

# 全球智库

Global Think Tanks

苗 绿 王辉耀◎著



人民出版社

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# 自序

## FOREWORD

2016年,世界格局跌宕起伏、波澜壮阔;2017年,全球经济面临前所未有的挑战。“英国脱欧”“特朗普新政”……一只只“黑天鹅”飞过的背后,是各种逆全球化思潮、贸易保护主义的抬头。当“不确定性”成为最确定的事件时,智库的重要性愈发凸显。能够未雨绸缪地关注到全球经济政治新动向,可以为政府提供理性、前瞻性的政策建议,成为这个时代赋予智库的历史使命。

现代意义上的智库,可以追溯到19世纪末20世纪初,以美国为例,卡内基国际和平基金会(Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)、布鲁金斯学会(Brookings Institution)是那个时期智库的典型代表,这些智库十分强调研究的独立性与科学性,它们的运作模式更接近于研究型大学,因此被称作“没有学生的大学”。“二战”以后尤其是20世纪60年代以来,在冷战和技术革命等因素的作用下,世界政治格局和经济秩序发生重大变化,智库影响日益发酵,逐渐成为国家治理体系的重要单元,以兰德公司(RAND Corporation)、战略和国际问题研究中心(Center for Strategic and International Studies)、传统基金会(The Heritage Foundation)等为代表的智库深刻影响着美国的政治、经济、外交等方方面面。随着各国对智库重要性的认识,目前全球200多个国家和地区的智库数量已近7000家,正如智库研究学者唐纳德·E.埃布尔森

(Donald E. Abelson) 教授所言,近年来智库已经成为一种“全球现象”。

然而,我们发现,进入 21 世纪后,世界范围内每年新成立的智库数量出现了下降的趋势,相较于 20 世纪最后 10 年,平均每年新增智库数量超过 140 家,21 世纪头 15 年内,全球每年新增智库数量下降为 109 家。这种现象背后的深层次原因何在? 2015 年 10 月,《华盛顿邮报》上一篇来自 Amanda Bennett 的文章“Are think tanks obsolete?”将当今智库生存环境的脆弱表露无遗。全球的智库正面临着种种大考:金融危机“后遗症”不但影响了世界各国,更波及各大智库,很多国家及地方政府削减了公共政策研究的财政投入,某些国家比如加拿大一些曾颇具规模和影响力的智库在金融危机后因“资金无法持续”等问题相继倒下;媒体、咨询公司等成为智库强有力的竞争对手;大数据时代则考验着智库研究人员的数据“掌控力”,移动互联网、新媒体也在检验着智库的“传播力”……

我们也发现,大考面前,有些智库却能脱颖而出,比如成立于 2005 年的布鲁盖尔国际经济研究所(Bruegel)在不到 10 年的时间里,迅速成长为一家国际顶尖的经济政策智库,还有些智库可以做到“百年长青”,比如成立于 1916 年的布鲁金斯学会。我们不禁要问,当竞争日益激烈时,为什么有些智库能够快速适应新环境,保持“长盛不衰”? 为什么有些智库可以迅速崛起,与世界顶尖智库并驾齐驱? 是什么样的组织架构与战略规划让它们得以“新生”? 哪种类型的领导力与文化有助于智库的发展? 什么样的融资举措值得其他智库借鉴?

带着这些问题,我们精心挑选了美国、英国、德国、墨西哥、意大利、比利时、印度、中国、加拿大、日本等国家的三十多家智库作为考察对象,这些案例中既有历史悠久的“百年智库”,也有时日尚短的“年轻智库”,既有规模很大的“超级”智库,也有人数较少的“微型”智库。这些有着不同历史背景、不同研究领域的智库都是各国智库中的“佼佼者”,它们的实践有着很好的借鉴意义,从中我们也找到了问题的答案,那就

是创新是它们成为“佼佼者”的关键。为了使本书内容更翔实、可操作性更强,CCG 还联合宾夕法尼亚大学智库研究项目(TTCSP)、光明日报智库研究与发布中心、西南财经大学发展研究院举办了国内首次专门围绕智库创新的“2016 中国智库创新峰会”,邀请了皇家国际事务研究所(the Royal Institute of International Affairs)、国务院发展研究中心等国内外顶尖智库的代表,围绕智库创新进行经验介绍与交流。一次次的思想碰撞积累了丰富的素材,为本书的写作奠定了基础。

2008 年,我们共同创办了全球化智库(CCG),近十年来我们走访了几十家国际知名智库,与上百位国内外智库专家深入交流探讨,对国际智库的运行之道了然于心。CCG 每年出版 10 余部中英文研究著作,每年举办学术论坛、智库研讨会等近百场,每年向中国政府有关部委提交建言献策报告百余份,影响和推动着政府的相关政策制定。作为中国特色新型智库的探索者与实践者,我们在运营智库的同时,也将多年的社会智库运营经验与管理心得总结升华,于 2014 年在人民出版社推出了《大国智库》一书,分析了全球化时代世界各国智库的发展情况,从宏观着眼,总结了国际智库发展的规律与作用,并勾勒出未来中国智库的发展路径与前景。2016 年我们在中信出版社出版《大国背后的“第四力量”》一书,从微观入手,将智库的运营与管理总结为“思想创新力、研究支撑力、社会传播力、国际输出力和政策影响力”的“五力模型”。我们即将出版的《全球智库》一书,集中了包括布鲁金斯学会、布鲁盖尔国际经济研究所、彼得森国际经济研究所(Peterson Institute for International Economics)、欧洲对外关系委员会(European Council on Foreign Relations)、墨西哥对外关系委员会(Mexican Council on Foreign Relations)、世界资源研究所(World Resources Institute)、国务院发展研究中心、中国社会科学院等国内外知名智库的最新创新案例,我们将创新型智库建设的五大基石归纳为,共享领导、文化塑造、知识管理、组织管理与战略规划,并总结出智库系统化创新的五大维度,即人才、研究、传

播、资金与合作。

“当代中国正经历着我国历史上最为广泛而深刻的社会变革,也在进行着人类历史上最为宏大而独特的实践创新。这种前无古人的伟大实践,必将给理论创造、学术繁荣提供强大动力和广阔空间。这是一个需要理论而且一定能够产生理论的时代,这是一个需要思想而且一定能够产生思想的时代。”<sup>①</sup>今天的中国,正逐渐成为世界大国,全世界都在期待着中国智慧与中国方案,这是时代赋予中国智库的历史契机。

党的十八大以来,习近平主席多次提出加强中国特色新型智库建设,强调治国理政必须善于集中各方面的智慧,凝聚最广泛的力量。2015年,中共中央办公厅、国务院办公厅联合印发了《关于加强中国特色新型智库建设的意见》,这是新中国成立以来第一个推动智库发展的纲领性文件。2017年2月,中央全面深化改革领导小组第三十二次会议审议通过了《关于社会智库健康发展的若干意见》,专门就社会智库的发展做出重要指示,对社会智库的发展具有重要的里程碑意义,中国智库发展正迈入一个全新的时代。在新的时代背景下,中国智库只有不断创新,才能在全球秩序重构、中国特色理论构建的历史机遇中把握住机会,才能不负时代所托,在资政启民的道路上有所作为。

全球化智库(CCG)主任 王辉耀博士

全球化智库(CCG)秘书长 苗 绿博士

2017年8月

<sup>①</sup> 习近平主席在哲学社会科学工作座谈会上的发言。





## Preface

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### P R E F A C E

The world experienced various kinds of ups and downs in 2016 and has confronted with unprecedented economic challenges in 2017. The new international affairs dynamics – a result of events such as Brexit and the changes brought on by the newly-elected Trump administration – represents the rise of de – globalization and trade protectionism. But all the uncertainties indicate such a certain issue: the importance of think tanks becomes increasingly apparent. Today’s think tanks shoulder the historical tasks of detecting global political and economic trends in advance as well as provide governments with rational and prospective suggestions.

Modern think tanks can trace their origins back to the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. For example, the United States had many think tank paradigms during that time, such as Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Brookings Institution. These think tanks thought so highly of the independency and scientific authenticity of their research that they operated as research universities, or called as “the universities without students.” After World War II (particularly since 1960s), the Cold War and technology revolution catalyzed the change in international political structure and economic order. As a result of the changes, think tanks ex-

panded their influence and developed into a crucial unit of national governance system. Think tanks such as RAND Corporation, Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the Heritage Foundation have had profound impacts on America's politics, economics, and diplomacy, etc.

Nowadays, more and more countries are increasingly recognizing the importance of think tanks, with the total number of think tanks hitting 7,000 all over the world. As a think tank scholar Professor Donald E. Abelson put it, think tanks have become a "global phenomenon."

However, studies have shown that since entering the 21st century, the number of new established think tanks has declined from year to year. Compared the 1990s when over 140 think tanks in the world were born every year, the first 15 years of the 21st century only saw birth of 109.

What contributed to this new phenomenon? In October 2015, Amanda Bennett published an article in the Washington Post called *Are Think Tanks Obsolete?*, which revealed the vulnerable environment and various challenges of today's think tanks. First of all, the financial crisis of 2008 resulted in the government budget cuts on public policy research institutes worldwide. Countries such as Canada have gone as far as shut down some once-influential think tanks due to a lack of funding. In addition, media and consulting firms are proving themselves to be strong competitors of think tanks. The arrival of the big data era also posed new challenges to researchers on data analytical skills. Internet and new media force the think tanks to expend their methods in spreading their influence...

Despite the challenging context, we still found that some think tanks stand out. For instance, the Brussels-based economic think tank Bruegel, established in 2005, has grown into a top international economic policy think tank within 10 years. Some think tanks, such as Brookings Institution

that was founded in 1916, have survived more than a hundred years and have maintained their influences till this day. We cannot help but ask ourselves why some think tanks can quickly adapt to the new environment and why some have been able to stand strong through more than one hundred years. What structural, organizational, or strategic measures enable them to stay strong and prosperous? What kind of leadership and culture can help with the development of think tanks? What financing approaches can we learn from these cases?

With these questions in mind, we carefully selected around thirty think tanks from the U.S., the U.K., Germany, Mexico, Italy, Belgium, India, China, Canada and Japan. These case studies include long-lasting and new-born, as well as large and small think tanks. These think tanks are the most phenomenal ones in their respective realms, and their practices thus very authoritative and successful. Studying them, we conclude that the answer to the aforementioned questions is innovation.

To ensure the adequate depth and accuracy of our research, CCG invited TTCSP, the Center of Think Tank Research and Communication at Guangming Daily, and Southwestern University of Finance and Economics School of Development and Research to jointly host the first “2016 China’s Think Tank Innovation Summit” in China, which was the first summit ever that really focuses on think tank innovation. CCG also invited representatives from the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, Development Research Center of the State Council, and other top think tanks at home and abroad, to discuss the future of think tank innovation. All the ideas from the summit greatly contributed to this book.

In 2008, We co-founded the Center for China and Globalization (CCG). In this first ten years, we visited dozens of internationally

well-known think tanks and communicated with hundreds of think tank scholars in depth, after which we developed profound and comprehensive understanding of the operation principles in international think tanks. Every year CCG not only issue over ten Chinese and English research publications, host around a hundred think tank seminars, but also submit over a hundred policy suggestion reports to China's government that influence and push for the government's policy-making process. As explorers and practitioners of new types of think tanks with Chinese characteristics, we keep reflecting and summarizing our experience from think tank operation and management, which led to the publishing of the book *Great Powers' Think Tanks* in 2014 at People's Publishing House. In the book, we analyzed the development of think tanks in all countries in the globalization era, macroscopically summarized the pattern and functions of the development of international think tanks, and depicted the route and blueprint the development of China's think tanks. In 2016, we published another book named *The Fourth Power behind Great Nations* at the CITIC publishing group. Based on our microscopic analysis, this book introduces a "Five Abilities Model" that includes idea innovation ability, research ability, social communication ability, international export ability, policy influence ability. We are going to publish another book called *Global Think Tanks*, where we will examine cases of domestically and internationally famous think tanks, including Brookings institution, Bruegel, Peterson Institute for International Economics, European Council on Foreign Relations, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, World Resources Institute, Development Research Center of the State Council, and Chinese Academy of Social Science, and come up with five cornerstones of the development of innovative think tanks. The five cornerstones are leadership sharing, culture shaping, managing

knowledge, organizational management and strategy planning. Based on the cornerstones, we will highlight five dimensions for think tanks to follow when they conduct systematical innovation: scholars, research, communication, funding, and cooperation.

As Chinese President Xi said, nowadays China is experiencing the broadest and the most profound social revolution ever in our history, which also marks the greatest and unique practice and innovation in the history of human beings. Such great innovations will definitely offer impulses and enormous space for academic prosperity and theoretical creativity. This is an era when people call for theories and the society will nourish theories. This is also an era when people call for new thoughts and the society will nourish new thoughts. Today's China is transforming from a regional power to a global power, and the whole world is expecting to see Chinese wisdom and strategies. Given this exciting context, China's think tanks are blessed with historic opportunities.

Since the 18<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Party in 2012, President Xi has been emphasizing on the construction of new types of think tanks with Chinese characteristics and the importance of collective wisdom. In 2015, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council of China jointly issued the *Measures on Strengthening the Construction of New Types of Think Tanks with Chinese Characteristics*, which is the first guiding document on the development of think tanks in China. In February 2017, the Chinese top leaders and the Leading Group of Comprehensive Deepening of Reform issued a milestone document in China's think tank history, *Promoting Healthy Development of Social Think Tanks*, which gives important instructions to the development of social think tanks.

China's think tanks are stepping into a prosperous era, but only contin-

uous innovation will enable them to grow up and contribute to the transforming of global order with Chinese wisdom and enlightening the public as well as facilitating the policymaking process.

President of the Center for China and Globalization Dr.Wang Huiyao  
Secretary General of the Center for China and Globalization Dr.Miao Lv

August, 2017



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