

「中國大陸政治經濟發展專題」課程大綱

Seminar on the Political Economy of the People's Republic of China

授課教師：徐斯勤(S. Philip Hsu) 九十七學年度下學期(Spring 2009)
(上課時間：週四 15:30 AM ~ 17:20 PM)

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社法學院研究大樓 315 室 (分機 361)

談話時間(office hour)：每週二 14:30-16:30 (請先在研究室門上時間表預約時間)

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一．本課程的性質與教學目標：

本課程係以政治學之學科視角為主軸，在研究所層次探討當代中國大陸政經社變遷的導論性質課程，以理論性思考為主，實際變遷概況為輔。其目標主要在於介紹相關之重要議題與辯論，以及提供如何使用實證性社會科學方法在此一領域中進行經驗性研究的訓練，以奠定學習者逐步建立本身獨立研究能力的基礎。就時間層面而言，本課程較側重一九九〇年代至今的發展就議題層面而言，將分為以下三類主題來檢視各相關議題內的重要文獻：(1) Political Development; (2) Economic Reform and Transition; (3) Issues of Governance。本課程預設學習者對各議題內容已有足夠的基本理解，無須在課堂中重複教授這些基本內容。各議題內的指定與推薦閱讀書單，其設計除了以幫助學習者熟悉相關的主要文獻為原則外，尤其著眼於如何激發學習者思考未來可能之研究主題，進而開展深入的探索。

二．課程要求：

- (1) 課堂口頭報告以及參與討論 (50%)。
- (2) 期末報告或期末考 (50%)：欲撰寫期末報告的修課同學，應選擇某一週的主題，或經授課教師同意後所選取之其他主題，進行延伸性閱讀，發展為深入之文獻回顧，或論文大綱，或研究報告，於六月二十五日下午五點之前以紙本與電子郵件繳交。欲選擇期末考同學，在六月十八日上課時間進行。

三．課程進度與讀物：

Week #1 (2/19): Introduction

Week #2 (2/26): Historical Overview and the State of the Field

- Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar, "Dynamic Economy, Declining Party-State," in Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar (eds.), *The Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 3-29.
- Richard Baum and Alexei Shevchenko, "The 'State of the State'," in Merle Goldman and

Roderick MacFarquhar, pp. 333-360.

- Lowell Dittmer and William Hurst, "Analysis in Limbo? Contemporary Chinese Politics amid the Maturation of Reform," *Issues & Studies* 38(4)/39(1) (December 2002/March 2003), pp. 11-48. (政大國際關係研究中心出版品電子檔)
- 徐斯勤,「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), 32 期 (2001 年 12 月), 頁 95-170。

Recommended:

- *Harry Harding, "The Evolution of American scholarship on Contemporary China," in David Shambaugh, ed., *American Studies of Contemporary China* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1993), pp. 14-42.
- 黃宗智, *中國研究的規範認識危機* (香港: 牛津大學出版社, 1994)。
- 鄒讜, *二十世紀中國政治：從宏觀歷史與微觀行動角度看* (香港: 牛津大學出版社, 1994)。
- *石之瑜,「新制度主義建構理性中國的成本」, *問題與研究*, 36 卷 11 期 (1997 年 11 月)。(政大國際關係研究中心出版品電子檔)
- Elizabeth J. Perry, "Partners at Fifty: American China Studies and the PRC," *Harvard Asia Quarterly* (Autumn 1999).
- *王紹光,「西方政治學與中國社會研究」, 朱雲漢、王紹光、趙全勝主編, *華人社會政治學本土化研究的理論與實踐* (臺北: 桂冠圖書, 2002)。
- 朱雲漢,「政治學本土化研究的必要性」, *華人社會政治學本土化研究的理論與實踐*。
- 童燕齊,「美國知識霸權與中國政治學研究的困境」, *華人社會政治學本土化研究的理論與實踐*。
- 陳捷,「回顧美國中國研究的典範變遷」, *華人社會政治學本土化研究的理論與實踐*。
- 石之瑜,「關於中國研究文獻中的知識論問題：拼湊、累積與開展」, 何思因主編, *中國大陸研究方法與成果* (台北: 國立政治大學國際關係研究中心, 2003)。
- 寇健文, *中共菁英政治的演變：制度化與權力轉移, 1978-2004* (台北: 五南, 2004), 第二章, 頁 11-40。

I. Political Development

Week #3 (3/5): Elite Politics

- Lowell Dittmer and Yu-Shan Wu, "The Modernization of Factionalism in Chinese Politics," *World Politics* 47(4) (July 1995), pp. 467-94. (台大圖書館電子期刊全文電子檔)
- 寇健文, *中共菁英政治的演變：制度化與權力轉移, 1978-2004* (台北: 五南, 2004), 第三、四、五、七、八、九章。(自行購買)
- Zhiyue Bo, "The Institutionalization of Elite Management in China," in Barry J. Naughton and Dali L. Yang (eds.), *Holding China Together* (New York: Cambridge University Press,

2004), pp. 70-100.

- Susan H. Whiting, "The Cadre Evaluation System at the Grass Roots: The Paradox of Party Rule," in Naughton and Yang, pp. 101-119.

Recommended:

- *Hung-Mao Tien and Ynn-han Chu (eds.), *China under Jiang Zemin* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000).
- Jing Huang, *Factionalism in Chinese Communist Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- *Cheng Li, *China's Leaders: the New Generation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).
- *Joseph Fewsmith, *Elite Politics in Contemporary China* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2001)
- *Unger, Jonathan, ed. *The Nature of Chinese Politics: From Mao to Jiang*. (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002).
- Zhiyue Bo, *Chinese Provincial Leaders: Economic Performance and Political Mobility since 1949* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2002).
- *李成, 「十六屆中委會人事構成及其權力均衡」, 丁樹範主編, 胡錦濤時代的挑戰 (台北: 新新聞文化出版公司, 2002)。
- David M. Finkelstein and Maryanne Kivelhan (eds.), *China's Leadership in the 21st Century: The Rise of the Fourth Generation* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2003).
- Xiaowei Zang, *Elite Dualism and Leadership Selection in China* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004).
- Andrew Scobell and Larry M. Wortzel, *Civil-Military Change in China: Elites, Institutes, and Ideas after the 16th Party Congress* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, 2004).
- Lowell Dittmer, "The New Generation of Leadership and Chinese Political Development," in Yun-han Chu, Chih-cheng Lo and Ramon Myers (eds.), *The New Chinese Leadership: Challenges and Opportunities after the 16th Party Congress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 10-32.
- Hon Chan, "Cadre Personnel Management in China: The *Nomenklatura* System, 1990-1998," *China Quarterly* 179 (September 2004), pp.703-734.
- Yu-Shan Wu, "Jiang and After: Technocratic Rule, Generational Replacement and Mentor Politics," in Chu, Lo, and Myers, pp. 69-88.
- Weixing Chen and Yang Zhong, *Leadership in a Changing China* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- *John P. Burns, "The Chinese Communist Party's *Nomenklatura* System as a Leadership Selection Mechanism: An Evaluation," in Kjeld Erik Brodsgaard and Zheng Yongnian (eds.), *The Chinese Communist Party in Reform* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 33-58.

- Andrew G. Walder, "The Party Elite and China's Trajectory of Change," in Brodsgaard and Zheng, pp. 15-22.

Week #4 (3/12): Central-Local Relations (I): General Perspectives and Personnel Management

- Susan Shirk, *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), Chapters 1, 3, 4, pp.1-22, 55-91.
- Jae Ho Chung, "Studies of Central-Provincial Relations in the People's Republic of China: A Mid-term Appraisal," *China Quarterly* 142 (1995). (台大圖書館電子期刊全文電子檔)
- Linda Chelan Li, *Centre and Provinces: China 1978-1993—Power as Non-Zero-Sum* (Oxford, UK: Calrendon Press, 1998), Introduction and Chapter 1, pp. 1-47.
- Cheng Li, "Political Localism Versus Institutional Restraints: Elite Recruitment in the Jiang Era," in Naughton and Yang, pp. 29-69.

Recommended:

- *Susan Shirk, *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*, Chapters 2, 5-8.
- David S. G. Goodman and Gerald Segal (eds.), *China Deconstructs: Politics, Trade and Regionalism* (New York: Routledge, 1994).
- Jae Ho Chung, *Central Control and Local Discretion in China : Leadership and Implementation during Post-Mao Decollectivization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- *Yongnian Zheng, *De Facto Federalism in China: Reforms and Dynamics of Central-Local Relations* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2007), Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 8.
- *Montinola, Qian, and Weingast, "Federalism, Chinese Style: The Political Basis for Economic Success in China," *World Politics* 48(1) (October 1995), pp. 50-81.
- Jae Ho Chung, "Reappraising Central-Local Relations in Deng's China: Decentralization, Dilemmas of Control, and Diluted Effects of Reform," in Chien-min Chao and Bruce J. Dickson (eds.), *Remaking the Chinese State: Strategies, Society, and Security* (New York: Routledge, 2001).
- *Yi-feng Tao, "The Evolution of Central-Provincial Relations in Post-Mao China, 1978-98," *Issues & Studies* 37(4) (July/August 2001), pp. 90-120.
- Aseema Sinha, "Political Foundations of Market-Enhancing Federalism," *Comparative Politics*, (37)3 (April 2005), pp. 337-356.
- *Yumin Sheng, "Central-Provincial Relations at the CCP Central Committees: Institutions, Measurement and Empirical Trends, 1978-2002," *The China Quarterly* 187 (June 2005).
- *吳國光，鄭永年，論中央-地方關係：中國制度轉型中的一個軸心問題（香港：牛津大學出版社，1995）。
- 王嘉州，*理性選擇與制度變遷：中國大陸中央與地方政經關係類型分析*，國立政治大學東亞研究所博士論文，民國 92 年 6 月。

- *熊文釗，*大國地方：中國中央與地方關係憲政研究*（北京：北京大學出版社，2005）。
- Kjeld Erik Brodsgaard, “Bianzhi and Cadre Management in China: The Case of Yangpu,” in Brodsgaard and Zheng, pp. 103-121.

Week #5 (3/19): Central-Local Relations (II): Specific Issue Areas

- Yasheng Huang, *Inflation and Investment Controls in China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Chapters 3 and 7, pp. 63-88, 212-257.
- Linda Chelan Li, “Provincial Discretion and National Power: Investment Policy in Guangdong and Shanghai, 1978-93,” *The China Quarterly* 152 (December 1997), pp. 778-804.（台大圖書館電子期刊全文電子檔）
- 徐斯勤，「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*，47卷2期（2004年6月），頁1-32（政大國際關係研究中心出版品電子檔）。
- Kai-yuen Tsui and Youqiang Wang, “Between Separate Stoves and A Single Menu: Fiscal Decentralization in China,” *The China Quarterly* 177 (March 2004), pp. 71-90.（電子檔）

Recommended:

- *Susan Shirk, *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*, Chapters 9-14.
- *Yasheng Huang, *Inflation and Investment Controls in China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- *Linda Chelan Li, *Centre and Provinces: China 1978-1993—Power as Non-Zero-Sum* (Oxford, UK: Calrendon Press, 1998), Chapter 2-10.
- *鄭永年，*朱鎔基新政：中國改革的新模式*（NJ, USA: 八方文化企業公司，1999）。
- Kevin J. O’Brien and Lianjiang Li, “Selective Policy Implementation in Rural China,” *Comparative Politics* 31(2) (January 1999), pp. 167-186.
- *Le-Yin Zhang, “Chinese Central-provincial Fiscal Relationships, Budgetary Decline and the Impact of the 1994 Fiscal Reform: An Evaluation,” *The China Quarterly* 157 (March 1999).
- James Tong, “A Principal-Agent Analysis of Fiscal Decentralization,” in Edwin A. Winckler, *Transition from Communism in China: Institutional and Comparative Analyses* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999).
- 王紹光，「中國財政轉移支付的政治邏輯」，*戰略與管理*（2002年第3期），頁47-54。
- 陶儀芬，「從『放權讓利』到『宏觀調控』——後鄧時代中央與地方金融關係的轉變」，丁樹範主編，*胡錦濤時代的挑戰*（台北：新新聞文化出版公司，2002）。
- *S. Philip Hsu, “Deconstructing Decentralization in China: Fiscal Incentive Versus Local Autonomy in Policy Implementation,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 13(40) (July 2004), pp. 567-599.

- *Yongnian Zheng, *De Facto Federalism in China: Reforms and Dynamics of Central-Local Relations* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2007), Chapters 4-7.
- Andrew C. Mertha, "China's 'Soft' Centralization: Shifting *Tiao/Kuai* Authority Relations," *The China Quarterly* 184 (December 2005), pp. 791-810. (電子檔)

Week #6 (3/26): Linking Various Issues in Central-Local Relations

- Lowell Dittmer and Yu-Shan Wu, "Leadership Coalition and Economic Transformation in Reform China: Revisiting the Political Business Cycle," in Lowell Dittmer and Guoli Liu (eds.), *China's Deep Reform: Domestic Politics in Transition* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), pp. 25-48.
- 陶儀芬,「政治權力交替與經濟機會主義：集體行動與改革時期中國『政治經濟景氣循環』」,《問題與研究》,45卷3期(2006年5月),頁77-101(政大國際關係研究中心出版品電子檔)。
- 徐斯勤,「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),頁211~266。

Recommended:

- Fubing Su, and Dali L. Yang, "Political Institutions, Provincial Interests, and Resource Allocation in Reformist China," *Journal of Contemporary China* 9(24) (September 2000), pp. 215~230.
- *Victor Shih, "Faction Matters: Personal Networks and the Distribution of Bank Loans in China," *Journal of Contemporary China* 13(38) (February 2004), pp. 3-19.
- *徐斯勤,「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》,47卷3期(2004年9月)。

Week #7 (4/2): 台大溫書假。

II. Economic Transition and Developmental Trajectory

Week #8 (4/9): General Perspectives on China's Overall Development and Economic Transition

- Barry Naughton, *Growing Out of the Plan: Chinese Economic Reform, 1978-1993* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Introduction and Conclusion, pp. 3-25, 309-326.
- Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), pp. Introduction, Chapter 20, pp. 3-14, 487-501.
- Yu-Shan Wu, "Chinese Economic Reform in a Comparative Perspective: Asia vs. Europe," *Issues & Studies* 38(4)/39(1) (December 2002/March 2003): 93-138. (台大電子期刊)
- The "Woo-Wu Dialogue," *Issues & Studies* 39(2) (June 2003): 1-40. (台大電子期刊)

Recommended:

- *Barry Naughton, "China's Macroeconomy in Transition," *The China Quarterly* 144 (December 1995), pp. 1083-1104.
- Andrew Walder (ed.), *The Waning of the Communist State: Economic Origins of Political Decline in China and Hungary* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995).
- 馬立誠、凌志軍，*交鋒：當代中國三次思想解放實錄*（北京：今日中國出版社，1998）
- 何清漣，*現代化的陷阱*（北京：今日中國出版社，1998），導論、第一～六章。
- Doug Guthrie, *Dragon in a Three-Piece Suit: The Emergence of Capitalism in China* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).
- Dali L. Yang, "Economic Crisis and Market Transition in the 1990s," in Edwin A. Winckler, *Transition from Communism in China: Institutional and Comparative Analyses* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999).
- Ross Garnaut and Yiping Huang (eds.), *Growth Without Miracles: Readings on the Chinese Economy in the Era of Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), Chapters 1, 2, 3, 28, 29, 30.
- *Wing Thye Woo, "The Real Reasons for China's Growth," *The China Journal* 41 (January 1999), pp. 115-137.
- *Shu-Yun Ma, "Understanding China's Reform: Looking Beyond Neoclassical Explanations (Review Article)," *World Politics* 52 (July 2000), pp. 586-603.
- 林毅夫、蔡昉、李周，*中國經濟改革與發展*（台北：聯經，2000）。
- Joseph Fewsmith, *China since Tiananmen: The Politics of Transition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- *Steinfeld, Edward S. "Moving Beyond Transition in China: Financial Reform and the Political Economy of Declining Growth." *Comparative Politics* 34(4) (July 2002), pp. 379-98.
- Joshua Cooper Ramo, *The Beijing Consensus* (London: Foreign Policy Centre, 2004)
<http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/244.pdf>.
- 公羊主編，*思潮：中國“新左派”及其影響*（北京：中國社會科學出版社，2003）。
- 康曉光，「中國特殊論—對中國大陸25年改革經驗的反思」，*戰略與管理*，2003年第4期（總第59期）。
- Yasheng Huang and Tarun Khanna, "Can India Overtake China?" *Foreign Policy* (July/August 2003). <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/story.php?storyID=13774>.
- *胡鞍鋼主編，*中國：新發展觀*（杭州：浙江人民出版社，2004）。
- 姚洋編，*轉軌中國：審視社會公正和平等*（北京：中國人民大學出版社，2004）。
- Elizabeth C. Economy, *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).

- 門洪華，「中國經濟發展的可持續性」，門洪華主編，*中國：大國崛起*（浙江人民出版社，2004）。
- 中國 21 世紀議程管理中心可持續發展戰略研究組，*發展的基礎：中國可持續發展的資源、生態基礎評價*（北京：社會科學文獻出版社，2004）。
- *C. Fred Bergsten, Bates Gill, Nicholas R. Lardy, Derek Mitchell, *China: The Balance Sheet* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006), Chapters 2 and 4.
- *Susan L. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), Chapter 2.

Week #9 (4/16): Property Rights, FDI/Foreign Trade, and China's Economic Reform

- Andrew G. Walder and Jean C. Oi, "Property Rights in the Chinese Economy: Contours of the Process of Change," in Jean C. Oi and Andrew G. Walder (eds.), *Property Rights and Economic Reform in China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 1-26.
- David L. Wank, "Producing Property Rights: Strategies, Networks, and Efficiency in Urban China's Nonstate Firms," in Oi and Walder, pp. 248-274.
- Yasheng Huang, *Selling China: Foreign Direct Investment during the Reform Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), Chapters 1, 7, pp. 1-62, 308-350.

Recommended:

- *Gabriella Montinola, Yingyi Qian, and Barry Weingast, "Federalism, Chinese Style: The Political Basis for Economic Success," *World Politics* 48, 1 (1996): 50-81.
- *肖耿，*產權與中國的經濟改革*（北京：中國社會科學出版社，1997）。
- *Edward S. Steinfeld, *Forging Reform in China: The Fate of State-Owned Industry in China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Chapters 1, 2, 3, 7, 8.
- *Jean C. Oi and Andrew G. Walder (eds.), *Property Rights and Economic Reform in China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), Chapters 3, 4.
- Yi-min Lin and Tian Zhu, "Ownership Restructuring in Chinese State Industry: An Analysis of Evidence on Initial Organization Changes," *China Quarterly* 166 (June 2001), pp. 305-341.
- *Nicholas R. Lardy, "The Role of Foreign Trade and Investment in China's Economic Transformation," in Ross Garnaut and Yiping Huang (eds.), *Growth Without Miracles: Readings on the Chinese Economy in the Era of Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- *Susan H. Whiting, *Power and Wealth in Rural China: The Political Economy of Institutional Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Chapter 4.
- 關志雄、童振源主編，*人民幣匯率：經濟與戰略分析*（台北：兩岸遠景交流基金會，2004）。
- Yasheng Huang and Tarun Khanna, "Indigenous versus Foreign Business Models," in

Edward Friedman and Bruce Gilley (eds.), *Asia's Giants: Comparing China and India* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 161-182.

- Kevin Honglin Zhang (ed.), *China as the World Factory* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
- *Hunfg-Gay Fung, Changhong Pei, and Kevin H. Zhang (eds.), *China and the Challenge of Economic Globalization: The Impact of WTO Membership* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2006), Chapters 1, 2.
- Ka Zeng (ed.), *China's Foreign Trade Policy: The New Constituencies* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

Week #10 (4/23): Globalization, WTO, and China's Economic Reform

- David Zweig, *Internationalizing China: Domestic Interests and Global Linkages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), Introduction, Chapters 1, and Conclusion, pp. 1-48, 259-278.
- Penelope B. Prime, "China's WTO Compliance: Commitment and Progress in the Initial Stage," in Hunfg-Gay Fung, Changhong Pei, and Kevin H. Zhang (eds.), *China and the Challenge of Economic Globalization: The Impact of WTO Membership* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2006), pp. 36-50.
- 張向晨，「中國加入 WTO 兩年半的回顧和思考」，*戰略與管理*（2004 年 3 月），頁 11-23（台大圖書館中國期刊網全文電子檔）。

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