

徐斯勤的學術著作出版 (Publications by S. Philip Hsu)

(一) 期刊論文 (journal articles) :

1. “Domestic Power Reshuffles in 2022 and U.S.-Taiwan-China Relations,” *Policy Brief, Brookings Institution*, May 20, 2023, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/domestic-power-reshuffles-in-2022-and-us-taiwan-china-relations/>.
2. “Cross-Strait Relations in the Wake of Taiwan’s 2022 Local Elections,” *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (April 2023), pp. 501-514.
3. “Beyond Pelosi’s Taiwan Visit: Uncertainties about Cross-Strait Stability,” *Taiwan-U.S. Quarterly Analysis, Brookings Institution*, August 22, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/08/22/beyond-pelosi-taiwan-visit-uncertainties-about-cross-strait-stability/>.
4. “The Discontinuation of a Vicious Cycle? Evolutionary Contour of China's Central-Local Relations, 1978-2018,” *Issues & Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (March 2020).
5. “Asymmetrical Adaptations to Grassroots Self-government between Rural and Urban China,” *Journal of Chinese Governance*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (June 2016), pp. 303-323.
6. “Assessing the Role of the TRA in Deterring Cross-Strait Economic Coercion in the Long Run,” *Issues & Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (October 2010), pp. 81-127 (SSCI journal).
7. “Reappraising the Debate and Practice of U.S. Strategic Ambiguity/Clarity in Cross-Strait Relations,” *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (May 2010), pp. 139-162 (SSCI journal).
8. “Between Identity Quest and Risk Aversion: Lessons from the Chen Shui-bian Presidency for Maintaining Cross-Strait Stability,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 19, No. 66 (September 2010), pp. 693-717 (SSCI journal).
9. “In Search of Public Accountability: The ‘Wenling Model’ in China,” *Australian Journal of Public Administration* Vol. 68, No. S1 (March 2009), pp. 40-50 (SSCI journal).
10. 「中國大陸中央與各省關係中的水平性與垂直性權力競爭，1993～2004：菁英政治與投資政策的議題聯結分析」，中國大陸研究(TSSCI)，第五十卷第二期（民國九十六年六月），頁一～三十四。
11. 「改革開放時期中國大陸的財政問題：政治學視角下議題聯

結層面的相關研究評析」，中國大陸研究(TSSCI)，第四十七卷第三期（民國九十三年九月）。

12. “Deconstructing Decentralization in China: Fiscal Incentive Versus Local Autonomy in Policy Implementation,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 13, No. 40 (July 2004), pp. 567-599 (SSCI journal).

13. 「民主國家在世界大戰後重建和平之政策的比較分析：對於 *Peacemaking by Democracies* 的書評」，台灣民主季刊（台灣民主基金會出版），第一卷第三期，民國九十三年九月，頁二三一~二三七。

14. 「改革開放時期中國大陸的財政制度與政策：財政單一議題範圍內相關研究之評析」，中國大陸研究(TSSCI)，第四十七卷第二期（民國九十三年六月），頁一~三十二。

9. 「冷戰後日本與中國大陸的安全關係：國際結構因素與國內因素孰重？」，CSCAP 中華民國委員會會訊（亞太安全合作理事會中華民國委員會秘書處出版），第十期，民國九十三年四月，頁三十九~四十三。

10. “Implementation of Profit Remission in Guangzhou, 1983-1995: Policy Regime vs. Revenue Incentive,” *Issues and Studies* (SSCI journal), Vol., 39, No. 4 (December 2003), pp. 81-110.

11. “China’s Domestic Politics and the U.S.-Taiwan-China Relations: An Assessment on the Eve of the CCP’s 16<sup>th</sup> National Congress,” *American Foreign Policy Interests* (published by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, U.S.A.), Vol. 25, No. 1, (February, 2003), pp. 43-52.

12. “The Missing Link to the Predicted Collapse of the PRC Regime” (book review of Gordon G. Chang’s *The Coming Collapse of China*, NY: Random House, 2001), *Issues and Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (June 2002), pp. 241-244.

13. 「由第一到第二階段反恐行動的國際政治現實：延續或是變化？」，CSCAP 中華民國委員會會訊（亞太安全合作理事會中華民國委員會秘書處出版），第八期，民國九十一年四月，頁三十四~三十七。

14. 「中國大陸的省級政府機構改革與國有企業產權改革，1993-2001：互補或矛盾的改革邏輯？」，中國大陸研究(TSSCI)，第四十五卷，第二期，民國九十一年三-四月，頁六十一~九十六（國科會補助專題研究計劃 NSC89-2414-H-004-058）。

15. 「新制度主義與當代中國政治研究：理論與應用之間對話的初步觀察」，政治學報（中國政治學會出版，TSSCI），第三十二期，

民國九十年十二月，頁九十五~一七〇。

16. 「加入世貿組織與兩岸關係的初步回顧與前瞻」，中國事務季刊 (China Affairs Quarterly)，第五期，民國九十年七月，頁一一五~一一八。

17. “Integration by Choice, But Not Unification by Force,” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* (published by Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK), Vol. 14, No. 2 (March/April 2001), pp. 264-270.

18. “Local Tax Effort in Shanghai, 1987-1993: Decentralization vs. Local Fiscal Balance,” *Issues and Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 6 (November/December 2000), pp. 116-138 (SSCI journal).

19. “Rethinking State Policy Choice and State Autonomy in an Era of Financial Internationalization: Comparing Taiwan and Indonesia during the Asian Financial Crisis,” *Issues and Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (March/April 2000), pp. 155-194 (SSCI journal).

20. 「國際化下的印尼金融與政治危機：國際政治經濟學觀點的初步省視」，中華臺北 APEC 通訊 (Chinese Taipei APEC Study Center Bulletin，臺灣經濟研究院出版)，第三期，八十八年五月。

(二) 專書論文 (book chapters)：

1. 「中國大陸中央與地方關係」，徐斯勤主編，「十八大」以來中國大陸的發展與變遷 (台北市：行政院中國大陸委員會，2019)。
2. “Central-Provincial Power Relations in the Fiscal Realm of China, 1980-2014,” in John A. Donaldson (ed.), *Assessing the Balance of Power in Central-Local Relations in China* (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 19-50.
3. “The Rule-Bound Personnel Turnover of China’s Provincial Leaders, 1993-2010,” (co-authored with Jhih-Wei Shao) in Chien-Wen Kou and Xiaowei Zang (eds.), *Choosing China’s Leaders* (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 97-123.
4. 「新自由主義與新自由制度主義」，包宗和、宋學文主編，國際關係理論 (台北：五南圖書出版公司，2011)。
5. “In Search of China’s Development Model: Beyond the Beijing Consensus,” in S. Philip Hsu, Yu-Shan Wu, and Suisheng Zhao (eds.), *In Search of China’s Development Model: Beyond the Beijing Consensus* (New York: Routledge, 2011).
6. “Balancing Developmental Needs with Vertical and Horizontal

Power Competition in China, 1993-2004,” in S. Philip Hsu, Yu-Shan Wu, and Suisheng Zhao (eds.), *In Search of China's Development Model: Beyond the Beijing Consensus* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

7. 「導論」（與黃德北、馮同慶合著），黃德北、馮同慶、徐斯勤主編，全球化下的勞工處境與勞動研究（北京：社會科學文獻出版社，2011）。
8. 「導論」，徐勇、趙永茂主編，土地流轉與鄉村治理（北京：社會科學文獻出版社，2009）。
9. 「導論」，余遜達、趙永茂主編，參與式地方治理研究（杭州：浙江大學出版社，2009），頁一～四。
10. 「在權力制衡與扈從之間一對冷戰後東亞國際關係的重估」（與鄭敦仁合著），朱雲漢、賈慶國主編，從國際關係理論看中國崛起（台北：五南出版社，民國九十六年十月），頁五十九～九十四。
11. 「東亞地區政經秩序的重組：兼論兩岸關係的挑戰與機遇」，高雄大學政治法律系編輯委員會主編，全球化趨勢下之世界、區域與國家建構（高雄：高雄大學政治法律系，民國九十六年四月）（經匿名審查程序後接受出版），頁一四一～一五八。
12. 「中國大陸中央與各省關係中的水平性與垂直性權力競爭，1993～2004：菁英政治與投資政策的議題聯結分析」，徐斯儉、吳玉山主編，黨國蛻變：中共政權的菁英與政策（台北：五南圖書出版公司，民國九十六年四月）（經匿名審查程序後接受出版），頁二一一～二六六。
13. 「國際關係中的文化因素 Vs. 物質因素：以冷戰前後日本與南韓的安全關係為例」，石之瑜主編，政治文化研究的現狀與開展（台北：翰蘆文化出版公司，民國九十六年一月）（經匿名審查程序後接受出版），頁八十五～一二二。
14. 「二〇〇五年兩岸關係發展的評估與分析」，收錄於高安邦主編，2005 台灣政經情勢報告（台北：國立政治大學台灣研究中心，民國九十五年五月）（經匿名審查程序後接受出版），頁一三一～一八二。
15. “Between Power Balancing and Bandwagoning: Rethinking the Post-Cold War East Asia,” (co-authored with Dr. T. J. Cheng), in I Yuan (ed.), *Rethinking New International Order in East Asia: U.S., China, and Taiwan* (Taipei: Institute of International Relations and Center for China Studies, National Chengchi

University, 2005), pp. 425-460.

16. 「因應多面向區域挑戰的 APEC 制度發展：組織變革與行為模式」（與李瓊莉合著），收錄於江啟臣主編，「世局變化下的 PEC 與我國參與」學術研討會論文集（台北：中華台北 APEC 研究中心，民國九十四年），頁四十八～七十三。
17. 「二〇〇三年兩岸關係形勢分析」，收錄於丁樹範主編，中國大趨勢：2003~2004（台北：新新聞文化出版公司，民國九十三年），頁一一三～一三五。
18. 「改革開放時期中國大陸的財政政策與制度：政治學視角下的相關研究析述」，收錄於何思因等主編，中國大陸研究成果與方法（台北：政大國際關係研究中心，民國九十二年），頁二二五～二八二。
19. 「機構改革——從十五大到十六大」，收錄於丁樹範主編，胡錦濤時代的挑戰（台北：新新聞文化出版公司，民國九十一年），第十章，頁二六三～二八八。
20. 「中共政治面向對於我國整體戰略環境之影響」，收錄於IIR-NSSI 戰略安全論壇（夏季刊）（台北：國防大學國家戰略研究中心，民國九十一年八月）。
21. 「如何由資金流動管理配合國際反恐怖行動」，收錄於IIR-NSSI 戰略安全論壇（春季刊）（台北：國防大學國家戰略研究中心，民國九十一年八月）。
22. 「關於中共強調對台威懾性戰略意圖的思考」，收錄於IIR-NSSI 戰略安全論壇（春季刊）（台北：國防大學國家戰略研究中心，民國九十一年八月）。
23. 「加入 WTO 對兩岸關係穩定機制之影響」，收錄於IIR-NSSI 戰略安全論壇（春季刊）（台北：國防大學國家戰略研究中心，民國九十一年四月）。
24. 「胡錦濤訪美與中共權力繼承問題」，收錄於IIR-NSSI 戰略安全論壇（春季刊）（台北：國防大學國家戰略研究中心，民國九十一年四月）。
25. “Local Tax Effort in Shanghai, 1987-1993: Decentralization vs. Local Fiscal Balance,” in Jaushieh Joseph Wu (ed.), *China Rising: Implications of Economic and Military Growth in the PRC*, (Taipei: Institute of International Relations, National Chengchi University, 2001).
26. 博士論文（一九九八年十一月完成）--Policy Implementation under Dual Decentralization in the People's Republic of China, 1979-1995: Coalitions, Institutions, and International Economic

Links, Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, USA.

(三) 評論性論文(op-ed)：

“By taunting the US ‘Paper Tiger’, China Risks Provoking a Backlash over Taiwan,” (co-authored with George Yin), *The Guardian*, August 7, 2022,  
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/aug/07/by-taunting-the-us-paper-tiger-china-risks-provoking-a-backlash-over-taiwan>.

(四) 研討會論文 (conference papers)：

1. “Diverse Pathways of Sustainable Local Governance Reforms in China: Comparing the Cases of Wenling and Yiwu in Zhejiang,” paper delivered at Session 710: “The Development of Local China in Comparison” of the 2011 Annual Conference of the Association for Asian Studies (jointly held with the International Convention of Asia Scholars), in Honolulu, Hawaii, April 3, 2011.
2. “The Evolving Institutionalization for Political Mobility of China’s Provincial Leaders, 1993-2008,” paper delivered at “International Conference on Elites and Governance in China,” organized by University of Sheffield (UK), Department of Political Science at National Chengchi University (NCCU), and Center for China Studies of National Taiwan University, at NCCU, Taipei, Taiwan, November 7, 2010.
3. 「新自由主義與新自由制度主義」，發表於國立台灣大學政治學系主辦，「國際關係理論學術研討會」，民國九十九年五月二十一日，臺大社會科學院國際會議廳。
4. “The U.S. Strategic Ambiguity under TRA in Cross-Strait Economic Conflict in the Long Run,” paper delivered at “The 2009 Taiwan Conference: Thirty Years After the Taiwan Relations Act,” organized by the Center for Asian Studies, University of South Carolina, in Columbia, South Carolina, USA, September 25-27, 2009.
5. “Asymmetrical Adaptations to Grassroots Self-government between Rural and Urban China,” paper delivered at “International Conference on The Multiple Asymmetries: Revisiting the ‘Fragile Superpower’ Thesis,” organized by Center

for China Studies, College of Social Sciences, National Taiwan University, at College of Social Sciences, NTU, Taipei, Taiwan, June 20, 2009.

6. “The Interactions between Developmental Needs and Power Competition in China’s Central-Provincial FAI Allocation,” paper delivered at International Conference on “Beijing Consensus versus Washington Consensus: The Sustainability of China’s Development Model,” organized by Center for China Studies, National Taiwan University, and Center for China-US Cooperation, University of Denver, in Denver, Colorado, USA, May 30-31, 2008.
7. 「國內集體認同因素對於日本與南韓戰略安全關係演變的影響：方法論上『最不可能案例』(The least-likely case)之運用」，發表於中華民國國際關係學會首屆年會，民國九十七年五月十日，國立台灣大學社會科學院。
8. “Public Accountability and Local Governance Reform in China: The Case of Wenling in Zhejiang,” paper delivered at the “International Conference on Accountability and Public Governance,” organized by Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University, and Department of Public and Social Administration, City University of Hong Kong, at College of Social Sciences, National Taiwan University, May 7-8, 2008.
9. 「美國的台海政策：關於『戰略模糊』與『戰略清晰』政策辯論與政策實踐的重新思考」，發表於台北市兩岸經貿文教交流協會主辦，「兩岸政經轉型與民主發展——新政府人事、政策與互動取向」，民國九十七年四月十九日，國立政治大學。
10. “Reappraising the Debate and Practice of U.S. Strategic Ambiguity/Clarity in Cross-Strait Relations,” paper delivered at the International Conference on “Confidence-Building Measures: Successful Cases and Implications for the Taiwan Strait,” hosted by the New Taiwanese Cultural Foundation and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, January 15-17, 2008, Taipei, Taiwan.
11. “Between Identity Quest and Risk Aversion: Lessons from the Chen Shui-bian Presidency for Maintaining Cross-Strait Stability,” paper delivered at the 36<sup>th</sup> Taiwan-American Conference on Contemporary China—The Challenge of a Rising

China and US Competition/Cooperation in Asia Pacific, Denver, Colorado, June 1-2, 2007.

12. "Rethinking Leadership Succession and Economic Outcomes in China: Formal Institution and Informal Networks since 1992," paper delivered at the 101<sup>st</sup> Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 2005.
13. 「因應多面向區域挑戰的 APEC 制度發展、組織變革，與行為模式」（與李瓊莉合著），發表於台灣經濟研究院與台灣大學政治系主辦，「世局變化下的 APEC 與我國參與」學術研討會，民國九十四年十月十四日，國立台灣大學社會科學院。
14. "Between Power Balancing and Bandwagoning: Rethinking the Post-Cold War East Asia," paper delivered at the 33<sup>rd</sup> Sino-American Conference on Contemporary China (co-authored with Dr. T. J. Cheng), Institute of International Relations, National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, May 27-28, 2004.
15. "Reassessing the Effects of Fiscal Institutions and Policy on Regional Development in China: A Critical Literature Survey," Discussion Paper No. 04-E-05 (Taiwan Study Center, National Chengchi University), delivered at the International Conference on Issues of China's Economic Development, National Chengchi University, June 3-4, 2004.
16. "Steering Economic Growth in the Information Age: The e-Business Policy in Taiwan, 1994-2002," paper delivered at the 2003 Annual Meeting of the Taiwan Political Science Association, Soochow University, Taipei, Taiwan, December 12-14, 2003.
17. "Continuities and Changes in China's Political Elites: From the Third to the Fourth Generation," paper delivered at the International Conference on Generational Change and China's Future, sponsored by the Mainland Affairs Council, ROC, held in National Sun Yat-sen University, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, November 21-23, 2003.
18. "The Political Economy of the e-Business Policy in Taiwan, 1994-200," paper delivered at the 2003 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, USA, August 27-Sept. 2, 2003.
19. "The Impact of China's Domestic Politics on the



- US-Taiwan-China Relations: The Structural Dynamics of CCP's 16<sup>th</sup> National Congress," paper delivered at the 11<sup>th</sup> Seoul-Taipei Forum (Co-sponsored by The Seoul Forum for International Affairs, Seoul, Korea, and The Institute of International Relations, National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan), October 31-November 3, 2002, Seoul, Republic of Korea.
20. "China's Domestic Politics and the US-Taiwan-China Relations: An Assessment on the Eve of CCP's 16<sup>th</sup> National Congress," paper delivered at the NCAFP Roundtable Conference on US-Taiwan-China Relations, October 7-8, 2002, National Committee on American Foreign Policy, New York, NY, USA.
21. 「新制度主義與當代中國政治研究」，發表於國立政治大學政治系政治經濟學研究室論文研討會，九十一年三月十九日。
22. "China's Perceptions about Its Strategic Relations with the United States: Past and Present," paper delivered at the Conference on Taiwan-Vietnam Dialogue on Regional Security, sponsored by the ROC Committee of Council on Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific and Institute of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vietnam, January 12-15, 2002, IIR, Hanoi, Vietnam.
23. 「新制度主義與當代中國政治研究：理論與應用之間對話的初步觀察」，中國政治學會民國九十年年會發表論文，九十年一月。
24. "The Economic and Political Logics of the WTO Accession and Membership in Cross-Strait Relations: Cooperation or Conflict under Multilateral Institutional Rules?" paper delivered at the 30<sup>th</sup> Sino-American Conference on Contemporary China (第三十屆中美「當代中國」學術研討會), University of San Diego, San Diego, CA, USA, May 3-6, 2001.
25. 「兩岸加入世貿組織對兩岸全面關係的影響」，發表於立法院 WTO 立法計畫工作小組主辦，〈因應加入 WTO 後兩岸新情勢研討會〉，民國九十年六月。
26. "Economic Globalization, Political Standoff, and Issue Linkages: Assessing the Cross-Strait Relations at the Dawn of the New Millennium," paper delivered at the 96<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., August 31 – September 3, 2000.
27. "China's Tax Assignment System in Operation: Macro and Micro

- Perspectives,” (coauthored with Szu-chien Hsu), paper delivered at the 96<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., August 31 – September 3, 2000.
28. “Revenue Extraction as Policy Implementation: Guangzhou and Shanghai under Dual Decentralization,” 發表於第二十九屆中美「當代中國」學術研討會，民國八十九年五月二十八日至三十日，臺北：圓山大飯店。
29. “Coping with Financial Internationalization in a Hard Time: Comparing Taiwan and Indonesia during the Asian Financial Crisis,” paper delivered at the 95<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, held in Atlanta, USA, September 2-5, 1999.
30. “Collecting Profit Remittance from State-Owned Enterprises in the People’s Republic of China, 1979-1995: Central-Local Relations, Domestic Institutions, and Economic Internationalization,” 發表於臺灣政治學會第五屆年會，民國八十七年十二月十二日，臺北：東吳大學。
31. “Implementing Policies of Industrial Finance toward the State-Owned Enterprises in China’s Coastal Cities, 1987-1995: A Comparison between Shanghai and Guangzhou,” paper delivered at the 49th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, held in Chicago, USA, March 13-16, 1997.
32. “Political Confrontation and Economic Interdependence Across the Taiwan Strait in the Post-Cold War Era: The Absence of Bilateral Bargaining to Change the Status Quo,” paper delivered at the 38th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, held in Toronto, Canada, March 18-22, 1997.

(五) 主編專書 (books) :

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