named *Think Tank*, in which he proposed that a think tank is "an independent, non-profit policy research institute". It is a permanent entity with the purpose of providing services for policy-making instead of technology, rather than a temporarily-established research group or a committee to give immediate solutions.²

James A. Smith states that "The American planning and advisory institutions known as think tanks - the private, nonprofit research groups - operate on the margins of this nation's formal political processes. Situated

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¹An Guozheng, *The World Intellectual Big Dictionary*, (《世界知识大辞典》),World Affairs Press, 1990, P.1356.

²Paul Dickson, *Think Tank*. New York: Atheneum, 1971.

between academic social science and higher education on the one hand, and government and partisan politics on the other hand, think tanks provide a concrete focus for exploring the changing role of the policy expert in American life."³

Andrew Rich, who holds a Ph.D. in politics from Yale University, claims that the think tank is an independent and non-profit organization which provides professional knowledge and suggestions to gain support and influence decision making.⁴

Canadian think tank expert, Donald E. Abelson believes that the think tank is an independent and non-profit organization composed of experts who are concerned with widespread public policies issues. ⁵

In China, however, there exists a different understanding about what constitutes an "ideas base" and "brain trust".

According to Baidu Encyclopedia, a think tank - originally called an "ideas base" - is a public multidisciplinary research institute made up of experts who, in the respects of society, economy, technology, military, and diplomacy provide advice for decision-makers and produce the best theories, strategies, methods and thoughts. In its strict sense, think tanks are NGOs that are independent of governmental agencies. The main functions of a think tank are to propose ideas, to educate the public and to combine talents. By first forming new policy suggestions based upon research and analysis, and then by publishing books, organizing various activities, and taking advantage of the mass media, etc., a think tank tries to gain the support of both the public and the relevant decision makers.

³James A.Smith, The Idea Brokers: Think Tanks and the Rise of the New Policy Elite, New York: The Free Press.1993. P. XIII

⁴Andrew Rich, "US Think Tank and The Intersection of Ideology Advocacy and Influence", NIRA Review: Winter 2001 P 54

⁵Donald E. Abelson, American Think Tanks and their Role in US Foreign Policy, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996, P.21.

Some scholars believe that an "idea base" refers to a collective body of conceptual knowledge generated by people in social practice, while a "brain trust" is a group of resourceful advisers participating in political affairs.⁶

All in all, deciding how to define a think tank has remained a problematic and often confusing process for quite some time. It is difficult to give a uniform definition for these different types of organizations, largely because people still have different viewpoints on what a think tank really is. After exploring the various definitions of a think tank, most scholars have finally reached a consensus – that there is in fact no single, unified model of a think tank.⁷ In spite of this, Canadian professor Donald E. Abelson thinks that the mode of operation of think tanks is similar to that of private enterprises. Nevertheless, their ultimate effect is not measured by profits but instead by their influence upon public policy. Think tanks in the United States and Canada are, according to the Income Tax Act and the Internal Revenue Code, registered as non-profit organizations. Given their tax-exempt status, it is not possible for them to publicly support any political party. The traditional distinction between think tanks and other sectors in the policy making community lies in the fact that think tanks place emphasis on research and analysis.8

In conclusion, we believe that a think tank is an organization exerting influence upon public policy making through independent intellectual products. Our definition of a think tank emphasizes:

First, a think tank is a form of organization, rather than a natural person.

⁶Chen Zhensheng, "Thinking upon Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Truly Becoming the Think Tank of the Central Government"("中国社科院真正成为中央思想库和智囊团的思考"), *The State Research of 2006* (《国情调研 2006 年》), Zhang Guanzi, Shandong People's Publishing House, 2008, P.845.

⁷Donald E. Abelson, *Do Think Tanks Matter?*(《智库能发挥作用吗?》), Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2010, P.5-6.

⁸The Role of Think Tank in Decision-making, Boao BBC Workingshop Meeting Minutes, 29, March, 2015.

It is the organizational element of a think tank that makes it different from an individual and individual behavior. Thus, Zhuge Liang, Liu Bowen and other individual masterminds in Chinese history cannot constitute a think tank.

Second, think tanks must produce independent intellectual outputs. Think tanks are professional in producing knowledge, and should be equipped with staff possessing professional knowledge and skills to create new products of thoughts.

Finally, think tanks are supposed to have an impact on the formulation of public policy, which is the core function of a think tank. We believe that its influence upon public policy does not need to be understood as the special tendency of political ideology. For instance, RAND Corporation is not willing to label itself as a think tank. In its website, it declares that "It is generally acknowledged that the term 'think tank' was first applied to the RAND Corporation in the 1960s. At the time, a think tank was a research institute that came up with new ideas that could influence public policy. One important distinction to note is that while 'think tanks' are commonly thought of as organizations with specific political or ideological agendas, RAND is strictly nonpartisan, and our focus is on facts and evidence. Quality and objectivity are the two core values."

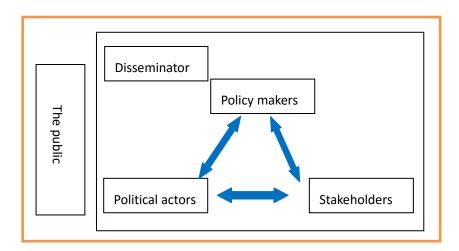


Figure 1 Social Network Structure of Think Tank

Source: by the research group

Policy makers, political actors and stakeholders are constantly communicating with each other. Stakeholders try to obtain favorable policies through directly influencing policy makers' decisions, or indirectly with the help of the political actors who put pressure upon policy makers.

2. The Comparative analysis of think tank evaluation methods

People have differing views when it comes to the evaluation of think tanks.

Foreign scholars have made many attempts to evaluate the influence of think tanks. One method is to conduct a quantitative assessment of a think tank's performance by calculating the frequency of media reports and stating opinions to the Legislative Committee.⁹

Based on the analysis of the public awareness of 51 think tanks in America, Andrew Rich and Kent Weaver discovered that it is the think tanks more attractive to media than those bearing ordinary media image that are more likely to be summoned to Congress to state their opinions.¹⁰

In another study, Andrew Rich finds that the think tanks more frequently reported by the media and that seem to have some relationship with the opinions of policy makers and other opinion leaders are the think tanks that are the most influential.¹¹

¹⁰Rich, Andrew, and R.KentWeaver. "Think Tanks, the Media and the Policy Process." Paper presented at the 1997 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 1997.

⁹Donald E. Abelson, *Do Think Tanks Matter?*,p. 89.

¹¹ Rich, Andrew. "Perceptions of Think Tanks in American Politics: A Survey of Congressional Staff and Journalists." Burson-Marstellar Worldwide Report, December 1997.

Furthermore, Donald E. Abelson made a comparison between Canada and America about the opportunities, constraints as well as advantages that think tanks have on influencing policy making.

Scholars in China also conducted an exploration into the influence of think tanks. Beyond the empirical analysis conducted by Zhu Xvfeng on the influence of Chinese think tanks, many researchers and institutes have also made conducted trials.

In terms of the current think tank evaluation methods, both at home and abroad, the following three think tank evaluation programs have received more attention and triggered debates:

(1) The Global Think Tank Report by the University of Pennsylvania

Since 2006, the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program (TTCSP) at the University of Pennsylvania has been exploring the evaluation mechanism for global think tanks and has shaped its own unique think tank evaluation procedure. Concretely speaking, every spring they first send emails to staff enlisted in the project database as well as other interested public, inviting them to enter the program website to recommend the candidates qualified for participating in the International Advisory Committee (IAC). Then, the project team will invite the IAC members to nominate the top 25 think tanks of each classification according to their designed categories. The aggregating information about the nominated candidates for top think tanks will be sent to the "Expert Panelists" (EP) who will classify, rank, verify and adjust the institutions filtered by the evaluation indexes provided by the project team and bring out the final ranking of each classification at the end of each year.

Table 2 The Think Tank Evaluation Index System used in the *Global Think Tank Report*

Evaluation Index	Concrete Characteristics			
Resource Index	Ability to attract and keep leading scholars and analysts; Financial support level, quality and stability; The relationship with policy makers and other policy elites; Ability of staff to carry on rigorous studies and provide timely and insightful analysis; Fundraising capability; The quality and reliability of the network; Key links in			
	the policy academia as well as its relationship with the media			
Effectiveness Index	The reputation among medias and political elites of the country; Media exposure as well as the quantity and quality of media citation; Website hits; The quantity and quality of expert testimony submitted to the legislative and administrative agencies; Government briefing; Government appointment; Sales of books; The spread of research reports; Citations in academic journals and public publications; Conference attendance; The organized seminars			
The quantity and quality of policy suggestion innovative ideas; Publications (books, journal and policy briefs, etc.); News interview organization of conferences and seminars; Tappointed as adviser or holding a position getting in government				

Impact Index

Policy proposals adopted by decision makers as well as social organizations; The focus of network; The advisory role played in political parties, candidates, and transition teams; Awards; The achievements in academic journals, public testimony and policy debates; Publication in or citation of publications in academic journals, public testimony and the policy debates attracted by media; The advantage of list and website; Success in challenging the conventional wisdom; The role in government operation and officials election

Source: by the project team based on relevant documents, see also *2013 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report* by James G. McGann, pp.12-15.

According to the evaluation's introduction in 2011, the project team invited 6,545 think tanks from 182 countries to take part in the evaluation. Nomination replies were obtained by more than 1,500 individuals, representing 120 countries, who were requested to recommend the top 25 think tanks of each category in each of the 30 classifications. 25,000 nominations for the 30 categories were received altogether, among which 5,329 think tanks were nominated and 202 were named the world's top think tank. 12

Starting the research on global think tank evaluation and rankings at an earlier time and continuing to push forward with the project up to now, the TTCSP project team at the University of Pennsylvania has made a landmark achievement in the field of think tank studies. Due to the fact that the "overall impression of subjective evaluation method" adopted by the program is easy to be conducted, thus, as the only full-time staff member, James G. McGann

¹²Wang Jicheng, On the Ranking Mechanism and Influence of McGann's "Global Go to Think Tank Reports" ("麦甘'全球智库报告'排名机制及其影响"), *China Economics Times* (《中国经济时报》), 28th,August,2012.

still manages to complete the annual questionnaire survey works with the assistance of internship students.

However, at the same time *the Global Go to Think Tank Index Reports* have been widely acknowledged, it cannot be denied that there still exists many problems. After systematically analyzing these historical reports of past years, we hold that these reports hold six major problems.

First, the evaluation method is lacking in objectivity, which remains to be further improved. As is mentioned above, it is the "overall impression of subjective evaluation method" that McGann adopted for the global think tank ranking. The advantage of this method is that it is easily conducted and evaluation of a large number of objective subjects (global think tank, for instance) can be quickly carried out. Nevertheless, the disadvantage of this method is also very obvious. The outcome could be enormously affected by subjective orientation. The regions and research fields of researchers as well as the opinions they hold, may all exert influence upon the global think tank evaluation and thus affect the accuracy of the evaluation result. We believe that an objective and comprehensive evaluation method for global think tanks requires not only the subjective evaluation, but also lots of multi-level objective indicators for evaluation. Only by combining the subjective qualitative evaluation with the objective quantitative evaluation could we comprehensively conduct a relatively fair and objective evaluation for the global think tanks.

Second, the research strength needs to be enriched. Obviously, to assume a large program such as the global think tank evaluation it must possess a relatively stable financial support and a research team equipped with scientific quality. In particular, the "overall impression of subjective evaluation method" used by McGann demanded excellent researchers to maximize the removal of deviation in the subjective evaluation so as to ensure the effective implementation of this method. However, it is a pity that this evaluation

project conducted by McGann was in his sole charge as the only full-time staff member. The data collection, research and analysis do not rely on fieldwork or conduct by specialized staff, but rather the internship students from the University of Pennsylvania and other colleges in the area of Philadelphia who had not received strict academic training and had an insufficient understanding about global think tanks. Some of these students only regarded the project as a summer internship to gain research experience. Thus, it is disturbing to see the quality of research conducted by them.

Third, the expert selection mechanism needs to be standardized and more transparent. As can be seen from McGann's report, the formation of expert group is the most important part of the ranking work. In 2011, through the recommendation of IAC and EP with democracy on the internet platform, McGann absorbed the panel members of varied research fields from various regions, the interdisciplinary journalists and scholars, current and former think tank persons-in-charge, think tanks donators, the representatives of the social public, and other think tank-related personnel in order to form the expert group. However, McGann did not give concrete information about the professional fields, regions, positions and technical titles of the EP. For instance, how many members from the Asian regions had taken part in the IAC and EP remain unknown. The composition of the expert members directly determined the cognitive familiarity to the regional thinks tanks selected as the investigation samples. In an email, McGann clearly told these evaluation experts that their selection and ranking work will be carefully kept secret. Meanwhile, he also proposed that if they felt they did not have sufficient time to rank all of the think tanks, they could alternatively spend just a few minutes ranking only the think tanks of their own respective regions or their own respective professional fields. This random selection and evaluation requirement shows that the quality control of the project was too hasty and loose.

Fourth, many loopholes in the report exist that make it questionable and unconvincing. For example, in 2009 the Economics Department at Massachusetts Institute of Technology was ranked 2nd out of the top 10 in the category of science and technology, while it never appeared in this category at all in the following years' reports. As early as 2010, the European scholars had systematically cleared up the contradiction about the partial European think tanks in the ranking list of the reports. For instance, the Amnesty International of England was ranked 12th in the Western Europe Top 40, while it was at the same time ranked as the 5th in the World's Top 10 (non U.S.); the Friedrich Ebert Foundation of Germany was ranked ahead of the Amnesty International in the Western Europe top 40 but was not shown in the World's Top 10. In this regard, there were as many as 20 such points of inconsistency. Yet another example can be seen in the 2012 report, the Institute of World Economics and Politics, an institute affiliated with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, saw the two ranked as separate entities, indicating a lack of awareness for the subordinate relation between the incorrectly presumed-to-be two separate entities.

Fifth, their work attitude is not rigorous enough. Within a ten day period in 2010, three different versions of the report were published (on the 21st, 25th, and 31st of January). Some scholars pointed out that in the first version, the Economic Commission of Latin American and the Caribbean of Chile was ranked in the first place in the region of Latin America and the Caribbean. However, in the latter two versions, it never appeared in the top 40 at all. Moreover, it happened that one institution appeared two times within the same table. A similar mistake happened in the *2014 Global Go to Think Tank Report*. The Development Research Center of the State Council of China was simultaneously ranked 48th as well as 99th among the top 150 global think tanks. Such large, obvious mistakes expose that their work lacked appropriate attention and attitude. What is more puzzling is that the Brookings Institution

was ranked 2nd amongst the top 70 of the environment group in 2012, while the website of Brookings declared that they do not pay attention to the studies of environmental policy. Similar phenomenon occurred for several years as the institution was ranked in the top 10 in several classification rankings despite their lack of research activities in these fields.

Sixth, the Global Go to Think Tank Reports did not win the worldwide acceptance as the media claims. In 2015, it was alleged in the news that the Global Go to Think Tank Reports was the evaluation result according to the nomination of thousands of international experts and scholars as well as scientific and systematic standards. Since the global think tank ranking was released in 2007, it gradually became the international wind indicator reflecting the performance and comprehensive influence of global think tanks. However, our interviews of famous American think tanks presented different points of view. The Brookings Institution of course was pleased to be assessed as "the global No. 1 think tank" in the report by McGann and vigorously promoted the result in their website. However, our investigation and survey showed that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, American Enterprise Institute, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Foreign Relations Committee or the Heritage Foundation and World Resources Institute do not approve or recognize that the Brookings Institute should be awarded as "the global No. 1 think tank". They could only accept the evaluation when they were assessed as No. 1 in certain classifications by McGann.

All in all, we think *the Global Go to Think Tank Reports* by McGann carried the above aforementioned problems, which makes its authority unpersuasive. However, much of the Chinese media did not report this objectively, and some scholars and institutes even blindly followed the hype. We suppose that this kind of report must be treated carefully and cannot be overestimated.

(2) The Chinese Think Tank Reports by Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences

On January 22, 2014, the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences issued the first *Chinese Think Tank Report* of China and released the Chinese think tank influence ranking list which included three ranking categories: comprehensive influence, system influence, and professional influence. In light of McGann's "subjective evaluation method of overall impression", this project conducted the evaluation upon our think tanks from four main respects. See details in the table below:

Table 2 The Evaluation criteria for the impact of think tanks in China

Respects to be evaluated	The specific characteristics					
Think tank development and marketing capability	The establishment time and period of existence; Research budget; Ability to retain elite experts and researchers; Channels of cooperation and communication with similar institutions home and abroad					
Impact on policy-making (core)	Number of times and levels of research products the leaders made comments on; Number of times and levels of think tank experts participating in policy consulting; Number of times and levels of think tank experts invited to provide training for policy makers; The percentage of think tank staff nominated to official posts and staff who used to work for government agencies (the revolving door mechanism)					

	Quantity of research papers published or reprinted in		
	domestic and overseas core academic journals;		
A and arrain (a arrayal)	Number of times and levels of think tank staff invited to		
Academic (central)	participate in academic conferences at home and		
impact	abroad;		
	Books and conference papers openly published;		
	Serial research reports openly published		
	Frequency of think tank experts expressing views or		
	being reported in the media;		
	Frequency of think tank experts interviewed by media;		
Social (marginal)	Website construction, including the number of Web		
impact	Media such as blogs and microblogs owned by think		
	tank experts;		
	The humanistic care of think tank researches about the		
	vulnerable people carrying policy demands		

Source: Think Tank Research Center of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, The Chinese Think Tank Reports of 2013-Influence Ranking and Policy Recommendation(《2013年中国智库报告——影响力排名与政策建议》), Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, June, 2014.

In 2015, the Think Tank Research Center of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences modified its think tank evaluation system. It designed the evaluation criteria around the influence of decision-making and consultation, academic influence, media influence, public influence, international influence and the ability of development and marketing of Chinese think tanks. It also developed adopting several rounds of subjective evaluation methods, scored and ranked China's active think tanks from the respects of comprehensive influence, itemized influence, influence of internal system, and professional influence. Details can also be seen in the following table:

Table 3: The evaluation criteria of the impact of think tanks in China

Respects to be evaluated	The specific characteristics			
	Number of times and levels of research products leaders made comments on;			
Immost on	Number of times and levels of think tank experts			
Impact on decision-making	participating in policy consulting or invited to provide training for policy makers;			
	Percentage of think tank staff nominated to official posts and staff who used to work for government agencies(the revolving door mechanism)			
	Quantity of research papers published or reprinted in domestic and overseas core academic journals; Number of times and levels of think tank staff invited to			
Academic impact	participate in academic conferences at home and abroad; Books, conference papers and serial research reports			
	openly published			
	Ability to guide public opinion of the media; Frequency of think tank experts expressing views in the			
Media influence	media or being reported and interviewed by it; Website construction, including the number of Web media such as blogs and microblogs owned by think tank experts			
Social impact	Ability to guide public awareness; The humanistic care and action effect of researches about the vulnerable people carrying policy demands			

International influence	International recognition and international reputation; Frequency of cooperation and communication with similar institutions at home and abroad; Constant attention to major international events and the ability to analyze them
The capability of development and marketing	The establishment time and having long period of existence; Research budget; Ability to retain elite experts and researchers;

Source: Think Tank Research Center of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, *The Chinese Think Tank Reports of 2014-Influence Ranking and Policy Recommendation* (《2014年中国智库报告——影响力排名与政策建议》),January, 2015. □

The Think Tank Research Center of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences believes that the impact of a think tank is a comprehensive embodiment of its impact on decision-making, academic influence, media influence, social impact, as well as its international influence. Thus, only by combining the entire set of channels and mechanisms prompting said influence an evaluation criteria be composed for the impact of Chinese think tanks. Meanwhile, considering that influence was a subjective evaluation and varied because of different persons, perspectives and matters, it was hard to measure with concrete indicators. Thus, the project team mainly used the several rounds of subjective evaluation and the relatively vague ordinal ranking and referred to individual quantitative indicators to conduct evaluation for the impact of think tanks.

The Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences initiated the think tank evaluation in China, first putting out the think tank evaluation reports and clearly proposed their own indicator system for the evaluation of the impact of think tanks.

The Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences made the classification analysis upon Chinese think tanks. They classified them into the four think tank categories of Party, Politics and Army, Academy of Social Sciences, Colleges and Universities, and Private think tanks. Furthermore, they made a comparative analysis about the nature, form of organization, financial resources and research directions of each category.¹³

It is worth noting that the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, according to the classified evolution and research fields of Chinese think tanks in the 2013 report, designed 3 categories of ranking. The first category is the ranking of comprehensive influence, the second is the ranking of systematic influence, and the third is the ranking of professional influence.

The problems existing within the Chinese think tank reports by the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences are as follows:

First, the definition of think tanks needs to be further clarified. As the report put it that, with regard to the selection of think tanks of colleges and universities, it will take the universities as the unit in evaluating comprehensive influence and systematic influence. But for the evaluation of professional influence, the secondary colleges and universities' research centers (related subordinates) were included as units. How exactly to define the think tanks of colleges and universities needs to be further discussed, which involves the question of the quantity and scale of think tanks.¹⁴

Second, the evaluation method needs to be improved and this is a more critical problem. The subjective evaluation method of "Nomination + Evaluation + Ranking" adopted by the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences

¹³The Think Tank Research Center of Shanghai Acedemy of Social Science, *2014 The Chinese Think Tank Report-Influence Ranking and Policy Recommendation*(《2014年中国智库报告——影响力排名与政策建议》), Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, June, 2014, p. 9.

¹⁴Ibid. P. 43.

should be gradually revised to be the "Subjective + Objective" method. 15

Of course, the transparencies of the evaluation process as well as the set of evaluation weights were more important. For instance, the persons participating in the questionnaire inquiry and the equilibrium of the composition of the evaluation experts, geographical distribution and disciplinary distribution all played an important role in the final evaluation result and should therefore be disclosed. Even if the subjective evaluation method was adopted, for instance, the weight of the evaluation index is supposed to be explained. This is especially the case when considering the scores of the think tanks in the ranking list for the evaluated think tanks to let them figure out their merits and demerits. The currently simple ranking list cannot serve the function of both making relevant think tanks realize their own deficiencies as well as making a fair judgment about the evaluation result.

(3) The Think Tank Evaluation by Horizon Research Consultancy Group and China Network

On January 15, 2015, the Horizon Research Consultancy Group and China Network jointly released the *2014 Chinese Think Tank Influence Report*. Four categories of influence indicators were adopted: the professional influence, the influence upon government, social influence, and international influence. And anywhere from 3 to 5 objective indicators were set for each category of influence as shown in the following table:

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¹⁵Ibid. Pp. 42-43.

Table 4 the Evaluation Indicators for Chinese Think Tank Influence

Evaluation indicators	Concrete indicators
	Quantity and degree of internationalization of the research talents of think tanks;
Professional influence	Quantity of articles of the researchers published in academic journals;
	Quantity of the published books of researchers;
	Quantity of journals published
	Quantity and levels of think tank experts invited to provide training for government staff;
Impact on government	Quantity and levels of government entrusted projects;
	Quantity and levels the leaders made comments;
	Quantity and levels of think tanks participating in government conferences

Social influence	Search volume of the think tank being searched on the internet;
	Number of times of the think tank being reported by domestic mainstream media;
	Number of followers the think tank and its persons in charge have on new medias
	Frequency and ways of the cooperation
International influence	between the think tank and international organizations;
	Quantity of foreign think tanks collaborating with the think tank;
	Number of times of key researchers speaking in international forums;
	Number of times of the think tank being reported by foreign medias;
	Numbers of overseas branches

Source: Horizon Research Consultancy Group and China Network, 2014 Chinese Think Tanks Influence Report, 15, January, 2015.

Every secondary indicator in the data collection process may be subdivided into more detailed ones according to the actual situation. For example, the researchers may be subdivided into domestic and overseas.

In order to guarantee the research more objective results, the Horizon Research Consultancy Group and China Network regard the rankings by the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences as the first grade indicators. It then converts it to scores which will be combined with the values obtained by the objective indicators, which then finally enable a score of think tanks to be calculated. The formula can be presented as follows:

Think tank's score = (scores from objective indicators \times 70%) + (scores from subjective indicators \times 30%)

It can be seen that the think tank scores for ranking were weighted more heavily on the objective indicators than the subjective indicators. The Horizon Research Consultancy Group and China Network are expected to set up a system completely composed of quantitative indexes which still has a long way to go. And the proportion of subjective scores will be reduced year by year until finally being removed completely.

In terms of the 2014 Chinese Think Tanks Influence Report by the Horizon Research Consultancy Group and China Network, firstly, the operation mode for think tank evaluation is innovative. Its highlight is the cooperation with private institutes and the media. Secondly, they try to improve the evaluation method and create the subjective and objective combination evaluation method with the evaluation result of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences as the source data. Nevertheless, it neither discloses the final scores of the relevant think tanks, nor completely presents the quantitative process, which lacks the transparency of evaluation. In particular, it does not give a clear definition about think tanks and also did not make the objective data of think tanks as well as their scores known to the public. In the communications with the staff of the Horizon Research Consultancy Group during our field research, they also admitted that many problems still existed during the collection of data given that both the number of people and time devoted to the data collection were insufficient and that experts consulted in the evaluation process were not that representative.

3. The AMI Index System for Comprehensive Evaluation of Global Think Tanks

The index system for comprehensive evaluation of global think tank evaluates think tanks according to three main levels: Attractive Power, Management Power, and Impact Power. The concrete evaluation model is shown in figure 2.

Attractive Power: the external environment of a think tank. A favorable external environment can attract more resources and enhance attraction of the evaluation object.

Management Power: the ability of managers to manage and develop a think tank.

Impact Power: the direct expression of a think tank and the ultimate embodiment of the two aforementioned powers above.

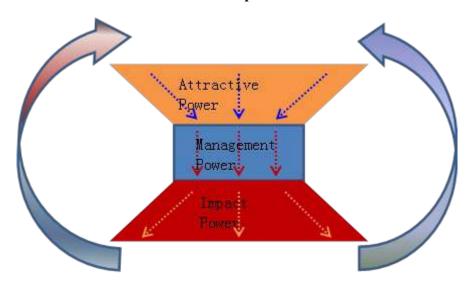


Figure 2. The Comprehensive Evaluation Model for Global Think Tanks Source: by the project team

(1) The Index System for Comprehensive Evaluation of Global Think Tanks

The comprehensive evaluation index system is made up of five class indicators. This includes 3 first-class indicators, 15 second-class indicators, and 35 third-class indicators. This amounts to a total value of 355 points, in which the first-class indicator, "Attractive Power", represents 105 points; "Management Power" represents 70 points, and "Impact Power" representing the remaining 180 points.

Table 5. The Comprehensive Evaluation Index System for Global Think Tanks

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
		Decision reputation	Rewards received by institution or staff from international or national government, industry and organization	
Attractive	Reputation attraction	Academic reputation	Reports, essays and works by institution or staff gaining national prize Researchers' academic morality Academic independence	The independence of research direction and
			independence	direction an

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
				Independence of research conclusion
		History reputation	Founding time	
			Expert assessment	
		Peer review	Third party evaluation	
		Staff size	Total number of staff	
		Recruitment ratio		
			Work environment	
	Staff		Platform provided	
	attraction	The ability to	Personal career planning	
	attract talents	Payment	Full-time staff's average annual earnings after tax (RMB)	
			Paper downloads	
	Products/ outcomes	Research results	Papers reprint amount	
	attraction	attraction	Website hits	Annual website hits

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
	Capital	Capital value	Annual R & D spending per capita	
	attraction	Capital source	Diversity	
	Strategy	Development planning		
		Organization level	Rigor, systematic-ness	
	Structure	Independence	Independent corporate capacity	
Management		CRM (customer relationship management)	The relationship with government, academic institution, media, enterprises and foreign institutions	Full-time public relations practitioner
	System	Information management	Independent website	
		Process management	Rules and regulations	Normalization of establishment and execution
			Strategy and tactics	Harmony
		Outsourcing	Translation	
		ability	Data processing	
			Social survey	

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
		Quality	Education background of staff	The proportion of the number of staff with Bachelor's degree in the total number of staff
			Age structure	The proportion of the number of staff aged 30 to 50 to the total number of staff
	Staff	Structure	Gender structure	The proportion of amount difference between both genders of professionals in the total number of those
		Leader	Reputation	
	Cooperation ability	Management ability		
	Style	Management style	History and tradition Cultural heritage	
	Shared	Oriented	Clear values and	
	values	management	missions	

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
	Skills	Professional technical capacity	Educational background of professionals Analysis and decision-making level	
Impact power	Policy	The influence upon policy-making	Government commissioned research programs Researchers are invited to teach or to be consulted by governments at provincial level or above The influence of achievements upon policy	Amount Person-time Policy adoption rate
		The relationship with government and decision maker	Revolving door	The proportion of the number of staff once in the provincial office (including temporary) of the total number of staff

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
				The proportion of
				the number of staff
				leaving the agency
				to the provincial
				government of the
				total number of
				staff
				The proportion of
				the number of staff
				taking part-time
				job in the
				provincial
				government of the
				total number of
				staff
				The proportion of
				the number of staff
				once the officers of
				provincial
				government or
				above of the total
				number of staff

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
			Training for officials	The proportion of the number of staff leaving the agency to be officers of provincial government or above in the total number of staff
			Training for officials Serials	Amounts
	Academic influence	Publications	Reports, papers & works	The amounts of reports and essays openly published by professionals The amount of non-public reports submitted by professionals The amount of work published by professionals
	Papers ci	Papers cited	Amounts	The amounts of papers citation

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
		Academic event	Conference	The amounts of workshops, roundtables & forums openly hosted solely or cooperatively
		frequency	Academic communication	The amounts of reciprocal visits with other academic agencies within the country
	Social influence	Media exposure	Media exposure of staff	The amounts of policy views reached in national broadcasts, televisions, newspapers & internet

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
			Media exposure of organization	The amounts of agency reported(including reprinted) by national broadcasts, televisions, newspapers & internet
		Social responsibility	Social public welfare projects	Amounts
			Open access to researches	
		Information disclosure	Website content Website update frequency Research push service	Richness
	Internationa l influence	International cooperation	The amounts of workshops, roundtables & forums hosted with overseas agencies	

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
			The amounts of researches cooperatively distributed with overseas agencies or personals The total number of staff sent abroad to have academic visits or participate in academic exchanges	
		Registered branches abroad	and seminars Amount	
		Foreign professionals	The proportion foreign professionals	
		Multilanguage	The languages used by professionals to openly distribute reports & papers	Amount
		Language versions of agency website	Amount	

(2) The Comprehensive Evaluation Index System for Global Think Tanks (the trial version in 2015)

"The Comprehensive Evaluation Index System for Global Think Tanks (the trial version in 2015)" ("2015 Trial Version of Evaluation Index System" for short) is designed to evaluate global think tanks as well as to further test the scientific value and applicability of the comprehensive evaluation index system. It is the subclass of the Comprehensive Evaluation Index System of Global High-end Think Tank, whose indicators are selected by relevance and reliability. In total it values 283 points with the first class index "attractive power" reaching 82 points, "management power" 51 points and "impact power" 150 points, altogether 72 points less than those of the whole evaluation index system.

Table 6 The Comprehensive Evaluation Index System for Global Think Tanks
(trial version in 2015)

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
Attractive power	Reputation attraction	Academic reputation	Academic independence	The independence of research direction and content The independence of research conclusion
		History reputation	Founding time	
		Peer review	Expert assessment	

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
			The third party evaluation	
		Staff size	Total number of staff	
	Staff	Recruitment ratio		
	attraction	The ability to attract talent	Payment	Full-time staff's average annual earnings after tax(RMB)
	Products/ outcomes attraction	Research results attraction	Website hits	Annual website
	Capital attraction	Capital value	Annual R&D spending per capita	
		Capital source	Diversity	
Management power	Strategy	Development planning		
	Structure	Independence	Independent corporate capacity	

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
			The relationship	
			with	
			government,	
		CRM(customer	academic	Full-time public
		relation	institution,	relations
		management)	media,	practitioner
			enterprises and	
			foreign	
			institutions	
		Information	Independent	
		management	website	
	System	Outsourcing ability	Translation	
			Data processing	
			Social survey	
				The proportion of
			Education	the number of staff
		Quality	background of	with bachelor's
			staff	degree of the total
	Staff			number of staff
	Stair			The proportion of
				the number of staff
		Structure	Age structure	aged 30 to 50 of
				the total number of
				staff

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
			Gender structure	The proportion of amount difference between both genders of professionals of the total number of staff
	Shared values	Oriented management	Clear values and missions	
	Skills	Professional technical capacity	Educational background of professionals	
		1 7	Government commissioned research programs	Amount
Impact power	Policy influence	The influence upon policy-making	Researchers are invited to teach or to be consulted by governments at provincial level or above	Person-time

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
		The relationship with government and decision maker	Revolving door	The proportion of the number of staff once in the provincial office(including temporary) of the total number of staff The proportion of the number of staff leaving the agency to the provincial government of the total number of staff The proportion of the total number of staff of the number of staff total number of the number of staff taking part-time job in the provincial government of the total number of staff

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
			Training for officials	The proportion of the number of staff once the officers of provincial government or above of the total number of staff The proportion of the number of staff leaving the agency to be officers of provincial government or above of the total number of staff
	Academic influence	Publications	Serials Reports, papers & works	Amounts The amounts of reports and essays openly published by professionals The amounts of non-public reports submitted by professionals

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators The amounts of works published by professionals
		Academic events frequency	Conference Academic communication	The amounts of workshops, roundtables & forums openly hosted (solely or cooperatively) The amounts of reciprocal visits with other academic agencies within the country
	Social influence	Media exposure	Media exposure of staff	The amounts of policy views reached in national broadcasts, televisions, newspapers & internet medias

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
			Media exposure of organization	The amounts of agency reported(including reprinted) by national broadcasts, televisions, newspapers & internet medias
		Social responsibility	Social public welfare projects	Amounts
			Open access to researches	
		Information	Website content	Richness
		disclosure	Website update frequency	
			Research push service	
			The amounts of workshops,	
	International influence	International cooperation	roundtables & forums hosted with overseas	
			agencies	

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
			The amounts of	
			researches	
			cooperatively	
			distributed with	
			overseas	
			agencies or	
			personals	
			The total	
			number of staff	
			sent abroad to	
			have academic	
			visits or	
			participate in	
			academic	
			exchanges and	
			seminars	
		Registered	A .	
		branches abroad	Amounts	
			The proportion	
			of the number of	
		Foreign	foreign	
		professionals	professionals in	
			the total	
			number of those	

First level indicators	Second level indicators	Third level indicators	Fourth level indicators	Fifth level indicators
		Multilanguage	The languages used by professionals to openly distribute reports & papers	Amount
			Language versions of agency website	Numbers

(3)The characteristics of the comprehensive evaluation index system for global think tanks

The main characteristics are as follows:

- A. The combination of qualification and quantification features, makes a remarkable difference from the think tank evaluation method previously used. Based on the existing methods, it is understood that we should break through the bottle neck of evaluation based on subjective qualification, so as to construct the comprehensive evaluation index system which combines qualification with quantification.
- B. The system design suits the working process of think tanks, which conducts evaluation from the three levels of attractive power, management power as well as impact power. The first level is like a funnel, showing the external reputation of a think tank and its capability of attractiveness; the second level plays the function of an incubator, performing the role of internal operating capacity of a think tank; the third level bears the resemblance of a

trumpet, indicating such capacity of a think tank as international communication and policy impact. The three levels are interactive, in which the larger the impact power is, the more profound the attractive power is. Meanwhile, the increasing attractive power will support in gathering more talents to a think tank, consequently promoting its management power.

- C. The wide coverage. The attractive power covers reputation attraction, staff attraction, products/outcomes attraction and capital attraction; the management power according to the theory of 7S includes strategy, structure, system, staff, style, shared value as well as skills; the impact power incorporates policy influence, academic influence, social influence and international influence.
- D. The ability to access experts groups and relevant third parties, which not only develops the function of experts review, but also pays attention to the assessing results of the third party. The value of the former reaches up to 40 points and that of the latter to 10 points, which altogether occupies more than half of 82 points of the attractive power in the whole 2015 evaluation system, which then reflects the emphasis placed on peer review.

4.The global think tank ranking and the evaluation process

(1) The global think tank evaluation process

A. The research process

(a) Define the source of think tanks

The project team, synthesizing the existing think tank evaluation results and using internet as well as relative documents, preliminarily collected and grasped the basic information of global think tanks. They also invited the experts of various disciplines to recommend the important think tanks of their own fields. On the basis of bearing a general understanding of the characteristics of global think tanks, they made a definition on think tank in order to narrow the scope of the source of think tanks.

(b) Revise the scope of source of think tanks

Expert consultation as well as fieldwork is core notions of the project. The team invited the specialists from home and abroad to discuss think tanks, social statistics and information management and relevant evaluation systems. Moreover, taking along the think tank questionnaires as well as the expert questionnaires, they visited many domestic and overseas think tanks and, according to the feedback information from consultation and fieldwork, made additions and deletions to the source of think tanks and finally confirmed 1787 source think tanks.

(c) Release the expert evaluation questionnaires and think tank questionnaires.

To widen the scope of subject evaluation body, the project team identified a large number of experts. On the basis of the research content of think tanks (region + professional field), the project team classified them into 39 categories and looked for the experts conducting assessment for each category who covered varied professions from the world's major countries and regions. 20162 expert questionnaires were in total released.

Meanwhile, regarding the objective evaluation data, the project team through emails, phones and field visits tried to establish direct contact with all the source of think tanks. Among the 1575 think tanks questionnaires, 156replied and 43 think tanks were not willing to take part in the evaluation. 359 out of 1781source think tanks were selected as the most influential think tanks. If these 360 think tanks did not return their questionnaires, the team would gather the information by themselves in order to not leave them out.

(d) Data statistics

The project team, through earnestly and systematically recording and arranging the large number of feedback information of think tanks as well as the expert evaluation and suggestions, gathered the information of key think tanks not returning questionnaires. This was the basis to setting up the global key think tank database and the think tank expert database which ultimately determined the score calculation on the 359 think tanks according to the evaluation index and index weight.

B. Research method

(a) The collection of first hand material

Field research

The project team had successively carried on the on-the-spot investigation on more than hundred key think tanks from the U.S., Britain, Germany, Belgium, Japan as well as China and had discussions with the person-in-charge of these think tanks and researchers. The aim of the investigation was to review the various operation models, research content, opinions output channels as well as the way to influence decision making of these think tanks.

Questionnaire inquiry

The project team, through sending and collecting the electronic and paper questionnaires from experts and think tanks, obtained the expert evaluation and think tanks data as the basic foundation for subjective and objective evaluation.

The telephone survey

Of the think tanks that failed to respond through emails, the project team took the method of telephone survey to give an introduction on the evaluation project, answer their questions, make connection with the persons in charge and send questionnaires to them in order to get the data of think tanks.

Expert discussion

The project team paid much attention to the suggestions of experts from various areas. In the whole research process, in addition to holding in-depth discussions with think tank experts, the project team took the opportunity to visit think tanks at home and abroad as well as hosting and attending seminars to exchanged ideas with the experts of various fields from different countries and listened to their opinions and suggestions on the program so as to continuously make improvement.

(b) The collection of second hand material

Collection via Internet

In the process of research, through public information and database, the project team made full use of Internet resources to collect the information of think tanks and experts as well as the research results which provided important foundation for the implementation and completion of the project.

Books and reference materials

Before the implementation of this project, many scholars and experts around the world have completed research on think tanks from all respects and have written a large number of books. Against their own specific regions, the project team members looked up relevant materials on the areas they are in charge of in order to grasp the situation of think tanks in various regions and then accordingly confirm the source think tanks.

Research reports

The project team carried out careful studies on the think tank evaluation reports issued at home and abroad, learned from their successful research methods and evaluation system and made efforts to improve their advantages.

Brief introduction to think tanks

Based on the information released by the think tank official website, the project team compiled the brief introduction of the global 286 key think tanks in a Chinese version with the purpose of providing the domestic think tank research with more basic information on the thinks tanks both at home and

abroad for further study.

C. The ranking of global think tanks

This ranking list embodies the top 100 think tanks in terms of the total score of AMI. Think tanks from 31 countries/international organizations are ranked in this list. Specifically speaking, 18 from the U.S., 11 from Germany, 9 from China, 9 from Japan, 6 from South Korea, 5 from Belgium, 4 Italy and Britain, 3 Brazil and Chile, 2 from Argentina, and 1 from each of, Holland, Canada, South Africa, Switzerland, India, Poland, France, Finland, Kyrgyzstan, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, Spain, Greece, Singapore, Israel, Azerbaijan, Egypt, Australia, and an international organization.

It should be noted that due to the fact that the Evaluation Center for Chinese Social Sciences the project team is affiliated with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, thus, to ensure fairness and objectiveness of the evaluation, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and its subordinate think tanks were not included in this ranking list.

Table 7 Ranking of global think tanks

Ranking	Country/International Organization	Name of Think Tank	AMI	A	M	I
1	United States	Carnegie Endowment for	179.56	64.56	53.00	62.00
	5) .	International Peace	170.00			04.00
2	Belgium	Bruegel	178.20	63.20	54.00	61.00
3	United States	Heritage Foundation	175.00	60.00	51.00	64.00
4	United Kingdom	Chatham House - Royal Institute of International Affairs	172.00	64.00	41.00	67.00

Ranking	Country/International Organization	Name of Think Tank	AMI	A	M	I
5	Sweden	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute	170.00	62.00	51.00	57.00
6	United States	Brookings Institute	169.40	73.40	48.00	48.00
7	Germany	Konrad Adenauer Foundation	169.00	58.00	43.00	68.00
8	United States	Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars	168.36	64.36	45.00	59.00
9	China	Development Research Center of the State Council	168.32	51.32	48.00	69.00
10	United Kingdom	International Institute for Strategic Studies	160.00	57.00	45.00	58.00
11	Japan	Japan Institute of International Affairs	157.60	68.60	30.00	59.00
12	Japan	National Institute for Defense Studies	154.82	66.32	30.00	58.50
13	United States	Council on Foreign Relations	153.64	67.64	34.00	52.00
14	United Kingdom	Overseas Development Institute	152.36	57.36	40.00	55.00

Ranking	Country/International Organization	Name of Think Tank	AMI	A	M	I
		Institute of				
		Developing				
15	Japan	Economies , Japan	151.56	56.56	35.00	60.00
		External Trade				
		Organization				
		Science and				
16	Korea	Technology Policy	151.36	51.36	29.00	71.00
		Institute				
17	United Kingdom	Centre for European	150.64	51.64	46.00	53.00
1,	emica migaom	Reform	100.01	01.01	10.00	00.00
18	Germany	Ecologic Institute	150.36	54.36	34.00	62.00
		Center for Strategic				
19	United States	and International	150.04	61.04	41.00	48.00
		Studies				
20	Germany	Bertelsmann	150.00	48.00	34.00	68.00
	J. J. J. J.	Foundation				
21	Korea	Korea Environment	149.50	49.00	38.00	62.50
		Institute				
		Center for Northeast				
22	Japan	Asian Studies,	149.32	45.32	42.00	62.00
		Tohoku University				
		China Institute of				
23	China	International	147.80	54.80	36.00	57.00
		Studies				

Ranking	Country/International Organization	Name of Think Tank	AMI	A	M	I
24	Switzerland	Geneva Center for Security Policy	147.36	44.36	30.00	73.00
25	Germany	German Development Institute	146.40	61.40	42.00	43.00
26	Italy	Italian Institute for International Political Studies	145.36	54.36	33.00	58.00
27	United States	East West Center	145.18	59.68	46.00	39.50
28	International Organization	Asian Development Bank Institute	144.80	64.80	30.00	50.00
29	Italy	Institute of International Affairs	144.36	67.36	41.00	36.00
30	Korea	Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security	143.68	46.68	31.00	66.00
31	Brazil	Getúlio Vargas Foundation	143.22	49.72	50.00	43.50
32	Germany	Ifo Institute for Economic Research, University of Munich	142.40	56.40	45.00	41.00
33	Japan	Institute for Global Environmental Strategies	142.20	54.20	47.00	41.00

Ranking	Country/International Organization	Name of Think Tank	AMI	A	M	I
34	Spain	Elcano Royal Institute	142.00	55.00	32.00	55.00
35	China	China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations	141.70	57.20	38.00	46.50
36	Belgium	International Crisis Group	141.64	62.64	41.00	38.00
36	Japan	Tokyo Foundation	141.64	58.64	28.00	55.00
38	United States	Peterson Institute for International Economics	141.00	47.00	36.00	58.00
39	Japan	Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry	140.20	53.20	42.00	45.00
40	China	China Center for International Economic Exchanges	139.66	54.16	43.00	42.50
40	France	Foundation for Political Innovation	139.66	51.16	38.00	50.50
42	Canada	Fraser Institute	139.16	54.16	44.00	41.00
43	Greece	Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy	139.00	62.00	43.00	34.00

Ranking	Country/International Organization	Name of Think Tank	AMI	A	M	I
44	Japan	Mitsubishi Research Institute, Inc.	138.90	49.40	28.00	61.50
45	Belgium	European Center for International Political Economy	138.64	51.64	41.00	46.00
46	United States	Center for a New American Security	137.00	55.00	37.00	45.00
47	Switzerland	Swiss Peace Foundation	136.60	56.60	45.00	35.00
48	Argentina	Argentine Council for International Relations	136.00	51.00	35.00	50.00
48	United States	Resources for the Future	136.00	56.00	36.00	44.00
50	Norway	Peace Research Institute Oslo	135.36	65.36	23.00	47.00
51	Belgium	European Policy Center	135.00	60.00	33.00	42.00
51	United States	World Resources Institute	135.00	59.00	42.00	34.00
53	Germany	German Institute for International and Security Affairs	134.86	50.36	30.00	54.50

Ranking	Country/International Organization	Name of Think Tank	AMI	A	M	I
54	Japan	National Institute of Advanced Industrial Science and Technology	134.80	57.80	30.00	47.00
55	Germany	Kiel Institute for the World Economy, University of Kiel	134.36	54.36	45.00	35.00
56	Chile	Center of Public Studies	134.04	46.04	46.00	42.00
57	Azerbaijan	Center for Economic and Social Development	134.00	48.00	29.00	57.00
57	Israel	Institute for National Security Studies	134.00	57.00	38.00	39.00
59	China	Academy of Macroeconomic Research	133.64	45.64	36.00	52.00
59	India	Delhi Policy Group	133.64	55.64	38.00	40.00
59	India	Energy and Resources Institute	133.64	44.64	41.00	48.00
62	South Africa	African Center for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes	133.00	61.00	38.00	34.00

Ranking	Country/International Organization	Name of Think Tank	AMI	A	M	I
62	United States	Center on Budget and Policy Priorities	133.00	56.00	36.00	41.00
62	United States	Stanford University, Hoover Institution	133.00	58.00	38.00	37.00
65	Turkey	Istanbul Policy Center, Sabanci University	132.64	46.64	22.00	64.00
66	Chile	Corporation for Latin American Studies	132.04	43.04	50.00	39.00
67	China	Chinese Academy of International Trade and Economic Cooperation	132.00	62.00	35.00	35.00
67	Poland	Center for Social and Economic Research	132.00	57.00	42.00	33.00
67	South Africa	South African Institute of International Affairs	132.00	56.00	41.00	35.00
67	United States	United States Institute of Peace	132.00	41.00	50.00	41.00
71	Kyrgyzstan	Central Asian Free Market Institute	131.98	40.48	30.00	61.50
72	United States	Inter-American Dialogue	131.64	56.64	36.00	39.00

Ranking	Country/International Organization	Name of Think Tank	AMI	A	M	I
73	Italy	Eni Enrico Mattei Foundation	131.00	56.00	38.00	37.00
73	Netherlands	Clingendael Netherlands Institute of International Relations	131.00	65.00	27.00	39.00
75	Belgium	Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations	130.40	58.40	27.00	45.00
76	Argentina	Center for the Implementation of Public Policies Promoting Equity and Growth	130.32	43.32	45.00	42.00
77	Germany	German Council on Foreign Relations	130.20	52.20	42.00	36.00
78	Korea	Korea Development Institute	129.64	47.64	43.00	39.00
79	Brazil	Fernando Henrique Cardoso Institute	129.50	44.00	45.00	40.50
80	Australia	Lowy Institute for International Policy	129.40	51.40	21.00	57.00

Ranking	Country/International Organization	Name of Think Tank	AMI	A	M	I
81	Singapore	Institute of Southeast Asian Studies	129.36	47.36	35.00	47.00
82	Finland	Finnish Institute of International Affairs	129.20	57.20	36.00	36.00
83	Italy	Euro-Mediterranean Center for Climate Change	129.00	54.00	42.00	33.00
84	China	National Research Institute, Tsinghua University	128.80	51.80	32.00	45.00
85	Canada	Macdonald-Laurier Institute	128.64	52.64	34.00	42.00
86	United States	Urban Institute	128.04	61.04	37.00	30.00
87	China	National Academy of Development and Strategy, Renmin University of China	128.00	48.00	43.00	37.00
87	Germany	Peace Research Institute Frankfurt	128.00	68.00	27.00	33.00
87	Germany	Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research	128.00	56.00	35.00	37.00
90	United States	Institute of World Politics	127.64	47.64	44.00	36.00

Ranking	Country/International Organization	Name of Think Tank	AMI	A	M	I
91	Korea	Asan Institute for Policy Studies	127.04	48.04	31.00	48.00
92	Netherlands	European Centre for Development Policy Management	127.00	59.00	37.00	31.00
93	Egypt	Economic Research Forum	126.36	52.36	38.00	36.00
94	Chile	Liberty and Development	126.20	45.20	41.00	40.00
95	Brazil	Brazilian Center for International Relations	126.16	46.16	40.00	40.00
96	China	National School of Development, Peking University	125.80	42.80	35.00	48.00
97	International Organization	World Bank Institute	125.54	53.04	33.00	39.50
98	Germany	Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom	125.50	53.00	38.00	34.50
99	Korea	Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation	125.00	42.00	35.00	48.00
100	United States	Rand Cooperation	124.40	58.40	38.00	28.00

5.The construction of new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics under the global perspective

(1) The think tank compass

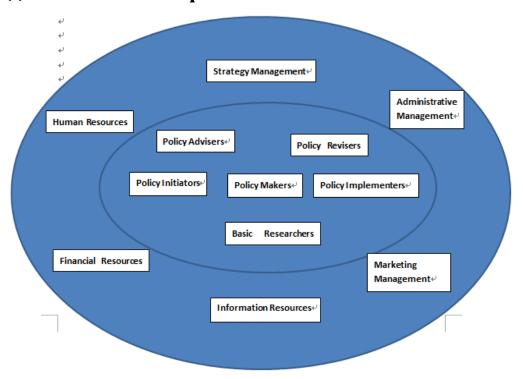


Figure 3. The think tank compass

Source: The project team

We hold that the think tank compass is the core path for think tank construction. For construction of the base layer of think tanks, the strategic management, administrative management, marketing management as well as the information resources, financial resources, human resources, etc. are supposed to be included in order to consolidate the think tanks foundation; meanwhile, to improve the competitiveness of think tanks, they must have the ability to exert influence upon the related personnel regarding decision making, composed of grounding researchers, policy initiators, policy advisers, policy makers, policy revisers and policy implementers.

(2) Careful consideration of the "fever" for "new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics"

The Suggestions about Enhancing the Construction of New Type Think Tanks with Chinese Characteristics issued by the General Office of the CPC Central Committee and that of the State Council noted that think tanks are "hot" in China. Whereas, to construct world-renowned new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics, careful consideration was needed.

The "think tank fever" in China was presented in the following respects:

First, fever in numbers-emphasizes increasing the amounts of think tanks, while ignoring their quality. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, General Secretary Xi Jinping repeatedly made important statements on strengthening the construction of new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics from the strategic height of promoting policy-making scientifically and democratically, advancing the modernization of the national governance system and capacity and strengthening of the national soft power. Particularly, the Suggestions released by both offices in January 2015 pushed the think tank popularity to a climax. Some experts claimed that far more than ten thousand think tanks of varieties came into being in the past 2 years.16 Thus, about five thousand think tanks were estimated to be established. In terms of amount, the high development speed is striking and the total number had already taken first place in the world. However, it has violated the original intention of the Central Committee in calling for strengthening the construction of think tanks. In April, 2013, General Secretary Xi Jinping with regard to strengthening the construction of new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics made a clear instruction that "as an important part for the nation's soft power and with the development of our situation, the role of think tanks will be more and more important. Thus, the organization and

¹⁶Chen Yongjie, "To Construct New Type Think Tanks with Chinese Characteristics Needs to Correct Alienation and Prevent Chaos", *Economic Observer*, 25th May, 2015.

management model for the new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics need to be paid high attention and positively explored. In November 2013, the "Several Important Problematic Decisions about comprehensively deepening reform" made by CPC Central Committee passed in the Third Plenary session of CPC (18) reemphasized the need to "strengthen the construction of new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics as well as establish and improve the decision consulting system". Thus, it is the quality of think tanks that is key. It is only whether or not we can establish and improve the decision consulting system that is the motive and power to enhance the new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics.

Second, fever in ranking—focus on the ranking for think tanks while ignoring their integral construction. At the beginning the "Global Go to Think Tanks" issued by Pennsylvania University, it had not much influence either home or abroad, and their evaluation system for think tanks also exhibited many problems. But with the occurrence of think tank "heat" in China, many think tanks concentrated their efforts to ranking, this ranking list then became the target and the project leader McGann was also invited to be the guest for many think tank forums in China. Meanwhile, the Chinese Think Tank Reports respectively released by Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Horizon Research Consultancy Group as well as China Network all conducted evaluation upon the influence of national think tanks which recaptured eyes of think tanks upon ranking while ignoring the integral construction of think tanks.

Third, fever in spread—paying attention to think tank propaganda, while ignoring the core work of think tanks in public policy studies. It cannot be denied that in the past Chinese think tanks did not attract much attention to the propaganda of their results while lots of research results were laid on the shelf without conducting enough feedback to the relevant decision-making departments, opinion leaders as well as the general public. While making

domestic and foreign propaganda was an important work for think tanks, it can never be their primary task and while neglecting their core work in public policy studies. Recently, individual national think tanks were keen on entering media, hosting forums and even seeking popularity by issuing shocking statements or promotions without focusing on advisory research. Such behavior puts "the cart before the horse" as not only did it not cause awareness, but it was enjoyed by other parties and brought about a lot of imitators. If it continues this way, the consequences will be unimaginable.

Fourth, fever in following the trend—attaches importance to the tracking of studies on hot issues while taking no account of pioneering innovative research. Think tanks should have their own research directions and characteristics as well as independent opinions about relevant issues. However, nowadays, many Chinese think tanks are enthusiastic about tracking current hot issues which unavoidably creates the embarrassing situation of thousands of think tanks talking about the same problem. The difficulty of constructing a new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics lies in how Chinese think tanks can control the rights of setting topics for discussion and the rights of speech which certainly demand think tanks to escape imitation and exploit new research fields so as to give real play to the function of politics, consulting and discussion from the height of national interests.

To sum up, the "think tank heat" in China was caused by objective demands and artificial factors. In this great surge, we should not lose our senses. We were supposed to pay high attention to the characteristics of "think tank heat" in order to prevent blindness and impulsion brought by the "dryness-heat" which may destroy the best environment for the development of think tanks. In the meantime, think tank construction needs guidance and should look for truth pragmatism, to go ahead steadily and surely, be quality based and do a good job at basic construction, setting up a problematic

orientation and strengthening of policy studies, laying equal stress on internal political consultation and external propaganda, grasping the issues for discussion, bringing forth new ideas on politics, incorporating things of diverse nature as well as developing collaboratively. Only in this way, the Spring of the new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics can be a long one.

(3) Improving cultural soft power through the construction of new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics

The improvement of our cultural soft power is a requirement of the construction of the new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics.

The word "soft power" was first put forward by Harvard University professor Joseph Nye in 1990. At the time, he published such essays as "Soft Power" and "The Changing Nature of World Power" respectively in the Journal of Foreign Policy and Political Science Quarterly 17 and on this basis published his work; Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power.18In Joseph's opinion, comprehensive national power included both the "hard power" presented in economics, technology and military and the "soft power" expressed by cultural and ideological attraction in which the former implies the cultural influence, cohesion and appeal of a nation, is the key element for national soft power.

In the more than 30 years since the reform and opening up, our hard power has seen great improvement. First, from the point of economic strength: our GNP ranked seventh around the world in 1980; in 2000, it surpassing Italy, Canada, Spain and Brazil took the sixth place, although it fell back to the

¹⁸Joseph Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*, trans. by HeXiaodong, Beijing: Military Translation Publishing House, January, 1992.

¹⁷Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "Soft Power", Foreign Policy, No.80, Twentieth Anniversary (Autumn 1990), Joseph S. Nye, Jr.

[&]quot;The Changing Nature of World Power", Political Science Quarterly, Vol.105, No.2 (Summer 1990).

tenth in 1990; it passed France and stood in fifth place in 2005; it surpassed England ranking fourth in 2006 and exceeded Germany, occupying the third place in 2007. In the second quarter of 2010, it had passed Japan and reached second in the world.19

Then to consider it from the respect of scientific and technological power, the 16th serial report of New China 60th Anniversary issued by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) pointed out that for 60 years since the establishment of new China, our scientific and technological power has grown remarkably, the innovation has achieved innumerable benefits and the configuration of social resources has been tilting towards independent research and development year by year. Our total R&D spending following America, Japan, Germany, France and England ranked sixth all over the world. In 2008, the ratio between the whole society's research and experimental development spending and GDP reached 1.52%, increased by 0.87% over 1991.20 In 2012, the total R&D spending broke one trillion Yuan and the fund input intensity (the ratio between budget devotion and GDP) for the first time exceeded 2% and reached 2.08% in 2013, increased by 0.1% over 1.98% the previous year. All these fully indicated that our scientific and technological power had been constantly strengthened and had narrowed the gap with developed countries such as America and Japan. 21

Finally, in terms of military power. China has a large scale of army forces with 2.28 million staff for the standing army and 2.3 million ones for the

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¹⁹Jing Linbo, *The Medium and Long Term Trade Strategy of China* (《中国中长期贸易战略》), Beijing: Chinese Social Sciences Press, April, 2015, p.76.

²⁰National Bureau of Statistics: "the ratio between our R & D spending and GDP reached 1.52%", the Xinhua News Agency, 25th, September, 2009.

²¹The *2013 National Science and Technology Investment Bulletin* jointly issued by NBS, Ministry of Science and Technology and Ministry of Finance showed that in 2013, the national total R&D investment reached 1184.66 billion yuan, an increase of 154.82 billion yuan and 15% higher than the previous year; the average expenditure for the R&D staff (full time) was 335 thousand yuan, a year-on-year increase of 18000 yuan.

paramilitary. No matter the ranking by media or the analysis of military experts, and even for the ranking of Defense Weekly of America, our military power was ordinarily ranked in third place all over the world. The American Business Insider applying the existing national military databases and mainly taking the famous GFP 22 ranking list as the foundation published the top 35 world armies. The GFP was one of the most authoritative ranking lists in the world, whose database collected national army information all of the world and made analysis and conclusions. According to the data provided by Business Insider, in order, the world's top 10 military powers were America, Russia, China, India, England, France, Germany, Turkey, Korea and Japan.

However, while our hard power is improving, the soft power has not seen the same great progress, still having lots of shortcomings.

First, in the respect of our core value system, China was still at the edge of the Western discourse system. Because the discourse system construction relatively lagged behind the practice of the Chinese road to riches connotation23, the value concepts as well as theoretical system that tell the "Chinese Story", objectively interpreting the "Chinese Miracle" and jointly casting "Chinese Dream" needed to be further improved.

Second, regarding the cultural products and services, no matter, mining or utilization of the traditional cultural factors, or developing new cultural products and service with the help of modern technology, there is a big

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²²GFP applied a complicated evaluation method to investigate more than 50 factors and according to the calculation results got a score (fire index) roughly reflecting a nation's army power. Meanwhile, to ensure the evaluation as objective as possible, it used mark-adding and mark-reducing system and attached several add-ones mainly including regardless of nuclear weapons, considering the national geographic features, not just conducting evaluation upon the numbers of weapons and equipment, considering the production and consumption of certain resources, not reducing marks if a country without marine outfall lacked navy, mark-reducing for the limitation of naval capability and regardless of the features of national political and military leader. Cited from Iron & Blood(铁血军事): http://bbs.tiexue.net/post2-8265750-1.html.

²³Li Tao & Lin Jingwei, the Improvement of Chinese Soft Power: Problems and Approaches (中国软实力提升:问题与出路), *Red Flag Manuscript* (《红旗文稿》), 9th, July, 2013.

potential in China in finding how to inherit and carry forward the five thousand years of Chinese civilization and how to grasp the opportunities in the new information age needs overall planning and collaborative research.

Third, in terms of micro-foundation, our citizens' overall quality, social morality, professional ethics, family virtues as well as personal morality all need to improve. It still had a way to go to have the citizens carry the cultivation matching the magnitude of a great nation so as to achieve the real "State of Ceremonies".

Fourth, regarding the international communication system, the Western power spreading with America as the representative was still mighty and China on the whole was in a passive state in dealing with it. In particular, the "China threat theory" of various versions brought massive negative influence upon Chinese soft power. Thus, turning passive response to active approach and breaking the curse of "China threat theory" need continuous efforts.

General Secretary Xi Jinping hosted the 12th collective learning in 2013 for the Political Bureau of Central Committee and pointed out that to improve national cultural soft power concerned the realization of "Two Century Goals" and the "Chinese Dream".24 At the same time, all these closely associated with the construction of new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics just because the think tank was the important carrier of national soft power and had become an increasingly key factor for international competition. As General Secretary Xi elaborated, the four aspects of making efforts to consolidate the basis of national cultural soft power are to spread Chinese contemporary value concepts, to reveal the unique charm of Chinese culture and to improve international discourse correctly were not only the fundamental guidance for constructing a socialist cultural power and improving national cultural soft power, but also the actual requirement for building the new type think tanks with Chinese characteristics.

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²⁴ Shen Haixiong, Harden Our Cultural Soft Power(让我们的文化软实力硬起来), *Outlook*(《瞭望》),2014(2).

(4) Establishment of new type of Chinese characteristic Think Tanks and promoting the modernization of national governance

As is pointed out in 'Decision of the CCCPC on Some Major Issues Concerning Comprehensively Deepening the Reform', "The general purpose of deepening its all-round reform is to develop socialism with Chinese characteristics, to advance modernization in the State governance system and governance capability". We consider fully displaying the governance concept of keep up with the times as hitting the core issue for operating our country. All of them are closely related to the establishment of the Chinese characteristic Think Tank.

First, to comply with the requirement of the global governance, China's Think Tank should have a global vision.

In 1990, Willy Brandt, former president of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and National Development Council, first proposed the concept of "global governance". In 1991, on the conference held in Sweden, participants of the conference published the "Global security and management proposal in Stockholm", in which they put forward the establishment and development of multi-sided regulation and management systems in order to promote global inter-dependence and sustainable development. In 1992, 28 international celebrities sponsored the Commission on Global Governance. In 1995, at the 50th anniversary of the United Nations, the global governance committee announced a research report named "Our Global Neighborhood", for the first time, it systematically demonstrated the concept of global governance, its value, and the relationship between global governance and economic globalization, also global security. According to the definition given by the "global governance committee", governance is the integration of the various approaches to the management of the common affairs of individuals and institutions, in both public and private sectors. It is a long-lasting process, in

which conflicts or multiple interests can coordinate and cooperate with each other. It not only includes formal policy arrangements, but also informal ones. The so-called global governance refers to the situations in which we use international policies with restrictive forces and effective international cooperation to solve the globalized political, economic, ecological as well as security issues (including global conflict, humanity, immigrants, drugs, smuggling and epidemics, etc.), in order to maintain a normal global social political governance order. In accordance with the trend of international governance, China should set up its own global governance theory. Deepen the analysis of globalization and global governance, correctly understand the essence and rule of global governance, and form China's own globalization theory and global governance according to the characters of our country as well as national interests. Admittedly, the most urging matter for constructing China's own global governance theory is to construct our own national governance theory and reinforce its foundation. The Think Tanks of our country should actively participate in the issues, giving suggestions and share their wisdom of governance.

Nowadays, the global governance issue has gone beyond the traditional political or economic issue, and gradually expands into fields like climate changes and network security. All of them demand higher professional requirements, which urgently require professional Think Tanks to provide corresponding solutions. What's more, in an era when there are both global cooperation and global conflicts, how can China, as a big emerging country, deal with the relationship with developed countries (especially with the US), other BRICS countries and the circumjacent countries? Those issues require corresponding Think Tanks to conduct related researches and make long-term and strategic suggestions.

Second, to comply with the demand of China's increasing comprehensive national strength, China's Think Tanks must have the ability to solve problems on every aspect.

In the era of globalization, the competition of comprehensive national strength is the key factor among national competition. Promoting economic development, increasing economic output, improving people's living standards and strengthening national defense are the basic ways to increase the overall national strength. However, in the era of globalization, other elements of national competitions have become increasingly important as well. For example, the level of culture, education, mental and physical fitness, the level of scientific and technological research, the superiority and advancement of national culture, the human resources and strategic talents in the country, the legitimacy and cohesion of the government, the degree of solidarity and stability of the society, the sustainable economic and social development, and so on. We should have a clear mind that in the process of the participation in global governance, economic and military power alone are not enough to effectively safeguard national sovereignty. We must also strengthen the power of morality, politics and judiciary. To comprehensively progress in socialist economic construction, political construction, cultural construction, social construction, ecological civilization construction, to speed up the development of the socialist market economy, democratic politics, advanced culture, harmonious society, ecological civilization, it is required to start from the improvement of the national governance system, reasonable suggestions from various types of Think Tanks are needed.

Third, to comply with the deepening of all-round reform in China, China's Think Tank must strive to solve the current problems.

"The reform of the economic system is the focus of all the efforts to deepen the all-round reform. The core issue is to deal with the relationship between government and the market, so that the market plays a decisive role in the allocation of resources while the government could play a better role." The ability of governance is reflected by how to coordinate the various interest

groups, giving full play to the market and the government in different roles. Take the real estate control policy as an example. The basic principle in the housing demand management is to mainly regulate the demands rather than the supplies. "Support demands of basic living, curb demands for investment" is the basic policy of real estate the market regulation that must be adhered to. In particular, starting in 2010, more stringent control policies were introduced. These policies were good, but faced many difficulties: the housing properties were difficult to confirm, the standard, uniform recognition of second houses and remote purchases were difficult to grasp and implement. To be more extreme, some people faked divorce to circumvent the property identification of "the second house", resulting in the failure of the relevant regulatory policies. Loan restrictions, purchase restrictions, price restrictions and non-local family restrictions coupled with the property tax pilot, the 20% personal income tax for second-hand housing and other means were all applied. Such severe demand control measures still could not bring about the expected effect, which is indeed worthy of our reflection. It is also indirectly reveals the inadequacy and the inefficacy of suggestions by the Think Tanks of China. Control measures focused too much on housing demand, causing the demand to be curbed. What is more, demands for housing were not subdivided and different measures were not taken. A simple regulatory policy cannot have a good handle of diverse needs, failing to distinguish the basic housing needs from speculative demand. The demand-oriented policy in the past was nothing more than an increase of the transaction costs for buyers. For the speculators, they will pass on these costs. For those who have basic needs, especially the low-income class, cannot benefit from this policy at all. In housing regulation, we must avoid the confusion of different situations, and must not confuse with government subsidies and market objectives. Instead, we must also give full play to protections from the government and the market regulation function itself.

In addition, the monetary policies, fiscal policies, even "one belt one road" and other national policies had Think Tanks take the lead. With the deepening of reform, the government has increasing reliance on Think Tanks. We firmly believe that the role of Think Tanks will become increasingly important.

Fourth, to comply with the needs of establishing overall national security strategies, China's Think Tanks must shoulder the responsibility for our national mission.

All countries shoulder their responsibilities for global security, while big countries shoulder more. China bears important obligations not only in the maintenance of peace, the control of military scale, the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons, but also in the security of global economics, the security of ecological environments and the safety of certain areas. At the same time, the era of globalization is defined by Information and the Internet, thus the content and form of national security has undergone major changes. Information security has become a matter of unprecedented importance. Therefore, China's Think Tanks also must comply with the needs of establishing the national security strategies and must have a new national security concept. At present, China has established the National Security Council, improving the national security system and the national security strategies so as to ensure national security. In addition to maintain integrity, national dignity and national security outside the territory, we should raise matters, like reducing financial risk and foreign economic dependence, protecting strategic resource reservations, protecting strategic talents, promoting national culture, maintaining ecological balance, ensuring the security of the species, fighting against international terrorism, up to the height of safeguarding national sovereignty and autonomy, which requires China's Think Tanks to keep up with and have the viewpoints of political, economic, military, science and technology, culture, education, information,

resources, talents, ecology and so on. We should also give positive suggestions in enhancing national capacity to withstand global risks, to ensure the autonomy of the country when actively participating in the global governance process.

(5) Solve three difficulties in constructing new think tanks with Chinese characteristics

We need to put forth effort to solve three difficult problems in constructing new think-tanks with Chinese characteristics:

First, Independence. It is well known that independence is the fundamental philosophy that America insists on when constructing think tanks. Nowadays, highlighting the independence of think tanks is the challenge we are facing when creating new think tanks with Chinese characteristics.

Independence is shown in two aspects. One is the independence of finance and the other is the independence of standpoint. As for the former, the majority of think tanks in China are state-funded. It is very hard to turn them into think tanks relying on social fund raising in a short term. For this reason, we can gradually promote the diversification of capital by encouraging nongovernmental capital investment in the construction of emerging think tanks and encouraging social capital to set up related issues. From the respect standpoint, some foreign institutions frequently criticize the fact that sometimes think tanks in China attach themselves to government so they can only interpret policy and can't voice independently. Consequently, think tanks find it hard to play an efficient role of participating in and discussing government and political affairs. Does it really mean think tanks funded by government and affiliated with government can't make an independent voice? For that matter, we need to make bold innovation, develop new channels and seek new paths. We think related think tanks should be encouraged to put

forward to independent ideas in the public policy field on the premise of not breaching party and national policy lest government decision-making departments make wrong decisions in the single way of thinking. Thus, open, inclusive, rational and shared social environment is not only an essential condition of current think tank construction but also an important link of enhancing its independence.

Second, diversity. Independence and diversity are closely related. Firstly, diversity refers to diversification of types of think tanks. There are not only think tanks with government backgrounds, but also civil think tanks; there are not only think tanks based in scientific institutions and colleges, but also think tanks affiliated with institutions supported by government, professional groups and media organizations; there are not only domestic thinks tanks but also foreign think tanks. Secondly, diversity means there should be different voices and solutions as references for decision makers. Publishing different opinions for different think tanks reflects the advancement of social reasonableness and tolerance as well as diversity. Finally, diversity is relevant to characteristics of think tanks. A single flower does not make a spring. It requires us to pay more attention to unique characteristics of new think tanks in China, concentrating on related fields, training professional teams and developing strengths of think tanks. Think tanks in America lead the way in this respect, for example, Rand Corporation which is good at military research expands its focus area into international studies. Both The International Institute for Strategic Studies in Britain and The Center for Strategic & International Studies mainly focus on foreign policy and are world leading think tanks in the international strategy study area. American Enterprise Institute which has strong links with the Republican Party is an important policy research institution for the American conservative. Many key officials of Republican Party join American Enterprise Institute which is also called the shadow cabinet and government in exile of the Republican Party. American

Enterprise Institute and Brookings Institution are referred to as "Two think tanks" while the former one is also called "conservative Brookings".

Third, discourse power. It refers to dominant discourse power domestically but more importantly, international discourse power. Throughout the development history of think tanks, we can clearly see that holding discourse power, setting new research agendas and guiding public opinion at home and abroad is the essential role of think tank. For instance, since its inception in 1977, Cato Institute deeply influenced by the classical liberalism of Adam Smith advocates reducing government intervention on domestic politics, economy and society as well as intervention on politics and military on the international stage. For this reason, a series of related research agendas and policy advice is always put forward including reducing federal government intervention on market operation and local state government, abolishing minimum wage regulation and corporation subsidies as well as economic trade barriers. At the same time, Cato Institute proposes to deepen the freedom of the school selection system, abolish the racial discrimination policy implemented by government, reform anti-drug policy and so on. In addition, the notion of "G2"," G3" is elaborately planned by experts from think tanks.

Certainly, we are delighted that we have attained fresh achievement in "the Belt and Road" and "Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank", however, we hope new think tanks with Chinese characteristics can publish more ideas at home and abroad as well as lead global discourse.

(6) Six major relationships should be dealt with correctly in the construction of new think tanks with Chinese characteristics.

We need to deal with six major relationships when building new think tanks with Chinese characteristics.

First, the relationship between basic research and countermeasure

research. Basic research focused on by scientific research institutions and colleges aims to answer the question of WHAT and WHY, simplify complicated reality, select critical variables, find out logical relationships between variables and interpret it reasonably. Think tanks pay more attention to countermeasure research which intends to answer the question of HOW. It doesn't only need to surpass basic research but also understand policy. Besides that, countermeasure research aimed at seeking solutions to practical problems can't be done well without rich practical experience and a strong understanding of problems. There is a dialectical and developmental relationship that exists between basic research and countermeasure research which could be deeper and more influential with the good support of basic research. Otherwise, countermeasure research is like water without a source. As a consequence, we should build new think tanks with Chinese characteristics rationally and not confuse the relationship between basic research and countermeasure research. We need to put the same emphasis on both of them in the process of building new think tanks with Chinese characteristics and produce research outcomes which can stand tests of actual practice and history. Only in that way, countermeasure research can be based on solid basic research. We must firmly oppose the eagerness for quick success and instant benefit especially as some institutions propose numerous "ideas" to get temporary attention in very short time.

Basic research and countermeasure research have different emphasis. Within limited financial and human resources, we must deal with the relationship between them. How to make a right choice if we can't get everything? Especially for researchers, it's very difficult to make achievements both in basic research and countermeasure research.

Second, the relationship between scientific research evaluation and think tank evaluation. Basic research concentrates on publishing academic papers and monographs but countermeasure research focuses on advice which has been adopted by government. Their evaluation systems are different so how to balance different evaluation systems in the same institution has become the core issue for constructing think tanks. Initiatives will be fully aroused in constructing think tanks only if we take full advantage of the evaluation system.

Third, the relationship between internal strength and external publicity. Strengthening their own advantages is the core competency for think tanks. Constructing think tanks should be guided by the Basic Principle of Marxism and the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and implemented around major issues of economic and social development and international affairs. We should provide intelligence service of high quality for central decision-making and carry out global, strategic, prospective, systematic and comprehensive research as well as produce research outcomes and theoretical perspectives which are very practical, credible and influential. To achieve this goal, we need keep enhancing our own strengths.

Meanwhile, "wine is afraid of a deep valley" so external publicity is also crucial to think tanks. Distinguished think tanks in America spare no efforts in publicity for example both Brookings Institute and Carnegie Endowment for international Peace have special departments and staff in charge of promoting outcomes and setting up a network system at home and abroad. In that way, achievements in scientific research can be promoted well through various channels especially in the digital era. All successful experience is worth learning.

Fourth, the relationship between think tank construction and logistical support. Think tank construction can't be done without logistical support. We hold the opinion that a logistics support system should include a data support system, daily administrative processing system, financial system, etc. Firstly, a data support system is the fundamental guarantee for think tanks. With the big data era coming, think tanks in China must think on how to set up large

and unified cloud database infrastructures where huge amounts of date can be stored and manipulated in the field of philosophy and social sciences. Besides that, we must think on how to establish a data filtering system by making use of high-volume databases to obtain core data and build effective decision-making support systems. On the other hand, to improve the ability for crises management in government sectors, we should consider how to adapt to the digital age and set up effective online public opinion feedback systems.

Secondly, daily administrative processing system provides strong security for think tanks. Inefficient daily administrative processing has always seriously affected think tanks in a negative way, which can be improved by drawing on advance foreign experience. Currently, researchers in China have to spend lots of valuable time filling-in different forms and dealing with a pile of bills. In other words, they have less time to do research. According to the experience of think tanks in Britain and America, most researches are conducted by one researcher and one assistant. If we follow this model, it would be more effective than the old way we adopted that two researchers jointly finish the research program. Following the research model in Britain and America, research assistants are responsible for providing logistical support, which saves a lot of time for researchers and improves the working efficiency of think tanks.

Finally, financial system is the lifeblood of think tanks. At present, state-funded think tanks haven't felt the financial pressure which independent private think tanks always have. With the increasing competition among think tanks, the sound and ordered development of think tanks is closely related to financing capacity. In Euromerican developed countries, one of the important duties for leaders in think tanks is raising funds to support their sustainable development.

Fifth, the relationship between being local and being global. New think

tanks with Chinese characteristics surely aim to solve the practical problems China faces; influencing Chinese policy, maximizing the national interests of China and fostering the research atmosphere with Chinese the discourse system. We have to realize new think tanks with Chinese characteristics can't blindly follow the development model of think tanks abroad, particularly, we can't allow any act harmful to national interests so we should prevent the tendency of the Americanization of think tanks, avoid the research agendas of think tanks being under another party's control and stop all treasonable acts.

Meanwhile, we need to adhere to opening up and incorporating beneficial things from diverse cultures as well as deepening mutual communication with leading think tanks in foreign countries. On the other hand, we need to make more efforts to go abroad, actively engage in discussions on international affairs and clarify our own points. What's more, we could shape public opinion and set up new research agenda to grasp international discourse correctly.

Sixth, relationship between professionals and interdisciplinary talents. Building professional teams of high quality, interdisciplinary and multi-typed for think tank is very important. High quality means professionals in think tanks should be have an international vision, have thorough knowledge of the world, deeply understand Chinese conditions and know the domestic policy environment. To be interdisciplinary requires that experts with reasonable knowledge structure have multiple skills in different given areas. Multi-type means experts in think tanks have different working experience in various areas and have good capability of communicating with government sectors. There is a "revolving door mechanism" in American think tanks, which means almost 4,000 staff members transfer their positons every four years particularly catching the time of the alternation of ruling parties. However, it is beneficial to government and think tanks. Comparatively speaking, there is lack of staff mobility and exchange between think tanks and government sectors in China, which means staff in think tanks should actively learn about

how the government operates. Through this way, the role of participating in and discussing government and political affairs can be fully played.

Appendix 1

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Appendix2

Chronicle of events of Global Think Tank Evaluation Project

13 th February, 2014	The Global Think Tank Evaluation Project Department
	under the Chinese Evaluation Center for Humanities and
	Social Sciences was established.
21 st March, 2014	Discussion on thoughts and methods in the think tank
	evaluation process with Li Wei, researcher from the
	Institute of Sociology, China Academy of Social Sciences.
21st April,	Discussion on statistical problems in think tank evaluation
	process with Zhao Yanyun, dean of School of Statistics,
2014	Renmin University.
	Discussion on statistical problems in think tank evaluation
25 th April,	process with Yang Qi, director of Department of Data
2014	Network, China Academy of Social Sciences knowing
	about the situation of the library's database.
	Visited a number of German think tanks, including Bonn
	Academy of Applied Politics, German Institute of Global
$10^{\rm th}\text{-}17^{\rm th}$	and Area Studies, WZB Berlin Social Science Center,
June,2014	Institute for Media and Communication Policy, for a better
	understanding of the operation situation of German think
	tanks.
	Organized an expert seminar with the participation of 17
18 th July,2014	experts from various fields of research and discussed the
	rationality of the source think tanks and the feasibility of
	the methodology.
25th July,2014	Discussion and exchange of views on topics like the

	construction of think tanks and the think tank evaluation,
	etc with Ge Licheng, vice-president of Zhejiang Academy
	of Social Sciences.
	Conference with Zhu Xufeng, professor from School of
2 nd September,	Public Policy and Administration, Tsinghua University
2014	and discussion on the construction of Chinese and foreign
	think tanks.
3 rd September,	The Global Think Tank Evaluation Project Department
2014	was renamed as Department of Institution Evaluation.
15th O 1	Visited Ningxia Academy of Social Sciences and had a
15 th October,	discussion on the evaluation of academic journals and
2014	think tanks with its vice-president Zhang Shaoming.
21st_22nd	A pilot survey was carried out at the Institute of European
October,2014	Studies, CASS.
23 rd October,	A pilot survey was carried out at the Institute of West Asia
2014	and Africa Studies, CASS.
0.4th () - 4 - 1	Pilot surveys were carried out at National Institute Of
24 th October,	International Strategy and Institute of World Economics &
2014	International Politics, CASS.
27th October,	Conference at Party School of the Central Committee of
2014	CPC.
071 0	Conference with American think tank expert James
27 th October,	McGann. Both sides introduced their evaluation methods
2014	and project progress.
28 th October, 2014	Pilot surveys were carried out at Institute of Russian, East
	European and Central Asian Studies and Institute of
	Japanese Studies, CASS.
30th October,	A pilot survey was carried out at the Institute of Latin
2014	American Studies, CASS.

construction of think tanks and the think tank evaluation,

9^{th} - 12^{th}	Visited Guangxi Academy of Social Sciences and Party
November,2014	School of CPC Guangxi Committee.
	Visited Taiwan Research Institute, Research Center of The
9^{th} - 14^{th}	Macro Economy, Center for Accounting Studies, Center
November,2014	for Southeast Asian Studies of Xiamen University and
	Fujian Academy of Social Sciences.
3 rd December, 2014	Visited Brookings-Tsinghua Center for Public Policy.
10th December	Organized a seminar and discussed with domestic think
10 th December,	tank research experts regarding the definition and
2014	methodology of think tank evaluation.
	Reception of the delegation of National Research Council
11 th December,	for Economics, Humanities and Social Sciences and
2014	conference with representatives from 14 South Korean
	government-funded think tanks.
	Exchange of views with Ji Lianggang, president of Hebei
20 th December,	University of Economics and Business and Zhang
20 th December,	Xiaoping, director of Hebei Academy of Social Sciences,
2014	etc regarding the evaluation of academic journals and
	think tanks.
$22^{\rm nd}\text{-}26^{\rm th}$	Visited Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences, Xinjiang
December,	Normal University, Party School of Xinjiang Autonomous
2014	Region, and Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps.
26 th December,	Attended the inauguration ceremony of E-commerce
2014	Research Institute, University of Shanghai for Science and
2014	Technology.
$28^{th}\text{-}31^{st}$	Visited Qinghai Academy of Social Sciences, Qinghai
December,2014	Provincial Party School and Qinghai Institute of Socialism.
5 th January,2015	Visited National Academy of Economic Strategy, Institute

for Urban and Environmental Studies, Institute of Finance and Banking, Institute of Population and Labor Economics of CASS and learned about the operation situation of these institutes for economic studies.

6th January, 2015

Meeting with Xu Heping, former director the Office of Ministry of Science and Technology.

Reception of the delegation of China Development

Research Institute led by its secretary-general Mou Shanrong. Had an in-depth understanding of its development history, the ways and contents of work as a think tank.

12th-16th

January, 2015

7th January, 2015

Visited Anhui Academy of Social Sciences and Party School of Anhui Province.

21st-23rd

January,2015

 $23^{rd} - 28^{th}$

February, 2015

Attended the Annual Conference of Institutes for International Studies of CASS and communicated with experts on think tank evaluation project.

Visited the United States and shared views with experts

from ten think tanks, including Council on Foreign Relations, NYU Center for International Cooperation, Brookings Institution, Heritage Foundation, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, American Enterprise Institute, World Resources Institute, Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Urban Institute and Cato Institute, having a better understanding of the development and operation situation of major think tank in the US.

13th-14th

March, 2015

Visited Henan Academy of Social Sciences and discussion conference with the president, Yu Xin'an, in which he introduced the efforts that the academy had been making

intelligence support for local economic and social development. Reception of delegation of Academy of Military Sciences 16th March.2015 PLA China and discussion on the evaluation of scientific research products and think tanks. Visited Institute of Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies, Institute of West Asia and Africa Studies. 17th March.2015 National Institute Of International Strategy of CASS to learn about think tanks in these regions and to discuss cooperation in acquiring datas. 23rd March, 2015 Visited the Institute of European Studies, CASS. Visited National School of Development at Pekin 25th March, 2015 University and had a conference with the vice-president Huang Yiping. Visited Brookings-Tsinghua Center for Public Policy and 2nd April, 2015 had a conference with its director Prof. Qi Ye. Conference with the president of Zhejiang Gongshang 12th April, 2015 University regarding the construction and evaluation of think tanks. Visited China Institute of International Studies and had a 16th April, 2015 discussion conference with its vice-president Guo Xiangang. Visited Institute of American Studies, CASS and had a conference with the director Zheng Bingwen, directors of different research departments and other experts 21st April, 2015 regarding the characteristics of American think tanks and the methods used in the think tank evaluation project of

in the construction of think tanks and in trying to provide

McGann.

22 nd April,2015	Visited Chongyang Institute of Financial Studies of
	Renmin University and had a meeting with Hu Haibin,
	editor in chief of the Information Center, and Liu Ying,
	director of Research Cooperation Department to have a
	deeper understanding of RDCY's operation situation.
	Visited China Institute of Contemporary International
23 rd April,2015	Relations and had a meeting with the president Ji Zhiye
	and directors of different departments.
	Visited China Center for International Economic
28 th April,2015	Exchanges and had a discussion conference with Xu
	Hongcai, director of Economic Research Division.
	Visited Chinese Academy of Governance and had a
30 th April,2015	meeting with Chen Bingcai, deputy director of Training
30 th Aprii,2013	Department, and Niu Xianzhong, deputy director of
	General Office.
	Visited Horizon Research Consultancy Group. Had a
	conference with Guo Weiwei, research director of
6 th May,2015	International Development Institute, Zhang Hui, general
0 Way,2013	manager and Jiang Jianjian, deputy general manager and
	learned about the evaluation system and methods of its
	China Think Tank Impact Report.
22 nd May,2015	Visited Party School of the Central Committee of CPC and
	had a meeting with professors from School of Economics
22 Wiay,2013	and School of Training to discuss think tank evaluation
	issues.
15 th May,2015	The office of Institution Evaluation Department was
	moved to the Archives Building of CASS.
30^{th} May- 6^{th}	Visited State Innovative Institute for Public Management
June,2015	and Policy Studies, Center for Contemporary Marxism in

Foreign Countries, Center for American Studies, Center for Japanese Studies, Institute of World Economy, Information and Communication Research Center, China Center for Economic Studies, Center for Comparative Studies of Modernization at Fudan University; Center for Russian Studies, Institute of Schooling Reform and Development, Chinese Modern Thought and Culture Research Institute at East China Normal University; Institute of Accounting and Finance at Shanghai University of Finance and Economics; Center for Russian Studies, Center for European Union Studies, Centre for British Studies, Center for Middle East Studies at Shanghai International Studies University; German Academic Center, UNEP-Tongji Institute of Environment for Sustainable Development at Tongji University; Shanghai Institute for International Studies; Shanghai Party Institute of CCP & Shanghai Administration Institute; Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences; Shanghai Huaxia Social Development Research Institute and CEIBS Lujiazui International Finance Research Center.

Published an article *Small and professional rather than* large and comprehensive: how to build professional think tanks with Chinese characteristics in China Youth Daily.

4th June, 2015 Attended the 34th Contemporary Think Tank Forum.

1st June.2015

12th June, 2015

Participated in the "Think Tank Interview" held by Hexun.com, which recorded an interview "Where is the road to the construction of Chinese think tanks?".

17th-23rd Visited several major think tanks in UK and Belgium, June,2015 including the Chatham House, China Institute of SOAS

	University of London, Centre for European Reform, EU40,
	Bruegel, Friends of Europe, European Centre for
	International Political Economy, International Crisis
	Group, Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations
	for a better understanding of the operation situation of
	European think tanks.
23 rd June,2015	Published an article <i>Cold Thinking on Think Tank Heat</i> in
	People's Daily.
30 th June,2015	Attended the China-South Korea Humanities Exchange
	Policy Forum.
	Visited Development Research Center of the State Council
ond I 1 0015	and had a discussion meeting with Lai Youwei, deputy
2 nd July,2015	director of General Office, and Liu Lihui, head of
	Department of General Affairs.
	Published an article The Japanese think tanks, which
8th July,2015	swing between commercial interests and public
	responsibility in China.org.
	Visited Research Institute of Economy, Trade & Industry,
10th 19th	IAA, Japan and Daiwa Institute of Research Ltd. had a
10 th -13 th	conference with experts regarding the development
July,2015	course, the current situation and the future construction
	of Japanese think tanks.
19th Ile- 9015	Attended the conference International Studies and the
13 th July,2015	Construction of Think Tanks.
14 th July,2015	Published an article <i>The Think Tank Rankings</i> in
	Economy & Nation Weekly.
17 th July,2015	Published an article From "Think Tank" to "Do Tank" in
	China.org.
20th July, 2015	Discussion with Qiao Jun, vice-president of Nanjing

	University of Finance and Economics, Ye Nanke, president
	of Association of Social Sciences of Nanjing, president
	and Party secretary of Nanjing Academy of Social
	Sciences and Li Chenghua, vice-president of Nanjing
	Academy of Social Sciences, exchanging ideas on the
	construction and the evaluation of think tanks.
	Published an article <i>Three Major Challenges Should be</i>
22 nd July,2015	overcome for the Construction of Chinese Think Tanks in
22 July, 2013	
	Guang Ming Daily.
30th July,2015	Attended the 2015 Think Tank Summit—Global
	Governance and Open Economy.
6th August,2015	Attended the colloquium by Naoyuki Yoshino, dean of
<u> </u>	Asian Development Bank Institute.
	Discussion with Jiang Lijun, Party secretary of Anhui
	University of Finance and Economy and Zhu Shiqun,
6th August,2015	Party secretary, president of Anhui Academy of Social
	Sciences on issues like the construction of think tanks and
	so on.
11th A 4	Published an article Exploit the Advantages of Think
11 th August, 2015	Tanks to the full in Public Diplomacy in Chinese Social
	Sciences Today.
25 th August,	Attended the CASS Forum "One Belt, One Road" and
2015	BCIM Regional Interconnection".
6 th September,	Visited Liao Wang Institution and had a conference with
2015	its president Wu Liang and the editor Wang Fang.
16 th September, 2015	Conference with Shen Danyang, spokesman for the
	Ministry of Commerce and director of Research
	Department and discussion on think tank issues.
29th September,	Reception of the delegation of Guizhou Social Sciences

2015	Association led by the Party secretary and vice-president
	Bao Yunkun and discussion on the construction of local
	think tanks.
	Reception of the delegation of Shandong Social Sciences
19 th October,	Association led by the deputy secretary of the Party and
2015	vice-president Zhou Zhonggao and discussion on the
	evaluation of think tanks and academic journals.
20 th October,	Conference with the delegation of Shanghai Academy of
2015	Social Sciences.
	Conference with Gu Xueming, Chinese Academy of
21st Ootobor	International Trade and Economic Cooperation,
21st October,	MOFCOM and discussion on the construction of new type
2015	of think tanks with Chinese characteristics and other
	topics.
24 th -25 th	Exchange of ideas on the evaluation of think tanks with
	over 10 presidents from universities of finance and
October,2015	economy.
30th October,	Conference with Rohinton Medhora, president of Centre
2015	for International Governance Innovation.
	The Second Summit of National Humanities and Social
	Sciences Evaluation was held in Beijing with the
10 th November,	announcement of the global think tank rankings. More
2015	than 100 think tank experts from China, the United States,
	Germany, Republic of Korea, Japan, Azerbaijan, etc
	attended the summit for discussion on think tank issues.
12 th November, 2015	Conference with Adrian Phua, vice-president of Alumni
	Association of S. Rajaratnam School of International
	Studies, Nanyang Technological University.

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